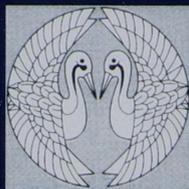


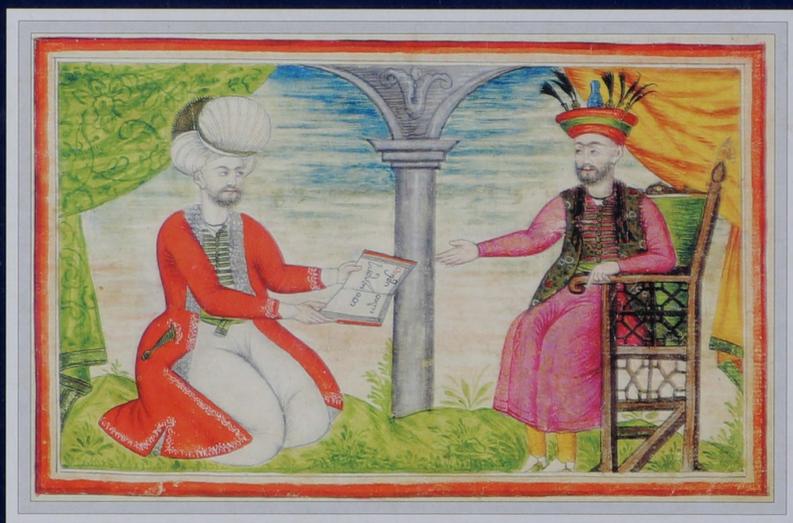
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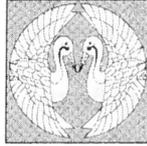
Front cover:

Portrait of the Georgian translators of “Kalila and Dimna”, king Vakhtang VI, and of the poet and scholar Saba Sulhan Orbeliani. Manuscript P 2 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 3a, 22.0×19.0 cm.

Back cover:

Illustration to the story “Disservice”, the same manuscript, fol. 97a, 19.0×22.5 cm.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

T. I. Sultanov

A MANUSCRIPT OF THE *TĀRĪKH-I NARSHAKHĪ* AND AN ANONYMOUS REMARK ON THE HARMFULNESS OF TOBACCO

This brief paper emerged from a short remark by an anonymous author in one of the Persian manuscripts in the rich collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The manuscript itself (call number C 1841) is a collection which contains excerpts of varying length from certain chapters of the Persian translation of *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī*, also known as *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* (fols. 27b—29a, 31a—35b, 59a—60b). The composition, written in Arabic in 332/943—44 by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Narshakhī is devoted to the Sāmānid Nūh b. Naṣr (r. 331—343/943—954). Containing a history of the city of Bukhārā, this work is a first-class source of information about Bukhārā and its surroundings from antiquity. Narshakhī's work was first translated into Persian in 522/1128 by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Qubāwī, who significantly reworked the text of the original. The writing enjoyed great popularity in Central Asia, and Bukhārā in particular, up until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Manuscript C 1841 presents excerpts from *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī* that do not follow the order of chapters in the original. These excerpts contain information on the conquest of Bukhārā by the Arabs (fols. 27b—28a), the rule of Qutayba b. Muslim (fol. 28a), the construction of a mosque in Bukhārā (fol. 28a—28b), and Namāzgāh (fols. 28b—29a). The text on fols. 31a—35b contains an excerpt from the chapter on the Sāmānids and their origins (fol. 31a), an account of the beginning of this dynasty's reign (fol. 31a), and extremely brief excerpts from chapters on various Sāmānids (fols. 31a—33a). It goes on to present information on the *qādis* of Bukhārā, including an account of Bukhārā's origins and its ancient history (fol. 34a), on Bukhārā itself and surrounding areas (fol. 34a—34b), the founding of the Bukhāran ark (fol. 35a), the city walls of Bukhārā (fol. 35a), the minting of coins (fol. 35a), the female ruler of Bukhārā and her descendents (fol. 35a—35b), the division of Bukhārā by the Arabs (fol. 35b) and Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahdī (fol. 35b). Fols. 59a—60b contain excerpts from two chapters: on the appearance of Muqanna (fols. 59a—60a) and the bazaar of Māh (fol. 60b).

But excerpts from Narshakhī's work make up only a part of manuscript C 1841. It also includes notes, remarks, and quotations from numerous other works, in the majority of cases without an indication of title or author. These notes do not display any order or plan; one can only state that remarks of a chronological nature predominate. The collection's compiler records the birth and death dates of '*ulamā*'s, *Ṣūfis*, scholars, poets, and other figures who interest him. The dates of various rulers from this or that dynasty are also given, frequently with an indication of where they are buried. All of this information generally relates to Central Asia. The chronological material encompasses the period from the seventh to the nineteenth century. The most valuable section provides information on people who played some role in the political or religious life of Central Asia at a late date; for example, there is information on the Bukhāran *amīrs* of the Manghyt dynasty (fols. 66a—67b).

The collection is made up of the following elements (aside from the excerpts from Narshakhī noted above):

1. verses by Central Asian poets of the nineteenth century Dawlat Yār Khūqandī and Mīzrā 'Ināyatallah Qādī Kalān (fols. 1b—2a). In effect, these verses open the collection;

2. chronological notes (fols. 3a—6b, 10a—17a, 18a—23a, 30a—30b, 36a—40b, 44a, 61b—63a, 66a—67b). Many of these can be termed as genealogical;

3. a *silsila* of *shaykhs* of the Naqshbandīya and Qādirīya orders (fols. 25b—26a);

4. an excerpt from the edifying work "Plato's Instructions to Alexander" (fol. 29b);

5. a brief list of the most important events in Central Asia from the period of the Tīmūrīds to the Jānīds (fols. 44b—50a);

6. brief remarks on the seven climates (fols. 55a—58b) with reference to literary sources;

7. notes on the rules for reading the *khuṭba* in Arabic (fols. 72b—75a);

وفات مرجین من مران یمن مشهور طایر
 ۹۹۵ هجری قمری
 در تاریخ ۱۲۰۵
 بود در سال ۱۲۰۵
 در تاریخ ۱۲۰۵
 در تاریخ ۱۲۰۵

تنبیاً کو انار و ظهورش در زمان سلطنت جلال الدوله محمد اربن شاه است که
 سینه بگذار چاره هجرت از جانب فرنگ بجانب هند و سنا آورد و اکنون در جمیع
 بلاد هند و سنا کثرت یافته میکنند و از کتاب کشیدند و در او اشعار طایران
 کثرت و مرغوب جمایان کرد و در جمیع او بار و یا بس است و از مجموع قائله است

Fig. 1

نصیحت افلاطون ملک اسکندر را افلاطون گفت
 اول اینکه یاد دار نکه دار سخت دار کرد کن
 بخور بدهستان بعده اسکندر گفت معنی اینها
 بگو افلاطون گفت که یاد دار خرد را نکه دار وفارا
 سخت دار دین را کرد کن علم را بخور خشم را
 بده او منظور ما زرستان بهشت را

Fig. 2

8. excerpts from *waqf* documents with a list of the property of several *waqfs* in the Bukhāran region (fols. 77b—78a).

The name of the collection's compiler is not known. Judging by the amount of material on Bukhārā and excerpts from Narshakhī, he was a resident of that city. The notes seem to have been made over a long period of time; several folios in the manuscript remained uncompleted. Among the information on the Manghyt *amīr* of Bukhārā, 'Abd al-Aḥad, we find the date 6 Šafar 1303/15 November 1885 (fol. 67b). Folio 78b contains the following remark: "12 Jumādā I 1310 (2 December 1892 — T. S.). Qārī Junaydallāh was imprisoned in the upper chamber of the high ark [in Bukhārā], and on the first day of Šafar 1313 (24 July 1895 — T. S.) the above-mentioned Qārī was sent to the province of Hišār". Hence, entries were made until at least the mid-1890s [1].

Thus, we can conclude that Central Asian manuscript C 1841 is rather late and was drawn up, judging by dated entries, during the period when the Bukhārān emirate (1747—1920) had already become a vassal of the Russian Empire (1868). The manuscript is on various types of paper, partly Eastern (Central Asian — fols. 3—6, 9—35, 41—43, 66—67, 70), partly European (Russian — fols. 1—2, 7—8, 36—40, 44—62, 64—65, 68—69, 71—78). There are 78 folios in all (25.5×15.0 cm). The number of lines and text dimensions on various folios vary. It is written in Indian ink, and some headings and proper names on various folios are written in red ink. The hand is *nasta'liq*. The binding is Central Asian (*muqawwā'*) with a leather back [2].

Whatever the case may be, one of the remarks in the manuscript is not wholly in the vein of the collection. It is a brief comment on the penetration of tobacco into the countries of the East (fol. 41a). It reports that tobacco (تنباکی in Persian) first made its way into India from the countries of the "Franks" during the reign of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar Shāh (a ruler of the Great Moghūl dynasty, 1556—1605) and gradually achieved widespread in the entire country. The author notes that "many took a liking to the smoking of tobacco, although its nature is pernicious, and it belongs among the deadly poisons (مسموم قاتله)" [3].

The comment appears somewhat incongruous in a collection drawn up by a person who likely belonged to the 'ulamā' class and was possibly associated with the Naqshbandīya or Qādirīya order, which were extremely popular in Central Asia. In any case, the remark betrays the author's interest in the phenomenon of tobacco-smoking. Academician W. Barthold was the first to draw attention to this comment, and to the manuscript in general, which was acquired by the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) from the collection of A. A. Polovtsov in 1919 [4].

The anonymous author's interest in the issue of tobacco-smoking in the East, a phenomenon he clearly decries not on ethical grounds, but because of the harm it does to the smoker's health (the author calls tobacco a "deadly poison"), permits me to make a brief foray into the history of tobacco-smoking in the East on the basis of the few references we find in Muslim sources.

We know that the Spanish word *tabaco* denotes a plant, the dried leaves of which American Indians used for smoking long before the arrival of the Spaniards. The plant was

brought to Western Europe at the turn of the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries, where it was first used for medicinal and decorative purposes. As our anonymous author notes, tobacco was conveyed from Europe to India in the age of the Great Moghūls, and from there to Iran. By the first years of the seventeenth century, tobacco-smoking had become widespread there, especially in the army, where soldiers spent nearly all their earnings on tobacco. In 1605, Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 1587—1629) banned the smoking of tobacco; it was then decreed that violators should have their nose and lips cut off [5]. According to information provided by Muḥammad Ma'sūm, the author of *Khulāṣat al-siyar*, this prohibition was rescinded only in 1629 under Shāh Šafī (r. in Iran from 1629—1642), who at the very beginning of his reign issued a decree permitting tobacco-smoking and eliminating the tax on tobacco [6].

Tobacco gradually penetrated into Central Asia and Mā warā'al-nahr, where it was called تمکی. In the eighteenth century, tobacco-smoking was widespread in the highest realms of society; many Central Asian grandees and those in their service smoked. But tobacco-smoking was still considered reprehensible. Moreover, one should note that during the reign of Dāniyāl-biy (1758—1785) in Bukhārā, the office of chief *qādī* of the khanate was in the hands of a *sayyid* Nizām al-Dīn, who openly smoked tobacco [7]. The Central Asian khanates repeatedly banned tobacco-smoking, but these prohibitions were never strictly observed, although violators were subject to harsh public punishment, and even the death sentence.

An account has been preserved that the Khīwan heir to the throne, Muḥammad Raḥīm, was for some time an inveterate smoker and drank too much wine. But upon becoming *khān* of Khīwa in 1806, he stopped both smoking and drinking. Moreover, he forbade his subjects to smoke tobacco and consume strong drink, ordering that violators have their mouths "torn open to the ears". Desiring to extirpate the use of tobacco in the khanate, Muḥammad Raḥīm prohibited both the cultivation of the plant and its import from the Bukhārān emirate. But after finding these prohibitions quite ineffective, the *khān* had subsequently to permit tobacco-smoking [8]. Naturally, this led to the rapid and significant expansion of lands used for the cultivation of this profitable crop. Tobacco as a widespread plant and tobacco-smoking, of course, were well familiar to the compiler of our manuscript, who was, as was noted above, most likely a resident of Bukhārā.

Tobacco-smoking in the Muslim East was practiced with the aid of a long, serpentine tube inserted into a smoking apparatus called by various names: *qalyān* (قلیان), *nārgila* (نارگیله), etc. The *qalyān* was a pipe apparatus for smoking tobacco in which smoke passed in bubbles through a vessel similar to a pitcher or carafe filled with water, cleansing it from particles of tobacco ash and other impurities. Earlier, vessels for the *qalyān* were made from coconut shells. This, incidentally, is the origin of the second name for the smoking apparatus: *nārgila* (*nārgil* is Persian for "coconut").

In the Muslim part of India, where tobacco-smoking in the East began, the water apparatus for smoking was denoted by the Arabic word *حقة* ("box"). In Central Asia, the smoking device was called a *chilim* (چلیم). At the court of the Kokand *khān* 'Umar (r. ca. 1810—1822), an inveterate smoker, the office of *chilimdār* was established.

The latter's duties included preparing the *qalyān* and presenting it to the ruler [9].

The author of the present article, until recently a heavy smoker himself, wholeheartedly concurs with the opinion of our Muslim author that “tobacco belongs among the deadly

poisons”. But to leave the assertion at that would be to slander tobacco. In moderate amounts, tobacco is undoubtedly a powerful stimulant and magically calming substance at the same time. As such, it will likely be with us for many years to come.

Notes

1. All this information on the collection is based on the description of manuscript C 1841 provided by N. D. Miklukho-Maklaï, see his *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), fasc. 3: historical writings (Moscow, 1975), No. 395, pp. 249—51.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 251.
3. *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī*, manuscript C 1841, fol. 41a.
4. V. V. Bartol'd, “O nekotorykh vostochnykh rukopisiakh” (“On some Eastern manuscripts”), *Sochineniia* (Works) (Moscow, 1973), viii, pp. 343—4.
5. A. Olearii, *Podrobnoe opisanie puteshestviia gol'shtinskogo posol'stva v Moskoviiu i Persiiu v 1633, 1636 i 1639 godakh, sostavlennoe sekretarēm posol'stva Adamom Oleariem* (A Detailed Description of the Journey of the Holstein Embassy to Muscovy and Persia in 1633, 1636, and 1639, Drawn up by the Secretary of the Embassy, Adam Olearius), trans. from the German by P. Barsov (Moscow, 1870), p. 854.
6. I. K. Pavlova, *Khronika vremeni Sefevidov. Sochinenie Mukhammad-Masuma Isfakhani “Khulasat as-si'ar”* (A Chronicle of the Time of the Safavids. The Work *Khulāṣat al-siyar* by Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Isfahānī) (Moscow, 1993), p. 36.
7. *Traktat Akhmada Donisha. “Istoriia Mangytskoï dinastii”* (Treatise of Aḥmad Dānish. “History of the Manghyt Dynasty”), translation, introduction, and notes by I. A. Nadzhafova (Dushanbe, 1967), p. 27.
8. N. Veselovskii, *Ocherk istoriko-geograficheskikh svendenii o Khivinskom khanstve ot drevneishikh vremēn do nastoiashchego* (An Essay on Historical-Geographic Information on the Khīwan Khanate from the Most Ancient Times to the Present) (St. Petersburg, 1877), pp. 295—6.
9. V. Nalivkin, *Kratkaia istoriia Kokandskogo khanstva* (A Brief History of the Kokand Khanate) (Kazan, 1886), p. 116.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** *Tārīkh-i Narshakhī*, manuscript C 1841 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 41a, 25.5×15.0 cm.
- Fig. 2.** Excerpt from the edifying work “Plato's Instructions to Alexander”, the same manuscript, fol. 29b, 25.5×15.0 cm.

A KAZAN MANUSCRIPT OF SĪBĀWAYHI

In September, 1998, employees of the National Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan (Kazan) presented to me for identification one of the Arabic manuscripts from their collection. It was on parchment, defective and fragmentary, and missing a beginning and end. Nevertheless, the satisfactory condition of a large part of the manuscript allowed me to read the text and chapter (*bāb*) titles without difficulty: it was a work on Arabic grammar. The thought struck me that the manuscript contained excerpts from Sībawayhi's famed "Book", but at that moment there was no material for comparison at hand. Someone had dated the manuscript to the eleventh century, and I was to confirm this date or propose another. The *Maghribī* writing with elements of archaic *naskhī* seemed to allow for a date in the eleventh — twelfth centuries, or even the tenth.

In December, 1998, Professor M. A. Usmanov of Kazan University and I happened to be in Cairo, where we visited the League of Arab States' Institute of Arabic Manuscripts. Consultations with the Institute's specialists on the basis of Xeroxed copies of several folios from the manuscript in question allowed us to confirm that it does in fact contain a work by Sībawayhi. A comparison with other ancient Arabic manuscripts leads to a date at the end of the sixth/twelfth century or the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth.

