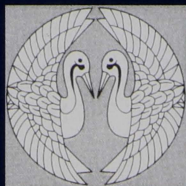


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# Manuscripta Orientalia

*International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*

Vol. 6 No. 1 March 2000



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### Front cover:

Fragment of one of the Qur’ānic folios kept in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

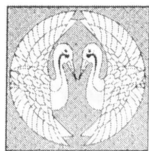
### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** The *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

**Plate 2.** Reliquary of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

**Plate 3.** Guard at the gates of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

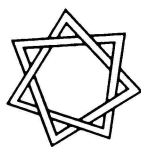
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# Manuscripta Orientalia

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## EDITORIAL BOARD

*Dear colleagues,*

May, 2000 marks the 5th anniversary of the *Manuscripta Orientalia* journal. The issue you hold before you is our twentieth. It sometimes seems a piece of miracle to us that, despite all that has happened in Russia in recent years, we have succeeded in creating an international, English-language scholarly journal with worldwide circulation. We have subscribers in thirty countries, and the journal is read now in London, Paris, Delhi, Teheran, New York, Tokyo, Ankara, Kuala-Lumpur, Tashkent, etc.

Today we would like to thank you, our dear readers and subscribers, for your support and ongoing interest in the journal. Your support has frequently helped us to maintain this publication despite unfavorable conditions we frequently faced.

During the time of its existence, the journal has published dozens of studies, introduced into scholarly circulation numerous Oriental manuscripts. Many manuscript collections were also presented to readers. In response to an increasing interest in new information technologies, the journal has made its pages a forum for fruitful discussions of the role of these technologies in Oriental studies. The journal has become truly international; numerous articles by scholars from the USA, Germany, Norway, Finland, the Czech Republic, Holland, Italy, France, Japan, and the Republics of the former Soviet Union have been published here. The pages of *Manuscripta Orientalia* have been made available for the publication of papers delivered at the 21st Conference of the European Association of Middle East Librarians (Liège, 1999) and the 4th conference "The Problems of Study and Restoration of Dunhuang and Central Asiatic Manuscripts" (St. Petersburg, 1999), and it is hoped that this practice will be continued in the future.

In the year 2000, the serial publication of works by E. A. Rezvan, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, O. Akimushkin, Val. Polosin, etc., which have already aroused significant interest, will be also continued. We have every reason to think such publications will form the basis for the *Manuscripta Orientalia* monograph series, which is in the plans of *Thesa* Publishing House. Also, it is desirable to see on the pages of the journal more materials dealing with computer methodologies in Oriental studies. It seems especially timely to discuss the problem of developing a single standard for describing manuscripts, which will ensure the compatibility of the data bases already under creation in many scholarly centres. It is also important, viewing the special character of the journal, to continue publishing articles on the restoration of Oriental manuscripts.

Some remarks should be made concerning the journal issuing. Five years ago, when Russia lacked a high-quality typographic infrastructure and reliable postal system, *Thesa* Publishers and its Finnish partner came to the decision to print and distribute the journal from Finland. Over the past three years, these operations have gradually been transferred to Russia, where appropriate conditions at last appeared for issuing a journal such as *Manuscripta Orientalia*. We should like to draw your attention to the circumstance that the minor changes you find now in the journal's title page are linked with this transfer and surrounding circumstances.

*In closing, we would like also to draw your attention to certain changes in our editorial board. To our great regret, Professor Yury Petrosyan, the creator of the journal and its permanent editor-in-chief for all these five years, has resigned the post because of the impossibility of combining his work in the journal with his new obligations as Vice President of the St. Petersburg Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The team of the journal editors, who have worked side by side with Prof. Petrosyan since the journal's foundation, deems its pleasant duty to express its gratitude to him for his exceptional energy, organizational talents, and scholarly erudition, without which the journal's publication would be impossible. Prof. Petrosyan is now among the members of the **Manuscripta Orientalia** advisory board.*

*Beginning in January, 2000 the new editor-in-chief of **Manuscripta Orientalia** is Dr. Efim Rezvan, who has occupied the post of deputy editor-in-chief since the journal was founded.*

*On the occasion of the 5th anniversary of **Manuscripta Orientalia**, our warmest thanks are to the director of Thesa Publishing House, Prof. Boris Ionin, whose energy and faith in the success of the enterprise have aided the journal through its most difficult moments. We are also most grateful to Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Boris Gidasov, whose advise, while discussing with Prof. Petrosyan the possibility of publishing works by Russian Orientalists in early 1995, contributed to the appearance of the international scholarly journal **Manuscripta Orientalia**.*

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# TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

A. G. Sazykin

## MONGOLIAN HAND-WRITTEN BOOKS

During its more than seven-century history, Mongolian literature, which was closely linked to the political and cultural developments in the Mongol state, has known periods of flourishing and decline, intense literary activity or spiritual stagnation. Centuries-long contacts with the cultures of Central Asia, as well as India and China, could not but influence the process of the development and content of Mongolian literature, which preserved in its written texts the traces of the most varied cultural and literary traditions. Similar influences found reflection both in the Mongolian writing system, which has employed at least ten scripts, and in the format of Mongolian books — large, beautifully executed, illustrated manuscripts or small books, *pothi*, patterned after ancient Indian books on palm leaves. “Accordion”-form manuscripts are also frequently encountered, as well as quires of the most varied types and dimensions.

Even more varied are the contents of Mongolian manuscript books since manuscripts were the most common means of disseminating among the Mongols translations of Indian tales and parables, Tibetan stories and legends, and Chinese novels. Besides, the original works of the Mongols themselves were also represented most fully in manuscript form.

One of the most important features of the centuries-long history of the Mongolian manuscript book is the fact that the Mongols, unlike other peoples who were previously familiar with the manuscript book and later came into contact with printed materials, had already encountered book-printing in the first century of their literature's existence. However, the xylograph printing of Mongolian books, which originates from the second half of the thirteenth century, has failed to supersede manuscripts, which continued to be employed by the Mongolian peoples up to the beginning of the twentieth century.

The continued coexistence of the manuscript and print book among the Mongols, and the close links between them, provides grounds for a comprehensive examination of the manuscript book's history and the history of xylograph reproduction in the Mongolian language. Only the juxtaposition of the content, artistic and cognitive merits, ideological trends of these two types of Mongolian book, as well as

the elucidation of their genesis and circulation specifics, can throw additional light to the not wholly interrupted nature of the Mongolian manuscript tradition and determine the true significance of the manuscript book in the history of Mongolian literature as a whole.

The continuous and extremely wide employment of the manuscript book among the Mongols has long received notice from Orientalists. In 1839, the Russian scholar O. M. Kovalevsky, in the foreword to his “Mongolian Chrestomathy”, noted that “the method of printing which has up until now been used in China, Tibet, and Mongolia, taken together with the significant loss of time and not inconsiderable expenses, serves as a very great hindrance to the rapid distribution of new works. Manuscripts, so respected in Asia, retain their original price” [1].

It is, however, difficult to agree entirely with Kovalevsky's assertion. Certainly, the xylograph publication of books requires great efforts to prepare the manuscript text for blocks and to engrave the texts on them. But “once the blocks have been engraved, the paper cut, and the paint readied,” reports Du Halde, who observed the work of a Chinese printer in the eighteenth century, “then a single person with a brush can indefatigably print nearly ten-thousand folios in a single day” [2]. Besides, the enormous number of xylograph editions in both Mongolian and Tibetan which have been discovered demonstrates that the “significant loss of time and not inconsiderable expenses” Kovalevsky pointed to, could not hinder considerably the rapid growth in the number of xylograph books among the peoples of Central Asia. For example, the Buddhist church contributed greatly to the spread of xylographing and increasing the number block-prints, having quickly evaluated the advantages of the new method of book production for the dissemination of Buddhist sacred texts.

Depending on their origin, all xylographs in the Mongolian language can be divided into four groups; these are Peking, Mongolian, Buryat and Oirat editions. The largest and oldest centre of book printing in the Mongolian language was Peking. The first xylographs in Uighur-Mongolian script and the “quadrangular script” of the 'Phags-pa Lama appeared in Peking in the second half of the thirteenth — beginning of the fourteenth century during

the reign of the Yuan dynasty of Mongolian origin. With the expulsion of the Mongols from China in 1368, the printing of xylographs in Mongolian writing in China decreased significantly, or was halted altogether. From the period from the end of the fourteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century only a single xylograph collection of incantations, printed in China and dated to 1431, has come down to us. From 1650 on, the second active period of book printing in the Mongolian language began. An edition of the canonical *sūtra Thar-pa chen-po* ("The Great Liberator") appeared in that year, and that was the first edition in the Mongolian language, which came to light in the reign of the Ch'in dynasty. The renewal of printing was caused by the rapid development, beginning from the end of the sixteenth century, of literary activity among Southern Mongolian authors who were primarily the translators of vast Buddhist works, which was linked to the spread of Tibetan Buddhism, known as Lamaism in the European literature. It is only natural that at that time Buddhist canonical and ritual texts translated into Mongolian came to be published.

The few seventeenth-century Peking xylographs which have reached us are beautifully engraved, printed on fine, thick paper, often with the use of two- or three-coloured print, and are impressive in format and size. These editions were not cheap and were intended primarily for the numerous newly created Buddhist monasteries in Mongolia, which badly needed liturgical and dogmatic literature in Mongolian. They were also necessary for distribution among Mongolian nobility, in whose support and sponsorship the Buddhist church was particularly interested during the initial stage of its activity within Mongolia. As for Mongolian steppe aristocracy, it considered the Buddhist church as a great support to their secular. The Mongolian noblemen made generous gifts to *lamas*, including editions of religious literature. It is for this reason that we find among the names of initiators and, naturally, donors of translations and editions of Buddhist works the names of the most powerful Mongolian princes.

One such protector of Buddhism who greatly aided the spread of Buddhist literature in Mongolian, was the Altan Khan of Tūmet. During his lifetime, in 1587, a Mongolian translation of *Altan geres-tū sudur* was published. At the initiative of Altan Khan and members of his family, old translations of works from the Buddhist canonical collection *Kanjur* were sought out and new ones produced. Ligdan Khan of Tsakhar was another powerful protector of the Buddhist church; at his initiative and with his support, the compilation of the first full version of the *Kanjur* in Mongolian was completed.

The great role of the Buddhist church in "limiting Mongolian liberty" was duly noted by Manchu rulers of China too. Actively encouraging the activities of Buddhist monasteries in Mongolia, the Ch'in government contributed to the spread of religious literature, the most important means for the propagating of Buddhist ideas and relevant world-outlook. For this reason, two large print workshops which existed until the beginning of the twentieth century began to function in Peking in the mid-seventeenth century, publishing Buddhist literature in Tibetan and Mongolian.

More than 300 editions were prepared during this period in Mongolian alone, including such ambitious editions as the 108-volume *Kanjur* which appeared in 1720 and the 225-volume *Tanjur* printed in 1749. Among other xylographs in Mongolian of significant size, three quarters

of which contain canonical, dogmatic, and ritual texts, one can cite the "One Hundred Thousand Verses *Yum*" published in 12 and 16 volumes; the "Twenty-Five Thousand Verses *Yum*" printed in four volumes; and the four-volume *sumbum* (collection of works) of Lcang-skya Khutukhtu. A collection of legends about the deeds of Avalokiteśvara and the Tibetan ruler Sontsen-Gampo, *Mani gambu*, and the collection of *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs*, *Sungdui*, appeared in two large volumes.

Among Peking xylograph editions in Mongolian, one can classify as non-Buddhist, or not entirely Buddhist in content, grammatical and medical works, dictionaries, oracles and calendars, astronomical treatises, instructions for Manchu emperors, the Confucian Canon, etc.

Peking print production also includes literary works which became extremely widespread and popular among the Mongols such as *Subhasita*, "History of Geser Khan", "Story of Molon-toyin", and several others. But they made up only an insignificant part of the basic quantity of Mongolian-script editions; furthermore, they were too expensive for the majority of the Mongolian population. The bulk of Peking xylographs, including Buddhist works, required an appropriately prepared reader sufficiently familiar with Buddhist dogmatics, philosophy, and terminology. Hence, according to B. Laufer, the most frequent purchasers of such books were "monks who lived in Lamaist monasteries both in Peking itself and around the city, and the numerous Mongolian traders who visited the city in the winter" [3]. These Mongolian traders bought up Peking xylograph editions, intending, of course, to resell them subsequently either to Mongolian monasteries or to wealthy buyers from the upper echelons of society, usually the feudal elite. Consequently, Peking publishers were primarily oriented toward the needs of Mongolian monasteries and, to a certain degree, elite readers who were able to acquire these expensive editions.

The flourishing production of Buddhist books in Peking with regular deliveries to Mongolia appears to have largely freed Mongolian *lamas* from the necessity of developing their own book-printing. In any case, collections of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs contain only a handful of xylographs printed in the monasteries of Southern Mongolia and Khalkha.

After flooding the book market of Mongolia itself, Peking editions soon began to spread elsewhere. For example, they were hardly a rarity in Buryat *datsan* libraries. But the distance of the Buryat *ulus* from Peking's publishing houses and the attendant difficulties with delivering Peking editions, exacerbated by a toughening of frontier control in the 1850s, spurred Buryat *lamas* to organise in *datsans* their own production of xylograph books.

The first attempts to establish book printing in Mongolian were undertaken by Buryat *lamas* at the beginning of the nineteenth century. But the initiative did not receive the necessary development at the time and at present we know of only 13 Buryat early print xylograph editions which contain text in Mongolian writing. These are primarily reissues of Peking xylographs of Buddhist canonical works, as well as small prayers and *dhāraṇīs*.

At that time, and for the only time in the entire history of Buryat xylography, the 1715 Peking xylograph of the "Book of Death" was republished. Known in Tibetan as *Bar do t'os gros* and in Mongolian as *Sonosuyad yekede tonilyayci*, a fundamental guide to performing rituals for the

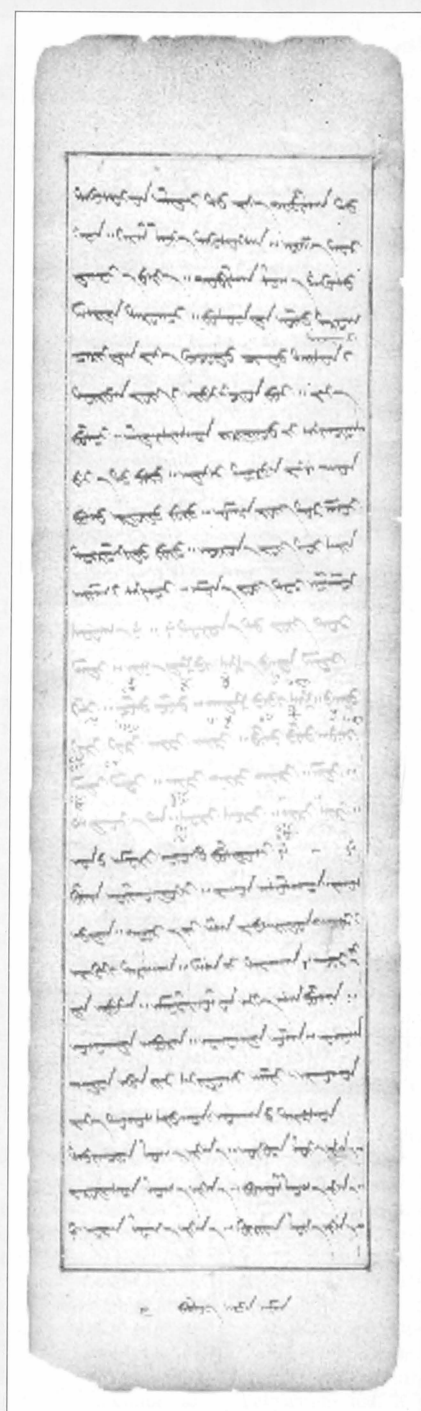


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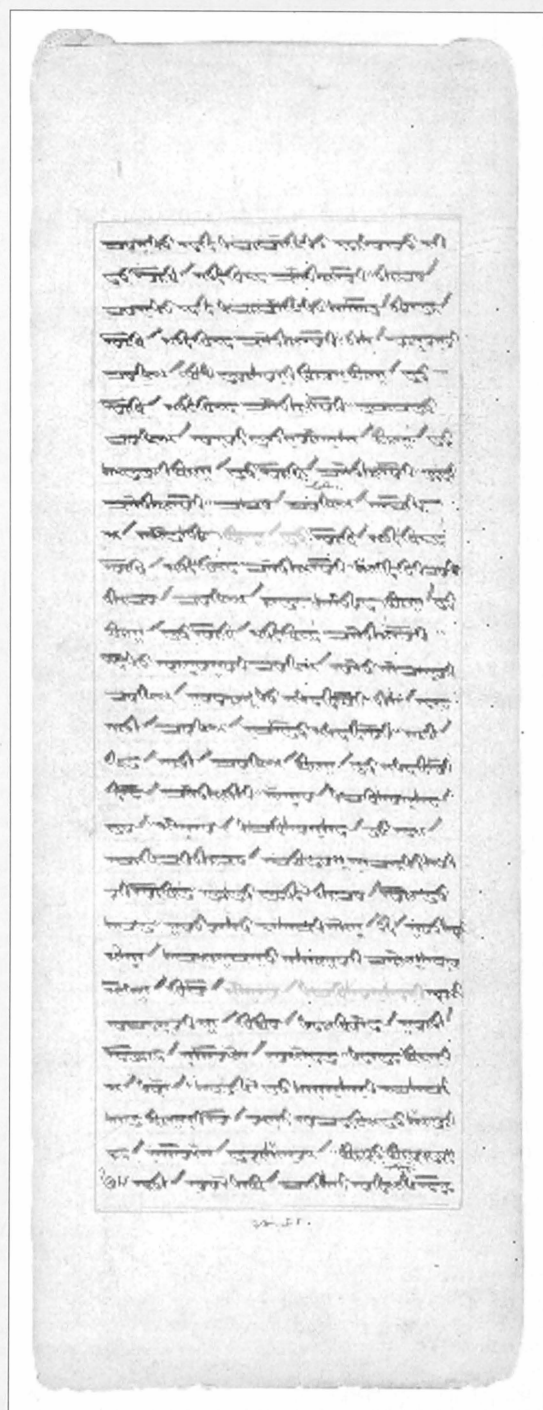


Fig. 2

deceased. Also unique are a brief, trilingual version of the dictionary *Mahāvīyutpatti* and an anti-shamanist sermon by the Mongolian Keiken Khutukhtu, printed in at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The second, or late, period of Buryat xylograph production began in the 1860s and continued until the 1920s. More than 500 xylograph editions were released in Mongolian (including Tibetan-Mongolian bilingual editions) during those years. And one must also take into account that in the print shops of Buryat *datsans*, only one of every five or six xylograph books was released with a text in Mongolian writing (the remainder were printed in Tibetan).

As in the previous period, Peking xylographs of Buddhist canonical and liturgical literature were actively reissued, often reproducing the original colophons. Among the most significant of the Buryat editions of canonical works published at the time were the *Altan gerel-tü sudur*, "Eight Thousand Verses Yum", *Āyan lingqu-a*, *Thar-pa chen-po*, and *Üliger-ün dalai*.

Among guides to the performance of Buddhist rituals published by the Buryat, we find reissues of eighteenth-century Peking xylographs with rituals for honouring a *lama*-teacher and a ritual in honour of Otoči (the Medicine Buddha). Moreover, a series of small brochures was published with descriptions of the ritual for professing the faith, the rituals of *lama-yōga*, and sacrificial offerings to the three objects of great value, rituals for the dead, etc. The *datsans* also printed up large quantities of short *sūtras*, prayers, laudations, hymns, and *dhāraṇīs* which are part of Buddhism's everyday liturgical and ritual literature.

Hagiographic literature was also reissued, including lives of the Buddha Śākyamuni, Atiṣa, Mar-pa, 'Brom ston-pa, Milarpa, Tsongkhapa. A two-volume Buryat reissue of the 1712 Peking xylograph *Mani gambu* appeared as well.

Nor did Buryat *lamas* ignore Buddhist dogmatic and philosophical literature. They printed the large, medium, and small *Lam-rim* by Tsongkhapa and a commentary on it. Several commentaries on canonical *sūtras* and the Buddhist catechism *Tonilqui-yin čimeg* were published as well.

But Buddhist didactic literature made up the largest part of Buryat xylograph production. For example, the *Subhasita*, *Arad-i tejigekü rasiyan-u dusul*, *Āyan lingqu-un baylay-a* collections of verse teachings and collections of tales known as commentaries on these teachings were printed on several occasions. Various *datsans* also printed collections of "Commentaries on the *Üliger-ün nom*" and "Commentaries Which Explain the Value of the Diamond *Sūtra*" in the form of stories. As concerns the narrative literature, *datsan* publishers took care to release the "Story of Molon-toyin", "Tale of the Moon Cuckoo", and "Story of Čoyijid Dakini".

One should note that in the distribution of didactic literature, the Buryat *lamas* did not limited themselves merely to reissuing already existing collections of teachings and tales. Much was translated anew, and in some cases new commentaries were even drawn up. As an example, one can cite the commentary on the *Subhasita* and the commentary on the *Arad-i tejigekü rasiyan-u dusul* by Rintchin Nomtoev.

Buryat *lamas* also accorded significant attention to spreading the norms of Buddhist morality among believing laymen, for which purpose they published a series of didactic brochures drawn up by the *širegetü* (superior) of the

Aginsky *datsan*, Dordzhi Dandzhinov. These brochures provide an accessible, popular exposition of all the main demands placed on followers by the Buddhist church. Among them, for example, are edifying passages on the necessity of respecting parents and elders, teachings on the benefit of virtue and the harm of sin, and instructions on carrying out Buddhist vows. Individual sermons condemn the wearing of expensive clothes and decorations, criticise smoking and taking snuff, excessive drunkenness, games of chance, etc.

Thus, Buryat *lamas* succeeded in a relatively short time in significantly increasing the number of xylograph editions in Mongolian. And one should note that in comparison with Peking xylographs, Buryat editions were to a much greater degree intended for laymen. As they were entirely accessible and inexpensive, they easily found readers not only in Buryatia itself, but also in Khalkha and Tuva, which is clear from the substantial number of *datsan* editions we have seen in collections in Ulan Bator and Kyzyl.

The outstanding results achieved by the end of the nineteenth century by Peking and Buryat publishers in the distribution of printed literature in Mongolian do not seem to have made much of an impact on the fate of the manuscript book. The number of manuscripts which appeared at that time not only failed to decrease, but increased. Furthermore, as before, a substantial part of them reproduced xylograph editions.

One of the main, and constantly relevant, reasons for the copying of print books, according to Prof. Gy. Kara, was the fact that "print books were always in short supply and they were not cheap" [4]. Such manuscript copies are at times of significant scholarly interest, as some of the xylograph originals have been lost and copies are now the only indication that print editions once existed. Among such manuscripts, one can cite, for example, the above-mentioned late sixteenth-century Mongolian edition of the *Altan gerel-tü sudur*, which has not reached us in print form, a copy of the 1673 Peking edition of the *Sungdui* collection, a copy of the Oirat xylograph edition of the "Diamond *Sūtra*" from the first half of the eighteenth century.

Another reason for the appearance of numerous copies of widely distributed and frequently printed xylograph editions of Buddhist works was the proposition in Buddhist dogmatics which treats the reproduction of sacred texts as a highly virtuous and extremely salutary act. According to Buddhist conviction, a manuscript text far surpasses a printed text in magical force. Moreover, the benefits of copying grew in accordance with the type of paper and ink used to produce the manuscript. The copying of a sacred text in "precious" ink on lacquered paper was thought significantly increase the value of the act. For example, the Mongolian collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a large number of such manuscripts among which copies of one of the Buddhist treatises significantly exceed the quantity of all others. We speak here of the "Diamond *Sūtra*" (Skt. *Vajracchedikā*), a comparatively small work included in the Buddhist canon and containing an exposition of a proposition in the teaching in the form of a discussion between the Buddha Śākyamuni and a pupil called Subhūti. This *sūtra* was translated from Tibetan into Mongolian no fewer than five times, and was frequently reissued in xylograph form for distribution among Mongolian Buddhists. Nine editions of

the "Diamond *Sūtra*" were produced in Peking alone in the eighteenth century. We also know of Mongolian and Oirat xylograph works. Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the dawn of Buryat book-printing, three xylographs of the *sūtra* were released. Later, in the second half of the nineteenth century, at least 15 Buryat editions of the *sūtra* appeared in Mongolian script.

This proliferation of xylograph editions of the "Diamond *Sūtra*" was paralleled by abundance of manuscripts. Such manuscripts, often in many copies, are present in almost all manuscript collections. The Mongolian collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, for example, contains more than 70 manuscripts of the "Diamond *Sūtra*". Nine of these manuscripts were executed in "silver", "gold", or five-coloured "precious" ink on black lacquered paper. In the collections of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Language and Literature in Ulan Bator, the number of Oirat manuscripts alone of this *sūtra* in Zaya pandita "clear script" is 80.

An extremely typical feature of most copies of this work is their excellent preservation, which substantially distinguishes them from many other surviving Mongolian manuscripts. The reason is that Buddhists, as was accurately noted by Kovalevsky, "revere [such books] as a means of salvation and as a sacred object which guards against illness and misfortune, and not as a means of spreading enlightenment and education" [5]. Hence, as religious objects, they were sooner revered than read. It was for this reason that books sacred to Buddhists, carefully wrapped in a rag or placed in a special wooden box, were kept in the *yurt* of every cattle-breeder, even those who were illiterate, in the most honoured place — in a chest by the home's altar.

As concerns the abundance of xylographs and manuscripts of the "Diamond *Sūtra*", one must give credit to Tibetan and Mongolian *lamas*, who contributed greatly to the popularisation of this *sūtra* among Central Asia peoples. In Tibetan-Mongolian didactic literature, for example, each mention of the benefits to be obtained from copying sacred books was invariably accompanied by a reference to the "Diamond *Sūtra*" as an example. Moreover, Tibetan authors even took the time to draw up a special collection of tales dedicated solely to demonstrating and elucidating the extraordinary benefits to be reaped from copying and reading this *sūtra*. Mongolian literary figures subsequently reworked and augmented the collection significantly.

Any literate lay-person could, of course, copy sacred texts to add to his religious virtue, but the information contained in certain colophons indicates that so-called "steppe *lamas*" frequently participated in the copying of books. These were *lamas* not tied to a specific monastery who wandered the encampments and, when necessary, performed religious services and rituals. They also engaged in medical practice, fortune-telling, etc. In order to increase their earnings, such *lamas* also took orders to copy books, as is evident from a note added to one of the Buryat manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: "... the copy was completed by a *lama* who made copies all along the Oka [district] for hospitality and gifts".

Yet despite the multitude of manuscript copies based on xylograph originals, their role in the development of Mongolian written literature is clearly disproportionate to their quantity, for in effect they were not decisive in the course of manuscript tradition's development among the

Mongolian peoples. In evaluating the significance of the manuscript book for investigating the large and varied literary legacy of the Mongolian peoples, Academician Će. Damdinsūrling wrote: "... works which expressed the interests of the people spread largely in manuscripts or orally. This was evident in the history of Mongolian literature. For this reason, we do not ascribe significance to the thick volumes published in xylograph form, and pay special attention to old, frayed manuscript books when we write the history of Mongolian literature" [6].

Among the Mongols' extensive manuscript heritage, one should first cite historical chronicles, representing the most ancient genre of Mongolian literature. For the Mongols, as for many other peoples, a knowledge of their ancestries, tribe history, were obligatory; through this knowledge emergent generations came to feel ties of kinship, ensuring a consciousness of ethnic unity [7]. At first, such information was passed from generation to generation in oral form. It is hardly surprising that with the advent of a written tradition, this was the material first recorded.

The earliest work of this type which has come down to us is the chronicle *Yuan chao bi shi* ("The Secret History of the Mongols"), compiled in 1240. The chronicle contains information primarily about the origins and deeds of Chingis Khan. Together with actual historical facts, the "Secret History of the Mongols" includes a significant number of legends, fables, and epic excerpts. The chronicle also presents magnificent examples of Mongolian poetry from the medieval period, as well as rich folkloric material: aphorisms, proverbs, sayings, etc. Thus, in describing the chronicle, one is justified in terming it a historical-literary work.

This syncretic historical-literary character is also found in several later Mongolian chronicles from the thirteenth and even the twelfth centuries which also include folkloric and epic fragments. In particular, chroniclers of the seventeenth century readily employed the text of the "Secret History of the Mongols". Many excerpts from it are included, for example, in the history of Sagan Sečen. The fullest employment of the text of the "Secret History" is found in the Lubsan Danzan's historical work, *Altan tobči*, which reproduces three fourths of the content of the oldest historical work to have reached us.

One should note that historical chronicles of various periods in Mongolian history are quite unevenly represented. While we know of works by historians from the thirteenth century, we now nothing about the chroniclers of the fourteenth — sixteenth centuries. Not a single historical work from the period has survived. It is difficult, however, to believe that no historical writing was conducted at that time. It is more likely that authors unknown to us recorded events contemporary to them in the fourteenth — sixteenth centuries and, as Ts. Zhamtsarano believed, it was "those writings which formed the basis for ... the chronicles of the seventeenth century when they discuss events of that time" [8].

It is unknown at present whether a link between the genre of historical chronicle and folk legends and traditions remained up through the fourteenth — sixteenth centuries. It is possible that during this period "the main form of historiographic activity among the Mongols ... was the compilation of genealogical records in the families of *tayji* — heirs to the throne, Chingisids" [9].



A new stage in the development of Mongolian written history begins in the seventeenth century, sparked by the political situation in Mongolia at that time. The increasing disintegration of Mongolia, internecine strife among Mongolian principalities, as well as their growing dependence on China gave start to spreading the idea of uniting the Mongolian state, which we find in numerous writings of Mongolian historiographers. The strongest argument in favour of the country's unification was, in fact, an appeal to the past, when a single whole had been created from the scattered Mongolian tribes to form a powerful state.