Abū Bishr 'Amr b. 'Uthmān b. Qanbar, known by the *laqab* Sībawayhi, lived in Basra in the second half of the eighth century; the most likely date of his death is cited as 180/796. He provided a detailed empirical description of the parts of speech (noun, verb, particle), syntax and morphology of the Arabic language, framing his material in 596 short chapters. Sībawayhi constantly cites his teacher, al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and other predecessors on occasion. His work is augmented by a significant number of quotations from Arabic poetry and the Qur'ān to illustrate rules, the usage of words and forms, as well as their spelling and meaning. At the same time, the author frequently relies on the spoken practice of native speakers of Arabic when he records and explains various linguistic phenomena and facts.

Sībawayhi's work is usually contained in large manuscripts, and the nineteenth-century edition of his work consists of two large volumes which run to over 900 pages. Some 50 manuscripts have come down to us with some or all of the work's text, as well as manuscripts of a number of

commentaries on it and various works by Sībawayhi, not to mention abridged and reworked versions [1]. For this reason, the authorial text has been relatively well preserved, although we do not have an autograph or copies executed close to the author's lifetime. The oldest copies of Sībawayhi's "Book" are dated to a time 320—350 years after the author's death; the Milan copy and a "very ancient" copy from the city of Ṣan'ā' may prove to be older, but they have not been dated directly. Eight manuscripts in all are dated to the sixth century A.H., and around 20 to the seventh century A.H. (twelfth — thirteenth century C.E.).

In preparing the full text of Sībawayhi's work for publication, A. Derenbourg relied on a solid manuscript base, including both St. Petersburg manuscripts: one from the Imperial Public Library (today the National Library of Russia) and another from the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) [2]. In 1317—18/1899—1900, the Bulaq edition appeared. Finally, in the 1970s, 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Khārūn published the work in Cairo in five volumes on a broader manuscript base, equipping the edition with indispensable indices (unfortunately, I was not able to access this edition).

Against this backdrop, the discovery of a small, extremely fragmentary manuscript of Sībawayhi's work cannot be considered a significant event in Arabic studies. It is still noteworthy, however. It belongs to the above-mentioned group of manuscripts dated to the sixth — seventh century A.H. (twelfth—thirteenth century C.E.). It is interesting that it was written on parchment and in *Maghribī* script; moreover, it was discovered in a place where such ancient Arabic manuscripts are today exceptionally rare, especially those of North African origin.

The call number of this manuscript of Sībawayhi is *φ. 10, on. 5, D 822*. It contains 48 folios of 25.0×17.2 cm, and they are badly out of order. There are usually 18 lines per page, but the number varies from 17 to 21. The hand, a neat *Maghribī*, is professionally executed; the text is equipped with fairly regular diacritical marks and vowelings. There is virtually no information on the history of the manuscript. The first and last pages bear a rectangular seal with the legend in Russian: *Library of the Kazan Ecclesiastical Academy*. We know neither how the manuscript found its way to the library nor when it occurred. It contains excerpts from chapters 41—45 (vol. I, pp. 82—97

in the Derenbourg edition), 105, 151—153, 164, 449—456, 458—460, 475—476, 479—480, 483, and several others. When compared with the Derenbourg edition and the Bulaq edition, the manuscript displays variant readings.

Thus, the manuscript of Sibawayhi's "Book" from the Kazan collection is of interest not only because of its origin,

hand, and writing material, but also as the oldest Arabic manuscript in Kazan. It should certainly be taken into account in order to supplement data on copies of this invaluable work on Arabic philology. Its variant readings may also prove useful for studying the history of the text.

Notes

1. F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1984), ix, pp. 51—63.
 2. *Le livre de Sibawaihi, traité de grammaire arabe par Sibouya, dit, Sibawaihi*, texte arabe publié d'après les manuscrits du Caire, de l'Escurial, d'Oxford, de Paris, de St. Pétersbourg et de Vienne par Hartwig Derenbourg (Paris, 1881—1889), i—ii.
-

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI:
I. THE VINAYA OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS (PART 5)*

The current article introduces to readers the two concluding folios of the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins as it is presented in the manuscript from Bairam-Ali. This section contains the colophon, which identifies the text as a part of the canon of the Sarvāstivādin school and presents the contents of the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins. This is the most important part of the manuscript, that is why it opened our publication of the text.

In the course of the text's publication, it has become possible to identify the text with the Chinese version. In part I, we referred to a Chinese translation of the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins — the *Shi-sun-lü*, executed in the fifth

century A.D. [1]. We were told by Prof. Seishi Karashima that the Chinese version of the Sanskrit text, discovered in manuscript at Bairam-Ali, is found in the final section of the *Shi-sun lü*, beginning with page 423b (10). We thank him for his assistance and hope that we will soon be able to return to this text, with Prof. Seishi Karashima's help juxtaposing it with the Chinese version.

We now turn to the Sanskrit text of the *Vinaya*. On fol. 80, further instructions are provided on how and with what one should dye *cīvaras* and what cannot be allowed in this process.

FOL. [80r]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *pibato mādayati kasya na kalpati bhikṣusya¹ bhikṣuṇīyā² śikṣādinakasya śikṣādinikāyā³ śikṣamānāyā⁴ śra[mane]-*
2. *rasya śrāmanerikāyāḥ⁵ || kiṃ kalpati yo na madyavarṇaṃ na madyagandhaṃ na madyarasaṃ na madyasvādaṃ pibato na māda[ya]-*
3. *ti || kasya kalpati bhikṣusya bhikṣuṇīyā śikṣādinakasya śikṣādinikāyā śikṣamānāyā śramanerasya śramanerī[kā]-*
4. *ya upāsakasya upāsikāyā⁶ || kedṛśa varṇaṃ na kalpati yo sarvva nīla[m] sarvvaṇītaṃ sarvvalohi-*
5. *taṃ sarvva avadātakaṃ kasya na kalpati bhikṣusya bhikṣuṇīyā śikṣādinakasya śikṣādinikāyā śikṣamānāyā [śikṣamā]-*
6. *nāya śrāmanerasya śramane[rikāyāḥ] || [kedṛśa va]rṇo kalpati yo na sarvva nīla na sarvva*

TRANSLATION

1. he drank and became drunk^[84]; no one should do [it that way], not a *bhikṣu*, nor a *bhikṣuṇī*, nor a *śikṣādinaka*^[85], nor a *śikṣādinikā*, nor a female candidate, nor a *śramanera*,
2. nor a *śrāmanerikā*. How should one do it? So that no one [drinks any dye that is] unpleasant in colour, unpleasant in odour, unpleasant to the taste, or sweetly intoxicating, [and even if he should] drink [it], that he not become drunk.

* Parts I—IV were published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), pp. 27—36; V/3 (1999), pp. 27—35; V/4 (1999), pp. 7—19; VI/1 (2000), pp. 15—8.

¹ Instead of *bhikṣoḥ*, here and hereafter.

² Instead of *bhikṣuṇīyā*, here and hereafter.

³ Instead of *śikṣādinikāyā*, here and hereafter.

⁴ Instead of *śikṣamānāyā*, here and hereafter.

⁵ Instead of *śramanerikāyāḥ*, here and hereafter.

⁶ Instead of *upāsikāyāḥ*.

3. Who should act [thus]? — A *bhikṣu*, a *bhikṣuṇī*, a *śikṣādinaka*, a *śikṣādinikā*, a female candidate, a *śrāmanera*, a *śrāmanerikā*,
4. an *upāsaka*, *upāsikā*^[86]. Of what colour should one not make [a *cīvara*]? It should [be] all blue, all bright yellow, all
5. red, all white^[87]. Who should not act [thus]? A *bhikṣu*, a *bhikṣuṇī*, a *śikṣādinaka*, a *śikṣādinikā*, a female candidate,
6. a *śrāmanera*, a *śrāmanerikā*. Of what colour should one make [a *cīvara*]? It should [be] not all blue, not all

Commentary

[84] The description of colouring solutions and their intoxicating effect on people given in the manuscript is not attested in other texts of the *Vinaya*. Decoctions of fruits, flowers, roots, and various plants used as natural colouring materials were, in fact, frequently reminiscent of aromatic, intoxicating beverages. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 10, 1: “At that time, the *bhikṣu* coloured their clothes with cow dung and yellow clay. *Cīvaras* were poorly coloured ... and had a foul odour”. In place of such colouring materials, the Bhagavan instructed that decoctions of plants be used (see n. 83).

[85] The terms *śikṣādinaka* (masc.), *śikṣādinikā* (fem.) are not attested in other texts of the *Vinaya* in the phonetic form given here. The second part of the compound — *dinaka* — is apparently used in place of *dinnaka*, the past passive participle from the root *dā* (“give”) + suffix *ka*. In Buddhist Sanskrit, this participle is used in place of the Sanskrit *datta* (see Edgerton, *BHSG*, § 34, 16; *BHSD*, p. 264). The form *śikṣādattaka* is attested in texts of the *Vinaya* with the meaning “he who has been [penalised for a misdeed] in accordance with the rules”, see Kaṭhinavastu, “Gilgit Manuscripts”, III, pt. II, p. 154: *tataḥ paścātkaṭhināstārako bhikṣuḥ sammatavyaḥ paṃcabhirdharmair samanvāgataḥ kaṭhināstārako bhikṣurasammato na sammantavyaḥ sammataścāvākāśayitavyaḥ. katamaiḥ paṃcabhiḥ avarṣiko varṣācchinnakaḥ paścimakām varṣāmpagato 'nyatra varṣositaḥ śikṣādattakaḥ* (“And then a *bhikṣu* must be appointed to manage the *kaṭhina*. A *bhikṣu* who is appropriate [from the point of view of] the five conditions [should be appointed] to manage the *kaṭhina*. A *bhikṣu* who is inappropriate [from the point of view of] the five conditions should not be appointed. Inappropriate by which five conditions? One who does not leave for summer, who breaks off his summering, who arrives late for the summer, who summers in a different place, who has [been penalised for a misdeed] in accordance with the rules”). Cf. *BSHD*, p. 527.

In the Pāli *Vinaya*, the term *śikṣādattaka* is not attested. In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* the term *śikṣādattaka* is included in the section “Titles of people who have been inducted into the community”, where all of the spiritual titles and offices in the community are enumerated. There are 16 in all, of which 13 (we mark them in the citation with asterisks) are attested in our manuscript: 1) *pravrajitaḥ** (Tib. *Rab-tu byung-ba*); 2) *upasampannaḥ** (Tib. *bsnyen-par rdzogs-pa*); 3) *śramaṇaḥ** (Tib. *dge-sbyong*); 4) *bhikṣuḥ** (Tib. *dge-slong*); 5) *bhikṣuṇī** (Tib. *dge-slong-ma*); 6) *śrāmanera** (Tib. *dge-tshul*); 7) *śrāmanerikā** (Tib. *dge-tshul-ma*); 8) *śikṣamānā** (Tib. *dge-slob-ma*); 9) *mahallakaḥ* (Tib. *rgan-shugs*); 10) *śikṣādattaka** (Tib. *slab-byin-pa*); 11) *upāsakaḥ** (Tib. *dge-bsnyen*); 12) *upāsiaka** (Tib. *ge-bsnyen-ma*); 13) *pośadhakaḥ* (Tib. *gso-sbyong-ba*); 14) *upādhyāyah** (Tib. *mkhan-po*); 15) *ācāryah** (Tib. *slob-dpon*); 16) *karma-kāraḥ* (Tib. *las-byed-pa*) (see § 269, p. 560, Nos. 8714—8729). As this list does not include a single term connected with censure or loss of rights, *śikṣādattaka*, in all likelihood, in the text at hand did not have the meaning “one who has [been penalised for a misdeed] in accordance with the rules”, but rather “one who has received [instruction] in accordance with the rules”. The translation of the Tibetan equivalent — *slab-pas-byin-pa* — is “given with the aid of instruction” where *bslab* means “teaching, instruction, knowledge”.

[86] Cf. above, *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, § 269, Nos. 8724, 8725.

[87] *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, section *Cīvaravastu* (“Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. 2), p. 95: *aparo'pi bhikṣurbhagavan-tamidamavocāt. icchāmyahaṃ bhadanta sarva nīlam cīvaraṃ dhārayitum. bhagavānāha. āgārika hyenam dhārayanti. tasmanna bhikṣuṇī sarvanīlam cīvaraṃ dhārayitavyam. purvavadyāvat sūtisaro bhavati. evam sarvāpitam sarvalohitamavadātam na kalpayatyeva* (“Yet another *bhikṣu* said to Bhagavan thus: ‘I, noble one, wish to make for myself an entirely blue *cīvara*’. Bhagavan said, ‘Only those who live in the [secular] world make themselves [such *cīvaras*]. Therefore, a *bhikṣu* should not make for himself an entirely blue *cīvara*. What was said [by you] earlier is a misdeed. One should also not make [one's *cīvara*] entirely light-yellow, entirely red, or entirely white’”). Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 29: *sabbanilakāni sabbapitakāni sabbalohitakāni sabbamañjēṭhatakāni sabbakanhāni sabbamahāraṅgarattāni sabbamahānāmarattāni...* (“[One should not make *cīvaras*] entirely blue, entirely bright-yellow, entirely red, entirely brown, entirely black, brown-yellow or dark yellow...”).

FOL. 80V

TRANSLITERATION

1. *p[ī]ta na sarvva lohita na sarvva avadātaka kasya kalpati bhikṣusya bhikṣuṇīya śikṣādinakasya śikṣā[dini]-*
2. *kāya śikṣamānāya śrāmanerasya śrāmanerikāya⁷ || kim akṛtam na kalpati paṃca-bīja⁸ jñātāni paṃcehi śrāmanak[e]-*
3. *bhi⁹ akṛta na kalpatti¹⁰ || daśa-cīvarā trihi daurvvarṇīkaranehi¹¹ adaurvvarṇakṛtyā¹² na kalpati aṣṭapā-*

⁷ Instead of *śrāmanerikāyā*.

⁸ Instead of *bijāni*, here and hereafter.

⁹ Instead of *paṃcabhi śrāmanakebhi*, here and hereafter.

¹⁰ Instead of *kalpati + iti = kalpeti?*

¹¹ Instead of *tribhi durvvarṇīkaranebhi*, here and hereafter.

¹² Instead of *adurvarṇa-kṛtyā*.



Fig. 1

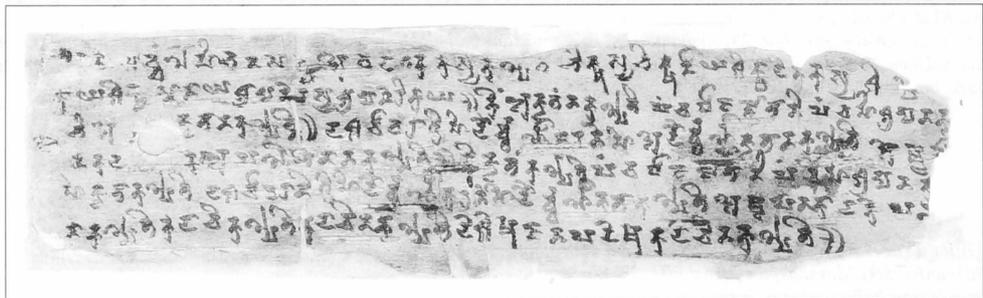


Fig. 2

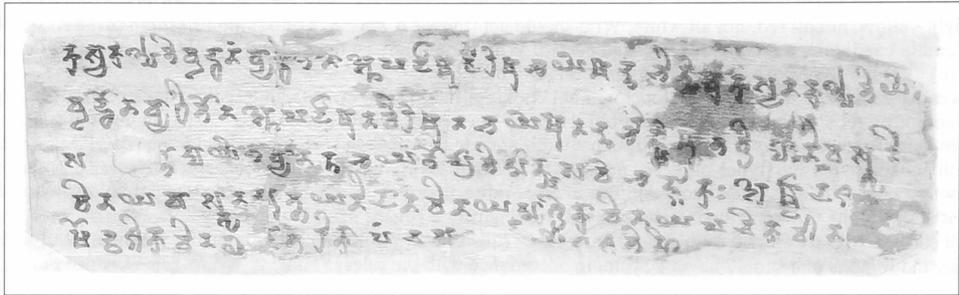


Fig. 3

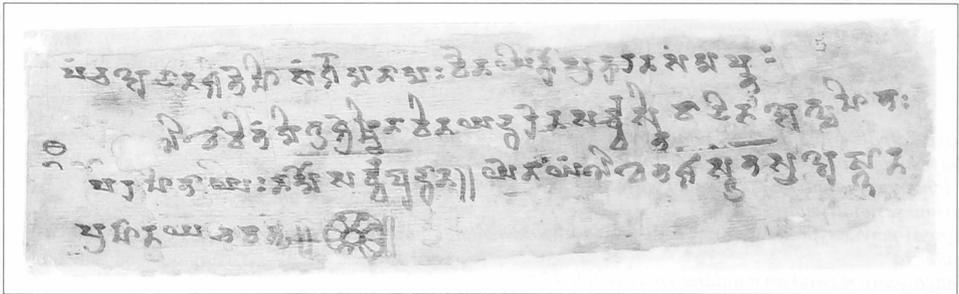


Fig. 4

4. *naka-dake apañibhinā*¹³ *na kalpati* || *kiṃ kṛtaṃ kalpati pañca-*
bīja jñātāni pañcehi śramanak[e]-
5. *hi kṛta kalpati daśa-cīvarāni*¹⁴ *trihi daurvvarṇī-karanehi daurvvar-*
*ṇī*¹⁵ *kṛtā kalpati aṣṭapānakā-dake*¹⁶ *pañi[bhi]-*
6. *nā*¹⁷ *kalpati kadāci kalpati kadāci na kalpati deśeṣu jana-*
padeṣu kadāci na kalpati ||

TRANSLATION

1. bright yellow, not all red, not all white. Who should act [thus]? A *bhikṣu*, a *bhikṣuṇī*, a *śikṣādinaka*, a *śikṣādinikā*,
2. a female candidate, a *śramanera*, a *śrāmaṇerikā*. Who should not act thus? [One should not colour] with uncooked [dye]^[188]. Five [types of] seeds are known^[189]. [With these] five
3. [dyes], *śramaneras* should not [colour] without cooking [them]. Ten *cīvaras*, unless they have been made unpleasant in colour by recolouring them [with one] of the three [methods], should not be used^[190]. [If] in eight pot-
4. able waters they have not been rinsed, one should not use [the *cīvaras*]^[191]. How should one act? [One must colour] with cooked dye. Five [types of] seeds are known. [With these] five [types], *śramaneras*,
5. having cooked them, should [colour]. Ten *cīvaras*, after they have been made unpleasant in colour by recolouring [with one] of the three [methods], can be used. Having rinsed [them] in eight potable waters,
6. one can use [the *cīvaras*]. When should one follow [this rule], [and] when should one not follow it? In [other] countries and regions one should never act [not in accordance with the rules]^[192].

Commentary

^[188] See *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 10, 2: "At that time, *bhikṣus* coloured their clothes with uncooked dye; their clothing acquired a foul odour. They told the Bhagavan about this: 'I enjoin, monks, that you cook the dye [and use] small pots for the dye'".

^[189] This instruction is absent in other texts of the *Vinaya*.

^[190] Cf. the "rule of the seven", fol. 78 v, n. 71, and the "rule of the *cīvara*", fol. 79 r(2—3), n. 78.

^[191] See *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 11, 2: "At that time, the clothing (after dying) was tanned. They told Bhagavan about this. — 'I enjoin, monks, that you immerse the clothing in water [to remove the extra dye]'". There are no mentions of the "eight waters" in other texts of the *Vinaya*. *Pānaka-daka* — lit. "water for drinking". *apañibhinna* — cf. lines 5—6: *pañibhina*, in all likelihood, used in place of Skt. *apāñi-bhinna* and *pāñi-bhinna* (lit. "reshuffled, mixed with the hands" and "not mixed with the hands"); in the given context, it apparently refers to "unrinsed" and "rinsed".

^[192] *deśeṣu janapadeṣu* in the present context — "in [other] countries [and] regions". The meaning of this instruction is apparently that during travel one should not forget the rules without special reason (see below).

FOL. [81r]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *kasya kalpati vṛdhānam*¹⁸ *vyādhī[ā]nam*¹⁹ *āpadīṣu vaireṣu*
bhayeṣu du[r]bhikṣeṣu kasya na kalpati yo [na]
2. *vṛddho na vyādhito na āpadīṣu na vaireṣu na bhayeṣu na*
*durbhikṣeṣu tatrimāni*²⁰ *vastuni*
3. *sa[ṅga]-mayitavyā na ubhayato prātimokṣa savibhaṅgakah*²¹
*aṣṭadaśa*²²
4. *vinaya-vastu na muktaya nidāna vinaya-mātrikā vinaya-*
pañcika vinaya-
5. *ṣoḍaśika vinaya-utarikā pañca ... yo[] śatehi*²³

¹³ Instead of *apañibhinā*?

¹⁴ Cf. line 3, *daśa-cīvarā*, masculine.

¹⁵ Instead of *durvarṇī*.

¹⁶ Instead of *aṣṭa pānaka-dake*, cf. line 4.

¹⁷ Instead of *pāñibhinā*?

¹⁸ Instead of *vṛddhānam*.

¹⁹ Instead of *vyādhītanām*.

²⁰ Instead of *tatra-imāni*.

²¹ Instead of *savibhaṅgakah*.

²² Instead of *aṣṭadaśa*.

²³ Instead of *śatebhi*.

TRANSLATION

1. To whom should one be [indulgent]? To the old, the sick, [those] in misfortune, in hostility, in fear, [those] among evil monks. To whom should one not be [indulgent]? To him
2. who is not old, not sick, [is not] in misfortune, in hostility, in fear, among evil monks. For these cases
3. meetings should be gathered. [They] are not [cited] ^[93] neither [by] *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, nor [by] the *Vibhaṅga*. [Nor are they cited by] the *Vinaya-vastu* [comprising] eighteen
4. sections ^[94]. [They] are also absent in the separate *nidāna* ^[95], in the *Vinaya-mātrikā* ^[96], in the *Vinaya-paṃcika* ^[97], in the
5. *Vinaya-ṣoddaśika* ^[98], in the *Vinaya-utarika* ^[99].

C o m m e n t a r y

^[93] Indulgence here apparently refers only to questions of dying *cīvaras*. For other cases, the *Vinaya-vastu* gives instructions on sick monks, monks who have fallen into misfortune, a time of natural disasters, wars, etc.

^[94] According to this text, the main part of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* consists of three works, preserved also in Chinese and Tibetan translations. They are the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and commentaries on it: the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* and *Vinaya-vastu*. As for the number of sections in the *Vinaya-vastu*, indicated in the text as 18, see our first publication of the manuscript in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), p. 29.

^[95] One means the *Vinaya-nidāna*, the first chapter or introduction to the Chinese translation *Shi-sun-lü* (see the *Tripitaka Taisho*, No. 1144, translated by Vimalākṣa, A. D. 405—418).

^[96] See *Vinaya-mātrikā* of the Sarvāstivādins, Chinese translation, *Tripitaka Taisho*, No. 1132, translator — Saṅghavarman, A. D. 445.

^[97] *Vinaya-paṃcika* — “*Vinaya* in five sections”.

^[98] *Vinaya-ṣoddaśika* — “*Vinaya* in sixteen sections”. The last two have not come down to us. But there are the similar *sūtras* for some other schools, see A. Ch. Banerjee, “The *Vinaya* texts in Chinese”, *IHQ* (1949), pp. 90—1.

^[99] It might be an index to the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* — *Vinaya-utara-grantha*. It corresponds to the eighth part of the *Shi-sun-lü*. The same texts are included in the Pāli *Vinaya* and the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*.

FOL. 81V

TRANSLITERATION

1. *paṃca adāna śatehi*²⁴ *saṃṅgama nāmaḥ vainayika prakaraṇa*²⁵ *samaptaḥ*
2. *likhāvitam mitraśreṣṭhinā vinayaddhareṇa sarvvastivādina*²⁶ *atmahitaḥ*
3. *parahitāvyah nāmo sarvvabuddhāna[m]*²⁷ || *yena yaṃ likhata śāstram tasya ajñāna*
4. *prahānaya bhavatu* || □ ||

TRANSLATION

1. The chapter on the collection of rules entitled “Gathering of the five -hundred [*bhikṣus*] and no less than five -hundred” has been completed ^[100].
2. Praise be unto he who ordered this copy with the aid of the “best friend”, expert in the *Vinaya*, [representative of the] Sarvāstivādin [school] ^[100] for his own benefit
3. [and] for the benefit of others [and] unto all buddhas. Who has copied this *sūtra*, may his ignorance disappear
4. for this reason.

C o m m e n t a r y

^[100] See *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2 (1999), p. 28.

²⁴ Instead of *śatebhi*.

²⁵ Instead of *prakaraṇa*.

²⁶ Instead of *sarvvastivādina*.

²⁷ Instead of *sarvvabuddhānām*.

^[101] According to the opinion of Dr. Lore Sander, the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* texts “were handed down nearly unchanged from about the fifth century until the tenth century or even later, a fact which was promoted by the practice of copying”. See her “Early Prakrit and Sanskrit manuscripts from Xinjiang (second to fifth/sixth centuries C.E.)”, *Buddhism across Boundaries. Chinese Buddhism and the Western Region* (Taipei, 1999), p. 86.

Notes

1. *Tripitaka Taisho*, No. 1435, vol. 23, pp. 1—470. Translation by Kumārajīva and Puṇyatara.

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. [80r], 19.0×5.0 cm.
 - Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 80v, 19.0×5.0 cm.
 - Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [81r], 19.0×5.0 cm.
 - Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. 81v, 19.0×5.0 cm.
-

AN ANCIENT RUSSIAN MANUSCRIPT ON CENTRAL ASIAN PAPER

In 1985, while preparing a catalogue of ancient Russian parchment manuscripts held at the Central State Archive of Ancient Statements (today the Russian State Archive of Ancient Statements, henceforth cited as RSAAS), O. A. Kniazevskaya discovered that one of them — *Lestvitsa* (“The Stairs”) by a Sinai monk John Lestvichnik (ca. 525 — ca. 600), dated to the thirteenth century (*φ*. 181, No. 452; *CK* No. 354), — was written on interleaved parchment and paper [1]. Palaeographic dating indicated that “the present case represents the earliest use of paper in ancient Russian manuscripts” [2]. O. A. Kniazevskaya noted that “the paper is thick, well glossed, without watermarks. Judging by its quality, it resembles paper of Byzantine manuscripts” [3]. The last remark is of special interest, as it enumerates the distinguishing characteristics of *Eastern* paper, not attested previously in ancient Russian manuscripts, although the question of its possible use has been raised previously by some scholars.

The probability of using Eastern paper in Rus was a special matter of interest of N. P. Likhachev, the outstanding Russian expert in paper. He noted that “despite searching through and reviewing a very significant number of manuscripts and legal documents”, he failed to find a single old Russian manuscript or even a single document written on Eastern paper [4]. True, the scholar pointed out that he knew one exception: it is Greek parchment-paper fragments, partially a palimpsest from late thirteenth — early fourteenth century, apparently copied in Palestine and preserved in the National Library of Russia (henceforth cited as NLR) — NLR Grech. 70 [5]. Later, in 1928, it was E. F. Karsky who once again noted that we know of no Cyrillic manuscripts on Eastern paper, however, its use is indicated by the name of the paper and its dimensions [6]. In the most recent work on palaeography by L. V. Cherepnin, it is said that “paper from the East (from Central Asia and Iran) could have made its way to Russia through Astrakhan” [7], though providing no examples.

We know that paper was invented in China, and that as a result of the Arab conquest in Central Asia and the expansion of international contacts, papermaking began first in Samarkand, later in the large centres of the Near East and the Muslim states of the Pyrenean peninsula and Sicily, and finally in other parts of Europe. The paper produced in various areas must have depended on local raw materials, in turn dependent on climate. Moreover, various systems and

traditions of writing engendered their own requirements of paper quality, which caused corresponding changes in production technology. Paper produced in Muslim states had to be convenient for writing in Arabic script with a reed stick from right to left with pressure on lines of a certain angle, which led to a tendency to make paper with as smooth a surface as possible. For European Latin writing, with its vertical pressure, this quality was not necessary, and paper produced in Europe was generally rough. But this roughness of European paper was also linked to the replacement of starch as a component part for gluing fibre together with gelatine paste of animal origin.

The difference between the two types of paper — Eastern and Western — can be easily seen in materials for Greek manuscripts executed on both varieties of paper and represented in various manuscript collections. A comparison conducted by J. Irigoien [8] revealed several characteristic features of these paper types. In Eastern paper, the *vergé* lines are sometimes twisted or run slantwise and the *pontuseaux* lines are sometimes entirely indiscernible, while in Western paper, the *vergé* lines are always straight [9]. In fact, these characteristics of Eastern paper are present in the manuscript of *Lestvitsa*. What was determined by O. A. Kniazevskaya as the “paper of Byzantine manuscripts” can undoubtedly be referred to Eastern paper, although they are not identical, as we will explain below.

In trying to find paper types closer to the paper of *Lestvitsa*, it is reasonable to review the most accessible examples of Eastern paper at that time, represented primarily in Arabic-script manuscripts, nearly all in the Arabic language. We must also establish specific chronological limits. From the end of the fourteenth century, Western paper began to supplant its Eastern counterpart even in Arabic-script manuscripts. The final replacement of Eastern paper with Western in the Near East was evidently linked with the Ottoman conquest of the Arab countries in the sixteenth century and the Ottoman encouragement of import [10], which included Western paper. Imported paper underwent additional processing to bring its external appearance into line with traditional variants. The production of Eastern paper undoubtedly continued in Central Asia, Iran, and certain other places, in particular Daghestan [11]. This continued until relatively recently; but in the case at hand, we can limit ourselves to examples dated circumstantially to the fourteenth century alone, citing analogues from the fifteenth century.

We succeeded in discovering in Moscow a number of Arabic-script manuscripts which meet these criteria; they are enumerated below in chronological order. Because some of them are introduced here into scholarly circulation for the first time, and because they are of textological interest thanks to their age, we cite the Arabic titles of the works they contain where there is no standard Russian equivalent:

1. the State Library of Russia (henceforth cited as SLR), *φ*. 179, No. 154, 19.0×10.5 cm. Fols. 1—73, dated to 1130. Collection of astronomical treatises in Arabic by Iranian and Central Asian authors. Also includes one treatise in Persian on the final folios;

2. SLR, *φ*. 726, No. 1, 18.8×15.1 cm. Collection of mathematical treatises by Central Asian authors. Some treatises close with dates that correspond to 22 January 1218 (fol. 109b), 1235/6 (fol. 13), and there is a marginal note in the copyist's hand with the date 13 August 1219 (fol. 101);

3. the State Institute of International Relations in Moscow (henceforth cited as SIIRM), No. 51, 26.0×18.5—19 cm, (?) 1281. Medical encyclopaedia, supplanted by Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn* (Canon):

كامل الصناعة الطبية المعروف بالملكي لعلي بن عباس الجوسى:

4. SLR, *φ*. 179, No. 126, 21.0×17.0 cm. No later than 1288 (date written on fol. 4). The dating of "no later than 1345" found in several sources is based on an obvious note on the manuscript's final folio. Collection of poetry by Abū-l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī (979—1058), "Flint Sparks", with commentary by al-Tibrizī (1030—1109);

5. SLR, *φ*. 179, No. 125, 22.0×16.0 cm. 1331, Damascus. Work on *fiqh* of the Ḥanafī school:

كنز الوصول الى معرفة الاصول:

6. SIIRM, No. 49, 24.0×16.5 cm, 1332 and 1335, Jurjāniya (Urgench), Khorezm. Convolute of an astronomical treatise and philological commentary copied in various hands;

7. SIIRM, No. 31, 26.0×18.0 cm, 1392. Edirne (Adrianople). Work on *fiqh* of the Ḥanafī school:

شرح الوقاية لعبد الله المحبوبي صدر الشريعة:

8. The State Public Historical Library, section of the East, No. 9, 1416. Commentary on the philosophical work:

حاشية ملازاده على هداية الحكمة للابهرى:

9. SLR, *φ*. 185, No. 1, 1425. *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī (in Persian);

10. RSAAS, *φ*. 181, *on*. 13, *ed. xp.* 1262, (?) 1452. The date is written on a page of this frequently restored and augmented manuscript, and may have been transferred from a page which contained the colophon at the time of restoration. *Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarfīrī (1054/5—1122);

11. SLR, *φ*. 185, No. 10, 1464. Popular geographical work in Persian;

12. SLR, *φ*. 185, No. 50, 1478/9. *Gulistān* by Sa'dī in Persian with a partial Turkish interline translation in a different hand;

13. SIIRM, No. 172, 1489. Shiraz. Collection of poetry by 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (1414—1492) in Persian;

14. SLR, *φ*. 185, No. 13, 1491/2. The date, which is indicated at the end of the manuscript only in numeral form (٨٩٧), appears to have been traced in ink later and corrected to ٩٩٧ ([1]197/1782—83). Historical work in Persian;

15. The State Historical Museum (henceforth, SHM), *φ*. 77, No. 156, 1500. Work on *fiqh* of the Ḥanafī school (same as No. 7);

16. SHM, *φ*. 77, No. 140. No later than 1503, the date in a table of contents written in a different hand on separate folios. Collection of *ḥadīths* drawn up in 1336.