At the same time, the chronicles of the seventeenth century continue the ancient Mongolian tradition of history writing, which implied an abundant employment of rich folkloric material. But both political and religious situation in Mongolia was quite different in that period, and by that time a new clerical historiography had been already emerging; it would become dominant in the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries. This period saw the appearance of a substantial number of Mongolian historical works, among which one can cite, for example, *Ganga-yin urusqal*, *Erdeni-yin toli*, *Bolor erike*, etc. These and a number of other chronicles which appeared at that time differ significantly from the chronicles of the thirteenth and seventeenth century; they are, in essence, works of a historical-genealogical nature. As before, the authors of such works were Mongolian noblemen, including numerous clerics. Such literature was in constant demand, primarily among the Mongolian steppe aristocracy.

It is worth noting that the Mongols' historical works were hardly ever printed in xylograph form, being distributed in manuscripts. The exceptions are the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, printed in Peking in the eighteenth century, and the "Tradition of the *Boyo* Chingis Khan Who Was Sent down by the Heavens", published in Buryatiya in 1869 and written by the *lama* Dylgyrov of the Tsugol *datsan*. This work provides a brief Chingis Khan's and subsequent khans' genealogy, up through Ligdan Khan, fully in keeping with the Mongolian chronicle tradition of the eighteenth century; it also includes a history of the spread of Buddhism.

In publishing this historical composition, the Buryat *lamas* ignored the historical chronicles of the Buryats. Buryat historiography, which arose at a much later date than Mongolian chronicles, nonetheless developed rapidly. According to G. N. Rumiantsev, "the Buryats created in the course of a single century a rich historical literature, mainly of a chronicle nature" [10]. Like Mongolian chronicles circulating in manuscript form, the historical writings of the Buryats, composed with the active participation of Buryat *noyans*, were disseminated exclusively in manuscripts and represented the only well-developed genre of secular literature among the Buryats until the beginning of the twenties century.

Likewise, the historical works of the Western Mongols, the Oirats and Kalmyks, existed exclusively in manuscript form. The most significant Oirat-Kalmyk historical chronicles to have reached us are the "Story of the Oirats", written in 1737 by Gaban Sharab, and the "Story of the Derben-Oirats", drawn up by the *noyan* Batur Ubashi Tumen at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Important historical information about the Mongols and Oirats in the seventeenth century is contained in the "Biography of the Oirat Zaya pandita Namkhai Jamcho". This fascinating example of Oirat written literature has earned a rightful place as one of the

finest exemplars of Oirat historiography. The veracity of its information, accuracy in dates, absence of invention or unverified facts — all this stand in contrast to widespread hagiographic works filled with all sort of legends, magical and folkloric elements. And, in the view of B. Vladimirtsov, it makes this kind of literature lacking practically all value as historical document [11].

Oirat literature, which split off from the general body of Mongolian literature with Zaya pandita's creation of his "clear script" in 1648, did not arise from nothing, but was rather a continuation of a centuries-long tradition of old-Mongolian literature, the general cultural legacy of all the Mongol peoples. It is entirely natural that in its composition, the literature of the Oirats and Kalmyks always remained within the basic developmental framework of Mongolian literature. It is therefore difficult to agree with the assertion that Oirat-Kalmyk literature "was only related to general Mongolian [literature] in its origins" and that only "to a certain point ... can one posit the existence of a certain commonality in the development of the literatures of the modern Mongolian-speaking peoples" [12].

As concerns Oirat (Kalmyk) literature, this "certain point" of departure from general Mongolian literature is seen as coinciding, of course, with the appearance of "clear script". But one should also take into account that the literature of the Oirats was in no way limited to written sources recorded in "clear script". As B. Vladimirtsov observes, Zaya pandita literature never succeeded in fully supplanting old-Mongolian writing among Oirat tribes. Besides, in areas where the Mongolian and Oirat written traditions coexisted, Oirat writing often yielded to general Mongolian [13]. We know also that Zaya pandita Namkhai Jamcho, renowned not only for the invention of Oirat writing, but for his active work as a translator as well, began his labours as a translator from Tibetan long before creating his "clear script". All of these translations, significant in number, were recorded in Uighur-Mongolian writing, and only later transferred to Oirat script. Among such early works by Zaya pandita, one can cite, for example, his translation of *Mani gambu*, executed in 1643—1644. It was this translation that was reissued in Peking in xylograph form in 1712, 1718, and 1736. Also translated before the creation of "clear script" were *Pačoi* ("Book of the Father"), *Bučoi* ("Book of the Son"), and a number of other Buddhist works.

A substantial number of original works of Mongolian literature initially distributed in Uighur-Mongolian writing only later were transferred to Oirat script. These are, for example, the "Geser Khan Epic", a cycle of tales of Chingis Khan, the "Tale of the Knowing Parrot", "Story of Naranu Gerel", and a number of others. Also transferred to "clear script" were many Buddhist works, especially those which make up the Buddhist Canon. The manuscript folios from *Kanjur* held in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies provide interesting examples of the transition period from Uighur-Mongolian to Zaya pandita's script.

Among works transferred from Mongolian writing to Oirat were numerous translations of Indo-Tibetan literature, such as the "Tales of Šiditü Kegür", "The Story of Ushandari Khan", "Tales of Bikarmidjid Khan", and many others. These "adaptations" of Indo-Tibetan works circulated among the Oirat exclusively in manuscript form. It should be stressed that in other areas populated by

Mongolian peoples where xylograph reproduction was better developed, this kind of literary compositions was represented by manuscripts solely.

The Buddhist church's neglect of literature, which absorbed tales and legends, extremely popular among the peoples of Central Asia, can be explained by the fact that these tales did not correspond to the spirit and tasks of Buddhist didactic literature. This made such literature completely useless for disseminating Buddhist religious and moral ideas, which had always been the most important aim of all publishers who released literature in Mongolian. In this regard, one should not be misled by the significant resemblance of several collections of tales known as "framed tales" to a collection such as *Üliger-ün dalai*, which was part of the Buddhist Canon. Indeed, while *Üliger-ün dalai* reveals an indubitable correspondence between form and content, in collections of tales such as "Tales of Šiditü Kegür", "Arji-Burji Tales", the framing story is used solely to introduce varied tales. Moreover, they vary not only in relation to each other, but, to an even greater degree, in relation to the section which frames them. In some cases, the framing tale is reworked in accordance with the aims of Buddhist didactic literature, as was the case with the Mongolian version of "Tales of Šiditü Kegür". But the compilers of such versions introduce only insignificant changes, so that, in the words of Vladimirtsov, "the element of ordinary secular life is paramount" [14], and the major part of the collection remains unchanged, contrasting sharply and even contradicting the framing section reworked in the Buddhist tradition. For this reason, the absence of xylograph editions of such collections in Mongolian, despite the constant interest of and numerous attempts by monastery literary figures to find in the rich Indo-Tibetan literary heritage engaging stories to popularise religious-moral dogmas, looks quite natural.

The similar composition of Oirat translated literature and Mongolian was due to the circumstance that in his literary and translation activities Zaya pandita always followed the Dalai Lama's injunction to spread Buddhist teaching among the Mongols and Oirats. Buddhist dogmatic, ritual, and didactic literature made up the basic repertoire of all other Mongolian translators. This translation activity had its specific feature, because, in the late-sixteenth — seventeenth centuries, Buddhism spread in Mongolia in its Tibetan form, which was modified by the Mongols. At that time, translations from Tibetan made up the great part of literature among the Mongols. As Ć. Damdinsürüng, remarks, "Mongolian writers were not particularly concerned to compose original works. Many of them devoted all their lives exclusively to translating" [15]. This period saw the reworking of archaic translations from the time of the Yuan dynasty which had since become difficult to understand or the appearance of new translations; this activity encompassed all major Buddhist works and even in the eighteenth century "in Mongolian lamaist literature, a 'truly Mongolian language' predominated ... as the Mongols reaped the benefits of the preceding centuries' translating and literary activity" [16].

The large territory inhabited by the Mongol peoples, the abundance of mutually isolated Buddhist monasteries, in which *lamas* devoted their time to translations from Tibetan, frequently aided the appearance of several translations of the same work over a short period of time. Far from all these Mongolian translations were issued in xylograph

form; many of them remained in manuscript. It should be noted also that sometimes we find the name of this or that Mongolian translator in the colophons of extremely rare (or even unique) copy of their work. To cite an example, Toyin-gushi's translation of the "Diamond *Sūtra*" exists only in two manuscripts stored in the collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. Also, the only manuscript of Ergilu-a Rinchin's translation of the canonical "*Sūtra* of Vimalakīrti" and a single copy of Blöbjang ligš-bšhad darjai's translation of the "Story of Čoyijid Dakini" have survived (both in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

Despite common features literatures of the Mongolian peoples share, which seems natural since "two thirds or more of the works and an even greater proportion of books stem from Lamaist circles" [17], it is easy also to see the differences which became evident at the end of the eighteenth century. For example, it seems striking that Oirat literature in Zaya pandita "clear script" is almost completely lacking translations of Chinese novels. The only evidence of a translation of Chinese novel in "clear script" is found in an article by the Academician B. Rinchen on Oirat translations from Chinese. He writes of an Oirat manuscript of the Chinese novel "Journey to the West" (*Xi you ji*) which he saw in the 1920s (unfortunately, this manuscript was lost). We were unable to discovered other such examples in the catalogues of foreign collections, the collections of Oirat manuscript materials in St. Petersburg, and even in the lists of the rich collections of manuscripts in Zaya pandita writing held in Ulan Bator. Perhaps, the reason of the absence of Oirat translations (or even adaptations from Mongolian) of Chinese narrative prose is due to the fact that the Mongols did not begin seriously translating from Chinese until the eighteenth century, by which time the Oirat had considerably reduced their efforts in the field of translation. They abundantly used the fruits of translation activity of their predecessors who worked at that time of Zaya pandita and his pupils.

Unlike the Oirat, Mongolian readers were well familiar with translated Chinese novels and novellas. By the beginning of the twentieth century, such popular Chinese novels as "River Backwaters", "Tale of the Three Kingdoms", "Journey to the West", etc. had been translated from Chinese and Manchu, and now we know no fewer than 70 Chinese novels and novellas translated into Mongolian. The initiators, translators, and main readers of this literature were representatives of the Mongolian ruling elite or steppe aristocracy, who were not unfamiliar with the Chinese and Manchu and had absorbed much of Chinese customs, aesthetic views and literary tastes. The interest in translations of Chinese novels among the Mongols was great, but the translations circulated only in manuscript form and were often imposing in size and adorned with colour miniatures. However, several translated Chinese novels are found also in the library of the eighth Urga Rje-btsun dam-pa Khutukhtu, but this should be viewed as an exception which testifies to the personal inclinations and tastes of the *khutukhtu*, a "lover of secular literature and merry life" [18].

As concerns the Urga *khutukhtus*, it is important to note two other genres of Mongolian writing which also existed only in manuscript form. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, significant distribution and popularity accrued among the Mongols to the so-called "injunctions" or

"testaments" of mythological or historical figures, usually from the upper hierarchy of the Buddhist church of Tibet or Mongolia. These writings stress the necessity of carrying out religious commandments and foretold myriad impending misfortunes as punishment for neglecting matters of faith. The most numerous were prophecies which belong to or were ascribed to the Uрга *khutukhtus*. Among other widespread prophecies were the "injunctions" of the *Dalai Lamas* and Peking *Janja-Khutukhtus*, as well as the prophecy of Avalokiteśvara, written on a stone which fell from the sky.

We find also the name of Rje-btsun dam-pa Khutukhtu in manuscripts containing descriptions of travels to sacred places. These manuscripts describe a visit by the Uрга *khutukhtu* in 1803 to the monastery of Erdeni-Juu while on his way to Tibet and a journey to Peking in 1839. This, however, represents the extent of Mongolian literature on this topic. The genre of "travels" was significantly more developed among the Buryats and Kalmyks. The earliest such description concerns a journey to Tibet undertaken by the Buryat *khambo-lama* Zajaev in 1734–1741. These notes appeared many years later, in 1768, during Zajaev's stay in St. Petersburg and were drawn up at the request of the Empress Catherine II. Other records of Buryat pilgrims to holy places in Tibet appeared only in the late-nineteenth — early-twentieth century. The Mongolian collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains the reminiscences of four Buryat *lamas* of their visit to Tibet; the most complete and interesting account comes from Lubsan Mudžid-dordži, who describes his journey of 1882–1887. No less interesting are the itineraries by two Kalmyk *lamas* — Menkedzuev and Jungruiev — who visited Tibet in the late nineteenth — early twentieth century.

In the context of Mongolian old-script literature, manuscripts of Buryat origin stand out thanks to another characteristic, one being linked to the history and specific nature of the Buddhist teaching and Mongolian writing's spread among the Buryat. This is that, in comparison with Mongolian written texts, Buryat manuscripts present more fully and in more varied fashion texts of so-called "shamanist lyrics". This provision stems from the fact that from the beginning of Buddhism's diffusion into Mongolia,

the Buddhist church tried to extirpate decisively shamanist ideas and practices among the Mongols. And although this campaign was, without a doubt, successful, and shamanism lost its influence and virtually disappeared within Mongolia, shamanist beliefs endured a different fate among the Buryat. Buddhism, which spread later, did not allow the *lamas* to crush and supplant entirely the traditional shamanist views of the Buryat. The influence of shamans and the persistence of folk beliefs remained a significant factor in Buryat life even at the end of the nineteenth century, as is confirmed by numerous manuscripts of shamanist, or more frequently, mixed shamanist-lamaist content executed in Buryatia. In this regard, it is telling that even in Khalkha, the guardians of shamanist traditions were in fact the Buryat. And, as B. Vladimirtsov remarks, the activities of Khalkha shamans reflected "Buryat influence, the influence of Buryat shamanism in its current state" [19].

Buryat manuscripts of such content, although written at a relatively late date, usually no earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century, are nonetheless of significant interest for studying the nature of ritual practice and content of mythological ideas among the Mongol peoples.

But it was not only texts of ancient ritual "shamanist" lyrics, often gems of folk literature, and not only historical chronicles and epic tales of the Mongols that remained invariably in manuscript form. The appearance of original works created already by individual Mongolian authors also, by all indications, failed to gain the attention of Ch'in rulers and Mongolian religious-feudal lords. These latter controlled publishing, but were entirely uninterested in a rebirth of national consciousness and original Mongolian culture. And for this reason the works of such talented nineteenth-century Mongolian poets as Sanday, Geligbalsang, Dangjinvangjil, Kesigbatu were distributed exclusively in manuscript form.

Thus, in the history of the written literature of the Mongol peoples, the manuscript book played the role of a unique counterweight to official-clerical literature. And it is the manuscript book which still holds secrets, concealing significant opportunities for a more profound and accurate understanding of the actual processes which shaped the cultural history of the Mongol peoples and their literary ties with the peoples of Central Asia and China.

## Notes

1. O. M. Kovalevskii, *Mongol'skaia khrestomatiia* (Mongolian Reader) (Kazan, 1836), pp. IX—X.
2. Cited in D. Kara, *Knigi mongol'skikh kočevnikov* (Books of Mongolian Nomads) (Moscow, 1972), pp. 115—6.
3. B. Laufer, *Očerki Mongol'skoj literatury* (An Essay on Mongolian Literature) (Leningrad, 1927), p. 24.
4. Kara, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
5. Kovalevskii, *op. cit.*, p. IX.
6. *Mongolin uran zohioloyn toym* (Ulan Bator, 1976), ii, p. 62.
7. *Istorija stran zarubezhnoj Azii v srednie veka* (A History of the Countries of Non-Russian Asia in the Middle Ages) (Moscow, 1976), pp. 217—8.
8. Ts. Zhamtsarano, "Mongol'skie letopisi XVII v." ("Mongolian chronicles of the 17th century"), *Trudy Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, XVI (Moscow-Leningrad, 1936), p. 9.
9. Sh. Bira, *Mongol'skaia istoriografija: XIII—XVII vv.* (Mongolian Historiography: 13th — 17th Centuries) (Moscow, 1978), p. 10.
10. G. N. Rumiantsev, "Buriatskie letopisi kak istoričeskii istočnik" ("Buryat chronicles as a historical source"), *Trudy Buriatskogo kompleksnogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta*, fasc. 3: serija vostokovedeniia (Ulan-Ude, 1960), p. 13.
11. B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Etologo-lingvističeskoe issledovanie v Urgu, Urginskom i Kenteiskom raionakh* (Ethno-Linguistic Research in Urga and the Urga and Kentey Regions) (Leningrad, 1927), p. 13.
12. A. V. Badmaev, "O nekotorykh problemakh izučeniia kalmytskoj literatury dorevoljucionnogo perioda" ("On certain problems in the study of pre-Revolutionary Kalmyk literature"), *Problemy altaistiki i mongolovedeniia*, fasc. 1 (Elista, 1974), pp. 139, 143.
13. Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

14. *Volshebnyi mertvets. Skazki* (The Magical Deceased. Tales), translation, introductory article, and notes by B. Vladimirtsov (Petrograd—Moscow, 1923), p. 10.

15. Će. Damdinsŭrlŭng, *Mongyol uran Jokiyal-un degeji Jayun bilig orusibai* (Ulayanbayatur, 1959), p. 14. — Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, XIV.

16. Kara, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

19. Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Pañcarakṣā*, Mongolian manuscript Q 2576 in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, 17th century, 47.5×12.7 cm, part II, fol. 18a.

**Fig. 2.** *Thar-pa chen-po*, Oirat manuscript I 57 in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection, 18th century, 42.2×17.1 cm, fol. 58a.

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## A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI: I. THE *VINAYA* OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS (PART 4)

The present paper continues the publication of Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali (see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2—4, 1999). We give here

transliteration, translation and commentary of fols. [79r] and 79 v of the text.

FOL. [79 r]

### TRANSLITERATION

1. *pātra-kalpo dvau pātrāni mṛtikama[yānī]<sup>1</sup> ca śāstrakā<sup>2</sup> ca na ca bhikṣunā vina pātreṇa*
2. *janapadacāriko caritavyaḥ. cīvara-kalpo daśa cīvarāni trihi<sup>3</sup> daurvarṇī karane-*
3. *hi<sup>4</sup> daurvarṇīkaranehi<sup>5</sup> daurvarṇīrtavyāni niṣīdana<sup>6</sup> kalpo dau<sup>7</sup> niṣīdanāni ghana-*
4. *puṣa ca vighaṭa ca na ca bhikṣunā vina niṣīdanena janapada-cāriko caritavyaḥ ||*

### TRANSLATION

1. The rule concerning the *pātra*: [Bhagavan has prescribed] two [types] of *pātra*: clay and metal, and monks
2. should not walk the land without a *pātra* <sup>[77]</sup>. The rule concerning the *cīvara*: ten *cīvaras*, by means of dying [one] of three [colours]
3. should be made unsightly in colour <sup>[78]</sup>. The rule concerning the mat: [Bhagavan has prescribed] two [types] of mats: solid
4. covering [the body] and short, and a *bhikṣu* should not walk the land without a mat <sup>[79]</sup>.

### Commentary

<sup>[77]</sup> See *Cūllavagga*, V, 9, 1: *anujānāmi bhikkhave dve patte ayopattam mattikāpattan ti* ("I enjoin [you], monks, [to use] two [types] of *pātra* — metal and clay"); see also *Cūllavagga*, V, 9, 4: *ajānāni bhikkhave pattatthavikan ti* ("I enjoin [you], monks, to carry [your] *pātra* in a bag"). The word *śāstra* here means "iron, metal".

<sup>[78]</sup> The same rule is cited above in a different formulation: it speaks of seven *cīvaras* (see n. 71).

<sup>[79]</sup> The rule is not attested in this formulation in other *Vinaya* texts. In the Pāli *Vinaya*, the word *niṣīdana* ("mat") is used in the sense of "covering, bedding"; see *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 16: "I enjoin [you], monks, to use bedding to protect your body, clothing, and the place where you sleep ... I permit [you], monks, to have bedding of the size you wish". Cf. *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Pācittiya*, 89, where the dimensions of the bedding are established as approximately 45.7×22.8 cm. In Pāli texts, the term *nisidana-paccatthara* is used in the sense of

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

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *śāstrakānī*.

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

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *durvarṇī karṇebhiḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> *daurvarṇīkaranehi* is erroneously repeated here.

<sup>6</sup> Instead of *daurvarṇī karitavyāni*. The word *niṣīdana* is written with *nī* only here (see below).

<sup>7</sup> Instead of *dvau* (here and hereafter).

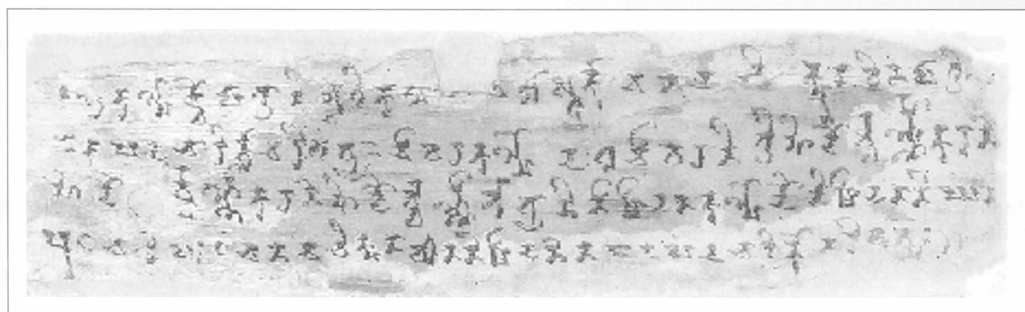


Fig. 1

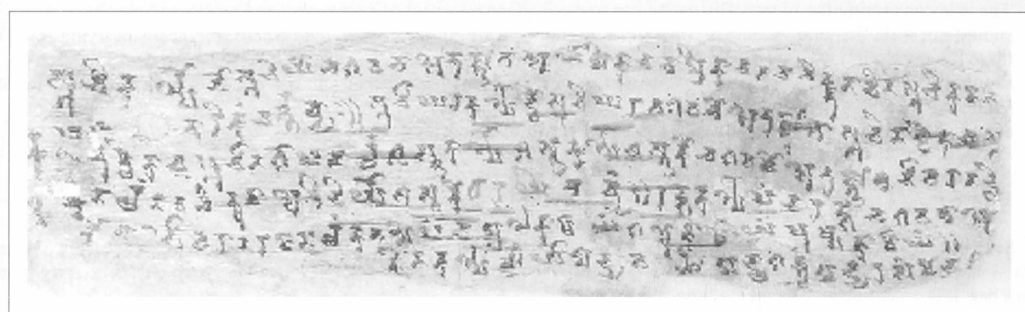


Fig. 2

a “mat for sitting”. Both types of bedding are enumerated among the things which a monk must have on his person and must not give to another person, see *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 20, 2.

In the Sanskrit text of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, the term *niṣīdana* (p. 524) is used for “bedding, cover”, and *niṣīdanasaṃstara* or *saṃstara* for “mat for sitting” (see “Le Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins”, pp. 496—7).

Both of these types of bedding are evidently intended in the manuscript. They are described by the epithets *ghana* — “solid, thick, impenetrable” and *puṭa* — “closing, covering”. Although it is a stretch, they could be opposed to yet another epithet — *vighaṭa* with the meaning “shorn, short”.

FOL. 79 v

#### TRANSLITERATION

1. *sūci-kalpo do sūceyo*<sup>8</sup> *bhagavatā anujñātā*  
*āyomikā*<sup>9</sup> *ca tāmrīkā ca na ca bhikṣunā vina sūcika*<sup>10</sup> *jana-*
2. *padacārikaṃ carttavyaḥ*<sup>11</sup> || *sūcīghara-kalpo dvau sūcīgharā*<sup>12</sup>  
*bhagavato anujñātā sūcināḍḍikā*<sup>13</sup> *ca sū-*
3. *cimuṣṭikā ca sūcīna*<sup>14</sup> *gopānārthaṃ śāstra-kalpo śāstra-kalpo*<sup>15</sup>  
*śāstrako bhagavato anujñātā cīvarāna*<sup>16</sup> *dvī-*
4. *dyanārthaṃ*<sup>17</sup> *na ca bhikṣunā atidīrgho śāstrako dhārayi-*  
*tavyaṃ || raṅga-kalpo paṃca-raṅgā bhagavatā a[nu]-*
5. *jñātā. cīvarāna rajanārthaṃ katame paṃca mūla-kāṣāyaṃ*  
*gaṇḍa-kāṣāyaṃ puṣpa-kāṣāyaṃ ||*
6. *kiṃ na kalpati yo madyavarṇaṃ madyagandhaṃ madyarasam*  
*madya[svādaṃ]*

#### TRANSLATION

1. The rule concerning the needle: Bhagavan has prescribed two [types] of needles: iron and brass, and the monk without a needle should not walk the land<sup>[80]</sup>. The rule concerning the needle-case: Bhagavan has prescribed two [types] of needle-cases: a needle-case from bamboo stalk and
3. a needle-case of barley dough in order to protect the needle<sup>[81]</sup>. The rule concerning the knife: Bhagavan has prescribed a knife in order to
4. cut cloth for a *cīvara*, and a monk should not have a knife [that is] too long<sup>[82]</sup>. The rule concerning the dying [of *cīvaras*]. Bhagavan has prescribed five [types] of dye.
5. Which five [are good] for dying *cīvaras*? Brown-red [dyes] from roots, brown-red [dyes] from stalks, brown-red [dyes] from flowers<sup>[83]</sup>.
6. How one should not proceed: that he who [uses dye which is] pleasant in colour, pleasant in odour, pleasant in taste, sweetly intoxicating

#### Commentary

<sup>[80]</sup> In the *Cūllavagga* V, 11, 2, the number of needles is not indicated: *anujānāmi bhikkhave sūcin ti* (“I enjoin you, o monks, [to use] a needle”). In the *Vinayaṣṭudraka-vastu*, four types of needles are enumerated, see *bKa'-gyur Derge*, ‘*dul-va*, vol. *tha*, fol. 32b(3): ... *khab rnam-po bži-po 'di lha-ste | ra-gan dang | zangs dang | khar-ba dang | lcags-las byas-pa dag bcang-bar-bya'o* (“Four types of needles, namely: those made of brass, of copper, of an alloy of copper and zinc, and of iron should be used”).

The word *āyomika* appears to be written incorrectly here in place of *ayomaya* (“iron”). The form *āyomika* is not attested in Sanskrit. It is possible that the copyist confused it with the word *āyāmika* (“long”).

<sup>[81]</sup> In the *Cūllavagga*, V, 11, 2 — one type of needle-box is designated with the same term as in the manuscript — *sūcinālika*: *anujānāmi bhikkhave sūcinālikaṃ ti*. (“I prescribe [for you], o monks, a needle-box [made] from the stalk of bamboo”).

There are two needle-boxes mentioned in the *Vinayaṣṭudraka-vastu* — the second one, moreover, is evidently designated with a term close in meaning to that used in the manuscript. See *bKa'-gyur Derge*, ‘*dul-ba*, vol. *tha*, fol. 32b(5): *khab-ral-ni rnam-pa gñis-te*

<sup>8</sup> Instead of *sūcayo*.

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

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *sūcinā*.

<sup>11</sup> Instead of *caritavyaḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> Instead of *sūcīgharā*.

<sup>13</sup> Instead of *sūcināḍḍikā*.

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *sūcinā*.

<sup>15</sup> *śāstra-kalpo* is erroneously repeated here.

<sup>16</sup> Instead of *cīvarāni* (here and hereafter).

<sup>17</sup> Instead of *dvidhanārthaṃ*?

[*sbu-gu-can dang | chang-bla-bu 'o |*] ("Two types of needle-boxes: a hollow stalk of reed and a bit of dough from barley flour"). The word *chab-bu* in the S. Das' dictionary (p. 408) indicates "dough from barley flour formed or pressed by hand and sifted through the fingers". The corresponding Sanskrit term — *muṣṭika* — can also be read as "sifted through the fingers" or "prepared with the fingers". Sanskrit dictionaries only contains the meaning "handful".

<sup>[82]</sup> Cf. the *Cūllavagga*, V, 11, 1: *tena kho pana samayena bhikkhū hatthena vipāṭetvā cīvaram sibbenti. cīvaram vilomam hoti. bhagavato etam atthaṃ ārocesum. anujānāmi bhikkhavo satthakaṃ namatakaṃ ti* ("It was at that time that the monks would sew their *cīvaras*, tearing [the fabric] with their hands. *Cīvaras* with unequal edges resulted. They told Bhagavan about this: 'I enjoin [you], o monks, [to use] a knife and sheath of felt'").

As concerns the dimensions of the knife, there is an indication in the *Vinayaṣṣudraka-vastu*, *bKa'-gyur Derge*, 'dul-ba, vol. *tha*, fol. 32a (4—5): "Knives are of three (sizes): large, medium, and small. The large one is six *sors* [in length], the small one is four *sors*, the medium one is of a medium size (among them)".

In the phrase *dvidyanārthaṃ*, the word *dvidyana* is not attested in Sanskrit. It was possibly used in place of *dvidhana*, which means "division into two parts". In the Pāli text, the unclear form *vipāṭetvā*, is used, which the editors of the text attempt to interpret as *vipphāletvā* (Rhes Davids, H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, pt. III, p. 90).

<sup>[83]</sup> Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 10, 1: "I enjoin [you], o monks, to use the following six types of dyes: dyes from roots, dyes from wood, dyes from bark, dyes from leaves, dyes from flowers, dyes from their fruits".

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. [79r], 19.0×5.0 cm.

**Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, fol. 79 v, 19.0×5.0 cm.

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# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

Z. N. Vorozheykina

## THE *DIYĀ' AL-QULŪB* ON PRE-ISLAMIC BELIEFS OF THE QIRGHIZ

The opinion that works of Eastern hagiography are free from many conventions of court writing traditions is shared by many scholars who believe that hagiography can serve as a valuable source of important historical and cultural information. Actually, the biographies of *Šūfī shaykhs*, though compiled on the basis of folk traditions and often conveying their style, bring us valuable details of living history, and can provide invaluable ethnographic material otherwise lacking. The veracity of such information, of course, requires special critical verification.

Of great interest to specialists on the history of Central Asia are in particular texts devoted to the lives of *Šūfī shaykhs* of the influential Naqshbandiyya order. The leaders of this widespread *ṭariqat* exerted a significant influence on the political life of Central Asia in the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries. Many generations of *Šūfī shaykhs* set themselves the goal of the greatest possible dissemination and affirmation of Islam among Central Asian nomads. Working to increase the number of adherents, and thus to strengthen their influence and economic power, the *shaykhs* moved from place to place and settled in direct proximity to “infidels”, collecting tribute from them and recruiting *murīds*. Numerous *darwīsh*-preachers from among the *shaykh*'s closest assistants were sent into the steppe with the same aim.

The adoption of a new faith by the nomads in Central Asia was not always a voluntary process. Where proselytising and “miracle-working” failed to achieve the goal, brute force was often employed. Moreover, the missionary activities of *Šūfis* frequently assumed the form of military raids.

Usually, historical writings of Muslim authors lack information on how this conversion was carried out in steppe. On the contrary, the lives of *darwīsh* saints frequently contain curious details of the conversion of nomads to Islam. Interesting information on the Islamisation of Qirghiz tribes in the sixteenth century is found, for example, in the work entitled *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, devoted to the life of a well-known Central Asian *Šūfī shaykh*, Khwāja Ishāq. The manuscript with the text of this work is held in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [1]. Only two copies of the work are known at present in the former Soviet Union [2].

The *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb* was long neglected by scholars. All information about it was limited to a three-line description in the *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdela Russkogo arheologicheskogo obshchestva* (Transactions of the Eastern Section of the Russian Archaeological Society), where it is mentioned as one of the most interesting manuscripts which were held (in 1913) in private possession in the Ferghana region [3]. It is also mentioned in the *Ukazatel' persidskoĭ literatury po istorii uzbekov v Srednei Azii* (“Index to Persian Literature on the History of the Uzbeks in Central Asia”) published in 1925 in Tashkent by A. A. Semyonov.

Khwāja Ishāq (d. 1598), whose religious exploits serve as the basis for the work under consideration, was the youngest son of *shaykh* Sayyid Aḥmad Kāsānī, known by the *laqab* Maḥmūd A'ẓam. In the first half of the sixteenth century, Maḥmūd A'ẓam headed the Naqshbandiyya order and was much praised in Muslim annals for converting the pagans of East Turkestan to Islam [4]. Khwāja Ishāq was raised from childhood as his father's successor by the well-known Central Asian *shaykh* Luṭfallāh Chustī (d. 1571), who gained fame as an ascetic and saint famous for his miracle-working. He was, according to tradition, a most zealous *Šūfī* preacher among the nomads of Central Asia [5]. A direct successor to his father and mentor, Khwāja Ishāq was an ardent partisan of the Islamisation of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia.

The text of the *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb* presents the biography of Khwāja Ishāq, and, judging by the author's own words, the composition was drawn up in about 1012/1603 [6]. The manuscript in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies does not contain the author's name. Basing his conclusion on information contained in copy No. 2604 at the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences, A. A. Semyonov indicated the name of the compiler as Muḥammad Yāwaz [7]. Recollections of the author, who was a pupil of the *shaykh* Khwāja Ishāq, as well as accounts of the latter's close friends and companions are contained in the work. The author collected these materials and wrote them down over the course of many years [8]. Each account is accompanied by brief information about the person on whose words it is based. The accounts are short; they are written in simple language and in conversational-narrative

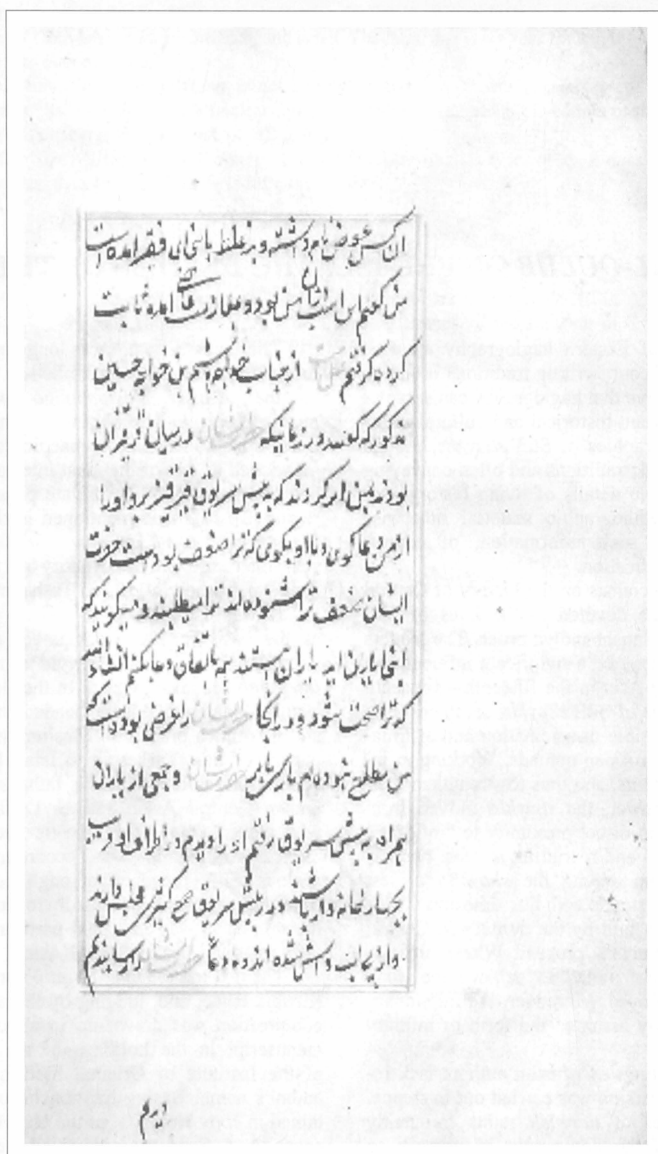


Fig. 1

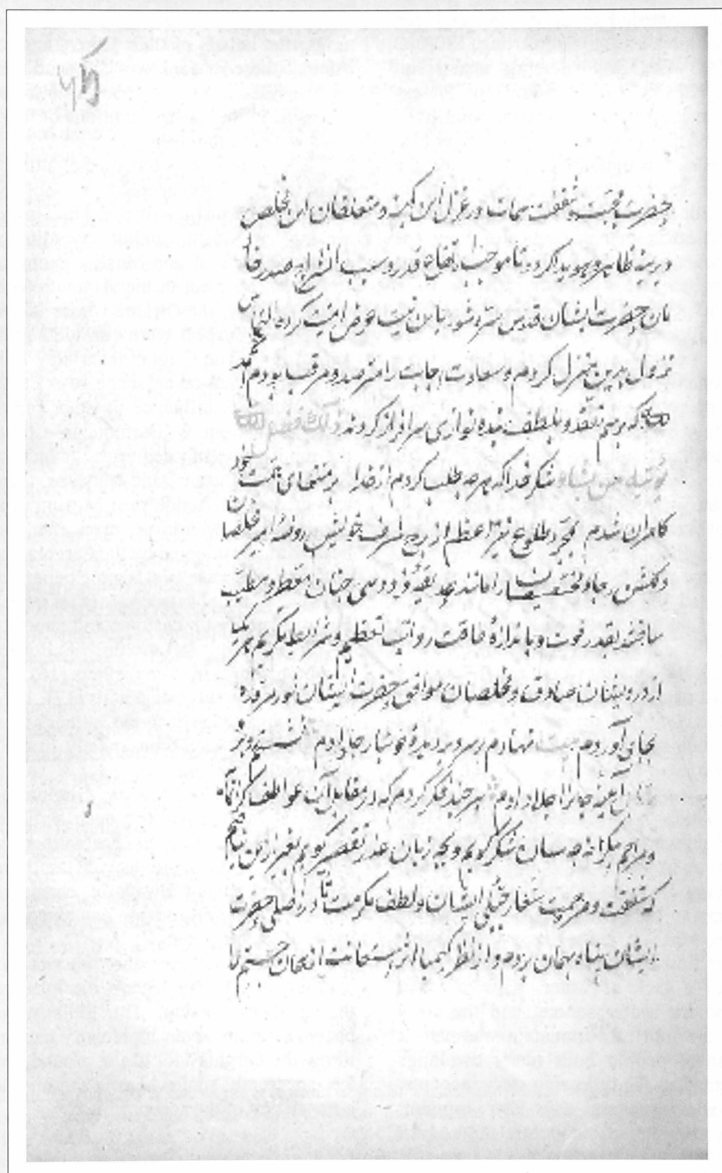


Fig. 2

form, which is characteristic of hagiography writings. Khwāja Ishāq is depicted in these accounts as a great *walī* blessed with a gift of miracle-working. He is also shown as a zealous Sūfī preacher skilfully converting to Islam the animistic tribes of Central Asia.

A significant part of the work is devoted to Khwāja Ishāq's activities among the Qirghiz tribes. The author repeatedly notes that Khwāja Ishāq lived for long periods among the pagans and succeeded in destroying eighteen Qirghiz and Kalmyk temples and in converting 180,000 unbelievers to Islam [9]. The St. Petersburg manuscript contains an account of Khwāja Ishāq's riding out for extended stays to Qirghiz encampments, where the saint lived in tents with his disciples and domestics. This fact is also testified by Mawlānā Bīrū'ī Bukhārā'ī, a disciple of the *shaykh*, who also wrote his teacher's biography entitled *Jalīs-i mushṭāqīn* [10]. But the author does not provide the location of these Qirghiz encampments, indicating only the "slope of a mountain" (*dāmana-yi kūh*). That was the place where the clashes described in the manuscript took place between the Qirghiz and Khwāja Ishāq and his disciples. Although Khwāja Ishāq appears to have struck fear into the Qirghiz because of his sanctity and miracles, they were brave enough to resist openly the religion they were forced to adopt. The manuscript even contains an account of how a certain Qirghiz chieftain by the name of Lūlūm-Qirghīz, accompanied by four hundred horsemen, made a raid to kill Khwāja Ishāq [11]. The *Jalīs-i mushṭāqīn* describes how Khwāja Ishāq, in response to one of these raids in the region of Šarīq-kūl, was compelled to organise a genuine military campaign against the Qirghiz. Messengers of the *shaykh*, motivated by a missionary zeal did not hesitate to punish unbelievers and scattered the guilty tribe throughout the steppe, depriving it of shelter, bread, and clothing, or, as the text reads, "effaced the darkness of paganism from the mirror of the world" [12]. But relations between the *shaykh* and the Qirghiz were not always hostile, and, according to the *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, the Qirghiz themselves sometimes visited Khwāja Ishāq and, bringing rich gifts, asked for his supreme intercession and aid in the difficulties and hardships of their lives.

One of the stories which our manuscript contains tells about a Qirghiz tribal chief who came to Khwāja Ishāq with rich gifts and asked him to intercede on the Qirghiz' behalf before God to find a source of water which had once existed at the time of their fathers in those parts. It was said that the water had turned aside, and, no matter how the Qirghiz sought it, they could not find it; their households had gone into decline because of a lack of water. Khwāja Ishāq helped the tribe to find the water source, and the story runs that this place by the foot of a mountain was named Nazargāh-i Ḥadrat-i Ishān; people built many dwellings there. The same tribal chief, as the following story recounts, once again visited the *shaykh* several days later, bringing with him many people, and spread out before the *shaykh*

gifts he had brought on camels and horses. This time he asked the *shaykh* to send up prayers so that salt would appear some where nearby. After the *shaykh* had shown a salt-mine to the Qirghiz, the pagan "padishah" and his *nūkers*, and then others adopted Islam in response to this miracle of the *walī* [13].

However legendary these accounts might be, one can glean from them a grain of historical truth. It is evident that only very serious, earthly reasons could make the Qirghiz refuse the beliefs of their fathers and to adopt a new faith. Among these reasons was the need for water and salt, or, as one finds in another tale, a desire to rid themselves of diseases. In the harsh conditions of nomadic life, these motives were predominant.

But what attracts our special attention in the text of the manuscript is its account of idol worship among the Qirghiz. Information of this kind is extremely rare in the writings of Muslim authors avoiding any mention of the idolatry beliefs of non-Muslim peoples. Unlike other Central Asian peoples, in the sixteenth and even in the seventeenth century, the Qirghiz whose Islamic faith was always under great suspect were considered "neither Muslims nor *kāfirs*" [14]. The Qirghiz invariably followed their folk beliefs, which had taken shape over centuries, and defended them from the influence of other religions. "It is remarkable," points out W. Barthold in estimating the Qirghiz in the ninth and tenth centuries, "that despite trade ties with Buddhists (Tibetans) and Muslims, there is no evidence of any success for Buddhist or Muslim propaganda among the Qirghiz" [15]. Moreover, even after the Muslim faith had been formally adopted by the Qirghiz, they long retained the remnants of earlier, pre-Islamic beliefs and rituals the nature of which is not always clear. Brief notes on Qirghiz demonology, shamanistic customs and superstitions can be found in A. Divaev, A. Levshin, F. Poyarkov, A. Kharuzin, S. Abramzon, and some others [16]. Ch. Valikhanov provides many additional details [17], but his non-systematic notes primarily reflect the author's personal observations recorded at a later time, mainly in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The information on the Qirghiz' beliefs, provided by medieval Muslim authors, such as Gardīzī and Abū Dulaf al-Marwazī, is scarce, and has not been wholly systematised yet. Besides, the legitimacy of ascribing it specifically to the Qirghiz cannot always be considered entirely proven. All this makes information contained in the *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb* especially interesting.

The text includes the description of a visit which a group of Khwāja Ishāq's disciples pays to the Qirghiz during their worship. The Sūfīs witness the ritual and become furious about its idolatry nature, which make them throw the Qirghiz idol to the ground, interrupting the service, apparently somewhere in the middle. We present here a translation of the account:

"An account [recorded] from the above-mentioned *janāb* Kwāja Ḥashim ibn Kwāja Ḥusayn. He said: "At the time when Ḥadrat-i Ishān (i.e. Khwāja Ishāq — Z. V.) was among the Qirghiz, he once deigned to order me: 'Go to Seryūk-Qirghiz, convey my greetings and tell him: you have been afflicted by illness, Ḥadrat-i Ishān has heard of your ailment and appeals to you, saying: come, here [are my] followers [17]; we will all fly together, God willing, strength will return to you'. And here Ḥadrat-i Ishān was motivated by a hidden thought [of his own] which I did not [at first] ascertain. And, behold, at the order of Ḥadrat-i Ishān and with a group of companions, followers of the *shaykh*, we set out for Seryūk. I saw him: at his sides were his retainers [in the quantity of] four families, and before Seryūk sat a large crowd which had gathered to eat and drink. We conveyed greetings from Ḥadrat-i Ishān and [immediately] noticed that he was seriously ill.

They brought food, and separately some sort of vessel [19], which they placed in the centre. And from each [piece of] meat they cut a piece and threw it into this vessel. Then all of the men and women rose and went over to some kind of tree. I followed in order to see where they would go and what they would do. [They] went up to the tree and bowed down to it; they set down the vessel and [all of them] bent down before the tree. I looked at this tree and saw that [they had] made some kind of idol (*but*) out of silver and hung it on the tree, and around it — in the number of two thousand — hewn from wood [and] stone [were] other idols; and this was the temple (*buikhāna*) of the Qirghiz. And the name of this idol made from silver was *talbiya-yi jaqar* [20].

They placed the vessel with meat before this large idol and made signs to the idol — partake, they said, of this food. Then they moved the vessel with meat away somewhat, placed one piece of meat in the idol's left hand, another in its right hand, and a third, [having cut it up], they threw about in the air. For some time, I was obsessed by a violent fit of rage because of their actions, and I threw this large idol to the ground. The Qirghiz raised a clamour: 'Oh, *khalifa*, do not do this, at least for the sake of Serytk!' But fear of Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān restrained the hearts of these Qirghiz, and they did not resist. Then I said: 'Take these idols and go prostrate yourselves before Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān [21]. And take this sick man with you'. The Qirghiz answered: 'We will take all of the idols, but the *talbiya-yi jaqar* idol we will not take'. I cursed all of them and once again threw this large idol to the earth. Then we brought the entire group of men and women to bow down before Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān and [we] told him what had happened.

Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān addressed the crowd: 'What is this?' and he pointed to the *talbiya-yi jaqar*. 'What is this and what can it do?' And those who were gathered answered: 'This is our god (*khudā*) and all that your god does, our god does as well'. Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān said: 'And can your god heal this sick man today or tomorrow?' Those who were gathered answered: 'Oh, our *Khawāja*! If the truth be told, our god is of no use'. Then Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān said: 'If our God heals your sick man, will you believe in our God?' The people said: 'Yes, with all our hearts we agree!' Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān said: 'Oh, friends of mine, I will pray, and you will say amen'.

Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān bared his sacred head and rubbed his sacred face with earth from the gate to the temple of God the Most High, and raised a weeping and a wailing. And so powerfully did he wail that the angels began crying at the roof of the vault of heaven. Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān said: 'Gifts to the gate of the temple of God!' They brought the gifts. The Qirghiz bared their heads, tore their collars, and as though they were half-blinded birds, began to roll upon the earth. And suddenly by the mercy of the Most High, that sick man sneezed, rose from his place, and said: 'I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and Muḥammad is the Prophet of Allah', and he was suffused with the light of the true faith before Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān.

And all of those gathered embraced faith in God the Most High and became Muslims. After this, they broke all of the idols and broke the *talbiya-yi jaqar*, and gave its silver to the retinue [of Ḥadrat-i Iṣhān]" [22].

Unfortunately, reliable material to give exhaustible interpretation of the passage is too scanty. However, certain parallels with individual elements of the Qirghiz service described above can be found in the accounts of other Muslim authors. Thus, an annual feast with religious rituals and the invitation of a soothsayer (*jaḡinūn*) among the Qirghiz was testified by Gardīzī. Gardīzī also mentions the veneration of various trees [23], which was common among the Turkic peoples. Worshipping sacred trees, linked with magic rituals, was widespread among the Qirghiz even after their formal adoption of Islam. Near the place of such a worshipping general praying, accompanied by offerings to reject certain hardship, was usually carried on. Conjurations were also pronounced which had nothing to do with Islam [24]. The sanctification of certain trees and their worshipping were preserved among the Qirghiz until the recent past. According to a nineteenth-century author Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, "a tree which grows alone in the steppe or an ugly plant with unusually twisted branches serve as objects of veneration and [places for] passing the night. When passing by, each person fastens onto this tree a piece of his clothing,

a rag, throws cups, bring animals, or pleats the manes of horses" [25].

The information provided by the author of the *Diyā' al-qulūb* also proves an exceptional importance the Qirghiz attached to their fetishes (*ongons*). As a brilliant expert in Qirghiz culture S. M. Abramzon pointed out, the ritual of worshipping, aimed at the healing of the sick Qirghiz tribal chief, was accompanied by the feeding of a Qirghiz *ongon* — *talbiya-yi jaqar* — designated by the author of the *Diyā' al-qulūb* as *but* (idol). It is known that these anthropomorphic *ongons* were made of stone, wood, and silver [26], which is proved by the text.

The above mentioned passage in the *Diyā' al-qulūb* is of additional interest since it reveals a great advantage of studying Muslim hagiographic writings which can provide, despite its special nature, valuable information lacking in the works of Muslim historiographers. In any case, further study in this area, in particular, research on the lives of Sūfī *shaykhs*, can throw additional light on the as yet not quite clear question of the repertoire of the Qirghiz pre-Islamic beliefs.

## Notes

1. Manuscript (call number A 1615) is kept in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The MS dates to the late eighteenth — early nineteenth century. It is written in bold Central Asian *nasta'liq* (*mīrzā*) on the Qokand well-polished paper; Indian ink, text in a double red frame, 13 lines per page, 10.5×18.8 cm. The names of persons of importance and headings are in red. On fol. 165a is the seal impression with the date 1286 (1869/70). The same seal impression is found on fol. 2a; where the name Mullā 'Azīm Khān and the date — 1286 (1869/70) — can be read. Custods, *muqawwā* binding. There is also the seal impression on fol. 1a, on which the beginning of the name 'Abd al-(?) and the date 1225 (1810) are discernible. The date of the composition — 1012 (1603) — is indicated on fol. 3b. I am grateful to the late N. D. Miklukho-Maklai for referring me to this work as containing some information on the Qirghiz. It should be noted that, in addition to the *Diyā' al-qulūb*, two other lives of Khwāja Iṣhāq exist: one is *Jalīs-i mushṭāqin* by Mawlanā Bīrū'ī Bukhārā'i, a rare copy of which is held in the same collection under call number A 232 (it also contains information on the Islamisation of the Qirghiz). The other is *Manāqib-i Khwāja Iṣhāq*, stored in 1916 in the private collection of the resident of Namangan — Yūsuf Khwāja. See *Protokoly zasedaniĭ i soobshcheniia chlenov Turkestanskogo kruzhka liubitelĭ arkhologii* (The Transactions of Sessions and Reports by Members of the Turkestan Circle of Lovers of Archaeology), fasc. 2 (Tashkent, 1916), p. 68. The manuscript's location is unknown at the present time.

2. The manuscript is not mentioned in catalogues printed abroad. A second copy is held at the Institute of Oriental Studies of Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR), ed. A. A. Semyonov (Tashkent, 1955), iii, No. 2064, p. 331.

3. See "Vostochnye rukopisi v Ferganskoï oblasti" ("Eastern manuscripts in the Fergana region"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Russkogo arheologicheskogo obshchestva* (henceforth *ZVORAO*), XXII (Petrograd, 1915), p. 304; also "Nekotorye dannye po istorii Fergany XVIII-go stoletia" ("Some information on the history of Fergana in the 18th century"), fasc. 2, p. 68, footnote.

4. N. Veselovskii, "Dagbid", *ZVORAO*, III (St. Petersburg, 1889), p. 85, etc.

5. V. V. Bartol'd, *Qirgizy. Istoricheskii ocherk* (The Qirghiz, a Historical Essay) (Frunze, 1927), p. 38.

6. *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, manuscript A 1615, fol. 3b.

7. The reading *Yāwaz* suggested by A. A. Semyonov seems to be not correct. The reading 'Iwāḍ is preferable.

8. *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, manuscript A 1615, fols. 3a—4a.

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 5a ("Clear proof of Ḥadrat-i Ishān's greatness of spirit and perfection is the fact that [he] went to the lands of the Qirghiz and Kalmak, destroyed eighteen temples (*butkhāna*) and made Muslims of one-hundred-eighty thousand *kāfirs* and idol-worshippers"); it is noted later that these 18 temples were smashed somewhere not far from Kashghar and Samarqand. In the manuscript *Jalīs-i mushṭāqin*, we read: "[Ḥadrat-i Ishān] deigned to say: 'I favoured several thousand Qirghiz and Kalmaks with the light of the [true] faith, [liberating them] from the yoke of ignorance and dissipation! And this is when I learned what good lies in serving Islam, and I spent several years in the regions of Aksu, Kashghar, Kuch, and Khotan, setting people on the true path'" (*Jalīs-i mushṭāqin*, manuscript A 232, fol. 8b).

10. *Jalīs-i mushṭāqin*, manuscript A 232, fol. 45a.

11. *Ibid.*, fol. 25a—25b.

12. *Ibid.*, fols. 45a—46a.

13. *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, manuscript A 1615, fols. 25b, 26b, 27b.

14. "Histoire de l'Asie centrale" par Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, publiée, trad. et annotée par Ch. Schefer. App. Seifi, "Histoire des souverains de l'Inde, au Sindh, etc.", trad. française (Paris, 1876), p. 302; see also the reference to Seifi (according to the Leiden manuscript) in Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, pp. 38—9; there is in the same place also a reference to Maḥmūd b. Walī, who called the Qirghiz *kāfirs*.

15. Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

16. A. A. Divaev, "Primety Qirgizov" ("Omens of the Qirghiz"), *Trudy Obshchestva izucheniia Kirgizskogo kraia*, fasc. 3 (Orenburg, 1922); A. Levshin, *Opisanie kirgiz-kazach'ikh ord i stepei* (Description of the Qirghiz-Kazakh Hordes and Steppes) (St. Petersburg, 1832); F. Poiarkov, "Iz oblasti Kirgizskikh verovaniĭ" ("On the beliefs of the Qirghiz"), *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, 4 (1891); *idem*, "Kara-kirgizskie legendy, skazki i verovaniia" ("Kara-Qirghiz legends, tales, and beliefs"), *Pamiatnaia knizhka Semirechenskoi oblasti* (1900); M. Miropiev, "Demonologicheskie rasskazy Kirgizov" ("Demonological tales of the Qirghiz"), *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, X, fasc. 2 (1888); A. Kharuzin, "Kirgizy Bukeevskoi ordy", ("The Qirghiz of the Bukeev horde"), *Antropo-etnologicheskii ocherk*, fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1889); S. M. Abramzon, *Ocherk kul'tury kirgizskogo naroda* (An Essay on the Qirghiz People Culture) (Frunze, 1946); *idem*, *Kirgizy i ikh etnogeneticheskie i istoriko-kul'turnye svyazi* (The Qirghiz and their Ethnogenetic and Historical-Cultural Links) (Frunze, 1990), and others.

17. *Sochineniia Chokana Chingisovicha Valikhanova* (Works of Ch. Ch. Valikhanov), ed. N. I. Veselovsky (St. Petersburg, 1904), see here his "Sledy shamanstva u kirgizov" ("Traces of shamanism among the Qirghiz"), "Zametki o shamanstve. Tenkri" ("Notes on shamanism. Tengri"), and others.

18. The word *yārān* ("friends", "assistants") is apparently used in this text as a Sūfī term meaning "pupils", "companions", "followers", "members of the *shaykh's* retinue". The word is translated in accordance with context.

19. The Persian-Turkic word *taghār* (*taghāra*) can mean "clay cup", "measure", "tank", "bucket", "vat", "basin", "trough", "tub".

20. تلبیه جگر in the original. We propose our conjecture here (the meaning of the term remains obscure).

21. The term *mulāzamat*, frequently used in the text in reference to Khwāja Ishāq, is apparently part of Sūfī terminology and means "permanent service", "presence in the retinue", "promise of submission to a spiritual mentor", but also the ceremony of greeting the *shaykh* and his headquarters.

22. *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, manuscript A 1615, fols. 86b, 87a, 88a, 88b.

23. See V. V. Bartol'd, *Otchet o poezdke v Sredniuiu Aziyu s nauchnoi tsel'iu* (Report on a Trip to Central Asia for Scholarly Purposes), appendix, text, p. 87, translation, p. 111.

24. Abramzon, *Ocherk kul'tury kirgizskogo naroda*, p. 53.

25. *Sochineniia Chokana Chingisovicha Valikhanova*, p. 276.

26. Abramzon, *Kirgizy i ikh etnogeneticheskie i istoriko-kul'turnye svyazi*, p. 327.

## Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** *Ḍiyā' al-qulūb*, manuscript A 1615 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Central Asia, late 18th — early 19th century, fol. 86b, 10.5×18.8 cm.

**Fig. 2.** *Jalīs-i mushṭāqin*, manuscript A 232, in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, East Turkestan, 17th century, fol. 45a, 6.0×13.0 cm.

# PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

S. H. Levitt

## INDIC AND GREATER INDIC MANUSCRIPTS AT THE BURKE LIBRARY

The Indic and Greater Indic manuscript collection of the Burke Library of the Union Theological Seminary while small, is representative of high points in the Indic tradition. It contains as well manuscripts which are not well represented otherwise in the United States and Canada. There are in the collection, for instance, two manuscripts of the *saṃhitā* text of the *R̥gveda*, one complete and one lacking only *aṣṭaka* 6 and perhaps small sections of other *aṣṭakas* as well. There are all told in the United States and Canada, not counting the Burke Library's holdings, only three complete or nearly complete manuscripts of the *saṃhitā* text of the *R̥gveda* reported to date, one at the Newberry Library, Chicago, and two in the extensive collection of Indic manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania Library. The latter has as well one complete manuscript of the *padapāṭha* text of the *R̥gveda* [1].

There are here manuscripts of sections of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*, many incomplete. The *Brāhmaṇas* are sacerdotal literature which follow in point of time the composition and compilation of the four *Vedas*. And there are as well manuscripts of the famous *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*. The major *Upaniṣads* follow the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas* in point of time.

There is a very old fine paper manuscript of the revered *Bhagavadgītā* in Bengali script. Also from the epic tradition, there is a text of the *Viṣṇusahasranāmāvalistotra* in *Grantha* script on palm leaf. And there is a handsome paper manuscript of the beginning of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa's commentary on Jaimini's (*Pūrva-*) *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, the base text of the *Mīmāṃsā* school of Indian philosophy, which commentary is not otherwise represented in American and Canadian collections.

Representative of the Tantric tradition, there is a Tamil palm leaf *siddha* manuscript. And there is as well a Tamil palm leaf manuscript of *mantras*. Representing the Buddhist tradition there are a Tibetan xylograph, a Sinhalese manuscript of the important *Satipaṭṭhānasutta* on "mindfulness" in both Pāli and Sinhalese, Burmese and Cambodian manuscripts which include a section of the well-known *Dhammapada* incised on palm leaves in Khmer *mul* script, and a Thai manuscript on Buddhism from the collection of one of the early Christian missionaries to Thailand. Of especial note is a very fine old Burmese palm leaf *Kammavācā* manuscript which shows native repairs.

Representative of Christian missionary efforts in South and Southeast Asia, and in Tibet, there is from Cambodia a Christian Book of Common Prayer in the Khmer language. Also having its origin in the Christian missionary effort in Southeast Asia there are handwritten handsomely bound volumes in Thai on the history and laws of Thailand and China. And there is what is perhaps a skillful translation of the Gospel According to Mark in elegant Tibetan, typeset and printed in Calcutta.

As indicated, there are in the collection different types of manuscripts represented in the tradition, paper and palm leaf, a xylograph, handwritten manuscripts, manuscripts with text incised with a stylus, and in the case of the beautiful Burmese *Kammavācā*, a manuscript with lacquer-worked text and ornamentation.