مشكاة المصابيح الخطيب التبريزي.

The manuscripts enumerated above are not always precisely dated and localised. Nonetheless, in reviewing them, a number of regular features — format (which in the end depends on the size of the paper folio) and paper colour — emerge. Relying on them, one can divide the manuscripts into four groups:

I. manuscripts of literary content in Arabic (which presumes an origin in an Arabic-speaking region). 4 and 10 are executed on grey-brownish paper and have the format of Egyptian quarto. Manuscript 2 can be grouped with them on the basis of these characteristics;

II. manuscript 7, precisely dated and localised, copied in Adrianople in 1392, is in format close to large European octavo and was executed on paper of a bright grey shade;

III. manuscript 5, precisely dated and localised, copied in Damascus in 1331, is in format close to quarto and was executed on yellow-brown paper;

IV. manuscripts from the Central Asian-Iranian region. With few exceptions, one can *a priori* include in this group all manuscripts in Persian. The following are in format analogous to European octavo or are even more extended, executed on markedly yellow paper: 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. There may be among them manuscripts copied in the Ottoman Empire, where Iranian cultural traditions were retained during the period in question.

As can be seen from the classification of available examples of Eastern paper of the twelfth—fourteenth centuries, the paper of *Lestvitsa* corresponds best to group IV — the Central Asian and Iranian manuscripts. The paper of Byzantine manuscripts relatively well-known and available to researchers, however, is analogous or close to groups I and II. A review of a Greek codex on paper [12] contemporary to *Lestvitsa* entirely confirms its similarity with the paper of group I.

The exception which proves the rule is the oldest Greek manuscript on paper (Vat. Gr. 2200), dated to *ca.* 800 and, according to B. L. Fonkich, who reviewed it *de visu*, yellow in colour. Since paper production in the Near East began only in the second half of the tenth century [13], the paper of this codex must have been produced in Samarkand, which at that time retained a monopoly on production.

One can presume that the unusual yellow colour of *Lestvitsa*'s paper and its smooth surface are what caused the paper section of the manuscript to remain unnoticed for so long, although the manuscript itself has been known to scholars for at least a century.

One also notes the nearly identical formats of *Lestvitsa* (23.0×16.0—16.3 cm) and manuscript No. 6, copied in 1332 and 1335 in Urgench, Khorezm (24.0×16.5 cm). For comparison, one can examine other copies of *Lestvitsa* on parchment in the *Svodnyi katalog slaviano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig, khраниashchikhsia v SSSR, XI—XIII vv.* ("Comprehensive Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscript Books Held in the USSR: 11th—13th Centuries"), Moscow, 1984: Nos. 62 (26.5×22.0 cm), 206 (34.0×26.5 cm), 269 (20.0×13.5 cm).

One feature of *Lestvitsa's* preservation is undoubtedly linked to the composition of the paper. In the lower half of the side margin along the entire block, a strip of several millimetres was lost. But where the folios are firmly stitched together (around fol. 30), the paper juts out somewhat above the parchment. One can guess that rodents destroyed this strip, most frequently handled by fingers, only on the parchment folios, while on neighbouring paper folios this strip crumbled later, during page-turning. Apparently, Eastern paper was treated for preservation against insects and rodents not only in India, where this is attested by sources [14], but also in other centres of paper production. In any case, in a number of collections one notes the contrast between manuscripts on Russian paper

of the nineteenth century, which are badly damaged by rodents, and somewhat older examples on Eastern paper, which are beautifully preserved, although they were hardly stored in better conditions. In Europe, this characteristic of Eastern paper could cost careless readers dearly, a theme touched upon by Umberto Eco in his novel "The Name of the Rose".

The proposed Central Asian origins of *Lestvitsa's* paper are in good accord with the palaeographic dating to the second half of the thirteenth century. It was at that time that Eastern paper still surpassed its Western counterpart in quality; in the Western tradition, parchment continued to prevail for such codices. The well-known events of the thirteenth century and the numerous embassies to the Horde probably caused a somewhat greater familiarity with the material culture of Central Asia, which was controlled at the time by the same Mongol rulers. One can allow that *Lestvitsa* was copied during one of those embassies, which frequently lasted longer than intended. A. A. Turlilov proposed in conversation that it could also have been copied at the court of the Saray bishop. A definitive answer to the question will come only with the discovery of new historical sources from the period.

Notes

1. *Katalog slaviano-russkikh rukopisnykh knig XI—XIV vv., khраниashchikhsia v TsGADA SSSR* (Catalogue of Slavic-Russian Manuscript Books of the 11th—14th Centuries Held at the USSR Central State Archive of Ancient Statements), pt. 1 (Moscow, 1988), p. 12.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. N. P. Likhachev, *Paleograficheskoe znachenie bumazhnykh vodiannykh znakov* (The Palaeographic Significance of Paper Watermarks), pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1899), p. LXV.

5. *Ibid.*, p. CXCIV. For more information on this manuscript and other fragments of the same codex, see V. M. Zagrebin, "O proiskhozhdenii i sud'be nekotorykh slavianskikh palimpsestov Sinaia" ("On the origin and fate of several Slavic palimpsests from Sinai"), in *Iz istorii rukopisnykh i staropechatnykh sobranii* (Leningrad, 1979), pp. 61—80.

6. E. F. Karskiĭ, *Slavianskaia kirillovskaia paleografiia* (Slavic Cyrillic Palaeography) (Moscow, 1979), p. 99.

7. L. V. Cherepnin, *Russkaia paleografiia* (Russian Palaeography) (Moscow, 1959), p. 219.

8. J. Irigoien, "Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin", in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, hrsg. Dieter Harlfinger (Darmstadt, 1980), pp. 132—43. I am grateful to Mr. B. L. Fonkich for referring me to this article and for his valuable advice.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

10. N. A. Ivanov, *Osmanskoe zavoevanie arabskikh stran 1516—1574* (The Ottoman Conquest of the Arab Countries: 1516—1574) (Moscow, 1984), p. 211.

11. T. M. Aĭberov, "Dagestanskii dokumenty XV—XVII vv." ("Dagestani documents of the 14th—17th centuries"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Year Book. 1975* (Moscow, 1982), p. 5, n. 1.

12. SHM, manuscript department, No. 436 in the catalogue of Vladimir (=No. 298) (second half of the 13th century, Trapezund), see B. L. Fonkich, "O rukopisi "Strategikon" Kekavmena" ("On the manuscript *Strategikon* by Cecaumenes"), in *Vizantiiskii vremennik*, XXXI (1971), pp. 108—20; *idem*, "Zametki o grecheskikh rukopisiakh sovetskikh khranilishch. 13" ("Notes on Greek manuscripts in Soviet repositories. 13"), in *Vizantiiskie ocherki* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 111—21. The manuscript was reviewed as being of interest for Arabic textology in terms of its content; codicologically, its selection can be considered random.

13. See, for example, A. B. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia* (Arabic Manuscripts and the Arabic Manuscript Tradition) (Moscow, 1985), p. 164; A. Mets, *Musul'manskiĭ renessans* (A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*), trans. into Russian by D. E. Berthels (Moscow, 1973), p. 372.

14. See, for example, M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia, "Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture Indii" ("The manuscript book in the culture of India"), in *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka* (Moscow, 1988), ii, pp. 45—6.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

V. V. Kushev

A PASHTUN RULER AND LITERARY FIGURE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ON POLITICAL ETHICS

We present here several chapters from the second part of the treatise on political ethics, *Dastār-nāma* ("Book of the Turban") by Khushhāl-khān Khaīak (1613—1689), an extremely popular Afghan poet, military leader, and head of a large Pashtun tribe. The translation of this chapters follows here the text of two editions: the Kabul edition of 1966 [1] and the Peshawar edition of 1991 [2]. The Kabul edition was prepared by Siddīqallāh Riṣḥṭīn, President of the Academy of Pashto Language and Literature (*Pashto toḷna*), and contains a brief foreword by him and glossary. The Peshawar edition was prepared by Hājī Purdil-khān Khaīak; it includes his introduction and a foreword by Muḥammad-Nawāz Tā'ir, director of the Pashto Academy of Peshawar University. Both editions, which employ the modern script and orthography of standard Kabul and Peshawar Pashto, were completed on the basis of a 1952 publication of this work, the only major prose work by Khushhāl-khān (ethical-didactic in genre and encyclopaedic in the content of most of its chapters). It was prepared by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Shakūr, director of the Peshawar Museum *'Ajā'ib-i guhar*, with the aid of Khān-Muḥammad A'zam-khān from Jahangira and Khān-Muḥammad Sajāwul-khān from Tordher. The text of the treatise was prefaced by brief forewords by 'Abd al-Shakūr and Samandar, and the text was equipped with a small dictionary drawn up by the well-known philologist Dūst-Muḥammad Kāmīl [3] and transferred to the above-mentioned Riṣḥṭīn edition. The publication was based on a manuscript provided by a resident of Gumbat (not far from Kohat), Bahādūr Muḥammad-Rafīq-khān. This first edition preserved the special features of the manuscript text, including script details peculiar to authors of that time from the Khaīak tribe. According to the Persian-language colophon, the manuscript was prepared on the lands of Muḥammad-Afdal-khān expressly for him (apparently the grandson of Khushhāl-khān and the author of the historical work *Tārikh-i muraṣṣa'*) by the scribe 'Abd al-Ḥalīm on 5 Jumādā II 1119/3 September 1707 [4].

The treatise was composed by Khushhāl-khān while he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ranthambhor in the Indian principedom of Jaipur, where he was dispatched in March, 1664 by order of the Moghūl ruler Aurangzēb

(1618—1707). He spent here two and a half years and, after that, an additional two years under house arrest in Agra [5]. In addition to the *Dastār-nāma*, Khushhāl-khān also wrote many poems during that time, mostly nostalgic in content, which made up the collection *Firāq-nāma* ("Book of Separation") and were included in the poet's *Dīwān*. The author indicated the exact date of the treatise's completion: "The beginning was on Wednesday, and the end on 17 Rabī' al-awwal, here is the *qit'a* with the chronogram:

Such a book as was composed by Khushhāl in Pashto,
Was in the past not composed by the Pashtuns.
If you ask me about the time of its writing,
I will say thus: "It is enough to suffer in isolation".

Both the content of the chronogram and the sum of the Arabic letters which comprise it confirm that the work was completed approximately a year before Khushhāl-khān's transfer from Ranthambhor to Agra, which would date it to A.H. 1076. 17 Rabī' al-awwal 1076 corresponds to 27 September 1665.

The collection of the Khudabakhsh Public Library in the city of Patna in the Indian state of Bihar contains under call number 1568 an undated copy of a manuscript from Gumbat. It is apparently a late copy, judging by the ink used [6].

In addition to the above-mentioned three editions in the original language, an Urdu translation of the *Dastār-nāma* was published by the Pashto Academy of Peshawar University thanks to the efforts of Khaīr Ghaznawī, Purdil-khān Khaīak and the copyist Maḥmūd Fānī.

The work by Khushhāl-khān is an ethical-didactic composition written in the "mirror" genre deeply rooted in the literature of the Near East. Such compositions usually contained instructions for a future or beginning ruler, constituting in fact educational works on the theory and practice of ruling. Khushhāl-khān follows this ancient literature tradition in his own vein and provides a brilliant example of such kind of literature. Special conditions under which his work was done seem to have influenced favourably the contents of his writing. Apart from demonstrating vast topical richness, it displays a charming freedom in choosing parables aimed to give good examples of right social behaviour.

The encyclopaedic, by the standards of his time, learnings and cultural broad-mindedness of Khushhāl-khān, which enabled him to compose his treatise, is certainly the result of his profound knowledge of Persian literature, as well as his acquaintance with Indian culture, combined with Khushhāl-khān's life and war experiences. The *Dastār-nāma* can be viewed as both continuation and further development of the rich didactic literary tradition in the East. At the same time, his treatise laid down the philosophical and didactical foundations for his further writings. His special interest in morals developed undoubtedly under the influence of his predecessors' literary works and Islamic traditional values. But to a much more extent the *Dastār-nāma* was written in strict following the principles of *paš'htūn-wālī*, that is, a code of honour which contained the main regulations of tribal traditional law and determined the Pashtuns' social behaviour.

According to this code, all Pashtu men are equal in their rights (in fact, the Pashtun have a strict societal hierarchy), which leads us to suppose that Khushhāl-khān's moral instructions and injunctions, outwardly intended for the Afghan nobility, were not only restricted to this stratum but were also addressed a broader audience. The *Dastār-nāma* contains, in a concentrated form, the main ideas of spiritual and material culture, betraying Khushhāl-khān's social credo which implies humanism in culture and in political culture in particular. No doubt, his ethical-didactical compositions stimulated further literary process in Khatak milieu: the original compositions and translations intended for broad Pashto audience were created by his sons, grandsons, and grand grandsons, as well as by the members of his clan and the Khatak tribe, women writers being no exception. The verses and prose of Khushhāl-khān have played a significant role in the history of Afghan culture; his works served as a source of the rich stream of the seventeenth — eighteenth century secular Pashto literature, including lyrics, poems, works on ethics, and chronicles.

Additionally, the significant contribution of Khushhāl-khān to Pashto culture can also be seen in the stylistics and lexis of the *Dastār-nāma*. By introducing into Pashto lexical borrowings from the languages with which Pashto had long-term contacts, and, on the contrary, replacing numerous habitual "arabisms" by the old Afghan lexis, revived by him, also significantly extending the use of dialecticisms, and, what is more important, introducing language innovations, Khushhāl-khān created the language which most Pashtun could easily understand irrespective of their tribal or social position. It may be said that this language stands close to modern "standard" Pashto.

The treatise, and especially the first part, is in fact an encyclopaedic reference work which provides, in the fashion of the time, information on science, literature, history, art (music and painting), diversions and sport (hunting, shooting, swimming, horse-riding, chess, and draughts), upbringing, commerce, and agriculture. In the twenty chapters of the first part, which treat "the arts" (*hunar*), the author does not strive for a detailed presentation: he identifies major themes, demonstrates their significance for the ruler, and shows how the arts are mastered. Khushhāl-khān concentrates primarily on the knowledge which a man of noble birth — a ruler and leader of a tribe, an aristocrat or warrior — should possess. The work is of interest for the study of cultural history as a source on the culture and everyday life of the Pashtuns.

The twenty chapters of the second part, which treat the "qualities" (*khiṣlat*) indispensable for a ruler, reflect Khushhāl-khān's views on political philosophy and the ethics of conduct for a political leader. He strives to demonstrate that by following the author's recommendations on ties between states and tribes, relations between authority and subjects, and the ruler's conduct, one cannot help but aid the establishment of high moral principles, humanity, honesty, and a love for peace within society irrespective of time and place or conditions of the age and region.

Khushhāl-khān had numerous Indian, Iranian, and Arab predecessors in the genre he chose for his work, but he was the first literary moralist among the Pashtun. He was undoubtedly influenced by works of edification in Persian, with which he acquainted himself before his imprisonment at Ranthambhor and Agra, or probably during his imprisonment, although he himself complains of a lack of necessary literature (see below). Among the works which Khushhāl-khān likely followed were *'Iyār-i dānish* by Abū-l-Faḍl 'Allāmī [7] — an abridged version of Ḥusayn Wā'iz Kāshifī's *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [8] prepared for the emperor Akbar — and the best Persian version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* (the author of the oldest was Rūdakī, beginning of the 10th century; around A. D. 1153/54, Niẓām al-Dīn Abū-l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh made for Bahrām-shāh a Persian translation of *Kalīla wa Dimna* from the Arabic translation of 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa'). All of the texts listed go back to the Sanskrit *Pañcatāntra* through the Middle Persian translation (carried out in the sixth century during the reign of Khusraw Anūshīrwān), which was translated into Arabic in approximately 750, and earlier, around 579, into Syriac. Possibly having inherited Khushhāl-khān's interest in the genre, his grandson, Afḍal-khān, in 1716 translated *'Iyār-i dānish* into Pashto, calling it *'Ilm-khāna dā dānish* [9]. Khushhāl-khān was also greatly influenced by Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and *Būstān*, quotations from which make up a significant part of the verse insertions in the *Dastār-nāma*. In this, Khushhāl-khān also influenced his descendants: his son, 'Abd al-Qādir, in 1712 translated *Gulistān* into Pashto, entitling his translation *Guldasta*. Khushhāl-khān may have had access to some of the numerous Persian books of advice and edification (*andarz-nāma*, *pand-nāma*) such as *Karīma* [10] and *Pand-nāma* by Sa'dī [11], *Pand-nāma* by Aṭṭār [12], *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* by 'Alī Iṣfahānī [13], and the anonymous *Tuḥfa dar akhlāq wa siyāsat* [14], which goes back to Middle-Persian works of moral teachings and instructions on leading a righteous life (*Andarz-i Āturpat-i Mahrāspand*, *Pandnāmak-i Zaratusht*, *Wāchak-i echand*, and others [15]).