Some of the manuscripts found here are very old. One of the *R̥gvedasaṃhitā* manuscripts dates itself A. D. 1783—1785. The Bengali script *Bhagavadgītā* manuscript is probably datable to the eighteenth century A. D. as well. A manuscript of the Vedic *Rudrajāpa* dates itself A. D. 1603—1604, and from the appearance of the manuscript, this is possible. Another manuscript of the *Madhyamakāṇḍa* of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* dates itself A. D. 1562—63. Again, judging from the appearance of the manuscript, this is possible.

As well as containing some notable items this collection is an excellent teaching collection which contains different types of manuscripts from the different countries of South Asia, Tibet, and Southeast Asia. Most of these manuscripts have not been reported before. Poleman's "Census of Indic Manuscripts" reported the Tamil *mantra* manuscript as his No. 7221, referred to there as simply an unidentified Tamil manuscript. He also reported five Thai manuscripts, Poleman Nos. 6966, 6988, 6990, 6993, and 6994, one of which (Poleman 6990) cannot be located at present. And Poleman noted as well two of the Khmer *mul* script manuscripts, Poleman Nos. 6376 and 6399. The five Thai manuscripts were reported as well in J. D. Pearson, "Oriental Manuscripts" along with the Cambodian Book of Common Prayer [2].

The Cambodian Book of Common Prayer comes to the Burke Library of the Union Theological Seminary from the Library of the Auburn Theological Seminary. When the Auburn Theological Seminary moved to New York City

and onto the campus of the Union Theological Seminary in 1939, their library was divided among different depositories. This manuscript came here.

Most of the manuscripts, though, come from the Missionary Research Library which had been founded by the foreign missionary boards of a number of Christian denominations soon after the historic World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, but which since 1929 had been housed in the new Brown Tower of the Union Theological Seminary. This collection was fully incorporated into the Burke Library's collection in 1976 or 1977.

I would like to thank Seth Kasten, currently Interim Co-director of the Burke Library, as well as Head of Reader Services and Reference and Research Librarian for initiating this project in late 1988 and early 1989. At that time, a "Preliminary List" was drawn up of the Burke Library's Indic holdings, which list is held at the library [3]. I was not able to do a full cataloguing then, as I had not yet finished my cataloguing of the late Prof. W. Norman Brown's Indic manuscripts which had come to the University of Pennsylvania Library. That project, though, is now completed and the cataloguing is scheduled to appear elsewhere. I would also like to thank Seth Kasten for his cooperation at this time despite many other duties. As well to be thanked for their cooperation and help at this time are Drew Kadel, also Interim Co-director of the Burke Library, and Reference and Collection Development Librarian, Claire McCurdy, Archivist, and Kaitilin Griffin, Research Library Assistant. I also must thank Dr. Ugen Gombo for his help with the Tibetan material, Lena Yang, Director of the Library, The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, for her help with facilitating the cataloguing of the Tibetan material, Satrajit Rudra for his help with the Bengali script *Bhagavadgītā* manuscript, and the Venerable Pandit

Kurunegoda Piyatissa Maha Thera of the New York Buddhist Vihara for his help with the Sinhalese script material and for his help with the Tamil script material. It was not possible to locate at this time someone trained in literary Tamil and familiar as well with Tamil palm leaf manuscripts, so this material is perhaps not as fully catalogued as it should be. It also was not possible to locate people trained in Pāli and familiar with Burmese round script and Khmer *mul* script at this time, so some of the Burmese and Cambodian material is also not as fully catalogued as it should be.

There follows as full a cataloguing as is possible at this time considering these impediments. The transliteration systems used in the following cataloguing are those of the United States Library of Congress Service as noted in their Bulletins 64, 88 and 90. A slash within brackets, [ / ], indicates a physical line break. Brackets around a title or an author's name indicates that this material was based on identification through bibliographic and other means, such as first lines or an idiosyncratic manner in which the text was accented, for instance. An asterisk before a title indicates that title was not found in Poleman's "Census of Indic Manuscripts", and has not been reported as being represented in American and Canadian collections. Not all the manuscripts reported here were included in the "Preliminary List". Some have been found, or located anew, since then. Further, the numbering in the "Preliminary List" was simply the ordering of the manuscripts as they were presented to me at that time. There was no logical ordering of them at that time. On this account, the manuscripts have been re-ordered in a logical fashion here. To prevent any confusion that might arise, though, I have given the "Preliminary List" number in parentheses at the end of each entry for all items represented on that list.

## INDIA

1. *R̥gvedasamhitā*. Sanskrit. *Devanāgarī* script. Category: Veda, *R̥gveda*. 20.8 cm×9.5 cm. 4 fols. + *Aṣṭaka* 1, 152 fols. + 1 fol. *Aṣṭaka* 2, 152 fols. *Aṣṭaka* 3, 121 fols. *Aṣṭaka* 4, 155 fols. *Aṣṭaka* 5, 130 fols. *Aṣṭaka* 6, 148 fols. *Aṣṭaka* 7, 142 fols. *Aṣṭaka* 8, 176 fols. 7—8 lines per folio side. Country paper. *Aṣṭakas* 1, 3 and 7, *Śaka* 1705 (A. D. 1783—84). *Aṣṭakas* 2, 4, 5, 6, and 8, *Śaka* 1706 (A. D. 1784—85). Text accented throughout. Most of the manuscript is by the same hand, with short sections only by different hands. Two stained wooden covers, with crude sketches in black ink on *recto* and *verso* of one cover. On the other cover: "Purchased in 1907 [ / ] from some one [ / ] in Gwalior for [ / ] Dr. John F. Gaucher [ / ] by Pandit Ganapati [ / ] Shastri of the [ / ] Allahabad Christian [ / ] College. [ / ] A. H. Ewing". An old typewritten note together with the manuscript adds, "A few leaves wanting in the middle here and there". ("Preliminary List" No. 9).

2. [*R̥gvedasamhitā*]. Sanskrit. *Devanāgarī* script. Category: Veda, *R̥gveda*. *Aṣṭaka* 1, 22.7 cm×9.9 cm, 68 fols., 8—11 lines per folio side. *Aṣṭaka* 2, 21.7 cm×9.3 cm (fol. 1), 24.5 cm×8.5 cm (fols. 2—109), 109 fols., 7—8 lines per folio side. *Aṣṭaka* 3, 21.4 cm×10.0 cm, 37 fols., 10 lines per folio side. *Aṣṭaka* 4, 22.5 cm×9.6 cm, 53 fols., 9—11 lines per folio side. *Aṣṭaka* 5, 22.0 cm×9.0 cm (fols. 1<sup>1</sup>—22<sup>1</sup>), 23/23.3 cm×8.9 cm (fols. 1<sup>2</sup>—71), 93 fols., 8—9 lines per

folio side. *Aṣṭaka* 7, 19.3 cm×11.5 cm, 77 fols., 12 lines per folio side. [*Aṣṭaka* 8], 25.0 cm×11.2 cm., 69 fols. (fols. 2—70), 10—12 lines per folio side, lacks beginning and end, edges very frayed. Some of the *Aṣṭakas* appear not to be complete. Lacks *Aṣṭaka* 6. Country paper. Very old. The text is almost accented throughout, though there are large sections of text unaccented. Each *Aṣṭaka* is by a different hand. The edges of the manuscript are frayed, and there are some indications of native repair. There are some replacement folios. In general, the manuscript is in poor to acceptable condition. The *Aṣṭakas* in the manuscript are not in order. This is the smaller of two bundles of loose texts. ("Preliminary List" No. 10).

3. Assorted sections (18) mostly of *Brāhmaṇa* texts written in different hands and on different size folios (= larger of two bundles of loose texts wrapped in proof page of a Sanskrit text), with some *samhitā* and some *Upaniṣad* texts as well. Sanskrit. *Devanāgarī* script. Country paper. ("Preliminary List" No. 11).

3.1. *Vājasaneyasamhitā*, *adhyāyas* 21—26 and some of *adhyāya* 27. Category: Veda, *Yajurveda*. 23.4 cm×10.2 cm 24 fols.; fols. 1—24. 8—9 lines per folio side. Lacks end. Text accented. Interlinear glosses in red ink. The *Vājasaneyasamhitā*, or White *Yajurveda*, is divided into 40 *adhyāyas*. Identification based on colophons on fol. 7r and



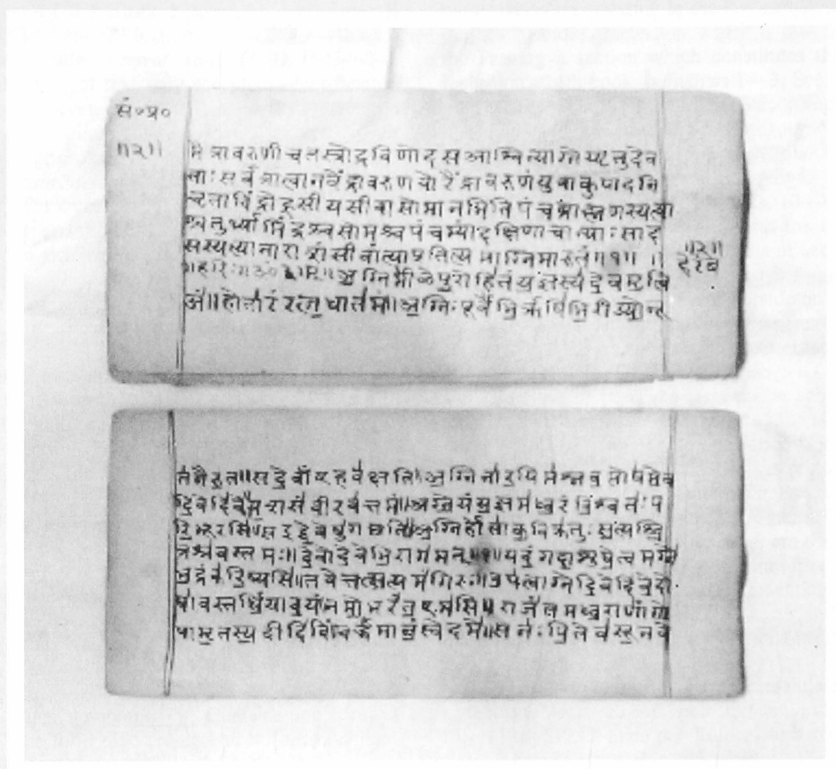


Fig. 1

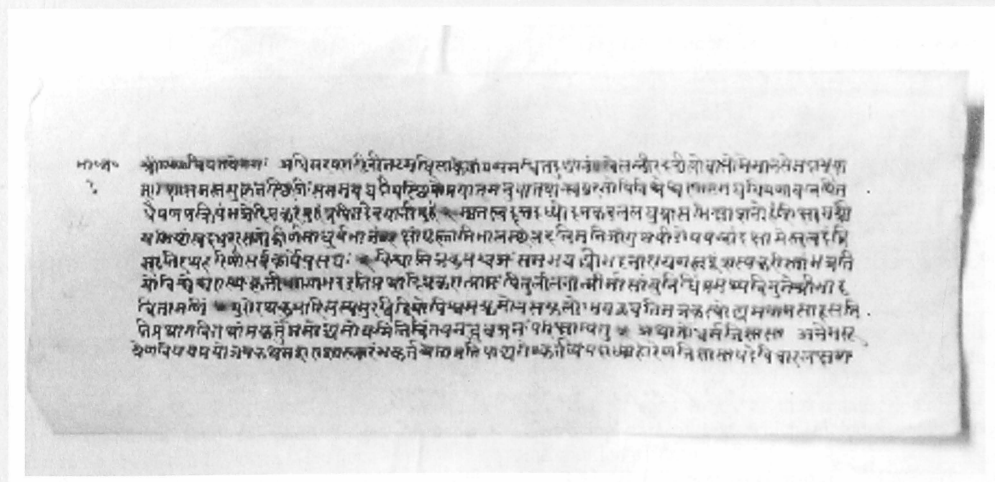


Fig. 2

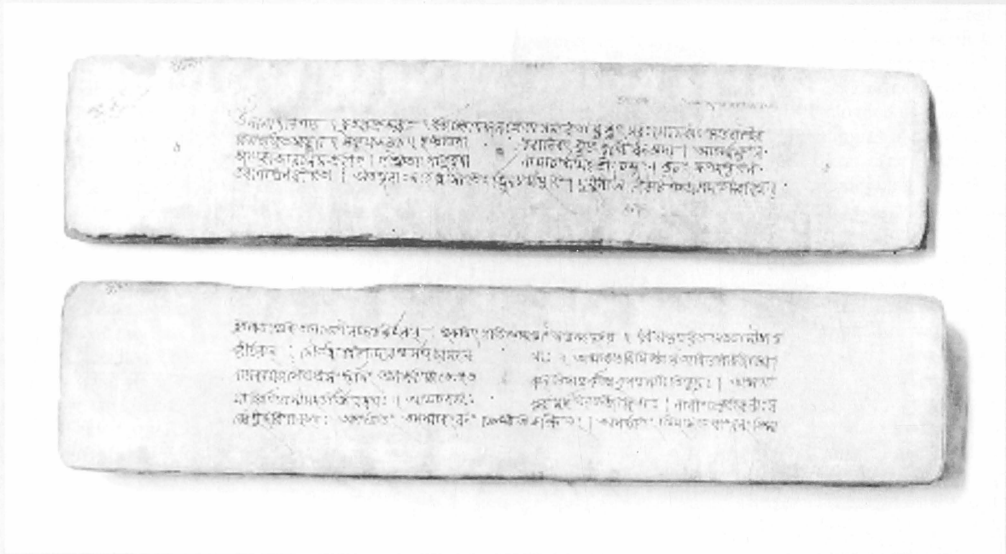


Fig. 3

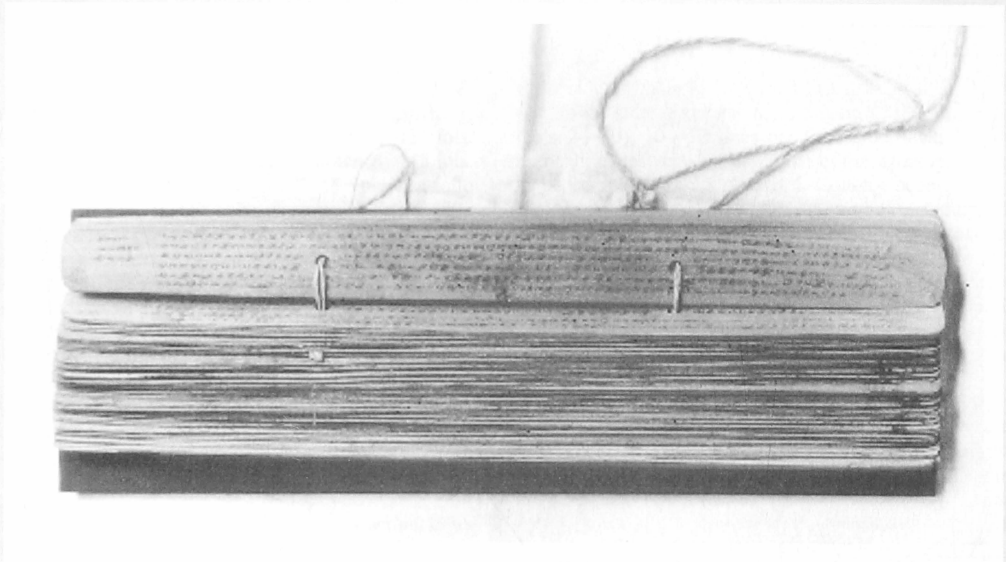


Fig. 4

fol. 22v. One side of folios badly tattered, perhaps mouse nibbled (?), infringing on text. Left margin also tattered.

3.2. *Rudrajāpa*. Category: Veda, *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (one of the recensions of the Black *Yajurveda*), Supplemental Text. 20.3 cm×10.7 cm. 23 fols.; fols. 1—2, 19—38, 45. 6 lines per folio side. *Samvat* 1661 (A. D. 1603—04). Scribe: Govinda. Part of text only accented. Identification taken from colophon on fol. 34r. Part of final colophon missing. Edges of folios tattered. Errors opaqued with yellow paste and / or crossed through with splashes of ink.

3.3. [*Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*]. *Aṣṭaka* 2. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 20.4/21.4 cm×9.2/9.8 cm. 112 fols.; fols. 1—112. 8—11 lines per folio side. Part of text only accented. Manuscript in two different hands. Hand changes on fol. 71. Cover folio reads, “*brāhmaṇadvitīyāṣṭaka*”. Identification based on ending of *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa* 2.1.1. Some folios tattered, especially those toward the beginning of the manuscript.

3.4. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. *Kāṇḍa* 1.] Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 18.0/18.4 cm×10.0/10.8 cm. 37 fols.; fols. 1—36, 43. 10—11 lines per folio side. Incomplete. Lacks end and one section in middle. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Identification based on first few lines. Cf. Albrecht Weber, ed., “The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Čākhā” [4]. Native repairs to manuscript. Some folios ripped, with sections of folios with text missing.

3.5. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. *Agnirahasya* (= 10th Book of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* in its Mādhyandina recension, 12th Book in the Kāṇva recension). Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 23.0 cm×10.3 cm. 1 + 90 fols. Folio numbers in disarray. Lacks fols. 23—26, 46, 59, 86—88, 91—92. Contains two folios numbered 49. Contains replacement folios. 7 lines per folio side (replacement folios, 8 lines per folio side). Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Identification based on marginal abbreviations, which read “*agni*°”, “*a*°”, “*a*° *rahasya*”, “*agniraha*°”, and “... *nirahasya*” in different locations.

3.6. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. *Aṣṭādhyāyikāṇḍa* (= 11th Book of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* in its Mādhyandina recension, 13th Book in the Kāṇva recension). Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 19.8 cm×11.3/11.6 cm. 83 fols.; fols. 1—83. 8—10 lines per folio. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Identification based on final colophon and marginal abbreviations.

3.7. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. *Madhyamakāṇḍa* (= 12th Book of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* in its Mādhyandina recension, 14th Book in the Kāṇva recension). Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 19.5 cm×9.8 cm. 15 fols.; fols. 10, 19, 22, 28, 59, 70—74, 77, 101—103, 120. 7—8 lines per folio side. Sections only. Folio numbers indicate this was part of a larger manuscript. *Samvat* 1620, *Śaka* 1484 (A. D. 1562—63). Name of scribe given, but it is not clear. Some of the ink is worn off. It is clear, though, that he is son of Paraśaraṇṇa ācārya of the Bharadvāja *gotra*. The manuscript as presently constituted, though, appears to be in more than one hand. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Identification based on final colophon. Edges of paper frayed, and some ink of text is worn off in spots.

3.8. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. *Āraṇyakakāṇḍa* (= 14th Book of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* in its Mādhyandina recension, also known as the *Upaṇiṣatkāṇḍa*. The first three chapters treat the Pravargya ceremony, and the last six constitute the speculative *Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*. The Kāṇva

recension divides the text differently at this point, the *Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* alone constituting its 17th and last *kāṇḍa*, while its 16th *kāṇḍa* begins with the section on funeral rites corresponding to the last *adhyāya* of *kāṇḍa* 13 of the Mādhyandina recension, and it is stated to include also the Pravargya section which constitutes the Mādhyandina recension's 14th book, *adhyāyas* 1—3. See Julius Eggeling, trans., “The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School” [5]). Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaṇiṣad*. 28.0 cm×12.0 cm. (Folio with colophonic information on account of its edges being tattered, 27.5 cm×11.3 cm). 41 fols.; fols. 10—49 + folio with colophon (= fol. 50). The folio with the colophon clearly continues from fol. 49v on the basis of section numbering. Lacks beginning. 12—16 lines per folio side. (Folio with colophon, 9 lines only on one folio side only. *Verso* blank). Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Text here clearly contains the *Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*. Identification based on final colophon.

3.9. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. Section abbreviated “*asta*°” in margins. Perhaps another copy of the *Aṣṭādhyāyikāṇḍa*. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 20.1 cm×9.3 cm. 28 fols.; fols. 57—59, 35—56, 60—62. 9 lines per folio side. Lacks beginning and end. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*.

3.10. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. Unidentified section only. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 25.9 cm×9.5 cm. 47 fols.; fols. 49—81, 23, 2—14. 7—10 lines per folio. Fol. 14v blank except for the very end of a section of text and for colophonic information which, however, only notes it to be *prapāṭhaka* 1. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Edges tattered.

3.11. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. Unidentified section only. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 22.5 cm×11.7 cm. 21 fols.; fols. 112—132. 7 lines per folio side. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Edges tattered.

3.12. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. Unidentified section only. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 22.8 cm×9.8 cm. 62 fols.; 1 + fols. 3—30, 38, 50—71, 80, 82, 40, 72—75, 77—79. 8—9 lines per folio side. First physical folio has its right side with the folio number ripped off. Lacks beginning and end. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*.

3.13. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. Unidentified section only. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 22.6 cm×8.1 cm. 30 fols.; fols. 29, 30—33 (in reverse order), 34, 46—51, 63—65, 52—58 (in reverse order), 59—61 (in reverse order), 18, 15—16 (in reverse order), 25, 28. 6—9 lines per folio side. Lacks beginning, end, and intermediate sections. Some folios in disarray. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Edges tattered.

3.14. [*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*]. Unidentified section only. Category: Veda, *Brāhmaṇa*. 23.4 cm×10.3 cm. 90 fols.; 2 fols. lacking folio numbers on account of worn state of folios + fols. 39—42, 44—47 + 1 fol. in tatters with no folio number + 51—128 + 1 fol. in tatters with no folio number. 8—9 lines per folio side. Lacks beginning. Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Edges tattered. First and last physical folios of this manuscript are in tatters, destroying part of text which includes some colophonic information on each.

3.15. [*Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*]. Category: Veda, *Upaṇiṣad*. 24.2/24.6 cm×11.0/11.2 cm. 89 fols.; fols. 1—4, 6—18, 21—92. Occasional folios out of order. 7 lines per folio side. There is a colophon which gives the manuscript's date, but the ink is partially worn away so it cannot

be read clearly. All that can be read is, "Samvat [ . . ] 39". Text accented as in *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*. Identification based on first lines. Cf. text as in Patrick Olivelle, "The Early Upaniṣads" [6]. Some native repairs. The corners of some folios ripped off or mouse nibbled (?).

3.16. Unidentified Vedic text abbreviated "a° nā" or "a°" in margins. Category: Veda. 23.7 cm×10.1 cm. 36 fols.; fols. 39—74. 9 lines per folio side. Section only. Lacks beginning and end. Most of text is unaccented. Part is accented as in the *Rgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Vājasaneyasamhitā*, *Taittirīyasamhitā*, *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*, and *Taittirīyāranyaka*.

3.17. Unidentified Vedic text which appears to be abbreviated "a° 8" in margins. Category: Veda. 20.0 cm×11.8 cm. 139 fols.; fols. 5—139 + 2 fols. of 2 folios each pasted (?) together, the numbers of which cannot be made out. 7—8 lines per folio side. Lacks beginning and end. Accented as in *Rgveda*, etc. Some folios very tattered. Some folios stuck together, or pasted together.

3.18. Unidentified Vedic text. Category: Veda. 16.2/17.4 cm×9.6/10.0 cm. Folio sizes not cut uniformly. 45 fols.; fols. 1—45. 9—11 lines per folio side. Text not accented, but it mentions Prajāpati in places. Text broken into *prapāthakas*. Text begins: "prajāpatir vā idam eka ...".

4. \**Bhāṭṭacintāmani*, by [Viśveśvarabhāṭṭa] Gāgābhāṭṭa. *Adhyāya* 1, *pāda* 1 only. Commentary on the (*Pūrva*-) *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* of Jaimini. Sanskrit. *Devanāgarī* script. Category: Philosophy, *Mīmāṃsā*, Commentary. 34.7 cm×13.4 cm. 111 fols. 9—11 lines per folio side. Country paper. Card with manuscript reads, "Mīmāṃsa Śāstra Chap. I. [ / ] by [ / ] Gauza Bhatt [ / ] Doctrines of salvation by works". Cover folio marked, "Mīmāṃsā Śāstra Chap I. [ / ] by [ / ] Ganga Bhatt [ / ] Doctrines of Salvation by works". Gāgābhāṭṭa occurs as a mistake for Gāgābhāṭṭa according to the "New Catalogus Catalogorum" [7]. Gāgābhāṭṭa is an alias for Viśveśvarabhāṭṭa by the same source. According to Theodor Aufrecht, "Catalogus Catalogorum", Gāgābhāṭṭa is a surname of Viśveśvarabhāṭṭa [8]. Text not listed in Horace Poleman, "Census". It is, though, listed in Theodor Aufrecht, "Catalogus Catalogorum".

The *Pūrva*-*Mīmāṃsā*, or *Mīmāṃsā* system of Indian philosophy concerns itself chiefly with the correct interpretation of Vedic ritual and text. Its base text is the (*Pūrva*-) *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* by Jaimini, an inquiry into or interpretation of the first or *mantra* portion of the Veda. The Uttaramīmāṃsā system of Indian philosophy, commonly styled Vedānta, deals chiefly with the nature of *brahman* or the one universal spirit, and is an inquiry into the later or *Upaniṣad* portion of the Veda. This latter's base text is by Bādarāyaṇa. The (*Pūrva*-) *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* contains 12 *adhyāyas*, or chapters. The first chapter defines *dharma* ("duty") and treats topics like the relation existing between word and its meaning, between *vidhi* ("ordinance") and *arthavāda* ("emphatical explanatory statement"), the force of *mantra*, the resolution of conflict between *Smṛti* ("tradition") and *Śruti* ("revelation"), etc. The first *pāda* of the first *adhyāya* treats *tarka*, or polemics. See the detailed list of contents in Mahopādhyāya Gangānātha Jha, "The *Pūrva* *Mīmāṃsā* *Sūtras* of Jaimini, Chapters I—III" [9]. ("Preliminary List" No. 6).

5. *Bhagavadgītā*. Sanskrit. Bengali script. Category: Epic, *Mahābhārata*, Special Texts. 38.0 cm×8.0 cm. 69 fols. 4—5 lines per folio side. Country paper. The manu-

script is perhaps datable to the eighteenth century A. D. or early nineteenth century A. D. Text begins on fol. 2v. Fol. 2r blank. Hole for tie cord and space around hole in centre of each folio. Wooden covers stained and varnished. The manuscript is marked on a small card inside the front cover, "Goucher Treasure, Box 2 [ / ] Cab. IV", and on the *verso* of this card "Bhagavad Gita [ / ] In Bengali character." ("Preliminary List" No. 5).

6. *Viṣṇusahasranāmāvalistotra*. Sanskrit. *Grantha* script. Category: Epic, *Mahābhārata*, *Śāntiparvan*. 26.4 cm×2.8/3.5 cm. 10 fols. 5—6 columns per folio side, 9—12 lines per column. Palm leaf. Incised letters without brown powder rubbed in over them for clarity. One lateral hole for tie cord. The text contains a thousand names for the god Viṣṇu. On first folio *recto* there is written in ink, "Presented by the Adyar Library to [ / ] Dr. C. C. Hall. [ / ] Vishnu sahasranāmāvali stotra — Sanskrit [ / ] in Grantha characters [ / ] 26.1.03".

7. Unidentified. Tamil. Tamil script. Category: Tamil *cittar* (Skt. *siddha*) tradition. 38.5 cm×3.4 cm. 69 fols. 5—7 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Black powder rubbed in over incised letters for clarity's sake. Two lateral holes for tie cord. Two stained wooden covers. The Tamil of the text is very Sanskritised. The first palm leaf has incised on it in English: "The author of this work was Pohruḡu [ ? ] Moony (a sage) who was one of the thirty one distinguished [ / ] persons who flourished in ancient India. The author has written another large volume con[ / ] taining two thousand stanzas; but this is an abridgement of it and should contain three [ / ] hundred and sixty verses of which three hundred and fifteen are actually found herein. [ / ] *verso* This book contains formulae for preparing various medicines and descriptions of diseases in which [ / ] they are to be administered". On inside of first cover, in an old hand, is written, "To ... William Parker M. D. [ . . ]. P. from his friend [ / ] Samuel [ . . ]. Green, alias ... [Both parties are listed here with Tamil names also.] [ / ] Jaffna, Batticotta 12<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1853. Please read & criticise". Attached to this manuscript there was at one time a typewritten label reading, "Dr. Coffin has no objection to your giving this away, yet he is not keen about it. JER". The *siddha* tradition is a Tantric tradition which encompasses Tantric medical and alchemical lore. The literature in this tradition goes back in the Tamil region to perhaps the tenth — fifteenth century A. D. Regarding the Tamil *cittar* tradition, see Kamil V. Zvelebil, "Lexicon of Tamil Literature" under *cittar* and *siddhar*, *siddhas*, and see the references cited in these locations [10]. See also David Gordon White, "The Alchemical Body" [11]. Text begins after an invocation in the upper left margin: "cīr ṇāṇacoti cīṇmaya ṇāṇacotiṭyār ...". ("Preliminary List" No. 4).

8. Unidentified. Tamil. Tamil script. Category: Tamil poetic composition. 22.8 cm×3.2 cm. 80 fols. + cover folio. 4—6 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Black powder rubbed in over incised letters for clarity's sake. One lateral hole for tie cord through centre. The layout of the lines is that of a poetic composition, with the rhyme often written at the right side of each folio in columnar fashion.

(a) Six palm leaf fronds of a type used by schoolchildren to practice writing on are together with this manuscript. Schoolchild graffiti etched on two of them The



Fig. 5

MYANMAR (BURMA)

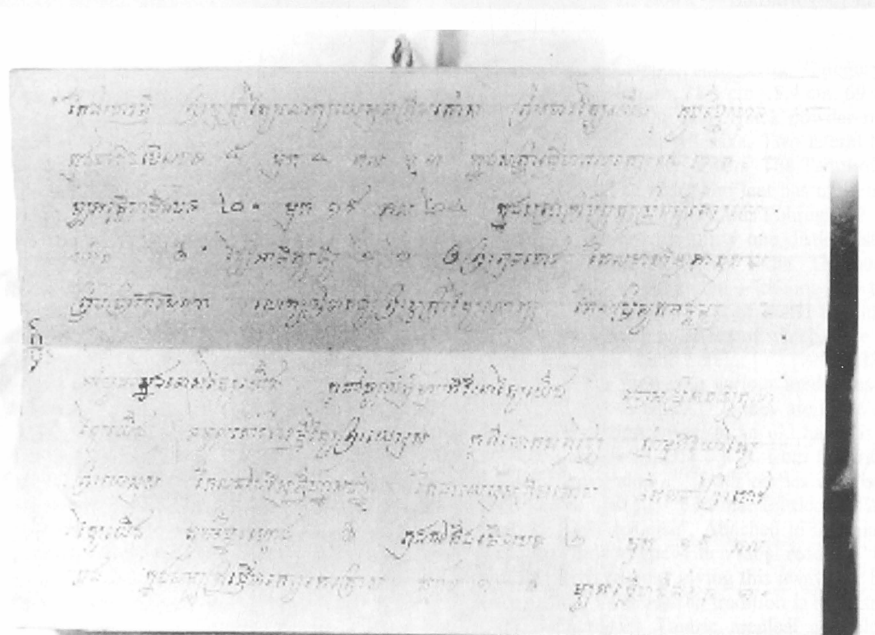


Fig. 6

remaining four are blank. 21.0 cm×2.8/3.6 cm. One lateral hole for tie cord in centre of each.

9. Unidentified. Tamil. Tamil script. Category: Tamil *mantra* (?). 14.0 cm×3.0 cm. 93 fols. Incomplete. 4 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Black powder rubbed in over incised letters for clarity's sake. One lateral hole for tie cord

through centre. No covers. The small size of the folios and the abbreviations of words in places seemingly to keep the words secret suggests that this is perhaps a book containing spells. Tag on manuscript notes, "4<sup>th</sup> floor [ / ] Gallery [ / ] Exhibit case". On the other side, "MSS [ / ] P43T [ / ] no 1". This manuscript is Poleman 7221. ("Preliminary List" No. 1).

## TIBET

10. \**mar kus yi ger bkod pa'i 'phrin bzang bzugs so*. Rough translation of title: "[This] contains the good messages [news ?] written by Mar Ku [Mark ?]", i.e. "The Gospel According to [or, as Written by] Mark". Tibetan. Tibetan *dbu can* script. Category: Christianity, textual resources. 32.2 cm×9.0 cm. 44 fols.; cover folio + fols. 1—43. Manuscript foliated on *recto* of each folio. 8 lines per folio side. Red paper covers. Typeset text printed in Calcutta. The format is that of a traditional Tibetan manuscript. Note together with manuscript: "A Lamaist Text in Tibetan printed on Sikkim made paper". It was not possible to determine whether this was a translation or was a more original composition prepared specifically for publication in Tibetan. It clearly treats the life history of Jesus Christ. The text is written in fluent, very beautiful Tibetan. If it is a translation, it is a highly skillful piece. ("Preliminary List" No. 8).

11. Unidentified. Tibetan. Tibetan *dbu can* script. Category: Unidentified Buddhist. 33.8 cm×12.0 cm. 30 fols. No cover folio. Xylograph foliated on *recto* of each folio. 7 lines per folio side (first folio, 5 lines on *recto* and 6 lines on *verso*). Xylograph. Native paper. Paper browned with age. Xylograph unevenly inked, making it difficult to read. Some folios at least in disarray. The text treats the Buddha's teachings. Abbreviated title on the *verso* of each page reads, *rdor gcod*. This may perhaps be an abbreviation of *rdo rje gcod pa*, which title Sarat Chandra Das, "A Tibetan-English Dictionary" lists just as the "title of a text of Northern Buddhism" [12]. If so, probably Canonical Buddhist. See also Edward Conze, "Buddhist Scriptures: A Bibliography", No. 276 (p. 62), under commentaries to the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* [13]. ("Preliminary List" No. 12).

## SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

12. \**Satipaṭṭhānasutta*, from *Majjhimanikāya*. Pāli and Sinhalese. Sinhalese script. Category: Canonical Buddhist, *Suttapiṭaka*, *sutta* and translation, with commentary. 43.0 cm×5.5 cm. 126 fols. Pāli *sutta*, fols. *ka—gha*. Sinhalese word for word translation from Pāli followed throughout by short Sinhalese explanation, fols. *ka* (also numbered 1)—*ṇāu* (also numbered 77). 7 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Writing of manuscript dated to have been finished September 31, 1879 A. D. Black powder rubbed in over incised letters for clarity's sake. Two lateral holes for tie cord. Mahogany stained wooden covers with bevelled edge. Ivory button on end of tie cord. This *sutta* has been called "the exercise manual of the Buddhist monk." See M. Winternitz, "A History of Indian Literature" [14].

the *dhamma*. To those who do not, this meditation is not to be given.

(a) A separate meditation on a smaller palm leaf folio at the beginning of the manuscript. Sinhalese. Category: Non-canonical Buddhist. 34.5 cm×4.5 cm. 1 fol. 5 lines on one side of the folio only. It is noted that the 32 impurities of the body such as nails, hair, etc. are to be meditated on in groups of five, proceeding from the beginning to end and then from end to beginning of each group of five bodily impurities till the mind can be concentrated. Then one is to go on to the next grouping of five. It is stated that this meditation is to be given only to those who have real confidence in

13. Blank palm leaf manuscript probably intended as an example of typical book format. On one of the plain unfinished wooden covers is a label in an old hand which reads in ink, "Ceylonese books of style", and in pencil, "leaves blank". 34.0 cm×3.5 cm. 100 fols. All the leaves in the manuscript are blank except one, which is incised on one side only with four lines of Tamil poetry written in Tamil script without black powder having been rubbed in for clarity's sake. Two lateral holes for tie cord. When the manuscript was first examined there was what appeared to be a British button on the end of the tie cord. The button displayed a crown below which was the number "97", both being surrounded by a floral pattern. Use of such buttons on tie cords is a Sinhalese practice. This button is presently missing. The manuscript is probably from the Jaffna Tamil area of Sri Lanka (Ceylon). On one of the otherwise blank folios is a signature two times in pencil the last name of which can be made out as, "Hyatt". Also there is a date the month of which is not clear, the day and year reading, "24, 1841". ("Preliminary List" No. 3).

## MYANMAR (BURMA)

14. *A Kammavācā*. Pāli. Burmese square script. Category: Canonical Buddhist, *Vinayapiṭaka*. 53.4 cm×9.2 cm. 16 fols. 4—5 lines per folio side. Palm leaves lacquered red, gold and black. Native repairs. Cliché illustrations on

first folio and last two folios in red and gold lacquer. Red wooden covers. Regarding such *Kammavācās*, see John Lowry, "Burmese Art", and John Guy, "Palm-leaf and Paper" [15]. A *Kammavācā* is a collection of extracts from



the Pāli *Vinaya*, the monastic code of discipline. It was customary for a Burmese family to commission such a text on the occasion of their son entering the monkhood. The manuscript is together with a red and tan tie cord containing a prayer written in Burmese round script. ("Preliminary List" No. 2).

15. Unidentified. Pāli (?). Burmese round script. Category: Unidentified Buddhist. 50.3 cm×6.7 cm. 92 fols. 11 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Dark powder rubbed in over incised letters very lightly only. Two lateral holes for tie

cord. Tie cord missing. Some of the folios appear to be in disarray. First and last (?) folios tied together with blank folios in a bundle of 9 and 7 folios respectively. Edges of folios coloured gold with a 6 cm wide red stripe down the middle of the folio edges. Manuscript wrapped in a coverlet constructed of bamboo, pink cloth wrapped around every other piece of bamboo, yellow, green, white, and red coloured thread, and a piece of cloth around the border of the coverlet in red with darker red lines. Together with a cloth tie.

## THAILAND

16. Unidentified. Thai. Thai script. Category: Unidentified Buddhist. 20.2 cm×15.7 cm. 3 vols. Vol. 1, 107 fols. (paginated in Arabic numbers 1—213). Vol. 2, 115 fols. (folios only numbered in Thai). Vol. 3, 122 folios (folios not numbered). 14 lines per folio side (all 3 vols.). Lines scored lightly in pencil throughout. Paper (unwatermarked). Book format. Typewritten note card on inside cover of each volume reads, "Ms. in Siamese characters, on the subject of [ / ] Buddhism. ... Bound in marbled boards with brown calf back and corners. Formerly the property of Charles [ / ] Robinson, of Bangkok, Siam, who died in 1845. [ / ] Presented to the Library of the Union Theological [ / ] Seminary by Mr. Merwin". In handwriting on the inside cover of vol. 1 there is the following note, "Charles Robinson was a missionary of the [ / ] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. [ / ] He was stationed in Siam from 1834 to 1845, when he [ / ] died at St. Helena on his passage home. He worked [ / ] largely with Chinese in Siam. See Mcfarland, [ / ] G. B., ed., Historical sketch of Protestant missions [ / ] in Siam, 1828—1928, [Bangkok], Bangkok Times Press, 1928. (In Missionary Research Library). [ / ] This is the first of three ms. volumes on Buddhism". Noted on first folio of each volume to be, "MSS [ / ] P41S [ / ] no. 2". Also noted on first folio of each volume, "Located 4<sup>th</sup> floor Gallery. Exhibit case". This manuscript is Poleman 6966. It is also listed in J. D. Pearson, "Oriental Manuscripts".

17. A compendium of the laws of Siam, including the king's proclamation respecting the priests in 1842. Thai. Thai script. Category: Thai, law. 19.5 cm×15.5 cm. 156 fols. (paginated 1—308 + 3 numbered blank pages). Lines scored very lightly in pencil. 8—10 lines per folio side. Paper (watermarked). Book format. Typewritten note reads, "Bound in marbled boards with brown calf back [ / ] and corners. [ / ] Formerly the property of Charles Robinson, a [ / ] missionary of the American Board of Commissioners [ / ] for Foreign Missions at Bangkok, Siam, who [ / ] died in 1845. Presented to the U.T.S. by Mr. [ / ] Merwin". Noted on first folio, "MSS [ / ] P41S [ / ] no. 3". Noted on inside front cover, "Located in Gallery [ / ] 4<sup>th</sup> floor, Exhibit [ / ] case". This manuscript is Poleman 6988. It is also listed in J. D. Pearson, "Oriental Manuscripts".

18. *Sam Kok* or Three Cities. A history of China. Thai. Thai script. Category: Thai, history. 19.5 cm×15.7 cm. 6 vols. Vol. 1, 156 fols. Vol. 2, 159 fols. Vol. 3, 156 fols. Vol. 4, 139 fols. Vol. 5, 212 fols. Vol. 6, 404 fols. The volumes are paginated consecutively in Thai script. 13 lines per folio side. Lines scored lightly in pencil throughout. Paper (unwatermarked). Book format. Typewritten note on inside cover of each volume reads, "Bound in marbled boards with brown calf back [ / ] and corners. Formerly the property of Charles [ / ] Robinson of Bangkok, a missionary of the American [ / ] Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who [ / ] worked among the Chinese in Siam." A handwritten note on the inside cover of vol. 1 only reads, "Rev. Charles Robinson's work among the [ / ] Chinese in Siam is mentioned in [ / ] Mcfarland, G. B., ed., Historical sketch of [ / ] Protestant missions in Siam 1828—1928, [ / ] [Bangkok], Bangkok Times Press, 1928. [ / ] (in Mission Research Library)". Noted on first page of each volume, "MSS [ / ] P41S [ / ] no. 5", and "Located in Gallery 4<sup>th</sup> floor Exhibit case". This manuscript is Poleman 6993. It is also listed in J. D. Pearson, "Oriental Manuscripts".

19. History of Siam [binder's title]. Thai. Thai script. Category: Thai, history. 2 vols. Vol. 1, 19.5 cm×15.0 cm, 200 fols. Vol. 2, 20.5 cm×15.5 cm, 176 fols. (Folios unnumbered throughout). 12—14 lines per folio side. Lines scored lightly in pencil. Paper (a little less than half of vol. 1 only on watermarked paper). Book format. Typewritten note on inside of each volume notes, "Bound in marbled boards with brown calf backs [ / ] and covers [i.e. corners?]. [ / ] Formerly the property of Charles Robinson of [ / ] Bangkok (died 1845). Presented to the U.S.T. [for U.T.S.] by Mr. Merwin". Handwritten note on inside cover of vol. 1 reads, "For Charles Robinson of Bangkok, [ / ] a missionary of the American Board of [ / ] Commissioners for Foreign Missions [ / ] who died in 1845, see [ / ] Mcfarland, G. B., ed. Historical [ / ] sketch of Protestant missions in Siam [ / ] 1828—1928 ... [Bangkok], Bangkok [ / ] Times Press, 1928". Noted on first folio of text in each volume, "MSS [ / ] P41S [ / ] no. 4", and "Located in Gallery 4<sup>th</sup> Floor Exhibit case". This manuscript is Poleman 6994. It is also listed in J. D. Pearson, "Oriental Manuscripts".

## CAMBODIA

20. \*Book of Common Prayer. Khmer. Khmer *śrīeñ* script. Category: Christianity, textual resources.

36.0 cm×12.4 cm. Written on folios of heavy bark paper folded in accordion style. 90 folio sides (including cover)



from front to back, 88 folio sides (including cover) from back to front. 5—7 lines per folio side. The lines are scored throughout. A typewritten note pasted to manuscript on front cover reads, "Book of common prayer. Translations. Khmer. [ / ] Book of common prayer translated into [ / ] the Kamay. [n. p., 18—?]" Note in old hand on front cover reads, "Book of Common Prayer [ / ] Translated into the [ / ] Kamay". On the back cover there is added as well to the same statement spaced differently what appears to read, "II[ . ] Part". The back cover reads in the lower left corner, written in an old hand, "2<sup>nd</sup> Vol." The first two folio sides after the front cover are blank. Then follows the text preceded by a facing folio side with only a short heading in Khmer on it. The first ten folio sides after the back cover are blank. Then begins text preceded by the word, "Beginning", and a title in Khmer. Text is thus written on both sides of the folding book. As elsewhere, the book is placed horizontally in front of the reader, who turns the pages away from him. After the last page has been read, the book is turned round and the procedure continued. The format is more commonly Thai and Burmese.

A note in an old hand on the back cover of the manuscript reads, "Presented to the Library of Auburn Theol. Sem. by Mrs. Professor [ / ] Henry Miller D. D. Aug. [ / ] 1867". The Auburn Theological Seminary is joined together with the Union Theological Seminary since 1939. The Auburn Theological Seminary Library holdings were dispersed to various depositories. The manuscript is numbered No. 1177.

This manuscript is listed in J. D. Pearson, "Oriental Manuscripts". ("Preliminary List" No. 7).

21. *Mahāsamayasutta*, from *Dīghanikāya*. Pāli. Khmer *mul* script. Category: Canonical Buddhist, *Suttapiṭaka*.

36.5 cm × 5.0 cm. 11 fols. (lettered *phā-phah*) + 3 fols. Lacks beginning. 5 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Dark powder rubbed in over incised letters. One lateral hole for tie cord. Edges of folios coloured gold with a very broad red stripe down the central third of the folios. In margin of first folio there is written, "Pāli writing [ / ] the sacred [ / ] language of [ / ] Buddhism". Then follows something that cannot be made out. Tag on manuscript notes, "4<sup>th</sup> floor [ / ] Gallery [ / ] Exhibit [ / ] case", on one side. On other side, "MSS [ / ] Q5 [ / ] no. 2". Identification taken from Poleman, "Census of Indic Manuscripts". This manuscript is Poleman 6376.

22. *Dhammapāda*, from *Khuddakanikāya*. Section only. Pāli. Khmer *mul* script. Category: Canonical Buddhist, *Suttapiṭaka*. 54.5 cm × 5.4 cm. 1 cover folio which appears to contain title and index + 3 fols. + 24 fols. (lettered *ma-mah, ya-yah*) + 4 fols. 5 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Dark powder rubbed in over incised letters. Two lateral holes for tie cord. Edges of folios coloured gold. A few interlinear glosses in ink. Tag on manuscript notes, "Gallery [ / ] 4<sup>th</sup> floor [ / ] case", on one side. On other side, "MSS [ / ] Q5 [ / ] no. 1". Identification taken from Poleman, "Census of Indic Manuscripts". This manuscript is Poleman 6399.

23. Unidentified. Pāli (?). Khmer *mul* script. Category: Unidentified Buddhist. 53.5 cm × 5.0 cm. 1 fol. + 24 fols. (folios lettered, begins *pam, pah* ...) + 1 fol. + 1 cover folio with title + 1 fol. Lacks beginning. 5 lines per folio side. Palm leaf. Dark powder rubbed in over incised letters. Two lateral holes for tie cord. Edges of folios coloured gold with a very broad red stripe down the central third of the folios.

## Notes

1. See H. I. Poleman, *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New Haven, 1938). — American Oriental Series, vol. 12.
2. J. D. Pearson, *Oriental Manuscripts in Europe and North America*, (Zug, 1971), p. 427. — Bibliotheca Asiatica, vol. 7.
3. S. H. Levitt, "A preliminary list of South Asian / Southeast Asian manuscripts in the Burke Library", bound typescript (January, 1989).
4. *The Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa in the Mādhyandina-Ākhā with Extracts from the Commentaries of Śāyana, Harisvāmin and Dvivedaganga*, ed. A. Weber (1855; Rpt. Varanasi, 1964). — The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Work No. 96.
5. *The Śatapatha-Bṛāhmaṇa according to the Text of the Mādhyandina School*, trans. by J. Eggeling (Oxford, 1900), v, pp. xlix—I. — The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 44.
6. P. Olivelle, *The Early Upaniṣads, Annotated Text and Translation* (New York—Oxford, 1998).
7. *New Catalogus Catalogorum, An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors* (Madras, 1969), v.
8. Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum, An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1891—1903).
9. Mahopādhyāya Ganganātha Jha, *The Pūrva Mimāṃsā Sūtras of Jaimini, Chapters I—III, Translated with an Original Commentary* (Allahabad, 1916). — The Sacred Books of the Hindus, vol. 10.
10. K. V. Zvelebil, *Lexicon of Tamil Literature* (Leiden, 1995). — Handbuch der Orientalistik, Zweite Abteilung, Bd. 9.
11. D. G. White, *The Alchemical Body, Siddha Traditions in Medieval India* (Chicago, 1996).
12. See Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, rev. and ed. G. Sandberg and A. W. Heyde (1902; Rpt. Alipore, West Bengal, 1960).
13. E. Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures: A Bibliography*, ed. and rev. L. Lancaster (New York—London, 1982). — Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, vol. 113.
14. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, trans. by Mrs. S. Ketkar (1927—1933; Rpt. New York, 1971), ii, p. 38, n. 1, and p. 67.
15. J. Lowry, *Burmese Art* (London, 1974), plate 44 and J. Guy, *Palm Leaf and Paper, Illustrated Manuscripts of India and Southeast Asia* (Melbourne, 1982), p. 61 (Nos. 37 and 38).

**Illustrations**

- Fig. 1.** Beginning of *R̥gveda* 1.1 as in MS 1.
- Fig. 2.** Beginning of Viśveśvarabhaṭṭa's *Bhāṭṭacintāmani* as in MS 4. The text of Jaimini's (*Pūrva-*) *Mīmāṃsāsūtra* 1.1.1 is on line 8 (2 lines from the bottom) highlighted with orange powder.
- Fig. 3.** Beginning of *Bhagavadgītā* as in MS 5.
- Fig. 4.** A Tamil palm leaf *siddha* manuscript, MS 7.
- Fig. 5.** Sample folios of a Burmese *Kammavācā*, MS 14. The first folio *recto* appears on the top.
- Fig. 6.** Beginning of a "Book of Common Prayer" translated into Khmer, MS 20.
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# CONSERVATION PROBLEMS

K. B. Kalinina, E. G. Shishkova

## SOME ASPECTS OF INVESTIGATION AND CONSERVATION OF GLUE PAINTING ON PAPER FROM KHARA KHOTO

The Hermitage has at its disposal a large collection of Chinese Buddhist pieces of art of different painting schools and of different periods. In particular, the collection includes the unique items found during the 1908—1909 excavations of the famous *suburgan* near the dead city of Khara Khoto in Northwest China. These objects originate from the Tangut state Xi Xia (982—1227) which was destroyed by Mongolian troops of Genghis Khan. The excavations began on the initiative of the Russian Imperial Geographic Society and were carried out under the guidance of the outstanding explorer of Central Asia P. K. Kozlov [1].

The collection under consideration here consists of about 200 Buddhist icons painted on canvas, silk, and paper, as well as of a number of secular items. During several recent years, some icons of the collection have been restored. The restoration was accompanied by technological investigations which not only allowed the researchers to familiarise themselves with the old painting technique employed, but also helped them to solve some restoration problems of importance. For instance, it has been found that the paintings are mainly made by using a traditional technique with the use of animal glue as a binding medium for sizing and ground, the ground thickness varying within a certain range. Some objects appeared to be painted on a sized support without additional ground as became clear, for example, from investigating a number of icon fragments painted on paper and silk. The colour of the ground may be white, ochre or red.

Among the unique items under study here, there is a set of fragments of *mukui*-crowns. These are almost intact and consist of separate parts, or fragments. Each fragment is a multi-layered support which is made of text-bearing paper sheets glued together, the top one being painted in the glue painting technique. Some of the fragments have vestiges of strings employed to assemble the whole of a crown.

The investigation of pigments adhesive and of the binding medium of the paint film and ground, as well as the examination of the composition of adhesive for gluing together the multi-layered paper support were made. The painting technique was studied by using micro-chemical analysis and thin-layered chromatography. The analysis showed that the following pigments were employed: orpiment and yellow ochre for yellow, cinnabar and red ochre

for red, azurite for blue, malachite and green ochre for green, and carbon black. The ground was made of chalk with a great amount of animal glue. Ochre in the colour ground is also present.

To analyse the binding media, we used domestically produced "Sorbfil" plates. In order to improve their selectivity, the plates were preliminarily impregnated with inorganic salts. Carbohydrate part of the binding medium hydrolyzate was analysed using plates impregnated with phosphate buffer having pH=8.0 in the system propanol-1 — chloroform — dimethyl phormamide — water. This system, which enables the researcher to separate neutral sugars and uronic acids, was developed by the authors of the current paper [2]. For visualisation of chromatographic zones, we suggested an original reagent allowing one to obtain spots of different colours for a number of monosaccharides [3]. All this can facilitate the binding medium identification. In order to analyse protein-bearing medium, plates impregnated with salts of alkaline-earth and transition metals were used. Chromatographic analysis was carried out in the system propanol-1 — acetone —  $\text{NH}_4\text{OH}$ . It has been already shown earlier that impregnation with sulphates of transition and alkaline-earth metals changes the separation ability of silica gel [4]. The best results were achieved for the plates impregnated with  $\text{CuSO}_4$  solutions (0.01÷0.02M). The use of this impregnant allowed us not only to improve the selectivity of silica gel with respect to amino acids to be separated, but also to obtain, after treating with ninhydrin, spots of different colours for the major part of them. Thanks to this, the identification of the binding medium became much easier.

The analysis showed that animal glue was used as a binding medium. Besides animal glue, which was the basic component, the paint-layer binding medium includes a small amount of plant glue. To glue together the text-bearing paper sheets inside the crown, a mixture of plant glue and a small amount of animal glue was used.

It should be noted that the problems of restoring and conserving the *mukui*-crowns arise from the fact that they are archaeological items, which underwent a long-term storage in the ground in humid environment. As a result, the crowns' paper support partly lost their interior sizing, which led to the loosening of their structure too. In addition, some



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

*Fig. 3*

areas of the paper were so strongly destroyed that the support fell to separate fibres and fragments. The glue between the paper sheets has also lost its gluing effect. Therefore, we have mainly fragments of *mukut*-crowns split into separate sheets or blocks of sheets glued together. The paint layer, covered with sedimentations of soil and clay, was strongly deteriorated as a result of centuries-long storage in unfavourable conditions. Here and there it was detached from the support, covered with cracks, suffered peeling and dusting (see *figs. 1* and *2*).

Since these fragments are rare pieces of art and history and, on the other hand, the materials they are made of are very brittle and strongly deteriorated, our purpose was to prolong their life by employing most delicate conservation. The main task was to remove the surface soil precipitations to permissible extent, consolidate the paint film and support, and also to develop a procedure of storing the *mukut*-crown's fragments, bearing also in mind the necessity of research work.

The surface precipitation were removed from the areas where the paint layer was stable, i.e. where it lacked considerable damages such as peeling off, detaching from the support, or swelling. This was done in such a way as to avoid damaging the original paint layer. The soil and clay, forming an even thin film on the painting surface, were removed with a kolinsky or squirrel brush No. 0 by delicately touching in circular and straightforward direction. The soil dust, produced as a result of the contaminated areas treatment, was removed from the brush with a cotton swab slightly moistened with alcohol. The adhered nubbins of soil and clay were carefully reduced with a scalpel to tiny particles; the resulting dust was also gathered first with a squirrel brush and then with a cotton swab.

In order to consolidate the paint layer of the *mukut*-crown fragments, two techniques were used. The first was to bring, using a brush, 1.0—2.0% gelatine solution under separate areas of painting, while the second was to cover the surface of the paint layer areas, which were entirely cracked and liable to dusting, with strengthened 0.5% gelatine solution by using an air-brush and graphic suction table. The procedure demanded the following materials and tools: granulated gelatine, glycerin, rectified alcohol, distilled water, filter paper, hollitex, hostafan film, a vessel for gelatine sizing, an air-brush for gelatine size, a vessel with warm water for heating the gelatine size, and a kolinsky brush No. 0. The suction table was prepared for performing the following procedure: a sheet of blotter paper was placed on the wire netting of the table, then a sheet of hollitex was placed on the paper; over them a sheet of hostafan film with a special "window-hole" 0.2 cm smaller than the object which is placed under it. A crown fragment was placed in the "window-hole" on the hollitex. Before switching on the suction table, the paint layer was slightly sprayed with distilled water in order to prevent formation of stains in following operations. In 2—3 minutes after this the suction table was switched on, and the process of consolidating the paint layer started. If the paint layer was liable to peeling off or some areas were detached from the support, a method of local consolidation was used. Warm gelatine size in 1—2% concentration was applied with a brush to the cracks of the paint layer or brought under the paint layer areas which were peeled off or detached from the support. On applying gelatine size, the detached areas were slightly pressed to the support with a teflon spatula in order to ensure adhesion

between the paint layer and support. If the paint layer was cracked all over the surface, being liable to dusting, swelling, or peeling off from the support, it was strengthened by spraying 0.5% gelatine size onto the surface of destroyed areas. It is important that in the process it was necessary to prevent excessive gelatine size to penetrate under the fragment and to form stains. For the most destroyed areas of painting the operation was performed up to three times with the 24-hour intervals. The gelatine size has been chosen to consolidate the painting because the binding medium of the paint film and ground is usually animal glue whose origin and properties are similar to those of gelatine size. On completing the consolidation of the paint film and drying, the fragments were placed between two layers of hollitex and blotter paper to be in this position 1 to 2 days. After that they were set between two sheets of calendered micalent and blotter paper [5].

Another matter of importance was to consolidate the multi-layered support. The majority of *mukut*-crowns are painted on papier-mâché, some of them — on silk pasted on papier-mâché. In both cases, the support was strengthened with Japanese paper. We repaired only those deteriorated fragments which were at risk of being considerably damaged with time or even lost. The tears' edges were glued together using wheat starch paste of about 2% concentration and thin Japanese paper Minogami (Kozo 100%) and Tengujo (Kozo 100%). The procedure of pasting together the tears of the paper support was as follows: strips of Japanese paper 0.3—0.5 cm wide, and of length equal to the tear's length, were put under the tear edges. One of the tear edges was lifted a little, and a strip of Japanese paper was put under it so that a half of the strip width was under the tear edge. Then the same was done for another edge of the tear after which the strip of Japanese paper was pasted and the tear edges were slightly pressed to the paper with a teflon spatula. It should be noted that only the top and bottom papier-mâché layers were glued (see *fig. 3*).

Large missing areas were filled with Japanese paper Sekishushi (Kozo 100%). In order to recreate a missing area of the paper support, first of all a patch should be prepared using Japanese paper. For this purpose, first a Melinex sheet and then a sheet of Japanese paper were placed, one after another, on a fragment of the crown. The silhouette of the missing area was drawn out with a wet brush, and then the excessive paper was removed from the blank patch. The fibrous edge of the completed patch was covered with paste and glued up to the edge of the missing area from above, or, if the layers of the paper support were detached from each other, under the top papier-mâché layer. The splice area was pressed by a kolinsky brush Nos. 10—12. However, the described procedure of filling up the missing areas of the fragments is not a reconstruction of the artistic object. The patches are spliced to the very edge of the object so that they can be removed if necessary without destroying the object (see *fig. 4*).

It was also important to choose conditions for storing and exhibiting the crowns. We were the first who used the mounting of separate fragments under mats of acid-free cardboard on strips of Japanese paper for this purpose [6].

A specially designed mat consists of two cardboard sheets with an "window-hole", by 0.5 cm larger than the object, and two protective covers. All parts of the mat were joint together along one of the edges with strips of cotton cloth tape or paper (see *fig. 5*).