However, the work which most likely was modelled by Khushhāl-khān more than others was the *Qābūs-nāma* by Kay Kāwus, grandson of Qābūs, ruler of Tabaristan. The work, though distant from Khushhāl-khān chronologically, had been extremely popular among Persian readers over nine centuries. Kay Kāwus composed the *Qābūs-nāma* in 1082/83 for his son, Gilānshāh [16]. The *Dastār-nāma* betrays its relationship with this work not only in its goal and thematic material, but also in its chapter headings, inserted illustrative stories and verses, and the mention in stories and fables of well-known Greek, Iranian, and Arab historical figures. In one of his poems, Kay Kāwus enumerates the arts, sports and activities on which he practiced and those qualities he approves in a ruler: "I chose in the world twenty things, in order to spend a long life with them: poetry, singing and music, good wine, chess and draughts, hunting with

the snow-leopard and hawk, the ball and field for play, the palace hall, battle and feasting, the horse and weapons, generosity, prayer and the *namāz*". As for the *Dastār-nāma*, Khushḥāl-khān laid out his views on all of these matters with the exception of wine and feasts, exhibiting somewhat greater moral certitude and piety than Kay Kāwus.

Khushḥāl-khān's work displays less similarity with the ethical-didactic work *Siyāsat-nāma*, drawn up in 1091/92 at the order of the Saljūk ruler Malik Shāh by his *wazīr* Nizām al-Mulk, and with the edifying "Four Conversations" of Nizāmī 'Arūdī Samarqandī, composed by the author in 1157 for the Ghurid ruler, Ḥisām al-Dīn 'Alī. Khushḥāl-khān, however, was undoubtedly familiar with both of these works [17].

The *Dastār-nāma* consists of a general introduction (comprised of a preface and two chapters) and two parts, each of which has in turn its own introduction and twenty chapters. The chapters of the first part are called *hunars* ("arts"); the chapters of the second part are called *khiṣlats* ("qualities"). Chapter headings run as follows. First part: (i) On knowing oneself; (ii) On the science which is recognized as the acquisition of perfection; (iii) On writing, which is necessary for the acquisition of perfection; (iv) On the composition of poetry; (v) On firing a bow; (vi) On swimming; (vii) On horsemanship; (viii) On the hunt; (ix) On courage; (x) On generosity and nobility; (xi) On marital relations; (xii) On the upbringing up children; (xiii) On the treatment of servants; (xiv) On acquiring the means to live; (xv) On agriculture; (xvi) On trade; (xvii) On the study of one's lineage; (xviii) On the musical science; (xix) On draughts and chess; (xx) On painting. Second part: (i) Accepting advice; (ii) Making decisions; (iii) Silence; (iv) Truthfulness; (v) Shame, modesty, and conscience; (vi) Good nature; (vii) Magnanimity; (viii) Forgiving and mercy; (ix) Thinking one's actions through; (x) Justice; (xi) Relying on God; (xii) Upbringing; (xiii) Fear of God; (xiv) Managing the state; (xv) Courage and steadfastness; (xvi) Softness and sociability; (xvii) Pride and honour; (xviii) Good sense and circumspection; (xix) Piety and de-

votion; (xx) Penitence and repentance. The conclusion speaks of flaws in human nature: ignorance, from which one can free oneself, and stupidity, which is insurmountable.

The prose text of the *Dastār-nāma* is leavened with 195 verse excerpts in Persian, 92 in Pashto, 57 in Arabic, as well as with 25 Qur'ānic citations. They are ordinarily not referenced, which makes one assume that the author cited most of them from memory, as he says. But excerpts from *Gulistān* and *Būstān* which we were able to identify are cited by Khushḥāl-khān without distortion. Their text is identical to the text of one or another of the manuscripts of *Sa'dī's Kulliyat* which serve as the basis for existing print editions. In the final lines of the conclusion, Khushḥāl-khān writes on the subject:

"I had no books, or I would have included good quotations here, drawing amply and with references from poetry and prose, Arabic and Persian. But what I had in my memory, what I learned, does not by a single word go beyond the bounds of the *riwāyat* [18], is not beyond the *ḥikmat* [19]; in all are the benefits and aims of faith and peace. This is a treatise on coming to know ability and talent, for this was the subject I studied in prison: understanding and delusion. And if I was deprived [of books] in this task, I still had a pen. In the light of the above-mentioned goal, I came to understand that I should leave that which is preserved in my memory as instruction and advice to my children, brothers, friends, and comrades-in-arms".

Written in conditions less than ideal for creative work, the treatise *Dastār-nāma*, unlike other works by Khushḥāl-khān, is not always stylistically perfect and sometimes exhibits somewhat authorial syntax. It rather resembles a rough draft in several sections. This compelled the publishers to indicate (in the interpretation of words in notes and in the glossary) the difficulty of understanding various sections of the text. These factors could not but affect our translation of thirteen chapters from the second half of the work, which we present avoiding cuts [20].

DASTĀR-NĀMA

Part two

which includes chapters on twenty qualities indispensable in politics

Politics and the administration of the country clearly depend on all of these qualities. In their absence, affairs do not acquire stability, dangers and disorder arise; the lack of even one of them causes harm. We know politicians of two virtues. Some are the *sardārs* [21], who are called *amīrs* [22]. Thus, the master in his home is an *amīr*: "You are all shepherds and you are all responsible for the flock" (Arab.). There is also an *amīr* in the village, in the tribe, and in the large country. If one counts in this fashion, there are many *amīrs*, but [the true] *amīr* is he who has at his disposal twelve thousand brave, noble young men whom he commands, who place their faith in him, and who fear him, according to the indication: "Obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you" [23]. That is, obey God, the Prophet, and the *amīr* who is yours. Some commentators proposed reading *ālīms* in place of *amīrs*, that is, "follow the scholars".

Today it has become accepted to consider the Padishah of the time a lord and ruler, as is the Sultan of Sultans (*sultān al-salāṭīn*). The Shahanshah in his own kingdom, who stands beneath the Sultan of Sultans, is called Sultan and acts at the order and behest of the Sultan of Sultans. Where there is a *ḥākīm* [24], he is called *nā'ib* [25]; all of these are *amīrs*. The Shahanshah can be compared to a large river; these others to tributaries. These tributaries — just as the taste of water in a river is the same as in tributaries and streams — are exceptional people under the power of the padishah. Rulers in their own realms are *malīks* [26], i. e. *sultāns*, [and] they are like individual rivers: by their own conditions, some are large and some are small. The water of a large river and the water of tributaries give grace; but if the water is foul-smelling, salty, bitter, rotten, one cannot obtain grace from it. If the rulers are adorned with arts and laudable qualities, they are like beneficial water; if not, they are like dirty water. In accordance with the *sharī'a* [27], water is clean if its colour, taste, and smell do

(۱۰۷)

لسم خصلت د عدل د انصاف دی

د ملك د آباداني ، د خلق د آسائش مدار هم په دا كار دی - دا خصلت دی چه څه دی .

چو گردد شا عالم عدل پيشه شود آسائش كه كه ، هميشه كه كافر وي چه عادل وي ، به تر غه مسلمانه چه د ملك په كار ظلم وي .

عدل و انصاف دان نه كفرته دين آنچه در حفظ ملك در كاراست
عدل و انصاف كر كند كافر بهتر از ظلم شاه ديندار است
نو شيروان چه كافر و ، د عدالت د صفت كار يي په لاس
نيولي و بيغمير (ص) ستايلى دى .

ايات

بيغمير كه در عهد نو شيروان برخ كشت چشمو چراغ جهان
بگفتا كه از ظلم زان ساده ام كه در عهد نو شيروان زاده ام
حديث د نبوت پناه دى :

« العدل ساعة خير من عبادت سنين سنة قيام لياليها و صيام
نهارها . » هر څوك دخيل كاله اميران دى ، بادشاه په ملك نيولى
دى . ملك په كلي د كاله خيستن په خپل كاله ، عدل هرجا لره بويه .
قوله تعالى : « يا ايها الذين آمنوا اتقوا انفسكم و اهليكم تارا . »
الملك يبقى مع الكفر ولا يبقى مع الظلم .

عدل درې حرفه دى : عین ، دال ، لام . عین په عربی سترگوته وایسی .
دال راعنما ، لام (زغره) . واحالی ، بادشاه ، ملك ، سلطان لره بويه چه
سترگي دى په رعیت لری ، زهنمای دي وي ، ددبو ونه كار ته لکه زغره
چه حفظ د بدن ده ، دى دي هم در رعیت حافظ وى . ظلم دې ونه بربردی
« الرعى لعباد الله و الحامى لبلاد الله » . په ده باندي درست شی .
ملك رانی لوی امر دى

بيت

رعیت نوازی و سر لشکری نه کار بست باز یچو سر سری

Fig. 1

not change. If it causes harm, then even if it should be an entire river, the water will become useless. A ruler should, above all, adorn himself with the *sharī'a*, and then study all of the phenomena and elements of ruling a country, political art, morals and the qualities [necessary in order] to become a pure river, capable of bearing grace. The arts have already been laid out [28], we now move to the inner qualities.

THE FIRST QUALITY

Accepting advice

The good sense of rulers springs from two sources: what is immanent in the ruler, a part of his essence, and what is external, brought in from without. The immanent is when a ruler himself possesses qualities and talents and all of the arts and qualities exist within him. But even then, he needs advice: one should not act without conferring with well-wishers. The Prophet Muḥammad, who was perfect in intellect, constantly conferred with his *aṣḥāb* [29]. He said: "I have four *wazīrs* — two on earth, and two in heaven".

Those on earth were Abū Bakr [30] and 'Umar [31]; in heaven, Jabrā'il [32] and Mīkā'il [33]. Each time a revelation was sent down to him, his condition became such that he was compelled to seek advice. All others also need advice in the first place. One must weigh all that is in one's thoughts, and then query all well-wishers, for the opinion of others may prove to be better than one's own opinion and own thoughts.

Qit'a

It sometimes happens, that the opinion of a wise man with a radiant mind
Is incorrect,
And sometimes an untutored babe
By chance sends the arrow directly into the target [34].

The other is good sense brought in from without. What is meant is a man, still young, who does not yet know his own abilities, or one feeble-minded, or women who are insufficiently intelligent. If they are appointed to conduct political affairs, the actions of such people will be successful only on the condition that they have wise *wazīrs*. Rulers came to need *wazīrs* so that harm would not come to the realm. Otherwise, harm will come to the realm and a change of authority is beyond doubt. In any case, rulers need knowledgeable *wazīrs*, for to be a *wazīr* is a matter for scholars. The fact of the matter is that the benefit of conference is great. And if a matter carried out in accordance with good advice comes to ruin, reproaches and exactions will not be directed at anyone.

THE SECOND QUALITY

Making decisions

This means that it is fitting for rulers to strive toward action: if from his lips escape the words "I will do that" or something of that nature, they are obligated without fail to undertake the matter. Whether [it] is destructive or creative, unto life or unto death, [they must] carry it out without retreating from their words. The greatness of rulers is in word and deed; if they are flighty and petty, then so are they themselves — despicable and weak. "The words of rulers are the rulers of words" (Arab.). For this reason, in each matter good sense and consultation are obligatory: God forbid that words should be spoken which do not become guides, otherwise they shall cause the ruler harm and damage and difficulties shall arise. Let him first think through everything to maturity, and only then speak his mind.

On this subject, which concerns rulers, there are many metaphoric parables and worthy mentions of comparisons. One ruler ate earth. Physicians treated him, but were unable to prevent him from doing this. One wise man boasted that he would cure him. They invited him, and he said: "Do not eat earth". The ruler said: "I cannot live without this". The wise man proposed: "Pro-nounce the words 'I will not eat [it]!' " "I will not eat [it]", repeated the ruler. And the physician said: "You are a ruler, and you have heard of the decisions of rulers. If they have made a decision and revealed it, then the matter is firmly decided". The ruler agreed: "It is so". And the wise man said: "If you have uttered that you will not eat earth, then by betraying your word, you violate your own decision". And the ruler no longer ate earth. The story is said to concern the caliph Ma'mūn [35].

There was another ruler in India. While rewarding someone, he said: "Give [him] six thousand". While being recorded [in the decree], "sixty thousand" was written down by mistake. They reported that the original list had read six thousand, and during copying it had become sixty thousand. [They asked] what the decision would be. [The ruler] deigned to say: "His good fortune. Now I will not retreat from my words — give him sixty thousand!" Such is the condition of rulers.

Sultan Maḥmūd [36] was preparing to march on some realm and the following words escaped his mouth: "I will march on Khorezm". Ḥasan Maymandī [37] and other well-wishers asked him: "Why has the Sultan so rashly announced this campaign?" "I now regret it myself", he said, "but I will not reject what has been spoken by my tongue, even if I do not return alive [from the campaign]". He completed that campaign with great difficulties.

During some diversion, one Kāshmirī ruler carelessly said: "I will eat as much poison as [usually] kills man". Then, after some thought, he said: "During that diversion, I was joking, but since I have said it, I will eat [the poison]". He ordered that the poison be brought. All of his household and slaves began crying, but he did not betray his word; he took the poison and died from it. No matter how they tried to talk him out of it: "Why don't you eat less of it" — he replied that that would be a ruse, and

men do not employ cunning and ruses. The essence [of my words is] the importance of the decisions rulers make in their affairs. Each decision must be taken with understanding. And may there be peace.

THE THIRD QUALITY

Silence

The people heed what is spoken by the ruler. Whether a scholar or an ignoramus, all [people] should prefer silence. There is no quality better or higher than silence. Great harm comes from speech. There is much misfortune when secrets are revealed, when there is inappropriate decisiveness in speech. [Speech] is [the vehicle] for inflicting insult, divorcing one's wife, and manumitting slaves. It holds unease for the angels, and — God forbid! — retreat from the faith. If one makes calculations, words can cause a thousand misfortunes, one can even lose one's head because of them.

Miṣrā'

A hot tongue brings ruin to a cool head.

"Salvation lies in silence" (Arab.). A wise man lived once who constantly kept a chicken's egg in his mouth. When they asked him why [he did this], he replied: "I have made a cover for my mouth so that nothing may fly out of it". They told him: "Although no little harm comes from the tongue, benefits are to be had as well", to which he objected: "May there be no harm; then there is no need for benefit". Keeping a secret is a special quality; I discovered it in silence, for silence is the best means of [achieving] that. Rulers must keep profound secrets even from those close to them and their proxies, with the exception of cases when their opinion and knowledge can be trusted completely.

Bayt (Pers.)

If your opinion is known to someone other than yourself,
[Then] you should mourn that opinion and knowledge [38].

Aristotle was a *wazīr* of the ruler Iskandar [39]. In school, [they] sat together and were friends since childhood. But even the secret of the horns on Iskandar's head the latter did not tell him. [He] resolved state matters with him, but did not reveal his secret thoughts, did not speak of his intentions and strivings. By means of logical speculation, Aristotle determined that, when speaking of a campaign in a certain direction, Iskandar intended to go in the other direction.

THE FOURTH QUALITY

Truthfulness

The truth must inhere in everything, but especially in rulers. The entire world heeds their words, and that which escapes their lips makes the rounds of the world. If a ruler should lie, whether in jest or in mockery, people will lose faith in him, for they repeat what he says. For this reason, it befits rulers to be careful and attentive to each word, and especially in speeches, explanations, and agreements. Better death than a betrayal of one's word. If [they] are firm in the truth, misfortune shall not befall them, they will always enjoy respect, and will succeed and conquer.

Miṣrā' (Pers.)

You provide the truth, the Creator grants victory.

Bayt (Pers.)

With truth, with directness is the Lord satisfied,
I have met no one who went astray on the true, direct path [40].

In the Qur'ān, the Most High glorifies the truthful and sincere. One must not go against a promise. "The noble [man] is faithful to [his] promise" (Arab.). Do not make promises, but if you promise, fulfill [your promise].

THE FIFTH QUALITY

Shame, modesty, and conscience

He who lacks shame and modesty has neither the spiritual, nor the secular. Conscience is the envelope of the spirit, and if there is no envelope, there is no soul. Daring, and generosity, and chastity, and honesty, and piety, and magnanimity, and compassion, and nobility, and intercession — none of this exists outside of shame and conscience. When there is shame and conscience, there is all of this; otherwise, the soul is empty. The soul and life are dear to all. But he who has not shame will flee [to save himself], while he who has shame will remain and perish. Property is dearer than the soul when it is acquired for

important matters and expended in accordance with shame and conscience. A lovely beloved is a beautiful sight; but it is inaccessible to contemplation because of shame. Zulaykhā [41], in a moment of solitude, when with compulsion and tears she inclined Yūsuf [42] to consent, covered with fabric her idol made from gold. Yūsuf asked: "What have you hidden?" She replied: "This is my god, I am ashamed before him, and for this reason have hidden [him], that he should not see my deed". Yūsuf said to her: "If you are ashamed before such a [petty] idol, then how can I not be ashamed before my God, who is All-knowing and All-seeing".

Fear is indivisible from shame: he who is ashamed before God fears Him, and he who has no shame has no fear. There are many types of shame: before God, before the angels, before people. Shame before God stems from the fact that the Most High has such vision that even beneath the earth He sees how in the darkest night a black ant crawls beneath a black stone. Nothing is concealed from His gaze, for Him all that each person does is clear. If a person performs something inadmissible with some woman, if he seeks out a concealed corner, or if a young boy comes to him in a secret place, then he experiences disgust because of great shame and powerful fear. And even if his shame before God and the young boy are not equal, the All-present and All-seeing does not take this into account, and the person will become sinful when he breaks the divine commandments.

Another type of fear is [fear] before the angels. No matter what action or deed should come from a person, the angels who sit on his shoulders will bear [them] to the throne of God. And there [sit] other angels who observe deeds, affairs, words. And one must have great shame in order not to commit diabolical deeds which contradict the *sharī'a*; they are saddened by all that brings joy to the devil.

Bayt (Pers.)

Grief stems from that evil which is in every nature.
May my fear become a rebuke to Satan [43].

[People] are ashamed before the angels in all things, but several areas are considered damned. Primarily, they are those which for a sitting and lying [person] are exposed beneath the navel and above the knees, that is, the privy parts of a man and woman. When washing, men and women are obligated to observe this rule. Washing must take place at such a time that others do not find out. Moreover, one [should] not expose oneself overmuch [while visiting] a latrine, and much else. It is said that no one saw the Sultan [Maḥmūd] Ghaznawī wash. And no one knew when the Indian Sultan Muḥammad Khiljī [44] retired [to the harem]; not even trusted servant-girls knew this. He was an amazingly good padishah who virtually never departed from the rules of shame.

Miṣrā' (Pers.)

He who has no shame has also no faith.

Shame before people is diverse, and he whose eyes are clear with insight will comprehend, but [I must] write about some things. Not to obey one's parents and not to show them attention, not to heed their advice and instruction, not to follow moral requirements when they endure insult, not to resist such evil, not to fulfil their instructions in all matters, not to avenge a murder — all this is shameful. And there is a *riwāyat*: a son who does not avenge his father is a mongrel and a bastard. To insult a neighbour, fail to help a friend, not support a comrade, not respect a teacher, not honour one's parents, not share one's property [upon] seeing them hungry and barefoot, not to be merciful, not to show magnanimity — this is also recognised as shameful. If the '*abd al-zawja*, that is the wife's slave, whom she commands and who obeys her in all, endures her caprices, if she walks along the streets, rides out wilfully on *ziyārats* [45], or if strangers can hear her voice from the courtyard, or if her laughter is heard, or even the sound of her bracelets, then there is this *ḥadīth*: "In truth, Allah hates the sound of anklets just as [He hates] singing, and He condemns the possessor of that just as He condemns this action; so let her not put on bracelets, or she is damned" (Arab.). That is her torment. And the husband of a wife who allows this also [suffers] torment, disgrace, and dishonour. He who well remembers these shameful things will grasp any others, and if I were to write about all of them, this book would be overlong. But avarice, elicitation, and begging are also an important sign of shamelessness and immodesty, just as in this a person disgraces his fathers and forefathers, and the same shall happen to him himself. If his ancestors did not perform vile deeds, then they shall appear to him as though he was born not of his own father.

Bayt (Pers.)

A son who lacks the features of his father,
Call [him] a stranger, do not call [him born] of his father.

Requests between father and son, wife and husband, servant and master, teacher and pupil, *pīr* [46] and *murīd* [47], who have rights in relation to one another, are not considered begging. But this depends on nobility. If a son is noble, he will be saddened even by a request [directed] toward his father.

Bayt (Pers.)

Abandon greed and rule,
The neck that is not encumbered by avarice rises high [48].

The ruler is he who is not avaricious; consider the ruler who is grasping and mercenary a pauper.

(۱۴۸)

خطه به کتبی واقع وی نظر دې د اصلاح پرې وکا . په اغماض دې
 دني وکا (خد ما صفادع ماکدر) دانايان د طمن ژبه کوتاه لری ، چه
 عين مطلب خو د ظاهر شه گپه - په عدم استعداد و استطاعت دا داعيه
 به خاطر نه وه بدايت يې په چهارشنبه شروع و نهايت يې په اولسم
 دربيع الاول وشو . داقطعه د تاريخ ده :

قطعه

دا کتاب چه په پښتو خوشحال انشاء کي
 پخوانه دی انشاء کسري پښتانه
 که تاريخ يې د انشاء له مانه غولې
 وایم دایس دی محنت د بيلتا نه

به تاريخ پنجم جمادی الثاني ، سنه ۱۱۱۹ یک هزار و یکصد و نوزده ،
 در سر کار زبده خوانين بلند مکان ، خان مکرمت نشان مرجع حسنات
 جسنه ، منبع افاضات ذاتيه محمد افضل خان جیوادام الله ارشاده و
 ضامف آثار اقباله - نسخه معظمه دستار نامه به خط احقر عبدالحمید از
 حوصله قلم به منصفه تحریر در آمد .

Fig. 2

Bayt (Pers.)

He who eats bread earned through his own labour
Does not seek recourse to the charity of the rich man Ḥātim Ṭā'ī [49].

Bad and shameless is he who, with no need for recompense, asks [something] for himself without experiencing need. And yet another sign of shamelessness: will he who does not understand the shame of others comprehend his own? He who values his own sister and daughter will value those of others as well.

THE SIXTH QUALITY

Good nature

A good nature is a sublime characteristic. However many good qualities a man may have, if he lacks a good nature, they are all useless. An *āyat* was sent down to the Prophet Muhammad: "Receive from me grace; I have made your nature good, thanks to which you have made the world yours" [50]. Rulers must try to develop this quality in themselves. However much is achieved by the sword and the treasury, as much — if not more — [is achieved] by a good nature.

Bayt (Pers.)

With pleasant speech, kindness and goodness
You can lead an elephant by a single hair [51].

Treat everyone kindly, and say good things even about your enemy. Abū Muslim Marwazī [52] had no equals in courage; he was an unsurpassed warrior and leader. By his efforts and martial feats the 'Abbāsids came to power in the caliphate. He never spoke badly of his enemies. He said: "We fight well with one another with swords, why should we make use of our tongues?" His friendliness was such that if a leper came to him, he would rise to meet him and embrace him. He never mocked anyone. When someone was angry with him, he only laughed in response. He valued neither his own wealth nor his life. For his good nature, magnanimity, and disinterestedness, God gave him an army, and he first conquered Khorasan, then Iraq [53] and Baghdad, and he achieved high honours. Ya'qūb Layth [54] was a carpenter, and began to employ the tactic of raids. He chose righteousness and justice: having seized a caravan, he would surrender half to its owners and divide half among his comrades. He followed Abū Muslim Marwazī and adopted from him all of the good nature and friendliness of the latter's nature. And as a poor carpenter who came to possess these qualities, he conquered Khorasan and Iraq. His three subsequent generations ruled there.

I want to say that a [person with] a good nature will make a stranger his own, an enemy a friend, while a [person of] bad character alienates and turns a friend into a foe. If you strike someone with a sword and inflict a wound, that will be forgotten, the pain will pass, he will recover, and that is all. But if you wound someone with your tongue, a wound will appear in the heart, and a wound in the heart does not heal; it remains forever in memory. Even if you mention someone in jest and with humour, [that] can be interpreted as an insult and will not be forgotten. And it will cause anger and aversion. Here is one example. A certain Balkh ruler was conversing in the *majlis* with his *amirs* and mentioned the wife of one of them. Anger entered that [man's] heart, and his son urged him to [commit an] evil [deed]. The matter came to a conflict and bloodshed. One must always restrain one's tongue: there is no place for ridicule and mockery, as ridicule sparks a fire.

THE SEVENTH QUALITY

Magnanimity and nobility

This is also a laudable quality. [It] comes from the essence [of a person]. He who has shame, has nobility. Nobility cannot appear in a shameless and base [person]. Nobility is [manifested] primarily in relation to family and friends. The Refuge of the Prophetic Mission deigned to say: "And of your wife also the father", that is, the father of your wife is also your father.

Bayt

The father-in-law is the same as a father to the husband, the husbands of sisters are brothers,
And the wives of brothers are sisters, the wives of the father-in-law are the same as mothers.

Affinity through marriage is distinguished by even greater love than closeness through blood relation. According to the *sharī'a*, relatives by marriage and blood have the same rights, and all that is done to observe them is noble. There will be no nobility in he who does not understand the essence of shame and modesty. Moreover, he who does not give a neighbour his due is not noble. If they meet in morning and evening, live next to each other, but do not share [their] grief and sadness, there is no nobility here.

Fard [55]

I sympathise with acquaintances, such is their position, but woe to a stranger.

But if they will not have nobility, then who will? It is, of course, indispensable for a ruler. If someone was ever indispensable to him, or if he drank simple water in someone's home, may he remember and reward them a hundred times over,

for nobility lies in dying in his service. If there is a worthy one among his sons, may he make him his proxy, and if there are none [of these], if they lack abilities, talent, are weak and licentious, may he have mercy on them, show them condescension, and not forget their service. And more: [if] a servant of God appeals to him for help and refuge, may he defend him with his life, property, and realm.

Moreover, may he look directly into the face of each person, never commit base deeds for the sake of material, worldly gain, and if a lowly person appeals to him, may he grant him an audience. In state affairs, one should accept petitions on questions of property, but when an affair of state concerns the bases and structure of the state, such petitions with offers to participate should not be accepted: a person who renders an appeal concerning such a state affair may be an enemy rather than a friend. Such powers should not be granted to anyone. Each case which arises should be resolved according to the advice of well-wishers, but it is not magnanimous to refuse petitions on property and financial transactions.

THE EIGHTH QUALITY

Forgiveness and mercy

Magnanimity and generosity are called mercy, but in its essence mercy is manifested in the forgiving of sins and guilt. Magnanimous is he who possesses this quality of character. The Most High possesses this, which is why one of his epithets is the Most Merciful. "Do not despair of God's mercy" [56]. Rulers are a shadow of God's good will, and this quality should be strong in them: he in whom there is no mercy and magnanimity lacks the nature of a ruler.

A person does not manifest forgiveness and mercy for two reasons. First, hope that he will live long and will rid himself of all who are against him; second, worldly avarice which overcomes him. And also egoism. All of these three qualities deserve to be condemned. No one is eternal in this world. Rapaciously seized worldly wealth and power do not remain with anyone forever, and egoism and self-satisfaction do not bring benefits. For what happened to the Pharaoh Hāmān [57]? A ruler should open his eyes to the truth, see himself in the world and see that the world needs him, and [he should] be grateful for this. And if God has made him dependent on the world, then what has he himself done in the world? One must be grateful for not passing up the opportunity to forgive and be merciful in order to vanquish an enemy, and there would be more victories. One must not stint on forgiveness and mercy, as there is nothing higher than magnanimity. Even vengeance does not grant as much satisfaction as forgiveness. The Sultan Sanjar [58] was victorious over a padishah, captured him in battle, and everyone thought that he would kill him. The sultan held festivities to celebrate the victory, invited this enemy and entertained him. After the feast, he asked for platters and valuables, placed them before him, and the padishah extemporised two *bays*:

Mathnawī (Pers.)

He captured me, did not kill [me] in anger or out of vengeance,
Although, without a doubt, I should have been killed,
And then on a platter he gives me priceless gems.
Look, what forgiveness and gifts have been accorded me.

The sultan released him and returned to him the realm which he had ruled. The sultan's retainers said to him: "What has the Sultan done? Such an enemy was captured with great difficulty, and the Sultan let him go". The sultan objected: "I forgave him as a sign of gratitude [to God] for the fact that he became my captive, and not I his. And also because my mercy will become known to the entire world — so merciful and all-forgiving is Sanjar!" His retainers said: "But he will rise up again!" The sultan uttered: "If he rebels, I will go to war with him again. And if he should be my captive ten times, I will still forgive him". That padishah, while he was alive, was as faithful to the sultan as a slave. The well-known *amīr* Atsīz [59] was a *nūkar* [60] to the sultan, considered him his brother. The *amīrs* of the sultan said to him: "If he rebels, call us together", because they espied a mutinous nature in him, but the sultan immediately gave him Khorezm to rule and released him there to reign; he rendered honour to him and the latter left. After laughing, the sultan said: "This shah will no longer show his face here, he has left and will not return". The *amīrs* said: "The Sultan has only to say [the word], and we will cut him to pieces". The sultan said: "Such conduct is unworthy of the generous and merciful, that is not magnanimous and not noble".

After leaving for Khorezm, Atsīz once again rebelled. He erected a fortress in the city of Hazarasb (lit. "one thousand horses" — V. K.), but finally, yielding to the sultan's blows, he left the city and fled. The poet Rashīd Waṭwāṭ was Atsīz's panegyrist, and when he composed against the sultan the following *bayt*:

O hero Rostam, if the shah becomes your enemy
One ass will not overcome a thousand horses,

the sultan ordered: "If Rashīd falls into our hands, cut him to shreds". And Rashīd was captured, and when they brought him to the executioners, he said: "Convey my request to the Sultan". The murderers asked: "What [request]?" [Rashīd answered:] "I, a wretch, am so mean of body that the Sultan need not cut me, there is not enough flesh in me to make two pieces". When this was conveyed to the sultan, he laughed and pardoned Rashīd. This glorious padishah was defeated by a local people called the Ghuzz, on the field of battle not far from Bukhara, he was put in chains and kept for a time in the Termez fortress. Then the 'ay-yārs [62] came and freed him from the fortress. One *malik* brought him to Khorasan through Balkh, and he died in Registan.

Forgiveness and mercy are the great qualities of rulers, they are part of [their] inner nature. But they are also necessary for people of council and righteousness, for the ruler consults with scholars, wise men, the knowledgeable and the noble. They influ-

ence the ruler, and the qualities of mercy and magnanimity gain the upper hand in him. But if he would converse with the base and greedy, the evil and ignorant [or] the outcast they will also influence him.

Bayt (Pers.)

If an angel sits down with a demon, know the fear of betrayal and treachery,
Beware an evil neighbour, avoid [him] — may God protect us from the hell fire [63].

THE TENTH QUALITY

Righteousness and justice

These are the foundation of a state's good organisation and prosperity, and the peace of people. What are they?

[*Bayt*] (Pers.)

When a ruler strives for justice in matters,
Temporary tranquillity becomes permanent.

An unbeliever, if he is just, is better than a Muslim despot in affairs of state.

[*Rubā'i*] (Pers.)

Know righteousness and justice, and not unbelief or faith,
For it is this which is indispensable in preserving the state,
Righteousness and justice shown by an unbeliever
Are better than the oppression of a believing shah.

Nūshīrwān [64] was an unbeliever, but was just in the conduct of affairs, and the Prophet spoke of him with praise:

Bayts (Pers.)

The Prophet, who in the age of Nūshīrwān
Became the eye and light of the world,

Said: "I am free from tyranny
Because I was born in the age of Nūshīrwān".

There is a *ḥadīth* on the Refuge of the Prophetic Mission (that is, the Prophet Muḥammad — V. K.): "One hour of justice is better than sixty years of prayer with night vigils and mid-day fasting" (Arab.). Each [person] is a ruler in his home: a padishah reigns in the realm, the elder rules in the village, the master of the house in his home, and justice is indispensable for each [of them]. As the Most High said: "Believers, guard yourselves and your families against a Fire!" [65]. "May a ruler [live] in unbelief, so long as he does not retreat from justice" (Arab.). The word "justice" consists of three letters: 'ayn, dāl, and lām. 'Ayn is "eye" in Arabic, dāl is "leader", and lām is "defence and armour". A padishah, *malik*, sultan must observe his subjects, show them the way, and defend them as reliably as armour which guards the body; he must be the guardian of his subjects and not allow their oppression. "Shepherd of the servants of Allah and guardian of the countries of Allah" (Arab.). This [utterance] is true in relation to a ruler. The management of the state is a great matter.

Bayt (Pers.)

Justice [in regard] to [one's] subjects and the command of the army
Are not games, but a serious matter.

The management of the state, politics, and power — these are from Allah, for the matter is not simple. He who acts in just fashion is a deputy of the Most Merciful; a despot and tyrant is a deputy of Satan. There is a *ḥadīth*: "When a ruler is just, he is a deputy of the Merciful, and when he is a tyrant, a deputy of *shayṭān*" (Arab.) According to the *ḥadīth*, a just ruler is granted so much that each prayer of his subjects is counted as seventy prayers. If a Muslim ruler is unjust and despotic, but is called just, [for] that threatens unbelief. If an unbeliever is glorified for justice, there is no fear of unbelief in this, as the Prophet was proud of Nūshīrwān: "I was born in the age of a just ruler" (Arab.). Allah the Most High said: "... and be unbiased. Surely God loves the just" [66].