Fig. 4



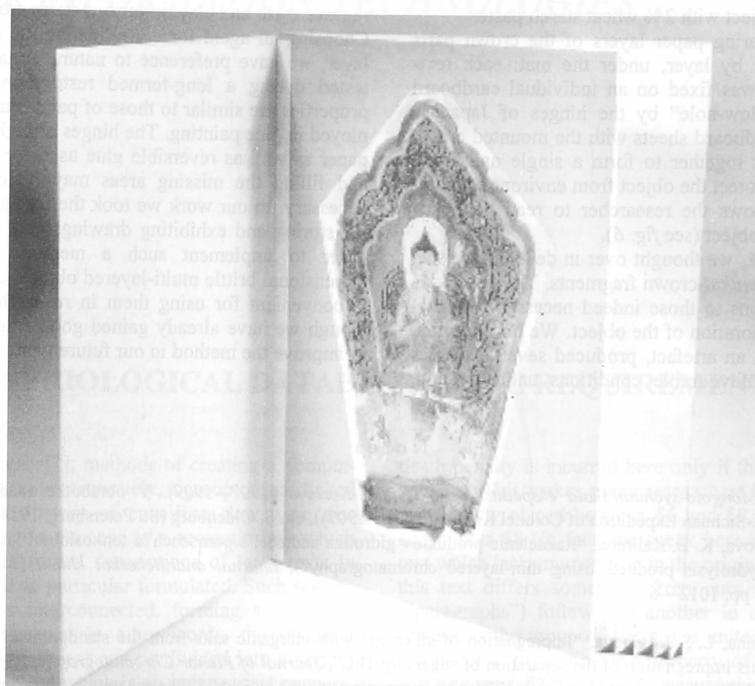


Fig. 5

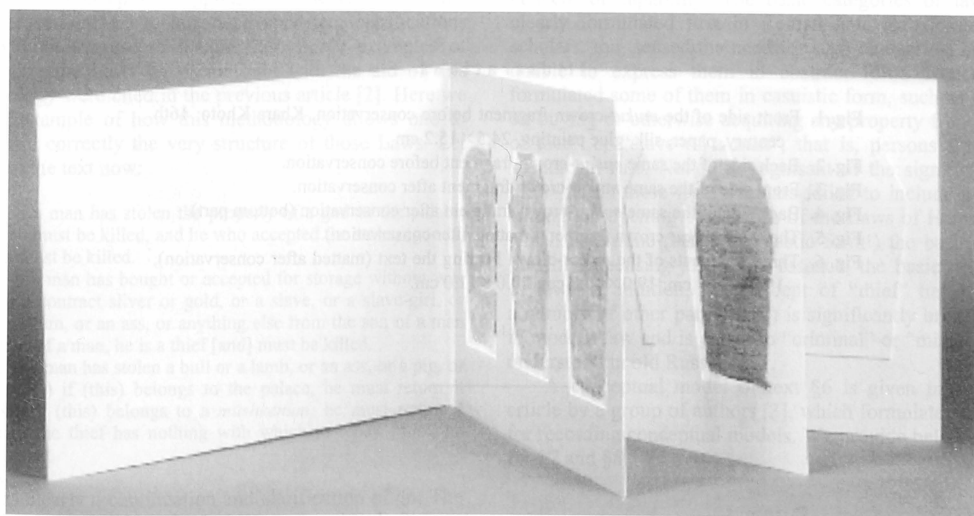


Fig. 6

The crown fragment was fixed between two cardboard sheets with an "window-hole", using hinges of Japanese paper 1.2—1.5 cm wide and 3—4 cm long, which were in turn spliced to the object with 2% wheat starch paste.

Separate text-bearing paper layers of the crown parts were mounted, layer by layer, under the mat: each text-bearing paper layer was fixed on an individual cardboard sheet with an "window-hole" by the hinges of Japanese paper. Individual cardboard sheets with the mounted crown fragments were joint together to form a single one. Such a mat not only can protect the object from environmental influence, but also allows the researcher to read the texts, which are inside the object (see fig. 6).

Starting our work, we thought over in detail every step of restoration of the *mukut*-crown fragments. The basic idea was to limit operations to those indeed necessary for preventing further deterioration of the object. We bore in mind that any action upon an artefact, produced seven centuries ago and suffered unfavourable conditions under ground,

could provoke an additional stress leading to future deterioration of the object. In order to avoid water or chemical treatment of the objects, we did not make efforts to fully remove earth and clay or various stains from the paint layer. Choosing an agent for consolidating the deteriorated paint layer, we gave preference to natural organic polymer well tested during a long-termed restoration practice, whose properties are similar to those of paint binding medium employed in glue painting. The hinges of high-quality Japanese paper as well as reversible glue used for splicing the tears and filling the missing areas may be easily removed if necessary. In our work we took the foreign designs of mats for storing and exhibiting drawings and improved them in order to implement such a method of storing three-dimensional brittle multi-layered objects of Oriental art that is convenient for using them in research work. However, though we have already gained good results, we are going to improve the method in our future work.

### Notes

1. *Khara-Khoto. Mongolo-sichuan'skaia ékspeditsiia Polkovnika Kozlova (1907—1909)*. V obrabotke akademika Ol'denburga (Khara-Khoto. Mongol-Sichuan Expedition of Colonel Kozlov (1907—1909)), ed. S. Oldenburg (St. Petersburg, 1914).

2. See L. S. Litvinova, K. B. Kalinina, "Razdelenie produktov gidroliza kamedei s pomoshch'iu tonkosloĭnoi khromatografii" ("The separation of gums hydrolysis products using thin-layered chromatography"), *Zhurnal analiticheskoi khimii* (Journal of Analytical Chemistry), IX (1997), pp. 1012—6.

3. See *ibid.*

4. See K. B. Kalinina, L. S. Litvinova, "Impregnation of silica gel with inorganic salts from the standpoint of specific adsorption theory. The effect of this impregnation of the separation of sugars by ThC", *Journal of Planar Chromatography*, III (1999), pp. 190—5; also their report entitled "Pazdelenie sakharov i aminokislot na impregnirovannykh sloiakh" ("The separation of sugars and aminoacids on impregnated layers"). The paper was delivered at the all-Russian symposium "Surface Chemistry, Adsorption and Chromatography" (1999), p. 194.

5. *Restavratsiia proizvedeniiĭ grafiki. Metodicheskie rekomendatsii* (Restoration of Graphic Arts Objects. Methodological Recommendations), compiled by L. L. Metlitskaya and E. A. Kostikova (Moscow, 1995), p. 35. See also *Paper Conservation Catalog. AIC. Book and Paper Group, Third Edition, May, 1986*, chap. 40: "Matting and framing", pp. 19—21, 38—40.

6. *Paper Conservation Catalog. AIC. Book and Paper Group, Fifth Edition, 1998*, chap. 23: "Consolidation/Fixing/Facing", pp. 5—6.

### Illustrations

**Fig. 1.** Front side of the *mukut*-crown fragment before conservation, Khara Khoto, 16th century, paper, silk, glue painting, 24.5 × 15.2 cm.

**Fig. 2.** Back side of the same *mukut*-crown fragment before conservation.

**Fig. 3.** Front side of the same *mukut*-crown fragment after conservation.

**Fig. 4.** Back side of the same *mukut*-crown fragment after conservation (bottom part).

**Fig. 5.** The same *mukut*-crown fragment (matted after conservation).

**Fig. 6.** Three fragments of the *mukut*-crown bearing the text (matted after conservation), 19.5 × 10.5 cm; 19.0 × 10.8 cm; 20.0 × 11.0 cm.

# ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

V. A. Jakobson

## ASSYRIOLOGICAL DATABASE (BASIC REQUIREMENTS)

In my previous articles [1], methods of creating a computerised card-index or, more accurately, a group of interlinked card-indexes on the history of cuneiform law were discussed. The notion of a concept as a semantic unit which allows one to create formal descriptions of legal texts in natural language was in particular formulated. Such semantic units are always interconnected, forming a “tree” or “matryoshka” of concepts. In other words, the semantic field of virtually any concept can be divided into a certain number of levels, each of which is an independent concept. On the other hand, almost every concept can be viewed as a level of the semantic field of a larger concept. With the aid of a computer, all levels can be investigated in consecutive order (“matryoshka”) and depicted graphically (the “tree”). This allows one to discover links between concepts which are far from obvious and sometimes even unexpected.

Such a “conceptual” approach to the text has often permitted researchers to introduce important clarifications even without the use of a computer. Some examples of interpreting the Laws of Hammurabi with the aid of this methodology were cited in the previous article [2]. Here we give an example of how this methodology allows one to understand correctly the very structure of those Laws. Let us turn to the text now:

§6. If a man has stolen the property of a god or the palace, this person must be killed, and he who accepted the stolen (goods) from him must be killed.

§7. If a man has bought or accepted for storage without witnesses or a contract silver or gold, or a slave, or a slave-girl, or a bull, or a ram, or an ass, or anything else from the son of a man or the slave of a man, he is a thief [and] must be killed.

§8. If a man has stolen a bull or a lamb, or an ass, or a pig, or a boat, (then) if (this) belongs to the palace, he must return it thirty-fold; if (this) belongs to a *mushkenum*, he must return it ten-fold; if the thief has nothing with which to repay [this], he must be killed.

§8 is clearly a continuation and clarification of §6. The difference between them is that §6 deals with theft from a temple or palace, which is sacrilege, whereas §8 concerns the theft of ordinary property, hence, different punishments are imposed — the death penalty in the first case, and manifold compensation of the damage caused in the second (the

death penalty is incurred here only if the guilty party is insolvent). This makes many researchers believe that §7 was erroneously placed between §6 and §8, and should in fact come after §8 (in fact, we speak here of parts of a single text which lacks numeration in the original). But the logic of this text differs somewhat from ours. Individual statutes (“paragraphs”) follow one another in associative fashion; moreover, the group of statutes is united by a general idea (“concept”): protecting the property of temples, the ruler, and free men. §7 follows §6 because they are united by the illegal “reception” of someone else’s property, while §8 follows §7 because they are united by the nearly identical enumeration of illegally acquired objects.

From the point of view of modern legal theory, §7 should be set apart, as it formulates in casuistic fashion one of the basic concepts (categories) of legal theory — the concept of capability. The basic categories of law were clearly formulated first in Roman law. Babylonian legal scholars, too, sensed the need for such categories, but were unable to express them in abstract form. Hence, they formulated some of them in casuistic form, such as the ban on buying or otherwise acquiring any property from a “son of man” or “slave of a man”, that is, persons subject to patriarchal rule. Not fully cognisant of the significance of their “find”, these legal scholars failed to include point §7 among the opening paragraphs of the Laws of Hammurabi, which determine (also in casuistic form!) the basic principles of dispensing justice, in essence, the basic principles of law. In addition, the concept of “thief” here (and in a number of other paragraphs) is significantly broader than in modern law and is closer to “criminal” or “miscreant” as understood in old Russian law.

A conceptual model of text §6 is given in a special article by a group of authors [3], which formulates the rules for recording conceptual models. We provide below models for §7 and §8.

### Law 7

```
**change_of_ownership: !X(transmitter.!X1,  
acceptor.!X2, property!Y, formalities.!Z)
```

←

purchase sale: !X (seller.!X1,  
buyer.!X2, property.!Y,  
formalities.!Z)

OR

for\_storage: !X (transmitter.!X1,  
acceptor.!X2, property.!Y,  
formalities.!Z);

\*\* man: !X (leg\_status.insolvent)

⇐

man: !X (age.minor)

OR

man: !X (status.slave);

paragraph [num.7] {change\_of\_ownership  
[formalities.not\_observed, transmitter.  
man [leg\_status.insolvent]]  
(acceptor)  
“incurs”  
execution (condemned.acceptor)};

## Law 8

paragraph [num.8] {theft [object\_of\_theft.  
priveleged (value)]  
(thief [prop\_status.solvent])  
“incurs”  
compensation (payer.thief,  
amount.30\* value);  
theft [object\_of\_theft.  
priveleged (value)]  
(thief [prop\_status.insolvent])  
“incurs”  
execution (condemned.thief);  
theft [object\_of\_theft.  
property [owner.mushkenum]]  
(thief [prop\_status.solvent])  
“incurs”  
compensation (payer.thief,  
amount.10\* value);  
theft [object\_of\_theft.  
property [owner.mushkenum]]  
(thief [prop\_status.insolvent])  
“incurs”  
execution (condemned.thief)};

The MAZE system created today allows one to construct a laboratory conceptual model and to project ways of employing it. Let us examine this with a concrete example relating to the above-noted paragraphs from the Laws of Hammurabi (copy and transliteration are omitted both because of space considerations, and because their inclusion is a trivial matter).

## TCL 11, 245<sup>1</sup>

- (1) As concerns the garments and head-dress which were worn by the goddess Ninmarki and (which) were torn off (from her), the priests *pashishu*, the *rabianum* and the city elders

- (5) in the courtyard of Ninmarki's abode gathered. Said divinity exited (the temple) and Ilama-abi, son of Nidnusha, announced thus, saying this:  
“These garments,

- (10) which are in the hands of Iddin-Ishtar, are what was from  
Ninmarki

torn off.

Iddin-Ishtar truly removed (them)”.

Ili-iddinam thus announced, saying this:

“The head-dress from the head of Ninmarki

- (15) Iddin-Ishtar truly gave over for dates”.

Tashalisha, son of Aplum

thus announced, saying this:

“The head-dress and garments [...]

Iddin-Ishtar truly took”.

- (20) Ibni-Amurru

thus announced, saying this:

“From the lips of Erra-i[mitti?],

brother of Iddin-Ishtar,

I did thus truly hear, this is what he said:

- (25) “The garments [...]

in which Iddin-Ishtar is dressed,

are that which was from the body of Ninmarki

torn off”.

At a gathering of *pashishu*

- (30) *rabianum* and city elders,

Iddin-Ishtar, son of Etel-pi-Sin,

in (the fact that) the garments and head-dress

which (were) on the body of Ninmarki,

- (34) were torn off (by) him, was under oath exposed.

The conceptual model of this text and rules which establish correspondences between this text and the laws of Hammurabi are given in the article by Lezin, Boyarsky, Kanevsky and Popova [3]. What is more, the juxtaposition of this text with others (by using a thesaurus) can lead us to a number of interesting and important considerations:

a) From texts which mention the goddess Ninmarki, it is clear that her temple was a common location for court hearings. That is, Iddin-Ishtar robbed the very goddess in whose “presence” he was compelled to answer for what he had done.

b) The fact that the thief sold the goddess' head-dress for dates and donned the garments himself indicates that both objects were of minor value and hardly attention-grabbing items, meaning that this Ninmarki's temple was small and poor.

c) In Babylonia, dates were not a delicacy, but ordinary food. The thief, then, was a hungry man, nearly destitute.

d) The *rabianum* (city ruler) frequently presides over judicial proceedings, and the city elders are members of the court, but the *pashishu* priests are rarely mentioned as participants in the court. Perhaps they were priests of the victimized goddess.

<sup>1</sup> In Assyriological studies, it is accepted practice when transliterating and translating texts to put in parentheses words inserted by the translator for clarity but absent in the original; lacunae which result from damage are in brackets, where either dots mark the number of lost signs or a reconstruction is included, marked in case of doubt with a question mark (cf. line 22).

e) None of these people is referred to in our text as a judge. It is possible that this gathering was only charged with receiving testimony under oath from witnesses.

f) Court documents virtually never indicate a decision, limiting themselves to facts established in some fashion or other.

g) Court documents never refer to the law, but such references occur in letters.

All of these conclusions can be reached only on the basis of a significant number of texts. Clearly, increasing the number of texts analysed can augment or alter these conclusions. A thesaurus which not only takes into account words, but also their context within a phrase and source, would allow one to review texts automatically.

Consequently, all words from our text should be entered into the database, and also:

a) museum number (here omitted), bibliographic indications (in addition to those given here, data for all other editions), date (here established on the basis of circumstantial factors: in accordance with the text's origin and the names of the people involved), origin (archaeological data or circumstantial data from the text itself);

b) correspondence with other texts (see here the Laws of Hammurabi, §6);

c) official positions;

d) list of persons involved with an indication of genealogical links: X brother of Y, Y son of Z; the same persons may be mentioned in other texts with other kinship ties, for example, Z son of M or Y father of N, from which we learn that M is the grandfather of Y, and X is the uncle of N, etc., creating a genealogical tree;

e) description of content: criminal trial, record of witnesses' testimony;

f) procedure (lines 4—6), etc.;

g) key (thematic) words (concepts).

In sum, the database should permit the isolation, for example, of all criminal trials, all texts which mention a certain person, all texts which discuss theft, all texts which mention a certain official position, etc. The database should also ensure the possibility of performing certain logical operations [4].

It is evident that our modern concepts differ considerably from those of the Babylonians and have no direct analogies with them. In this connection, the problem of correct translation arises; it is especially important when the matter concerns translations from dead languages. Certainly, each such translation is an interpretation, and the degree of its accuracy depends on the fullest possible consideration of all known instances of word use, their forms and combinations. This is why scholars of ancient languages strive to create dictionaries which provide a maximum (ideally, a complete) number of examples for each word. However, the ideal is unattainable, if only because the number of cuneiform texts grows by several thousand each year. The fullest dictionary of Akkadian (Babylonian-Assyrian), the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary, remains unfinished, although it already includes about 30 volumes the size of the British Encyclopaedia (but much more expensive because of a limited print run and the difficulties of type-setting by hand). And yet it will never be finished: after the appearance of the last

volume (approximately 10 more volumes are planned), it will immediately be necessary to begin work on publishing a series of additions, corrections, and clarifications. This last task is by definition infinite, the results hardly being convenient to use. This is why it is imperative to create virtual dictionaries of Akkadian and Sumerian, as well as other cuneiform languages. Expanding such dictionaries, and correcting them, would be extremely simple. For this purpose, it would be necessary to store the virtual dictionary on a single server with Internet access. The inclusion of corrections or additions to the basic material should be effected by a special international commission, but every researcher should have the right and the possibility to make, so to speak, "marginal notes" to the dictionary, as he does in the margins of his own real dictionary. In this case, the inherent incompleteness of the thesaurus is transformed from a drawback into an asset.

Such a server should include:

a) a full catalogue of all known texts (published and unpublished) with an indication of origins, museum number, description of contents, all relevant bibliographic data, and all intertextual links;

b) reproductions of all originals in the form of hand copies, photographs, or holograms;

c) all extant translations of the texts;

d) lists of proper names with an indication of exact or proposed links, official positions, dwelling places, dates (genealogical links should be established automatically and automatically adjusted to take new data into account);

e) list of toponyms with an indication of their geographical location and dating;

f) list of deity names with an indication of dating and an attendant list of temples;

g) list of official positions and titles.

Lists d—g should in all cases contain exhaustive references to texts. Also necessary are dictionaries to translate into Akkadian (Babylonian-Assyrian), as well as lists of key words which would allow researchers to locate on the server texts or excerpts of interest to them.

Since we speak here of an international database, the question of a working language is of no less importance. It is, in essence, predetermined by the fact that the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary uses English as a working language. The solution, seems to be not ideal since English grammar depends on fixed word order and in many cases precludes a line-by-line translation of the original. A line-by-line translation is far easier to compare to the original. In this sense, Russian is far more flexible and in the vast majority of cases permits not only a line-by-line translation, but also the preservation of word order in the original. The use of Russian as a working language would greatly simplify the development of programmes, but the idea is regrettably too hard to be implemented. In the modelling programmes, for the reasons noted above, we base our research on Russian.

Direct access (passive and active) to this international, virtual database will allow all specialists to take part personally in creating and perfecting this source. The first step in this project should be the consensus-based formulation of the technical tasks to be tackled in the creation of this database.

**Notes**

1. See V. A. Iakobson, "Komp'iuternaia assiriologiya" ("Computer Assyriology"), *Informatsionnye tekhnologii v gumanitarnykh i obshchestvennykh naukakh*, fasc. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1996), pp. 3—9. For the English version of this article see V. A. Iakobson, "Computer Assyriology", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/4 (1998), pp. 55—9. See also *idem*, "Komp'iuternaia assiriologiya. II" ("Computer Assyriology. II"), *Informatsionnye tekhnologii v gumanitarnykh i obshchestvennykh naukakh*, fasc. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 10—5.
  2. See *idem*, "Computer Assyriology", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/4 (1998), pp. 55—9.
  3. G. Lezin, K. Boyarsky, E. Kanevsky, A. Popova, "Programming of texts conceptual treatment", *Manuscripta Orientalia* III/2 (1997), pp. 42—8.
  4. For more detail, see Iakobson, "Komp'iuternaia assiriologiya. II", pp. 10—5.
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# PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

E. A. Rezvan

## YET ANOTHER “‘UTHMĀNIC QUR’ĀN” (ON THE HISTORY OF MANUSCRIPT E 20 FROM THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES)

*Habent sua fata libelli.*  
“To each book a fate its own”.

Several months after I published an article with a detailed description of a large fragment of a Qur’ānic manuscript in *ḥijāzī* script (E 20) from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [1], Dr. François Déroche was kind enough to send me a note on Qur’ānic fragments from the mountainous Uzbek *qishlāq* of Katta Langar [2], photocopies of which he had received thanks to the efforts of J. J. Witkam and M. Szuppe. A comparison of the photographed folios from Katta Langar with the photographs and information about manuscript E 20 which we published [3] allowed F. Déroche to identify the extant Katta Langar folios as belonging at one time to the same copy as fragment E 20. F. Déroche mentioned yet another folio from this copy, today held in the collection of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent.

This information profoundly altered my understanding of how our manuscript made its way to St. Petersburg. This copy came to the collection from the inheritors of Iriney (Selim) Georgevich Nofal (1828—1902) (see *fig. 1*), who succeeded the well-known *shaykh* al-Ṭanṭāwī as a teacher in the pedagogical section for Eastern languages in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An Arab Christian, Selim Nofal was a relatively well-known literary figure (author of critical articles, political essays, and a biography of Muḥammad in French) [4] and bibliophile [5]; he was born in Tripoli (Syria) [6]. The fact that our copy of the Qur’ān presumably originated in Greater Syria made it logical to assume that Nofal brought it with him from his homeland. The discovery of folios from the same copy in Katta Langar and Tashkent (it emerged later that two more folios are held in the regional library of Bukhārā) [7] indicated that the manu-

script arrived in St. Petersburg via Central Asia. This information necessitated an immediate journey to Uzbekistan, all the more pressing as three versions of a monograph study on manuscript E 20 (English, Arabic, and Russian) were soon to be printed.

The trip took place in December, 1999, and was made possible thanks to the help and cooperation of a large number of friends and colleagues. In the first instance, this was Vincent Fourniau, Director of the Institut Français d’Études sur l’Asie Centrale (IFEAC), whose hospitality has already been extended to colleagues from many European nations. I am genuinely grateful for the cooperation and support of Academician M. M. Khayrullaev, Director of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, and A. Bakhromov, Supreme *Muftī* of Uzbekistan and Chairman of the Administration for Muslim Affairs. I would like to express my gratitude to my Uzbek friends Aftandil Erkinov, Shadmon Vakhidov, and IFEAC stipend-recipient Olga Tsepova, who accompanied me on the difficult journey to Katta Langar. Bakhtiyar Babadzhonov, Ashirbek Muminov, Aftandil Erkinov, Shadmon Vakhidov (Tashkent), and my colleague Florian Schwarz (Bokhum) generously shared with me their photographs, field notes, and the results of long hours of work in manuscript repositories.

I am grateful to *ishānzāde* Jura-Khan Asamov (Shahr-i Sabz) and ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Ibrāhīm, *imām* of the mosque in Katta Langar, for a detailed narration of the traditions associated with the history of this region. And finally, I would like to express my delight at the extreme professionalism of Stas Ashuraliev, IFEAC’s driver, who delivered us to Katta Langar and back as though we were on wings.

### 1

At present, the following fragments which originate with the E 20 copy of the Qur’ān (15 folios in all, see *Table 1*) have been attested in Uzbekistan:

1. Collection of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Call number 11604.

One folio in excellent condition, containing *sūra* 3, *āyāt* 26—61. The folio is in a separate *muqawwā* [8] binding of black leather (*fig. 4*) and belongs to the library of Muḥammad Sharif-Jān Makhdūm Ṣadr-i Diyā’ (*fig. 2*). *Qāḍī-kalān* (supreme judge) to the last *amīr* of Bukhārā, poet, patron of the arts and noted bibliophile, he was repressed under the

Soviets and died in prison in 1932. The bulk of his library is today found in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent. Under call number 2460, one could find a fascinating catalogue of the library drawn up personally by Ṣadr-i Diyā' and entitled by one of his readers (fol. 1a, cf. fol. 2a) *Asāmī-yi kitābhā-yi kitābkhāna-yi khusuṣī-yi Ṣadr-i Diyā'* [9]. Folios 175a–175b of this catalogue contain a description of the Qur'ānic folio acquired by Ṣadr-i Diyā', which begins as follows: "one folio of *Kalām Sharīf*, in the handwriting of the third righteous caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān" (fig. 8). Unfortunately, Ṣadr-i Diyā', who usually provides detailed information on the acquisition of various copies, chose here to be laconic, indicating neither the name of the seller nor the date and cost of the purchase.

2. Collection of the Ibn Sīnā Bukhārā regional library. Two folios in good condition are containing *sūra* 28, *ayāt* 35–81 and exactly fill the corresponding *lacuna* in the Petersburg section of the manuscript. The folios were folded in half and traces of breakage are clearly visible. They are kept in a wooden frame (evidently they were displayed at some exhibition) [10]. The folios belonged to the library of Muḥammad Ṣiddīq b. Amīr Muzaḥḥar, known by the sobriquet Ḥishmat (1857–1927) (fig. 5), son of the Bukhārān amīr Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn. After 1871, he was the *beg* of Qārshī, and from 1871 — *beg* of Chahārjāy. The Russian political agent Charykov, citing the governor of Bukhārā and the emirate's minister of finances Muḥammad Sharīf Ināq (1837–1888), states that Ḥishmat's dissolute lifestyle nearly caused his father to recall him from his post [11]. This occurred for other reasons in 1885, when 'Abd al-Ḥad came to power after the death of Muzaḥḥar al-Dīn. Ḥishmat was arrested and later freed, but compelled to spend many years under house arrest. Cut off from political life, Muḥammad Ṣiddīq devoted himself to literary matters. He proved himself to be a fine expert on poetry and literary, but an extremely mediocre poet. The manuscripts of nearly thirty works he penned, which include several uncompleted *tadhkīras*, are today held in the collection of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Among these manuscripts is a brief catalogue of his personal library drawn up in Ḥishmat's own hand; it shows him to be a connoisseur and successful collector of bibliographic rarities [12]. He writes the following on one of the folios: "*Kalām Allāh* — two folios, bought for 30 *sūm* (Russian) [13]. Written in the handwriting of 'Uthmān (*bi-khatt-i 'Uthmānī*)" [14]. Here also, there is no exact date of purchase nor name of the seller. In 1920, Muḥammad Ṣiddīq emigrated to Afghanistan, where he died seven years later. It is important to note that both Ṣadr-i Diyā' and Ḥishmat had to know the story of 'Uthmānic Qur'ān from Khwāja Aḥrār mosque in Samarqand and its transportation to Russia in 1869. Nevertheless, it was our copy that both of them thought to be a genuine 'Uthmānic Qur'ān.

3. *Mazār* of the *shaykhs* of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood in the *qīshlāq* of Katta Langar. Twelve folios in acceptable condition (see front cover of the current issue). Together with two parchment folios which belong to a different copy [15], they are stored in a red morocco leather binding of *muḥawwā'* type (fig. 7) with the name of the craftsman and the date written into a cartouche in the centre: Muḥammad Naṣīr, 1255 (A.D. 1839/40 — E. R.).

The folios contain the complete (without omissions) text of a Qur'ānic fragment spanning *sūras* 4–6 (see

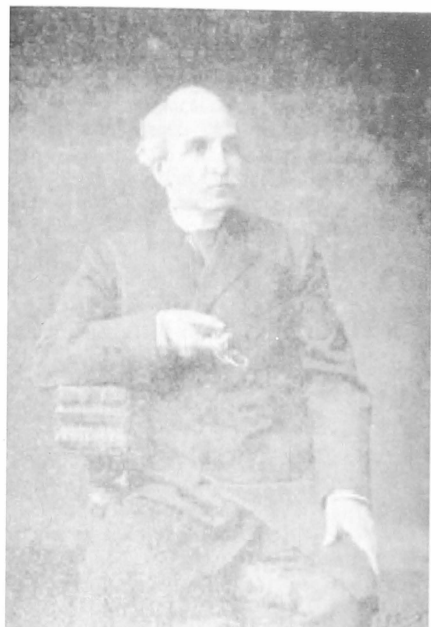
Table 1) and exactly fill the corresponding *lacuna* in the Petersburg section of the manuscript [16]. The folios bear traces of inept restoration with losses in the parchment paper restored and text rewritten both in faux ancient script (fols. 3–4) and cursive (fol. 11). The format is exactly the same as the format of the Petersburg fragment. Thus, fol. 10b contains a colour illumination (see Table 2, No. 1) written into a gap between the end of the fourth *sūra* and the beginning of the fifth [17]; it is stylistically in harmony with corresponding illuminations in the Petersburg fragment. Elsewhere (fol. 4b), when the text of fifth *sūra*, beginning at the very top of the folio, there is insufficient space for such ornamentation (we find here only the quantity of *āyāt* written in cursive).

The first mention of these manuscript fragments in print belongs to M. E. Masson, an outstanding historian of Central Asia, who left us a detailed article on Katta Langar [18]. He noted that the sacred relics in the Katta Langar complex contained an "ancient Qur'ān, presented, like a host of analogues throughout the Muslim world, as a genuine exemplar written in the seventh century, allegedly by 'Uthmān himself (644–656), above which he was killed by his enemies. As proof, on the page with the words '*fasya-ki fiya fumumlo...*' (? — E. R.) they showed him a stain said to be the blood of the ill-fated Caliph. Moreover, the text of the Qur'ān displayed was executed not in Kufic script, but in a very elegant, ancient, but later, *nasta'liq*" [19]. One is left with the impression that M. E. Masson either did not see the manuscript at all or did not deign to leaf through it. According to B. Babajanov, who also wrote an article on Katta Langar [20] and who saw and photographed sixty three folios of this manuscript in 1983 [21], its final pages contain Arabic and Persian texts copied in cursive script (Babajanov identified it as *diwānī*). He did not see any traces of blood on the manuscript.

These final pages, which contain various names and dates, apparently gave rise to a number of errors in the description of the manuscript. Thus, Tursunboy Boymirov, a specialist in local culture and author of a brief pamphlet on the religious antiquities of Katta Langar [22], claimed that the fragments dated to the fifteenth century. He even gave the name of the copyist, allegedly Abū-l-Ḥasan (d. 1491/92), the *shaykh* of Katta Langar himself. One year later, A. Erkinov wrote about the manuscript in greater detail, giving the folio dimensions and citing the authority of B. Babajanov and J. J. Witkam, who visited Katta Langar in 1997. He noted that the missing folios contained several colophons with *nisbas* of the copyists (for example, Bukhārī) and he dated it to the "tenth or, perhaps even the eighth century" [23]. And finally, the same issue of *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* (1999) included the above-mentioned article by Fr. Déroche and an overview of Arabic-script manuscript collections in Uzbekistan by A. Muminov. The latter provided a detailed description of the manuscript from the *mazār* in Katta Langar and indicated that the above-noted folio from the Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies belonged to it [24].