The first condition of justice is that a ruler not consider himself greater than his subjects. On the day of the full moon, the Prophet sat in shade while his comrades were in the sun. Jabrā'il came down to him and said to him: "O Messenger of Allah, you are in the shade, the *aṣḥāb*, your friends, in the sun". The Prophet immediately moved into the sunlight. Moreover, show no preference for yourself, and others will show no preference for another over you.

[*Bayt*]

If he does not show a preference for himself over another,
May that [latter person] not place himself higher.

In matters of righteousness and justice, a son and a brother, a stranger and a weak [person] should be equal before the ruler. One must not despise a pauper and a *darwīsh* [or] force them to wait; one should hear them out without delay, carry out

their requests, act in accordance with the *sharī'a* and customary law, in reasonable, peace-loving, and virtuous fashion so that all is to the benefit of people. Then evil and corruption are dispelled and each receives his lawful due. Thus must one act. One must not be an egoist, wilful, vain, contemptuous, lazy, and limited. One must make due with little, rely on God, be noble, possess the qualities of a *qalandar* [67]. It is imperative to converse and consult with scholars, wise men, righteous men, hate and avoid those of bad upbringing who say and think bad things.

Rubā'ī (Pers.)

You strive toward primacy, but do not be ahead of others,
Be like balsam and wax, do not be like a sting.
If you desire evil from no one,
Do not speak badly, do not teach what is bad, do not harbour evil.

Striving toward the possession of the world is the root of all evil. "Striving to possess the world stands at the head of all deadly sins" (Arab.). Those who thirst for dominion in the world, in striving for this, have grown distant from it in a single instant. Abandon all of these desires and efforts to others, who will tear it to pieces.

Miṣrā' (Pers.)

[O] Allah, Allah, someone has lost [something], [but] someone has saved.

[*Bayt*]

At once, in a moment, in an instant,
The state of the world changes.

Regret comes after death, and in this world there is no gain of profit, reward, goods, honour neither for the young nor the old; death is a dagger plunged into the throat.

Bayt (Pers.)

O youth, although you hope for old age, strive,
For at times the old man remains and the young man exits.

Happy is the ruler who in his youth conducted affairs in just fashion. "Allah loves best repentance, the repentance of a youth" (Arab.). A ruler who until forty years of age has not strictly observed just [principles] in affairs is deserving of hell. *Ḥadīth*: "May good overcome evil in he who has attained forty years of age; otherwise, he will set off for the fire of hell" (Arab.).

[*Bayt*]

If a forty-year-old does not have knowledge and upbringing,
In truth, he is not worthy of being called a person.

The Prophet Muḥammad deigned to say: "I am beloved of Allah and a repentant youth is loved by Allah" (Arab.); that is, I am beloved of Allah and a repentant youth is a favourite of God. *Ḥadīth*: "A repentant youth and I, we both shall be in paradise, and he pointed to his forefinger and middle finger" (Arab.); that is, we will go directly to paradise like these two fingers. *Ḥadīth*: "Verily, the repentant youth will receive great recompense from Allah" (Arab.). The ruler who repents in his youth, who acts justly and righteously, humbly, piously, intelligently, his lot will also be like that shown above.

In this chapter, much is promised and much warning is given. Each who will be worthy of the Most High in this will receive these degrees. "Such is the wisdom of Allah, and this is worthy of he who strives" (Arab.).

THE TWELFTH QUALITY

Upbringing

The ruler must exhibit great knowledge and skill in this. [One should] not raise dishonest, base, low, vile, harmful, and evil [people]. [One should] go about upbringing in such fashion as to continue a noble lineage of father and grandfather, in its natural essence, in a tribe, so as to raise intelligent, reasonable, knowledgeable, wise [people].

Bayt (Pers.)

Raise two, o shah, ruler of the world!
One for battle, and the other for counsel [68].

The meaning is that they should be grateful to their fathers and grandfathers for what they have been given, that they should serve faithfully and display loyalty from generation to generation; [one should] raise people who will be faithful.

Bayt (Pers.)

Increase the significance and worthiness of your ancestors,
So that you never come to know treachery from the one you raise [69].

Those whom rulers have made great have become great, and those whom rulers have made mean and base have become mean and base. All of these people are akin to gold, silver, lead and copper, and their upbringing is like a stone with an engraved design, a signet, and a signet-ring. Whether they are gold or lead, the basis is in the stone with an engraved design and the signet. If there is much gold in a signet-ring, then it is clear that it weighs twice as much, but a stone with an engraved design with an inlaid ruby, sapphire, or diamond is several times more valuable; its [worth] is set at thousands of *laks* [70], and the seal which bears the name of the padishah is several times [more valuable]. The ruler's kindness is like a seal, and the rewards and high posts he grants are like stones with engraved designs with rubies and other valuable stones. By such an engraved stone, whether it is set in gold, lead, or copper, shall he be evaluated, especially when the ruler puts his seal in it: if he gives his seal to a trifling scoundrel and makes him a *wazīr, wakil* [71], all people will submit to him. If someone says that this matter is unworthy, it will not help. This is as if a good, valuable seal with the name of the padishah, [a seal] worthy of gold, were set in copper. The case is the same with granting position and office. But if that engraved stone and seal (i. e. position and office — *V. K.*) are taken away, the person remains worthless and low like the copper of which he is [made], even if the signet-ring itself is gold, as the value of gold is not comparable to the value of an engraved stone, which is measured in *laks*. But it is necessary that a valuable engraved stone be set in gold, and not copper (i. e. high office should be given to a worthy candidate — *V. K.*). And as was said, may rulers raise worthy people. The meaning of my words is that the opinion of a ruler is alchemy, and alchemy turns lead into gold. If this is not clear, what is clear?

Bayt (Pers.)

Those who transform ashes by means of alchemy,
Will they glance at us even out of the corner of their eye?

In elevating someone, the ruler should not listen to those many people who will begin to debase that [elevated man]. If he has raised him up, but then brings him down because of someone's words and does not feel ashamed of this, he will lose general trust.

Bayt (Pers.)

Do you know why water does not cause wood to sink?
[Because] it is ashamed to sink what was grown by it.

Let no one, neither the nobleman nor the [person] of low origin, err, be deceived by the love and amity of rulers. When they remove the engraved stone or seal from their finger, the finger remains as it was; the same is true of people if the padishah takes their office and position away from them, they also remain in their original state.

Bayt (Pers.)

A part of a silver thread can make its way into the harness of a mule,
Another part can become a signet-ring with the seal *Sulaymān* [72].

Rulers must be intelligent in relation to themselves just as in their mercy and kindness toward others. The Most High has nurtured rulers and for this reason given them these engraved stones. If He takes them away, He takes them away in an instant, in a blink of the eye, and rulers become just like other people. As we know, this is the lot of the Shah of [this] world. May there be peace, may there be peace.

THE FOURTEENTH QUALITY

Managing the state

This is an important art, but in its characteristics it belongs in the realm of qualities. In it lies the stability of the state, for if there is no order, there will be no stability. The ruler has various groups of subjects capable of improving affairs, thanks to which the ruler is guaranteed order and organisation. The family — that is, spouses and children, servants, household members, subjects, craftsmen, traders — of the ruler has as many sections and estates as there are in the realm and the state. If he does not manage this [family], harm will come to the faith and the world. But if all of this falls on a single [person], how can he manage? This is why he needs deputies and assistants, so that he can connect the threads of all matters and learn from them the answer to all questions. They arrange matters so that affairs are conducted in an orderly fashion, so that there is no confusion, so that there is no house without a mistress, without slave-girls of the mistress, without maids.

If there is no good woman of the house, the threads of the home's fate will not knit together, the home will not be in good order, for how can anything flourish if the joints of possessions are not fastened together? For this reason, a ruler is above all obligated to think of a successor, as in case of an accident or unfortunate event a successor must be readied. If the country suffers harm and destruction, authority will collapse in that destruction, and the people will be trampled and destroyed.

May the eldest son be appointed successor; he will become heir, executor, legal inheritor. If there are many sons and some are more worthy and capable than the first-born, the right still lies with the eldest. If there is no son may it be a brother or a brother's son, and if they are lacking, a nephew of the father. If these are lacking too, then in place of his children [the ruler] should make another noble [relative] the eldest, who will be considered a son. In a word, whoever is appointed heir should be greeted and have his authority increased among the people. He should be taught the science and art of politics and managing the state.

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دے زدہ کول ئے لکه دخط مشق هے لری۔ مشق ئے په موئے
 قلم کیبری۔ په دا قلم چه دخط دے، هم نقاشی کیبری۔ اما
 لازمه ئے موئے قلم دے۔ مرزا خلیل دامیر تیمور گورکان هے
 هے مصور وئا چه لکه نورو به په موئے قلم کار کاوہ، ده
 به دخط په قلم هغه کار کاوہ۔ والسلام

❦

باب دویم

دخمتونو مشخون په شل خصلت چه لازمه دسیاست

ظاهر دے چه ولایت سیاست ظاهر موقوف په دا خصایل
 دے، که په دا کبے نه وی، کار ئے انتظام نه نسی۔ خطر و
 اختلال ترے تولد شی، نقصان دیو خصلت په ترک هم واقع
 کیبری۔ دسیاست ظاهری مراتب دی۔ په دوه تنه کبے هم پر
 سردار وی، چه امیر باله شی۔ په کاله کبے دکاله خنبتن امیر
 دے۔ کُلُّكُمْ رَاعٍ وَكُلُّكُمْ مَسْئُولٌ عَنْ رَعِيَّتِهِ۔ په کلی کبے هم امیر
 وی، په اولس کبے هم په اقلیم کبے هم۔ په دا حساب امیران
 ډیر دی، اما امیر هغه دے چه دولس زره جوانان دده په حکم
 کبے وی۔ حکم پرے نافذ وی، خوف ورجا ورئنه کاندے۔ موافق

Fig. 3

If the ruler has many children, he inclines all of them to obey [the successor], so that they follow his orders, do not display disobedience, insubordination. When such a worthy [person] appears in the family, there is harmony with him, help for him, and all together shall rejoice and enjoy life in honour and glory. But if they shall be entwined in hatred and envy against each other, they will become prisoners of evil fate, piteous, unhappy people. The unfaithful Chingīz-khān ate pork, but harmony reigned among his people, tribe, and clan; his father was the ruler of the country, his orders were obeyed by the populated fourth of the World, and all the children of his lineage became the rulers of states.

Bayt (Pers.)

Good in union with charm conquered the world.
Yes, one can conquer the world with unity.

On his deathbed, Chingīz-khān offered his children the following testament. He ordered them to bring a quiver, removed an arrow from it, and gave it to one [of them] that he might break it. That [one] broke it. He took another [arrow] and added yet another; there were two arrows. He gave them to his sons; they broke them. Then he gave [them] three, then four, then five. When there were ten [or] twelve, they could not break them, and he said to them: "Each [of you] alone will be broken just as one, two, or three arrows, but if you will be together, in union and harmony, no one will overcome you, just like many arrows placed together". They accepted this advice, and his descendents rule to this day. The Chaghatāy [73] were their *nūkars*, and they also came to power. Harmony and union are indispensable in order to rule. And in the *Rawdat al-ṣafā'* [74], in the chapter on Chingīz-khān, it is said that when he was not yet the ruler, but headed an *ūlūs* [75], the *ūlūs* was so subordinate to his commands that no one contradicted his orders, even if they evoked the dissatisfaction of women and men.

After appointing an heir, one must attend to the matter of a *wazīr*. The *wazīr* is given such freedom of action that anyone can appeal to him — [the] respect and honour [he is accorded] are no less than the heir. Then the *wakīl*, who openly and directly receives petitions. Then the *khānasāmān* [76], who is in charge of expenditures for the court and army. Then the *khazānachi* [77], *bakhshī* [78], and *'ārids* [79], who must always know about the condition of the army, report the truth about its upkeep and provisions for it. Then, the appointment of *nā'ibs* to each land. *Wāqi'anawīs* [80], *ṣawḍḍār* [81], *mīrlashkar* [82], commanders of units of ten and twenty cavalymen, *jumā'atdār* [83], *būzbāshī* [84], *zamīndārs* [85], *malīks*, *dā lāro nigahbānān* [86], *ṣawḍḍār* [87], *qādī*, *muftī* [88], *muḥtasib* [89], *kotwāl* [90]. This organization is like a living organism: the padishah is the heart, the *wazīr* the ears and eyes, the *wakīl* the hands and feet, the army the other functioning parts. Many matters depend on the functioning of this organism, and for their sake it exists. The earth and heavens, the throne of God and the empyreans, the seven planets, the sun and moon, wind and water — all of this is also akin to an organism. The will of God is manifested as follows: the four angels closest to God: Jabrā'il, Mikā'il, Isrā'īl [91], 'Azrā'il [92], who are attended by countless *krors* [93] of angels. If there were no such organisation, there would be no world. May there be peace.

THE FIFTEENTH QUALITY

Courage and steadfastness

Jabrā'il brought the Messenger of Allah the prophetic mission and selflessness at the same time, giving him the right to choose one of these two qualities. He chose selflessness, but the prophecy was still sent down to him. All grace contained in courage and selflessness is like a "headache" of concerns and troubles in the head. If this is lacking, why would there be troubles? Events and occurrences befall everyone, but especially many befall statesmen. And they occur not anywhere, but in one's own home. They have the realm, the army, the treasury, many affairs, and all of this presumes [that] events [will take place]. If this were lacking, why would there be events? He who has nothing does not have grief either.

Bayt (Pers.)

We have no turban — there is no sadness,
If we have nothing — there is nothing to be concerned about.

The groans of the tormented and despairing [are heard] in the palace of the rose-faced beauty. There is no cause for concern if you have but little [94].

Miṣrā' (Pers.)

A large fortune [means] more grief about one's fortune.

Many rulers in many states are so exhausted by their cares that in prayers they ask for the liberation of their soul. But one should not show weakness. The lion does not cease to be a lion even if chains are placed on his neck, for these very chains are a symbol of his greatness: no one would place chains on foxes or jackals.

Bayt (Pers.)

When our flower-trader wishes to take flowers to the bazaar,
He must ready himself to endure the cries of the buyer.

Great affairs demand that one not fear great concerns and afflictions.

Bayt (Pers.)

There is no beautiful or ugly thing,
The nature of which is not established for a purpose.

Each [person] is created for a specific purpose, but in his own hands he has nothing.

Miṣrā' (Pers.)

A wise man will make a simple [man] noble.

When one among many is venerated, it renders him chosen, exalted, and this is for the good of all, because he is appointed to this by the Creator. And he is endowed with will and courage. But in his courage he should not act ignobly in relation to those whom he has chosen as his friends. Whatever difficult matter might stand before him, he should display steadfastness in it.

Bayt (Pers.)

In each matter in which persistence is shown,
Even from a thorn a rose will result.

When many unhappy events take place, one must have a firm heart and not lose one's head.

Bayt (Pers.)

Whether a matter is difficult or easy,
Before God's grace they are all equal.

One needs only firmness, and God will make what is difficult easy. If a flood carries away a kingdom and all that is in it, the heart should not shudder; one must say to oneself: "What was given to me has been taken away; if [something] is given to me, it will be given again".

Miṣrā' (Pers.)

To whom has [fate] been faithful that it should be faithful to us?

To whom has the world shown loyalty that it should show it to us? What has happened to all rulers? What has happened to their realms and wealth? The time of each has come and gone, ours shall pass as well. May the ruler not be ingratiating and obsequious with anyone so that they do not remember him as weak; better death than life in humiliation and dishonour. If they begin to humiliate a ruler, [he] must fear no one and not let slip from [his] hands persistence and selflessness.

Bayts (Pers.)

If harm comes to you, do not take offence at people,
For peace and suffering come not from people.

Know [that] the conflict between enemy and friend comes from God,
For the hearts of both are subordinate to Him [95].

May he retain persistence and striving in affairs, and not show weakness and laziness. Like Sulayman from whose hand the signet-ring fell, but returned [to him]. If he ends up alone, may his will lead him across the earth. While his head is upon his shoulders, let there be distress and ill-wishers.

Mathnawī

While there is a head on the body of the lover,
There is in it distress and misfortune.
Stout young men will shake their heads —
They do not care whether there are lions or elephants.
All seems to them a trifle,
When there is courage and steadfastness.
May one lose one's head, but not one's courage.
No one remains on the earth forever.
You will not be preserved after death,
No matter how you tend to yourself.