According to *ishānzāde* Jura-Khan Asamov, a resident of Shahr-i Sabz, who belongs to the lineage of the Katta Langar *ishāns* (fig. 10), in 1941, as a child, he saw one hundred forty three folios which are part of the Qur'ānic manuscript under discussion. As was noted above, in 1983 B. Babajanov succeeded not only in seeing, but also in photographing sixty three folios. The 1983 resolution of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party to combat folk Islamic beliefs played a fateful role in the history of

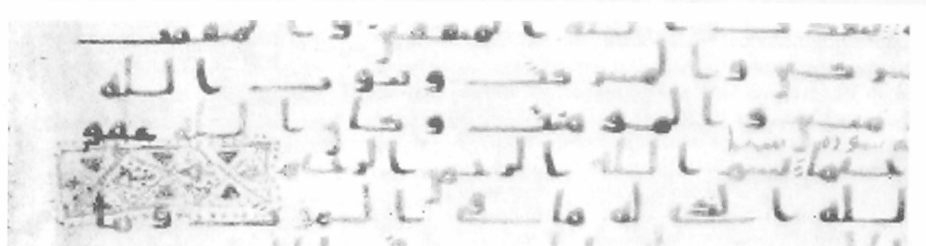




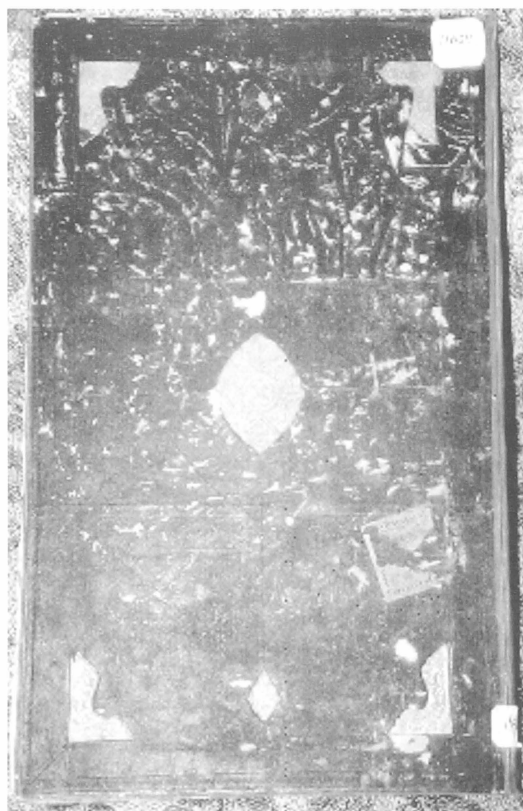
*Fig. 1*



*Fig. 2*



*Fig. 3*

*Fig. 4*

our manuscript. The initiator and executor of this resolution was the then UzSSR minister of culture, R. Abdullaeva. In *mazārs* and mosques throughout the republic, sacred relics were confiscated and the graves of saints were excavated. The results of the digs, in which leading Uzbek scholars were forced to participate, were shown frequently on local television. Fearing for the manuscript, the chairman of the local *qishlāq* council brought it to his home, but was still unable to save it or other relics. Kibilov, deputy director of the KGB administration for the Kashka Daryā region of Uzbekistan and a native of Jizaq (which was of crucial significance in the system of local clan competition and mutual assistance) personally ordered that the Katta Langar holy relics be confiscated. According to eye-witnesses, on the very eve of the confiscation, one of the *qishlāqs'* elders, Tukhto-Baba Rajazov, succeeded in taking several folios

from the manuscript. Tukhto-Baba himself denies this strenuously today. Ten years later, in 1993, T. Qadirov, *hakīm* of the Kashka Daryā *wilāyat* returned the twelve folios to the *mazār*.

The eighty-one folios held today in Saint-Petersburg comprise 39.3% of the text of the Qur'an [25]. In this regard, it is easy to establish that in 1941, taking into account that the manuscript contained several addition pages copied in cursive, virtually the entire text was identified (81+143+3=110.1%), in 1983 — 71.3% (81+63+3), and today — 46.6% (81+12+3). A careful analysis of the St. Petersburg fragments showed that the text of the Qur'an which has reached us hardly differed from the text which was passed on orally and established in written form in the eighth century [26].

## 2

The Katta Langar [27] complex is located 100 km to the south of Samarqand (see map, fig. 12), in the Kūk-sū ravine on a spur of the Zarāfshān mountain range (see fig. 6), on the right bank of a *sāy* which is also called Langar [28]. According to Beliavsky, a colonel of the Russian General Staff who was there twice in 1889 in the course of a reconnaissance mission in the eastern regions of the Bukhāran emirate, "Langar, Bōwa-shādī and Tūt-ak make up the sacred mountains of Bukhārā ... Pious Muslims who come to venerate the place do not limit themselves to the veneration of Langar, but visit Bōwa-shādī and Tūt-ak as well" [29].

The region is of significant historical and cultural interest. The ruins of the ancient city of Bābur-tepe have been identified not far from Katta Langar. Manjūq-tepe, a site where ancient ceramics have been discovered, is located a half-kilometre from the *mazār*. The fortresses "Sogdian cliff" and "Cliff of Khoriyen" [30] stood not far away. These mountain strongholds were besieged by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C., and it was here that he met Roksana. Difficult to reach, these environs provided refuge to an ancient Christian community, as is indicated by graffiti with Christian symbols which remain undeciphered to this day. It is possible that one of these mountain fortresses was later the final residence of al-Muqanna', leader of the uprising of "people in white garb"; it was captured in 783 by the caliph's governor, Muthayyab b. Zuhayr. Al-Muqanna's followers concealed themselves for some time in the area [31], and local residents were considered suspect Muslims until the fifteenth century [32]. Such places were favoured objects of Šūfī advocacy.

'Arab-qishlāq is a five-minute drive from Katta Langar; its residents, who are of Arab origin, have preserved their native language [33]. Oral tradition stubbornly links the appearance of the Arabs with the era and activities of Timūr. Historical sources and documents attest at least one wave of such migration which took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century [34].

The mosque and burial-vault of Šūfī *shaykhs* from the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood in Katta Langar (see *Plates 1* and *3* on the back cover of the current issue), genuine masterpieces of medieval Muslim architecture, have often drawn the attention of travellers and specialists. The first European

to appreciate the beauty and significance of these monuments was, perhaps, the Russian military engineer B. N. Kastalsky, who was the first to photograph them [35]. They were first described by the officer and artist B. Litvinov [36].

Since 1942, attempts have been made to conduct historical-archaeological and historical-architectural research in Katta Langar, but specialised study began in 1961 with a multi-faceted regional studies expedition of the UzSSR Institute of Art History [37]. In 1964, research was continued by the Kash archaeological-topographical expedition of Tashkent State University under the direction of M. E. Masson [38]. In 1983 and 1989, B. Babajanov worked there under the aegis of the Uzbek Institute for the Restoration of Monuments of Architecture [39]; in the 1990s, A. Muminov, A. Erkinov, and Sh. Vakhidov conducted research there.

Adepts of the 'Ishqiyya Šūfī brotherhood [40] appeared in Mā warā' al-nahr in at least the fourteenth century. Evidence of this is found in epigraphs in Astānā-Ātā in the Zīrabulāqs hills (Samarqand region, village of Ingichka). One could find there a mosque (late 17th — early 18th century) and *mazār* (dated to the late 15th century). The latter preserves the richly decorated gravestones of *shaykh* Khudāy-Qūlī (14th century), whose *silasila* goes back to Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 874 or 877/8), son of Khudāy-Qūlī Muḥammad (d. 1451/52), and grandson Ilyās al-'Ishqī (d. 1472). Dim traditions have survived which identify the *shaykhs* as natives of Madīna who appeared in Mā warā' al-nahr from Afghanistan and retained ties with that land [41].

At the turn of the fifteenth — sixteenth centuries, the 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* left Astānā-Ātā, which remains only a memorial complex, and resettled some 150 km to the south in a place later called Katta Langar; the reasons for the move remain unclear to researchers [42]. The *mazār* erected there contains five graves, three of which are the graves of 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs*: the son and successor of Ilyās al-'Ishqī, Abū-l-Ḥasan Kalān al-'Ishqī (1419—1491/92), the latter's son Muḥammad Šādiq Langarī (1460—1545) and his grandson, named in honour of his grandfather, Abū-l-Ḥasan (d. 1560).

Legends insist on linking this move with the name of Muḥammad Šādiq [43]; it was he who received the sobriquet Langar-Ātā and the construction of the mosque and *mazār* is ascribed to him [44]. There are three possible explanations for this: Abū-l-Ḥasan the elder died immediately after the move, the activities of the son so outshone those of his father that the move came to be linked with him, and, finally, the move was indeed undertaken at the initiative of Muḥammad Šādiq and the body of his father was brought to Katta Langar from Astānā-Ātā or elsewhere and buried in the waiting *mazār*, automatically imparting an aura of sanctity. The practice of moving the bodies of the dead, sometimes over great distances, and reburying them was widespread at that time. We follow M. E. Masson [45] in supporting the latter version of events, especially since the stele which stands above Abū-l-Ḥasan the elder's grave, unlike those of his son and grandson, does not indicate the day of his death, only the year. The exact date would have been known had he died in Katta Langar.

What compelled the 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* to abandon the familiar Astānā-Ātā, especially since their new abode did not differ from its predecessor in topography or climate?

In the years when such a move could have taken place, Mā warā' al-nahr was controlled by the Tīmūrids, who were losing strength. Closely linked to the Tīmūrids was the mighty Khwāja Ahrār (1404–1490), head of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood, an important political figure and owner of one of the largest fortunes of his time. He is associated with the active and specifically directed political and economic activities of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and the growth of its influence, not only in Mā warā' al-nahr, but elsewhere as well.

The same time saw the rise of Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān (d. 1510), who was preparing to conquer Mā warā' al-nahr. The Shaybānids needed an ally such as Khwāja Ahrār. It is hardly a coincidence that Shaybānī-khān, on seizing Samarqand in 1500, confiscated the vast fortune of Khwāja Ahrār's family and destroyed his sons. At that time, the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood and its *shaykhs* quickly gained influence and economic power. Among their *murīds* were many representatives of the Turkic clan nobility (evidence of this, in particular, is found in the cemetery located next to the Katta Langar *mazār*), and the Katta Langar *shaykhs* played an active role in political events [46]. It was then that they began constructing the costly mosque in Katta Langar (1519/20 or 1515/16) and the *mazārs* in Katta Langar and Astānā-Ātā [47]. The fall of the Shaybānids reduced the influence of the Katta Langar *shaykhs* to nil, once again affirming the tie between them.

But we return to the turn of the fifteenth — sixteenth centuries. The 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* retreated farther from Samarqand, the realm of Khwāja Ahrār, and closer to Afghanistan, with which they already had ties. The alliance with the Shaybānids was probably formed at that time. The influence of a brotherhood and its *shaykhs* was to a great extent determined by the presence of sacred relics, which were intended to confirm by their presence the traditions that accompanied the history of the *silṣila*. Among the sacred relics which belonged to the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood was an 'Uthmānic Qur'ān (fig. 9). Extant traditions insist on linking its appearance in Mā warā' al-nahr with the name of Khwāja Ahrār. We feel that at the turn of the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries, such a copy appeared among

the sacred relics (see Plate 2) of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood [48]. The latter also included such significant items as a *tasbīḥ*, a string of yellow rosary beads which allegedly belonged to Muḥammad himself (they were stored in the Katta Langar mosque and shown to those who performed the *ziyāra* but no one was allowed to hold them); *mīy-i mubārak*, sacred hairs from the beard of Muḥammad [49]; and, finally, a *khirqā* or *jānda-chapān*, which was also supposed to have belonged to Muḥammad [50].

How did a copy of the Qur'ān which was among the sacred relics of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood make its way to Katta Langar? Here, unfortunately, we can only advance hypotheses.

An interesting legend deals with Muḥammad Šādiq's resettlement. When he was a young *murīd*, his duties included heating water and serving it to his teacher for the ablutions which preceded prayer. Once he discovered that there was no fuel to heat the water; he placed the *qūmghān* with cold water under his arm and fell asleep. A miracle occurred and the water came to a boil. His teacher, scalded by the hot water, realised that his *murīd* had attained *ḥaqīqa*, the final stage of the mystical path. Saying, "there is no reason for us to remain together here," he ordered his pupil to find a new place to live and preach. His teacher said in parting: "May the place of your permanent residence be the place where your camel falls from exhaustion and does not rise for three days". The obedient Muḥammad Šādiq wandered the land in search of an appropriate location for his *langar*. At one point, his camel, which carried a saddle-bag with the sacred copy of the Qur'ān on one side and the *khirqā* of the Prophet on the other, fell from exhaustion. But after resting for a day, it continued. In another place, it lay for two days. It was only upon reaching the territory of the future Katta Langar that the animal lay exhausted for three days [51].

In 1513, the Uzbek *sultāns* who had by then occupied northern Khurāsān and Balkh were compelled to "cleanse" the areas they had conquered. Sultān 'Ubaydallāh resettled the residents of Marw to Bukhārā, and Jānibek resettled the residents of Balkh, Shuburghān and Andkhoy, a region in northern Afghanistan inhabited by Arabs, to his domain on the other side of the Āmū-Daryā. Documents show that the migrants needed a patron in their new location; moreover, the concept of *ihtimām* (payment for care) [52] existed. Perhaps the legend of the long journey and the exhausted camel reflects the migrants' travels, and the ancient copy of the Qur'ān was "payment for care"?

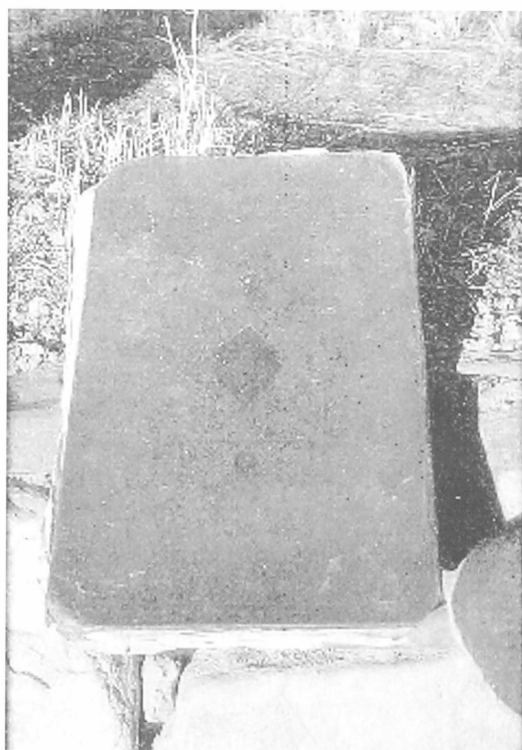
In the traditional tale of how the mosque was built in Katta Langar, told to me by its *imām*, 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ibrāhīm (fig. 11), it is constantly stressed that the mosque was constructed collectively, with each of the neighbouring tribes responsible for some "aspect" of the construction: preparing or delivering construction materials, providing livestock and cooking food for the builders, etc. The mosque, which they began to build only a few years after their move, was intended to unite Muslim regardless of their ethnic origins, and also to integrate the migrants into local society.

Perhaps the future migrants turned for help to the *shaykhs* of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood, who had ties to Afghanistan, and this occasioned their move to Katta Langar?

Finally, extant traditions link the resettlement of the Arabs to Mā warā' al-nahr with Tīmūr's decision to punish the Arab tribes whose ancestors had been accused of



Fig. 5

*Fig. 6**Fig. 7*



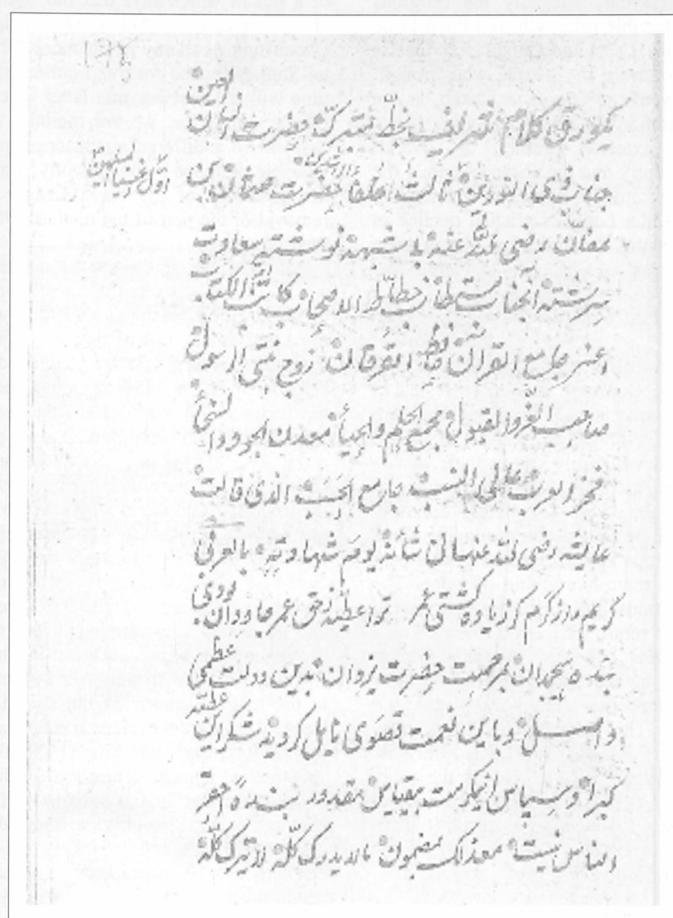


Fig. 8, a

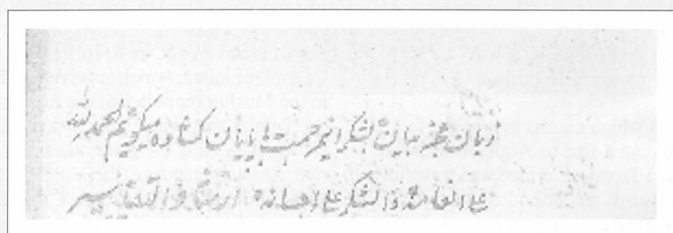


Fig. 8, b

murdering Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. According to one version of the tradition, Timūr directed the Arabs "to China", and only the intercession of Mīr Ḥaydar, allegedly the religious mentor of the mighty and terrible ruler, allowed them to be settled in the area of Gissar (Ḥiṣār) and Qārshī [53]. One is tempted to think that these were the people who brought with them an ancient copy of the Qur'ān executed, as we have shown [54], in the traditions of Umayyad Syria.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the overall political situation in the country and the absence among the 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* of such prominent figures as Muḥammad Ṣādiq and his son led to Katta Langar's gradual decline in significance as a spiritual centre. An indication of this is the fact that the number of gravestones from the sixteenth century with dates later than 1560, when *shaykh* Abū-l-Ḥasan the younger died, is significantly smaller than in preceding decades.

Political instability and military raids on nearby cities also affected Katta Langar. Constant internal strife led to the appearance of Kazakhs, who in 1723 were brought there by one of the contenders for the *khān*'s throne. But their obedience soon ended, and with truly catastrophic consequences: surrounding towns, including such large centres as Samarqand and Shahr-i Sabz, were completely deserted. Groups of Kazakhs roamed the region. On occupying Katta Langar, they turned the mosque and *mazar* into a cattle-pen; on leaving, they took with them everything of value. The population hid in the mountains, spiriting away their sacred relics; they were not soon to return [55].

Somewhat later, *khwājas* appeared in Katta Langar from Bukhārā, claiming to be descendants of the *shaykhs*; they made efforts to restore the local holy places and reclaim their significance. This activity soon bore fruit. The territory of the *waqf*, which at first included only the settlement, gradually expanded. By the end of the nineteenth century, it encompassed all the lands along the *sāy* of Langar up to Yār-tepe. Later, the *waqf* grew larger. Russian officers who were in the area in the final third of the nineteenth century found in Katta Langar a flourishing agricultural and religious centre.

Colonel Belavsky described the appearance of the Katta Langar *mutawallī* in 1889: "The current *mutawallī* was appointed three years ago. He is gentle and ingratiating in manner, displaying great outward modest and humility. When receiving guests, he is dressed quite simply: a white shirt and light top-boots (*ichigi*) with shoes on his bare feet, that is all. In his way of speaking and conversing, he is reminiscent of a Polish Catholic priest" [56]. It appears that this man with the manners of a Polish Catholic priest was linked to the disappearance from the *mazar* of half of the Qur'ānic manuscript and the appearance of fragments on the Bukhārān book market.

A tradition has survived which claims that in the fall of 1920, as the last *amīr* of Bukhārā fled to Afghanistan, word spread in Katta Langar that a Japanese prince was travelling there incognito. Soon afterward, an individual wrapped in a rich green robe and very similar in appearance to the last *amīr*, Mīr 'Alīm (1910–1920), is alleged to have appeared in Katta Langar, where he performed the *ziyāra*, venerated the sacred relics and immediately left the *qishlāq* [57]. In December, 1999, during my stay in Uzbekistan, I heard a different legend from several people. In this version, Mīr 'Alīm left a copy of the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" in one of the *qishlāqs* on a spur of the Gissar mountain range.

According to my informants, he had planned to take the relic to Afghanistan, but changed his mind when he learned of a *ḥadīth* which says that the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" will always remain in Mā warā' al-nahr. Members of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies looked for this *ḥadīth*, but found nothing. Only time will tell whether this latter legend refers to the Katta Langar copy (and we are inclined to believe that this is case) or to a different manuscript, perhaps as ancient and valuable. Perhaps a conveniently composed *ḥadīth* allowed the guardians of the Katta Langar relics to prevent the removal of the part of the manuscript that then remained in their possession.

In previous articles in the series "The Qur'ān and its world", I have written frequently of the important role played by Sūfī teachings and their adepts in the development and emergence of that multi-faceted phenomenon in mankind's cultural history designated in brief by the word "Qur'ān". This includes the development of a teaching on the recitation of the Qur'ān, the creation of a system of signs which completed the extended process of establishing a unitary text [58], and the development of principles for the allegorical interpretation of the text. The latter served as the basis of hundreds of works which make up an important element of Islamic religious culture [59]. The specific features of Sūfī teachings were directly reflected in how the "word of Allah" was used in religious practice [60], in the physical appearance of Qur'ānic manuscripts and works of Qur'ān-related literature [61]. The world-outlook of Sūfī brotherhoods acted as a catalyst for the broad penetration of fragments of the Qur'ānic text into ordinary life as a belief in the magical power of the "word of Allah" led to the frequent appearance of *āyāt* and fragments on weaponry, jewellery, pottery, and fabric [62]. Today we can speak of yet another important element in the system of relations between the Qur'ān and Sūfism. By this we mean the religious and cultural paradigm connected with the preservation of extremely ancient copies as the sacred relics of Sūfī brotherhoods. By their very existence, these manuscripts, which preserved the most ancient layer of the Sacred text's history, were intended to confirm the traditional histories of specific *silsilas*, affirm the authority of their *shaykhs*, attract new adepts, and awaken religious enthusiasm in believers. In our view, this explains the phenomenon known as the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān".

*Habent sua fata libelli* ("To each book a fate its own"). The history of our manuscript spans at least twelve centuries, a remarkable tale bound up with the fates of dynasties and states, cities and people, the fate of Islamic civilisation from its emergence in Arabia in the seventh century to the triumph of Islam, which survived and outlasted communism in the Muslim republics of the former USSR.

I finish this article only two months after returning from Uzbekistan. Only the generous aid of my colleagues and the rich Russian-language literature on the history of Central Asia allowed me to connect the legends and traditions I heard there with the information contained in written sources, the majority of which I encountered for the first time. This article is, to a certain degree, a preliminary report on field research. It is my hope that the help of my colleagues and friends, specialists on the history and culture of Central Asia, will permit me in the future to refine the conclusions and hypotheses presented here.





*Fig. 9*



Fig. 10



Fig. 11






Fig. 12

Table 1



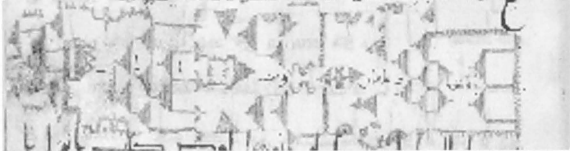
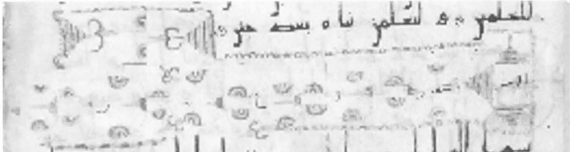




Folio	Folio side	<i>Sūra</i>	<i>Āyāt</i>	Place of preservation
1	a	3	26—61	Tashkent
	b			
2	a	4	136—146	K A T T A L A N G A R
	b		146—157	
3	a		157—169	
	b		169—176	
4	a	5	1—4	
	b		4—9	
5	a		10—17	
	b		17—27	
6	a		28—40	
	b		40—45	
7	a		46—54	
	b		54—64	
8	a		64—73	
	b		73—85	
9	a		86—95	
	b		95—106	
10	a	6	106—113	
	b		113	
11	a		3	
	b		3—19	
12	a		19—33	
	b		33—46	
13	a		46—59	
	b		59—70	
14	a	28	70—82	
	b		35-?	
15	b		?-81	Bukhārā

Table 2\*

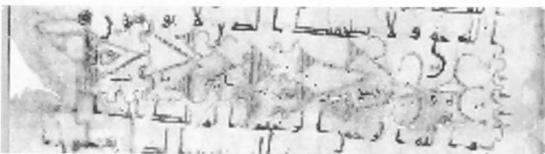


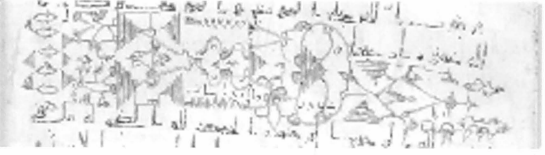
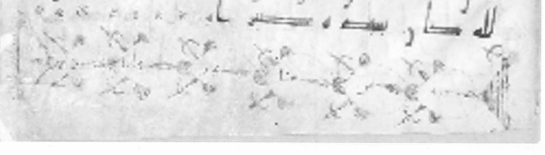

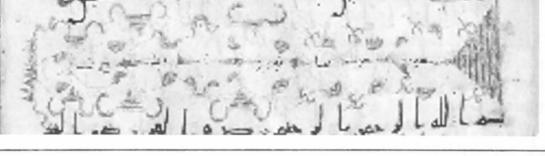

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
1.	10b Katta Langar	
2.	03a	
3.	09b	

\* Number 1 was taken from the Katta Langar folio 10b, others — from the part of the manuscript preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection.


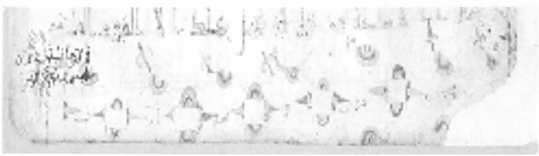



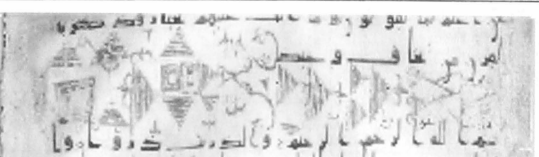


Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
4.	11b	
5.	16b	
6.	19a	
7.	26a	
8.	29a	
9.	31a	
10	36a	
11.	38b	




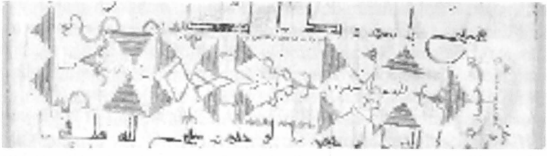

Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
12.	42a	
13.	43b	
14.	44b	
15.	48b	
16.	52a	
17.	54a	
18.	57a	
19.	59b	

Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
20.	61a	
21.	62b	
22.	64b	
23.	65a	
24.	66a	
25.	67a	
26.	68a	
27.	69a	

Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
28.	70a	
29.	71a	
30.	72b	
31.	74b	
32.	76b	

## Notes

1. E. A. Rezvan, “The Qur’ān and its world: VI. Emergence of the canon: the struggle for uniformity”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), pp. 13–54.

2. F. Déroche, “Note sur les fragments coraniques anciens de Katta Langar (Ouzbékistan)”, *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l’Asie Centrale Islamique. Cahiers d’Asie Centrale*, VII (Tashkent—Aix-en-Provence, 1999), pp. 65–73.

3. See also, E. A. Rezvan, “Les premiers Corans”, *De Bagdad à Ispahan. Manuscrits islamiques de la Filiale de Saint-Petersbourg de l’Institut d’Études orientales, Académie des Sciences de Russie*, éd. Yuri A. Pétrosyan (Milan, 1994), pp. 84–5.

4. See G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Vatican, 1951), iv, p. 330. — Studi e Testi, 147; F. Tarrāzī, *Ta’rīkh al-ṣiḥāfa al-‘arabiyya* (Beirut, 1913), ii, pp. 171–5; L. Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, 2e éd. (Beyrouth, 1926), ii, pp. 139–40. He usually signed works printed in French as “I. Nauphal”, see I. lu. Krachkovsky, “Novaia rukopis’ opisaniia Rossii sheikhā at-Tantavi” (“A new manuscript of shaykh al-Ṭaṭṭāwī’s description of Russia”), *Sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1955), i, p. 171.

5. St. Petersburg collections have preserved several other manuscripts from his library. In addition to the Qur’ānic manuscript, the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) holds four other manuscripts (B 2485, B 3971, C 2332, and C 2333); they are, for the most part, works on Muslim dogmatics and examples of Arabic prose.

6. See I. Ma’lūf, *Dīwān al-quṭūfī ta’rīkh banī al-Ma’lūf* (Ba’abda, 1907–1908), pp. 242, 699.

7. For information about these folios I am indebted to Ashirbek Muminov, Aftandil Erkinov, Shadmon Vakhidov (Tashkent) and Florian Schwarz (Bohum).

8. This is the earliest possible date for the creation of the binding. See G. N. Chabrov, “K izucheniiu sredneaziatskogo knizhnogo pereplēta” (“To the study of Central Asian bookbinding”), *Narody Asii i Afriki*, II (1964), pp. 123–35. Craftsmen received the right to prepare and employ their own stamp upon completing their training and producing their first worthy product. They could use the same

stamp for many years. Bindings of this type arose in Kashmīr in the early 1730s; by the early — mid-nineteenth century they had become widespread in Central Asia. This was the conclusion reached by O. F. Akimushkin after analysing 622 examples of bindings of this type from various collections in St. Petersburg, Tashkent, and Dushanbe (his unpublished paper "Eshchē raz o sredneaziatskom pereplēte tipa *muqawwā*" ("Further remarks on Central Asian binding of the *muqawwā* type"), delivered at the annual scholarly session of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies in December, 1999).

9. For more detail, see Sh. Vahidov et A. Erkinov, "Le *fihrist* (catalogue) de la bibliothèque de Ṣadr-i Dīyā': une image de la vie intellectuelle dans le Mavarannahr (fin XIX-e — début XX-e siècles)", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, VII, pp. 141—51 (see specially p. 164, No. 171). "Thesa" publishers plans to issue a French-language monograph by these authors on the library of Ṣadr-i Dīyā'.

10. Oblastnaia Biblioteka im. Abu Ali b. Sina (The Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā Regional Library), Bukhara, call number 1022. See G. Kurbanov, F. Schwarz, *Catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Turkic Manuscripts in the Ibn Sina Library, Bukhara* (Bukhara, 1998), p. 3, No. 6. Unfortunately, it was not possible to check the back side of the double folio since removing the parchment from the frame could damage the folio.

11. D. Yu. Arapov, "The Bukhara khanate at the end of the 19th century", *Bukhara*, ed. V. Naumkin (London, 1993), p. 38.

12. According to Florian Schwarz, the Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā Library also has a copy of classical Persian poetry by Dihlawī (call number 246) in the handwriting of Mir Ṣiddīq Hishmat titled *Majmū'ī qasā'id wa-madh*, which according to a seal print seems not to have been completed before 1878/79.

13. The cost of 4—6 rams in 1889. See M. N. Fyodorov, "Tseny v Bukharskom emirate v XIX — nachale XX vv." ("Prices in the Bukhāran Emirate in the 19th — beginning of the 20th century"), *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, XI (1997), pp. 75—6.

14. Manuscript No. 2663 from the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 197a. For information about these folios I am indebted to Florian Schwarz and Ashirbek Muminov. Aftandil Erkinov and Shadmon Vahidov kindly informed about the catalogue of Muḥammad Ṣiddīq.

15. For a description and photograph, see Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and colour plate VII inside the text.

16. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world", p. 28; Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

17. For the closest parallel to this illumination, see Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, Karl-Heinz Ohlig, Gerd-Rüdiger Puin, "Neue wege der Koranforschung", *Magazin Forschung. Universität des Saarlandes*, I (1999), p. 44, ill. 8. It is a fragment of one of the Qur'ānic manuscripts discovered in the Great Mosque of Ṣan'ā' (end of *sūra* 33 and beginning of *sūra* 34. Cod. Sanaa 01-28.1, dated to the mid-eighteenth century) (see fig. 3).

18. M. E. Masson, "Katta Liangar v oblasti srednevekovogo Keshā" ("Katta Langar in the region of medieval Kash"), *Trudy Tashkentskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. V. I. Lenina*, Fasc. 295 (Tashkent, 1966), pp. 66—105. — *Arkheologiiia Srednei Azii*, VII.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

20. B. Babadzhonov, "Ėpigraficheskie pamiatniki musul'manskikh mazarov kak istochnik po istorii Sufizma (na primere mazarov Astana-Ata i Katta Langar)" ("Epigraphic texts from Muslim *mazārs* as a source on the history of Sūfism (based on the *mazārs* of Astānā-Ātā and Katta Langar)"), *Iz istorii Sufizma: istochniki i sotsial'naia praktika* (Tashkent, 1991), pp. 89—97.

21. At present, there is still hope to restore the negatives of these photographs, which were damaged in a fire in B. Babajanov's office.

22. T. Boymirov, *Langar Ota* (Qarshi, 1997), p. 7 (in Uzbek).

23. A. Erkinov, "Les manuscrits du *Khamsa* de 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī et la vie culturelle du khanat de Boukhara sous Mangits", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, V—VI (1998), p. 180, n. 15.

24. A. Muminov, "Fonds nationaux et collections privées de manuscrits en écriture arabe de l'Ouzbékistan", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, VII (1999), p. 33.

25. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world", p. 24.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

27. "Big Langar". A *langar* is, literally, an anchor, the stick held for balance by a tightrope-walker. Figuratively, it means, a Ṣūfī residence or refuge.

28. The title "Langar" was fairly widespread in Mā warā' al-nahr, Khurāsān and India (see J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Khargird", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM Edition, v. 1.0; J. Burton-Page, "Gulbargā", *ibid.*; A. S. Bazmee Ansari, "Kalīm Allāh al-Djāhānābādī", *ibid.*). Russian topographs who worked in Bukhāran Emirate in the 1870s identified two other Langars in the vicinity. One was the Northern or "Old Langar" in the Aqtaw mountains; the other, the Eastern, some thirty kilometers South-East of Shahr-i Sabz on the right bank of the Tanhaz-daryā. One of these officers was second Lieutenant Kolosovsky; see A. G. Beliauskii, "Opisanie obrekognostsirovannogo uchastka, zakliuchaiushchego v sebe proidennye puti v predelakh Shaar-sabaz, Guzarskogo bekstva i chasti nagornoī Derbentskoī vozvys-hennosti" ("Description of a surveyed area which includes roads followed within Shaar-sabaz, the Guzar *beglik* and part of the Derbent heights"), *Sbornik geograficheskikh, topograficheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii*, fasc. 57 (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 143, n. 1.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

30. Interesting attempts were made by the Russian military engineer B. N. Kastalsky to locate these fortresses, although their location has not yet been established. He based his conclusions on the information contained in detailed surveys of the Turkestan region, as he was unable to visit the sites themselves. See Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 100—1.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 76—7.

32. Muḥammad Ṣadīq, *Sheibani-name* (Muḥammad Ṣādiq, *Shaybānī-nāma*), published by P. M. Melioransky (St. Petersburg, 1908), chap. 22, p. 41; see also Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

33. The language and folklore of the Central Asian Arabs has received special study; the major works are G. B. Tsereteli, *Arabskie dialekty Srednei Azii*, I (Bukharskii arabskii dialekt) (Arab Dialects of Central Asia, I (The Bukhāran Arab Dialect)) (Tbilisi, 1956); I. N. Vinnikov, "Slovar' dialektov bukharskikh arabov" ("Dictionary of the dialects of the Bukhāran Arabs"), *Palestinskii sbornik*, X (83) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1962); *idem*, *lazyk i fol'klor bukharskikh arabov* (*Teksty i perevod*) (The Language and Folklore of the Bukhāran Arabs (Texts and Translation)) (Moscow, 1969).

34. Account of a contemporary eye-witness, author of the work *Zubdat al-athār*. See *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Imperatorskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XV (1902—1903), pp. 202—3; S. L. Volin, "K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov" ("On the history of the Central Asian Arabs"), *Trudy vtoroi sessii Assotsiatsii arabistov* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1941), p. 126. See also I. N. Vinnikov, "Araby v SSSR" ("Arabs in the USSR"), *Sovetskaiia etnografiia*, IV (1940), pp. 3 ff.; I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Arabistika v SSSR za 20 let" ("20 years of Arab studies in the USSR"), *Trudy vtoroi sessii Assotsiatsii arabistov*, pp. 28 ff; *idem*, "Arabistika i istoriia narodov SSSR" ("Arab studies and the history of the peoples of the USSR"), *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, V (1938), p. 56; *idem*, *Ocherki po istorii russkoī arabistiki* (Essays on the History of Russian Arab Studies) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1950), pp. 252 ff.



35. One of these photographs, "The mosque Hawan Langar in Eastern Bukhārā" was displayed in September, 1889, in Tashkent at the first Turkestan photo exhibit. See *Pervaiia Turkestanskaia fotograficheskaia vystavka 19—26 sentiabria 1899* (The First Turkestan Photo Exhibition, 19—26 September, 1899) (Tashkent, 1899), p. 32, section "Fotografii kapitana Kastal'skogo" ("Photographs by Captain Kastalsky"), No. 114. The current location of B. N. Kastalsky's negatives and prints from Langar is unknown. See Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 102, n. 3.
36. Published in the newspaper *Turkestanskii vedomosti*, No. 105 (13. 05. 1910).
37. R. R. Abdurasulev, L. I. Rempel', "Neizvestnye pamiatniki arkhitektury bassefna Kashkadar'i" ("Unknown architectural monuments in the Kashka Daryā basin"), *Iskusstvo zodchikh Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1962), i, pp. 32—40.
38. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
39. Babadzhano, *op. cit.*
40. The title is based on the Sūfī concept of 'ishq — "all-encompassing passion for God which leads a Sūfī along the mystical path". J. Trimmingham, in his *The Sūfī Orders in Islam* (I employed a Russian translation of the work, *Sūfīskie ordena v islame*, Moscow, 1989, p. 87) considers that 'Ishqiyya is one of the titles of the Shaṭṭariyya *tariqat* which was introduced into India by Shāh 'Abdallāh, a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, see K. A. Nizami, "Shaṭṭariyya", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ix, p. 396b, CD-ROM version. It was known as 'Ishqiyya in Iran and Central Asia and as Bisṭāmiyya in Ottoman Turkey. Both of these names are linked to the preacher and Khurāsān Sūfī Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī al-Tayfūrī al-'Ishqī. Ahmad Kashmīrī's *Shajara-yi tabaqat-i anbiyā' wa mashāyikh wa silsilat-i tariqat anḥā* (in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent, No. 1426, fols. 280 ff.), drawn up no earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century, provides additional information on this brotherhood. See Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
41. Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 82—3.
42. Babadzhano, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
43. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 73—4.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 88; Babadzhano, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
47. *Ibid.*
48. This is indirectly confirmed by the traditions we have cited, which insist on dating the copying of the manuscript to the fifteenth century.
49. According to the accounts of long-time residents, the hair of the Prophet was red or light-brown. This occasionally took aback pilgrims who believed that Muḥammad was a dark-haired.
50. The *khirqā* was of light-brown camel skin and had a collar and long sleeves which reached almost down to the knees. The fabric was covered in yellow, blue, and red decorations. Some felt that the *khirqā* was made from the skin of the sheep sacrificed by Ibrāhīm. According to tradition, it had no seams and was miraculously created for Muḥammad. It was also said to possess a special quality: it appeared to be of varying colours to all who succeeded in seeing it; see Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 96—7. There is also an interesting legend about how the *khirqā* made its way to Mā warā' al-nahr. According to tradition, Muḥammad bequeathed it on his deathbed to the Yemeni Uways al-Qaranī, one of the first Sūfīs to convert to Islam in the spirit of the Prophet. The latter is said to have lived in a cave not far from "Northern Langar". Muḥammad charged Abū Bakr and two of his military leaders with delivering the *khirqā*. According to another version, the *khirqā* was brought to the Yemen by the future caliphs 'Uthmān and 'Alī, where they presented it to Uways; much later, one of the latter's pupils took it to Mā warā' al-nahr. Others felt that the *khirqā* was brought there by Uways himself. Everyone linked the appearance of the *khirqā* in Katta Langar with the activities of Muḥammad Šādiq (*ibid.*, pp. 72—3).
51. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
52. Volin, *op. cit.*, pp. 117—26.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 112. I completed this article on February 23, which marks the fifty-sixth anniversary of Stalin's deportation of the Chechens and Ingush. *Tempora mutantur et nos nihil mutantur in illis*.
54. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world", p. 26.
55. When the grandfather of Khayt-bobo, M. E. Masson's 77-year-old informant, came down from the mountains in his youth, the village was inhabited by only 30 families, see Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93—5.
56. Beliauskii, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
57. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
58. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world", pp. 18—9.
59. *Idem*, "The Qur'ān and its word. IX. The Triumph of Diversity: Muslim Exegesis", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/3 (1999), pp. 37—57.
60. *Idem*, "The Qur'ān and its word: III. "Echoings of universal harmonies" (prophetic revelation, religious inspiration, occult practice)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/3 (1997), pp. 18—9.
61. *Idem*, "The Qur'ān and its word: VII. talisman, shield, and sword", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/4 (1998), pp. 24—31.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 31—2.

## Illustrations

### Front cover:

Fragment of one of the Qur'ānic folios kept in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

### Back cover:

**Plate 1.** The *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

**Plate 2.** Reliquary of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

**Plate 3.** Guard at the gates of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

*Inside the text:*

- Fig. 1.** Iriney Nofal. Photograph from F. Ṭarrāzī, *Ta'riḫ al-ṣiḥāfa al-'arabiyya* (Beirut, 1913), ii, p. 172.
- Fig. 2.** Muḥammad Sharīf-Jān Makhdūm Ṣadr-i Diyā'. From S. Aīni, *Iadashsa* (Yādāshthā) (Dushambe, 1962), vii, between p. 161 and p. 162.
- Fig. 3.** Fragment of a Qur'ānic manuscript (Cod. Sanaa 01—28.1), end of *sūra* 33 and beginning of *sūra* 34, dated to the mid-eighth century. Discovered in the Great mosque of Ṣan'ā'. Courtesy of Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer.
- Fig. 4.** Binding of a Qur'ānic folio (call number 11604) from the collection of Muḥammad Sharīf-Jān Makhdūm Ṣadr-i Diyā' in the holdings of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Courtesy of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies.
- Fig. 5.** Muḥammad Ṣiddīq b. Amīr Muẓaffār. Photograph by Hordet, no later than 1885. *Bukharskii Al'bom* (Bukhāran Album), in the photo archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Fig. 6.** *Mazār* in Katta Langar, view from the pass (photo by the author, December, 1999).
- Fig. 7.** Binding from Katta Langar.
- Fig. 8.** *Fihrist* (call number 2460) of the personal library of Ṣadr-i Diyā' from the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Courtesy of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies:  
*a* — fol. 175 a; *b* — beginning of fol. 175 b.
- Fig. 9.** 'Abd al-Rashīd Bakhromov, Supreme *Muftī* of Uzbekistan by the safe which today holds the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān that once belonged to Khwāja Akhrār (Tashkent, December, 1999).
- Fig. 10.** Jura-Khan Aṣamov in front of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).
- Fig. 11.** 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ibrāhīm, *imām* of the mosque in Katta Langar, displaying a fragment of the Qur'ānic manuscript (photo by the author, December 1999).
- Fig. 12.** Republic of Uzbekistan and its neighbours.
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## BOOK REVIEWS

T. K. Posova, K. L. Chizhikova. *Kratkii katalog indüskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia RAN*. Moskva: Izdatel'skaia firma "Vostochnaia literatura", 1999, 168 str.

T. K. Posova, K. L. Chizhikova. *A Brief Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts at the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies*. Moscow: "Vostochnaya Literatura" Publishing House, 1999, 168 pp.

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies' collection of Indian manuscripts is not very extensive. It began to take shape in the late eighteenth — early nineteenth century, and a major part of the manuscripts dates to the late nineteenth century. It also lacks rare or unique works, being represented by the copies of well-known compositions in traditional fields of knowledge most widespread in India. With few exceptions, the collection was gathered by non-specialists or copied by Russian scholars in European collections, primarily in England. Typical in this regard are the copies brought from Europe in 1836 by R. Lenz. However, the collection does contain some intriguing and fairly valuable manuscripts which will be discussed below. The "Brief Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts" which has finally appeared and which is under review here can be viewed as the completion of work begun by scholars in the late eighteenth century.

The authors of the Catalogue tried not to duplicate information already published in earlier, incomplete catalogues. Hence, the Catalogue which resulted is primarily an alphabetical list of works with indices. Yet this is, in fact, a necessary contribution, the missing link in various attempts to catalogue the Indian manuscripts. The list contains brief descriptions of 658 items, among which we find both Indian manuscripts and manuscripts from South and South-East Asia (Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia) in 29 languages and dialects (see the "Index of languages and dialects", p. 153). In addition to Eastern languages, the Index includes Russian, the language of some practical inventory documents from the collection of Kirpal Das, an Indian merchant from Central Asia (1870s—1880s, see

No. 740). We note for users of the Catalogue that in Russian descriptions and articles this collection is commonly called "Hasa Jas". The Index also includes French, which is used along with Thai in the captions of illustrations in the Albums of Thai mythology (Nos. 730—732).

Manuscripts in the Catalogue are divided into two groups. The first comprises manuscripts which contain titles. They number 659. The second part of the Catalogue — Nos. 660—788 — includes works with lost titles or with no titles at all. Each description is organised as follows: title, author, thematic note, call number, collection (often in too abbreviated form, which makes indication vague), dimensions, number of folios, type of writing, dating (if indicated in the colophon, with translation from Indian to European chronology), and, finally, reference to the N. D. Mironov catalogue, which served as the main source of information for the present Catalogue.

N. D. Mironov, who published his "Catalogue of Indian Manuscripts" in Petrograd in 1914<sup>1</sup>, marked it "Fascicle 1". In a brief foreword to the edition he indicated that the issue includes only part of the Indian manuscripts, namely those written in Sanskrit and Pāli. It should be noted that the Mironov catalogue contains a number of inaccuracies and lacks indices, which makes it difficult to use it. Besides, compositions are divided here by genre and thematic content on the basis of Indian principles of classification. As a result, there are 11 sections, beginning from the most ancient works of Indian literature — the *Vedas* and commentaries on them — to Buddhist literature.

N. D. Mironov intended to continue his work, including in the second issue manuscripts in new Indian languages and indices to both issues as well. Evidently, some of this work has been done by him, as the Archive of Orientalists at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has in its holdings five corrected page proofs, which contain descriptions of Nos. 506—525. During their work on the Catalogue under review here, the authors took into account Mironov's descriptions, which were checked against the manuscripts and corrected by them.

The second source to which the Catalogue's authors refer is the *Opisanie rukopisei khindi i pendzhabi*

<sup>1</sup> Since the Russian title does not indicate that the work is a catalogue of manuscripts in the Asiatic Museum, we provide here the parallel Latin title — *Catalogus codicum manüscriptorum Indicorum qui in Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae Museo Asiatico asservantur*.

("Description of Hindi and Punjabi Manuscripts") compiled by G. A. Zograf and published by him in 1960. (Prof. Zograf is also the editor of the Catalogue under review here). His own catalogue contains 106 descriptions with extensive entries, sometimes citing the first line of a manuscript in original graphic form (*Devanāgarī* or *Gurmukhī*).

Also employed by the authors is the article by V. S. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky, who, in 1951–1956, worked on a description of Indian manuscripts, producing a comprehensive survey on the collection which treats both the history of its composition and the contents of individual manuscripts<sup>2</sup>. The text of the article constitutes the foreword to the edition under review. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky drew up a manuscript list of the titles of 102 recently acquired Indian manuscripts yet to be inventoried. The list indicates the origin of the manuscript (a gift in the majority of cases, sometimes a purchase). The manuscripts listed by the scholar have finally been included in the current Catalogue.

It is important, the Catalogue's authors are the first to include 24 manuscripts from M. S. Andreev collection which was acquired in 1913. These are manuscripts on palm leaf written in South Indian scripts. They were identified by Andreev himself and by Indian scholars who visited the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies over the years.

Among the virtues of the Catalogue under review is, first, its nearly complete overview of the entire Indian collection. Composite manuscripts and collections are broken down into individual works with necessary cross-references. Secondly, all descriptions hold to a single pattern, which adds to the Catalogue's transparency, clarity, and precision. And most importantly, the Catalogue is supplied with extensive indices and concordances: "Index of authors, copyists, and translators", "Index of languages and dialects", "Index of collection owners", "Concordance of call numbers and description numbers", and "Concordance of old and new call numbers".

Among the shortcomings of the Catalogue one can mention inconsistency in indicating the manuscripts' use in publications or even their complete publication. The list of abbreviations is also not complete. The abbreviation *Haeb.* in manuscript descriptions, which refers to the manuscript collector J. Haebler (1855), is absent among the names in the "Index of collection owners", which is given in Russian script. One is also at a loss when encountering the abbreviation *IIA* both in manuscript descriptions and in the corresponding Index. In fact, the abbreviation refers to the

M. S. Andreev collection and comes from "Пальмовый лист, Андреев" ("Palm leaf, Andreev").

Evaluating the collection of Indian manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, one must note that it contains copies of true value that has escaped scholarly attention. Though, these manuscripts are few: No. 376, the *Bhāvanākrama* by Kamalaśīla. Although published in facsimile in 1963<sup>3</sup>, the text has not yet received a detailed analysis or comparison with other versions<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies preserves a relatively early, fourteenth-century copy of this work presented to S. F. Oldenburg as a gift by the 13th Dalai Lama. The manuscript contains several small Buddhist works which have not yet been introduced into scholarly circulation; No. 636, the *Subhāṣitārṇava*, the poetic anthology "Ocean of Lovely Utterances", which contains a few unique poems; No. 128, the *Kṛṣṇapaddhati*, ascribed to Paraśara. It is a guide to agricultural composition, non-employed in scholarship as yet; and No. 213, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjika*, by Kamalaśīla. This is a late copy of a manuscript held in India in the library of the Jain shrine of Pārśvanātha in Jessalmir. It contains a well-known commentary by Kamalaśīla on Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha*. The version presented here has not yet been taken into account in other editions of the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjika*, while the manuscript itself contains 1,524 folios (21.0 × 18.0 cm).

Finally, manuscript No. 611 is also of interest. It is the *Sārasvatīprakriyā* by Anubhūtiśvarūpa. This well-known work on Sanskrit grammar was specially copied by W. Jones, the founder of European Sanskritology, and contains numerous notes and marginalia in his hand.

The Catalogue under review appeared in print thanks to the initiative of the late Prof. G. A. Zograf, head of the South and South-East Asia Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The dedication and insistence of K. L. Chizhikova also played a significant role in the success of the project. It is she who took upon herself the task of checking and augmenting the uncompleted card files of the late T. K. Posova. The Catalogue finishes the description of the Indian collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies and introduces it into scholarly circulation. It is regrettable, however, that the Catalogue is available only in Russian. The practice shows that editions in the Russian language unfortunately remain but poorly used in European Indology.

M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya  
E. Tyomkin

<sup>2</sup> V. S. Vorob'ev-Desiatovskii, "Sobranie indīskikh rukopisei Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSR" ("The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies collection of Indian manuscripts"), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, IX (Leningrad, 1954), pp. 128–45.

<sup>3</sup> Kamalaśīla, *Bhāvanākrama*, published by B. I. Pankratov and E. N. Tyomkin (Moscow, 1963). An article by E. Obermiller, who himself had planned to publish this manuscript, is employed as a foreword.

<sup>4</sup> G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, pt. 2. First *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla. — Rome Oriental Series, IX, 2.

*Katalog tangutskikh buddĭskikh pamiatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiĭskoi Akademii Nauk.* Sostavitel' E. I. Kychanov, Vstupitel'naia stat'ia Tatsuo Nisida, izdanie podgotovleno S. Arakawa. Kioto: Universitet Kioto, 1999, XLIX, 742 str., ill.

*Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Texts at the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies.* Compiled by E. I. Kychanov, introductory article by Nisida Tatsuo, edition prepared by S. Arakawa. Kyoto: University of Kyoto, 1999, XLIX, 742 pp., ill.

With more than 8,000 items, the collection of Tangut manuscripts and xylographs at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is the largest in the world. It is also the only collection of Tangut texts which come from the Xi Xia state (928—1227). Other collections of Tangut texts contain either xylographs published in China, after Chingis Khan's conquering Xi Xia and the state's subsequent collapse, or scattered individual fragments of manuscripts and xylographs. The collection was acquired by the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) in 1910 after the expedition of P. K. Kozlov (1863—1935) to the South Gobi in 1908—1909, where a famous *suburgan* on the outskirts of the dead city of Khara Khoto was discovered and excavated.

The history of how the texts found there were studied and described is both interesting and dramatic. They were first examined by A. I. Ivanov (1878—1937) and A. N. Nevsky (1892—1937), who were, through no fault of their own, unable to complete their work: the Tangut language in which the books discovered in Khara Khoto were written was unknown to scholars. Deciphering the original writing system of the Tanguts was A. N. Nevsky's paramount achievement, and it was he who began to draw up an inventory of the collection. The tragic death of the scholar who fell a victim to the Stalinist regime interrupted the work so brilliantly started.

After Nevsky's death, various people at various times undertook the examination, inventory, description, and re-assembly of Tangut manuscript fragments and xylographs in more favourable conditions, though the task was not at all easy. In 1963, a catalogue of Tangut manuscripts and xylographs, compiled by Z. I. Gorbacheva and E. I. Kychanov, came to light on the seventieth anniversary of A. N. Nevsky. It contains 405 titles, of which 60 are detailed, annotated descriptions of secular works (translations from Chinese, dictionaries, works of Tangut literature, calendars, incantations, and medical texts). The remainder is a list of Buddhist works — 334 titles in all with references, where possible, to original Sanskrit titles (the number 334 is the result of reassembling fragments into more complete texts).

After 1963, work on a detailed description of the Buddhist works, which make up the bulk of the collection, was continued, and a second part of the catalogue was planned. Unfortunately, those plans have remained unrealised until recently. A paradoxical situation emerged: Tangut studies had already taken shape as a branch of international Oriental studies, while there was still no catalogue describing and attributing the basic texts broadly employed by scholars.

It is the current head of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, E. I. Kychanov, who, working practically alone since the end of the 1960s, has completed

an enormous project on Tangut Buddhist texts' cataloguing. He checked all previously described material, made translation of colophons and identification of the texts and reassembled numerous fragments. The result is the remarkable "Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Texts of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies", which is part of a large international project. The edition, initiated by the well-known Japanese scholar Prof. Nisida Tatsuo, received financial support from the Japanese Ministry of Education. The scholarly staff and postgraduate students of the Chair of General Linguistics on the Philological Faculty of the University of Kyoto were of great assistance in the actual preparation of the volume.

Prof. Nisida who was invited by Prof. Kychanov to write the introductory article to the Catalogue is a leading authority on Buddhist texts. It would be impossible to attribute Tangut texts without using the catalogues of which he is the author. His introductory article, entitled "Problems in drawing up a catalogue of Tangut Buddhist texts", is accompanied by an abstract in Russian. No one is more familiar with these problems than Prof. Nisida himself. His dissection of 37 examples, illustrating the issues which face anyone who undertakes a description of Tangut Buddhist texts, is fascinating and constitutes one of the adornments of the volume. Unfortunately, a galling typographical error crept into the text: on page XXII (example 17), we find the title 施水食放順要論, whereas the actual title is 水食施放順要論 (p. 440). This alteration of the first character greatly complicates the search for the given example in the Catalogue itself.

The introduction by E. I. Kychanov discusses in brief the discovery and description of the collection from Khara Khoto the history of which was presented by the author in detail in the 1963 catalogue. The principles employed to organise the descriptions of Tangut Buddhist manuscripts and xylographs are also explained. The author summarises his experience of working with Tangut Buddhist texts, which provokes him to pose the question whether such a phenomenon as Tangut Buddhism ever existed, and if so, what its features precisely were. No doubt, answers to these questions may emerge from scrutinising the texts whose descriptions are presented in the Catalogue.

The Catalogue comprises nearly 800 pages, including numerous illustrations, and makes use of Chinese and Tangut script. It opens with a "List of the texts' contents": works which are part of the Taisyo *Tripitaka* (324 titles) and apocrypha; texts which are part of the "Full Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon" (31 titles) and non-canonical Buddhist works arranged by genre, as well as commentaries (338 titles). It should be noted that a rather extensive descriptive scheme is employed: numbers, call numbers, inventory numbers, references to the Nisida Tatsuo catalogue, titles in all possible languages in Russian transcription, source language of translations, information about the book (manuscript or xylograph), type of book and binding method, cover, dimensions, number of folios, completeness of the text, number of lines and characters per line, handwriting, ruling, margins, mention of a foreword or heading, information which follows the heading, information about authors, editors, translators, information about afterwards and colophons, print and marginalia, traces of native restoration, condition, and finally, type of paper. Manuscripts always precede xylographs in descriptions.

Thus, we find here a remarkably systematised and full description, executed in strict accordance with a well thought-through conception and encompassing an enormous number of extremely difficult texts.

The reference apparatus is worthy of special attention. The appendices and indices make it easy to extract rich historical material contained in the Tangut texts, namely calendar chronology, descriptions of rule in both Chinese and Tangut writing, dated books, original names, official positions, place-names, monastic titles, etc. The indices are drawn up in such fashion as to allow one to find a work by Tangut, Sanskrit (in Latin transcription), or Chinese title either in original form or Russian transcription. One can state that in working on his reference apparatus, E. I. Kychanov took into account all questions which might arise before readers.

The introductory article by Prof. Nisida, as well as E. I. Kychanov's extremely informative indices, make this edition more than a mere catalogue; it is also a fine reference guide to Tangut studies. Undoubtedly, the Catalogue will quickly establish itself as a constant reserve for all interested in the field.

It is however rather disappointing to encounter a very large quantity of misprints in the Russian part of the text. Only an insignificant number of them, affecting the meaning of the text, was caught and corrected in the Errata. Perhaps the abundance of misprints is an inevitable disadvantage of such joint ventures in general, but we consider it necessary to draw attention to this flaw, hoping that corrections will be forthcoming in future publications.

*T. Vinogradova*

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## Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

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

## Submissions

Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor-in-Chief: Dr. Efim A. Rezvan, 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); [rezvan@thesa.ru](mailto:rezvan@thesa.ru)

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Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3