THE TWENTIETH QUALITY**Repentance and penitence**

No one will ever be free from sin. Sin appeared simultaneously with the appearance of man. Clothing appeared, and with it dirt. Dirt on one's clothes is removed with soap, the dirt of sin [is removed] with repentance and penitence. Repentance is necessary for all; it preserves [us] from misfortune. The Most High loves the repentant just as He loves those who worship. Whether a sin is committed consciously or in error, all can hope for its remission. If a servant of God sins seventy

times a day and repents, the Most High accepts this [repentance]. When a person commits a sin, the angel at his left hand takes up the *qalam*: I will write this down. The angel at his right side says to him: "Wait, do not write, it seems that he is repenting". And when the true believer repents and confesses, the angel records a good deed in place of a sin.

The bearer of the sins of the faithful is the angel 'Azrā'īl. But one should not treat sin lightly, as this threatens unbelief. Even a minor sin should be considered grave: a thousand transgressions and a thousand repentances are proof of a frivolous attitude toward sin. Confession is pronounced for various reasons, the tongue should not rest by day nor by night from penitent confession*.

Notes

1. *Dastār-nāma muşannif Khushhāl Khataik* (Kabul, 1345/1966). (Destaar naama de Khoshhal Khān Khataik. Pashto Tolana, 1966).
2. *Dastār-nāma dō Khushhāl-khān Khataik* (Peshawar, 1991).
3. *Dastār-nāma muşannif Khushhāl Khataik*, p. 1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
5. *Kulliyat-i Khushhāl-khān Khataik sara dō muqaddame au ḥāshiyeye dō Dost-Muḥammad-khān Kāmil Muḥmand* (Peshawar, 1960), pp. XVIII—XX.
6. Zalmay Hewādmal, *Dō Hind dō kitābkhāno khatti nuskhē yā dō Hind dō dzino kitābkhāno dō paş'hto khatti nuskhō fihrist* (Kabul, 1363), pp. 165—6. (*Catalogue of Pushtu Manuscripts in Indian Libraries* by Zalmay Hewadmal (Academie of Sciences of Afghanistan, 1984)).
7. Abū-l-Faḍl b. Mubārak 'Allāmī, 'Iyār-i dānish (Kanpur, 1984), p. 304.
8. *Fihrist-i abwāb wa ḥikāyat-i Anwār-i Suhaili ta 'līf-i Husayn Wā'iz Kāshif* (Calcutta, 1829).
9. Abū-l-Faḍl b. Mubārak 'Allāmī, *op. cit.*, p. 304; *A Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan Language; to Which is Subjoined a Glossary in Afghan and English*, ed. by Bernhard Dorn (St. Petersburg, 1847), pp. 1—23; *The Gulshan-i-Roh: Being Selections, Prose and Poetical, in the Puş'htu, or Afghān Language*, ed. by Captain H. G. Raverty (London, 1860), pp. 81—116.
10. Sa'dī, *Karīmā* (Bombey, 1314/1896—97), pp. 2—16.
11. 'Aṭṭar, *Pand-nāma*, in *Karīmā*, pp. 1—60.
12. Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm 'Aṭṭar Nīshābūrī, *Dīwān*, ba ihtimām wa taṣṭīḥ-i Taqī Tafaddūlī, chāp-i 6 (Tehran, 1371/1992).
13. *Tuḥfat al-mulūk*, ta'līf-i 'Alī b. Abī Ḥafṣ al-Isfahānī, ba ihtimām-i S. H. Taqī-zāda (Tehran, 1317/1938).
14. *Tuḥfat dar aḥklāq wa siyāsāt*, ba ihtimām-i Muḥammad Taqī Dānish-Paḥzūh (Tehran, 1341/1962).
15. *Izvedai' dorogi i puti pravedykh. Pekhleviiskie nazidatel'nye teksty* (To Know the Roads and Ways of the Righteous. Pahlavi edifying texts), introduction, transcription of texts, translation, commentary, glossary, and indices by O. M. Chunaikova (Moscow, 1991).
16. *Kitāb-i Naṣīḥat-nāma ma'rūf ba Qābūs-nāma*, ta'līf-i amīr 'Unşur al-Ma'ālī Kaykāwus b. Iskandar b. Wushmagīr b. Ziyār ba taṣṭīḥ wa muqaddama wa ḥawāshī-yi duktur Amīn 'Abd al-Majīd Badawī (Tehran, 1342/1963); *Kabus-name (Qābūs-nāma)*, translation, article, and notes by corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, E. E. Berthels, 2nd edn. (Moscow, 1958).
17. *Siyaset-name. Kniga o pravlenii vazira XI stoletia Nizam al-mul'ka (Siyasat-nāma. Book on the Rule of the Eleventh-Century Wazir. Nizām al-mul'k)*, translation, introduction to the study of the text, and notes by Prof. B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1949); *Siyāsāt-nāma yā Siyar al-mulūk*, ta'līf-i Abū 'Alī-Hasan b. 'Alī Nizām al-mul'k, ba ihtimām-i sayyid 'Abd al-Rahīm Khalkhālī (Tehran, 1310/1931); *Chahār maqāla*, ta'līf-i Nizāmī 'Arūdī Samarqandī, ba kūshih-i duktur Muḥammad Mu'īn (Tehran, 1334/1915—16); Nizami Aruzi Samarqandi, *Sobranie redkosti, ili Chetyre besedy* (Collection of Rarities, or Four Conversations), trans. from the Persian by S. I. Baevisky and Z. N. Vorozheykina, editor and author of an introduction A. N. Boldyrev (Moscow, 1963); M. D. Semidchieva, *Nekotorye osobennosti razvitiia persioazychnoi didakticheskoi prozy XI—XII vv. (na materialakh "Kabus-name", "Siyasat-name" I "Chahar makale")* (Certain Features of the Development of Persian-Language Didactic Prose of the Eleventh — Twelfth Centuries: Based on the *Qābūs-nāma*, *Siyāsāt-nāma* and *Chahār maqāla*), abstract of PhD dissertation (Moscow, 1989); *The Chahār Maqāla of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī-i-Samarqandī*, edited with introduction, notes and indices by Mīrzā Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb of Qazwīn (Leiden—London, 1910). — Gibb Memorial Series, XI; *Revised Translation of the Chahār Maqāla of Nidhāmī-i-'Arūdī of Samarqand, followed by an abridged translation of Mīrzā Muḥammad notes to the Persian text*, by Edward G. Browne (London, 1921). — Gibb Memorial Series, XI, 2.
18. *Riwāyat* — legend, tale.
19. *Hikmat* — a wise utterance, wisdom, philosophy.
20. The translation of several chapters from the first part of the work on the "arts" which a ruler must master (writing, verse composition, shooting, the hunt, commerce) will be accessible in one of the coming issues of *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie* (St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies), which also contains a list of Khushhāl-khān's major works and provides a history of the treatise's composition.
21. *Sardār* — leader, commander, military commander; prince.
22. *Amīr* — emir, leader, commander of a military detachment. Khushhāl-khān uses the term also in the sense of a master, a ruler on any level.
23. The Qur'ān, 4: 62. The Qur'ān citations are given here as translated by Arthur J. Arberry in his *Koran Interpreted* (London—New York, 1955).
24. *Hākīm* — governor, head of a city or provincial administration.
25. *Nā'ib* — governor-general, governor; deputy.
26. *Malik* — ruler; village elder.
27. *Shari'a* — the collected statutes of Muslim law.
28. The author means the first part of his work.
29. *Ashāb* — companions of the Prophet Muḥammad.
30. Abū Bakr — the first of the four so-called "Rightly-guided" caliphs (632—634).
31. 'Umar — the second of the so-called "Rightly-guided" caliphs (634—644).

* Khushhāl-khān goes on to cite the Persian and Arabic text of the confession of Shaykh 'Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī [96], indicating the time of its reading during the day.

32. Jabrā'il — one of the four angelic retainers of Allah, an intermediary between Allah and Muḥammad; according to tradition, he transmitted to Muḥammad the text of the Qur'ān.
33. Mikā'il — one of the angelic retainers of Allah; his name is frequently employed in Muslim magic.
34. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*. *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, *ghazaliyyāt*, *qaṣā'id*, *qita'āt wa rasā'il*. *Az rū-i qadimtarīn nuskhahā-i mawjūd*, ba ihtimām-i Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī (Tehran, 1536/1977), p. 119.
35. Ma'mūn — al-Ma'mūn (813—833) — the seventh 'Abbāsīd caliph, from 809—813 he was governor-general of Khorasan.
36. Maḥmūd — Ghaznawīd sultan (998—1030), during his rule, the Ghazna principedom became a powerful state.
37. Maymandī — Ḥasan Maymandī, *wazīr* of Maḥmūd (see n. 36).
38. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 253.
39. Iskandar — Alexander the Great (356—323 B. C.), known in Arab literature as Iskandar the Two-horned.
40. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 51.
41. Zulaykhā — in the Qur'ānic tradition, the wife of the Egyptian grandee Potiphar; she passionately fell in love with Yūsuf (Bibl. Joseph, see n. 42).
42. Yūsuf — the Qur'ānic incarnation of the Biblical Joseph the Beautiful; the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, who tries in vain to win his love, attracted the authors of many Arab, Persian, and Turkic works.
43. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 387.
44. Khiljī — Muḥammad Khiljī, one of the rulers of the Afghan Khiljī dynasty (1290—1321) in Northwest India.
45. *Ziyārat* — pilgrimage to holy places.
46. *Pīr* — sheikh, head of a Sūfī order.
47. *Murīd* — disciple of a Sūfī order sheikh.
48. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 119.
49. Ḥātim Ṭā'ī — legendary Arab ruler, symbol of generosity.
50. Here the author gives a Pashto translation of an *āyat* which, unfortunately, I was unable to identify.
51. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 116; cf. also p. 306.
52. Abū Muslim — the leader of the 747 uprising in Khorasan against the Umayyad caliphate; he was betrayed and murdered in 755 by al-Manṣūr, the second 'Abbāsīd caliph.
53. Iraq — here, most likely, Iranian Iraq, the area to the north-west of Isfahan.
54. Ya'qūb Layth (861—890) — the first *amīr* of the Ṣaffārid dynasty, which ruled in Sistan, Khorasan, and Fars. In his youth, he was a coppersmith (*ṣaffār*); Khushḥāl-khān mistakenly calls him a carpenter.
55. *Fard* — one verse line inserted in prose.
56. The Qur'ān, 39: 54.
57. Ḥāmān — in the Qur'ān and Islamic traditions, the name of the Pharaoh's *wazīr*.
58. Sanjar — sultan (1119—1157) of the Saljūk dynasty.
59. Atsīz — the ruler of Khorezm (1127—1156), the first of the dynasty of the Khwārazmshāhs. Khorezm was given to him by the Sultan Sanjar (see n. 58), against whom Atsīz rebelled and fought.
60. *Nūkar* — at various times member of the guard of a feudal lord, vassal of a feudal lord or merely servant.
61. Waṭwāt — Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt (1087—1182), poet-paenegyrist at the court of Atsīz, author of works on poetics and poetry of didactic content.
62. *'Ayyārs* — a social group in the medieval Eastern city. The *'ayyārs* were composed partially of déclassé elements and had their own organisation and armed units. The latter frequently participated in battle with unbelievers and uprisings against foreign rulers, but were also not above raids on caravans. In Persian folklore, the *'ayyārs* are a synonym for courage and daring, not devoid of chivalric connotations. Ya'qūb Layth (see n. 54) came from the ranks of the *'ayyārs*; thanks to the support of his comrades-in-arms, he founded the Ṣaffārid dynasty.
63. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 88.
64. Nūshīrwān (Anūshīrwān) — Anūshīrwān the Just, the sobriquet of the Sassanian Shah Khusraw I (531—579), who is depicted in legends as the just ruler.
65. The Qur'ān, 66: 6.
66. *Ibid.*, 49: 9.
67. *Qalandar* — a wandering *darwish*.
68. *Kullīyyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 251.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
70. *Lak* — one-hundred thousand.
71. *Wakīl* — granted authority and trust.
72. Sulaymān — the Qur'ānic personage, taken from the Bible, that is king of Israel Solomon (965—928 B. C.), famous for his great wisdom and wealth. He controlled the elements with the aid of a magic signet-ring and seal.
73. Chaghatāy — a group of Turkic tribes who enjoyed special privileges during the rule of the *amīr* Timūr.
74. *Rawḍat al-safā'* — title of a work by Mīr Khwānd (vols. 1—6) and Khwāndamīr (vol. 7) on general history from the creation of the world until 1524, but primarily a history of Irān, and especially the period of the Tīmūrid dynasty.
75. *Ūlūs* — clan-tribal unit, people.
76. *Khānasāmān* — director of a household, major-domo.
77. *Khazānāchī* — treasurer.
78. *Bakhshī* — an official who possesses complete information on the state of affairs in the country; secretary; main falconer.
79. *'Arid* — here, apparently, the registrar of petitions from subjects who reports about them to the ruler or *wazīr*.
80. *Wāqi'anawīs* — historiographer.
81. *Fawzdār* — a police chief, the head of a police unit.
82. *Mīrlashkar* — military commander.
83. *Jumā'atdār* — here possibly the head of a mosque (cf. also *jam'dār* — a cavalry officer).
84. *Būzbāshī* — head of the stables.
85. *Zamīndār* — a major land-owner, feudal lord; a land tax inspector in the Moghūl empire.
86. *Nigahbānān (do lāro)* — (road) guard.

87. *Ṭṣawkidār* — guard.
88. *Muḥṭib* — representative of a Sunnī Islamic court, who issues independent judgments on the basis of the Qur'ān and traditional Muslim law.
89. *Muḥṭasib* — guardian of moral behaviour and order in a city and, in particular, at the bazaar.
90. *Korwāl* — chief of police; judge; in seventeenth-century Bukhara, an official who supervised the construction of state buildings.
91. *Isrāfīl* — one of the four angelic retainers of Allah; he transmits to the angels divine decisions on the fate of people and announces the approach of the Final Judgment with the sounds of a trumpet.
92. *'Azrā'īl* — one of the four angelic retainers of Allah, the angel of death.
93. *Kror* — ten million.
94. Lit. "The other's dung is of use to no one; they press their own dung". The author means animal dung traditionally employed to produce fuel.
95. *Kulliyat-i Sa'dī*, p. 60.
96. *Jīlānī*, 'Abd al-Qādir (1077—1166) — Ṣūfī sheikh, theologian and preacher, the author of secret prayers (likely borrowed from other sources); his name is linked with the founding of the Qādirīya order.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** *Dastār-nāma*, the second part, beginning of chapter 10, the Kabul edition (1966), p. 107.
- Fig. 2.** *Dastār-nāma* text's ending with the chronogram and colophon, the same edition, p. 138.
- Fig. 3.** *Dastār-nāma*, the second part, beginning, the Peshawar edition (1991), p. 167.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

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COLLECTIONS OF KOREAN MANUSCRIPTS, BLOCK-PRINTS, AND OLD-PRINT BOOKS IN RUSSIA*[1]

Since the pre-Revolutionary period, St. Petersburg has been a centre of Oriental studies in Russia. Only the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (henceforth SPIOs) contains an enormous collection of Korean manuscripts and block-prints. The aim of the current work is to analyse, examine, and classify Korean manuscripts preserved in Russian collections. In the context of active research in Korean studies in Korea itself and abroad, the systematic study and classification of written

texts of Korean culture are of primary importance. The location, quantity and nature of the manuscripts and books which are found outside of Korea are known only vaguely in our country. Partial research has been conducted on written texts in Japan, Europe and the USA. The necessity of the current work is dictated by the fact that until recently we have known next to nothing about written texts of Korean culture in Russia.

I. Manuscripts, block-prints and old-print books in the Korean collection of the SPIOs

The Korean collection in the manuscript repository of the SPIOs consists primarily of the following collections of manuscripts, block-prints, and old-print books [2]:

1. the collection of the Asiatic department of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, entered the Asiatic Museum in 1864;

2. the collection of the Russian consul in Shanghai, Pavel Andreevich Dmitrevsky (1852—1899), acquired by the Asiatic Museum (today SPIOs) in 1907;

3. the collection of the English Consul in Korea, William George Aston (1841—1911); it is called *Asudong changsǒ* 아수돈장서 [3];

4. individual acquisitions from various persons and institutions.

The greatest amount of information is known about the W. G. Aston collection. It was acquired by the former USSR's Committee of the Far East and later passed to the Asiatic Museum. An Irishman by birth, Aston was after 1864 appointed consul to Japan. Aston, who knew Japanese perfectly, translated the "History of Japan" into English and also drew up books to describe the grammar of the Japanese language. One can also call Aston a linguist, as he is the author of "A Comparative Analysis of the Japanese and Korean Languages".

Aston was consul to Korea for the period 1884—1886. At that time, Korea fell prey to the interests of superpowers, as the events of the Japanese-Chinese conflict which came to be called *kapsin chöngbyön* 갑신정변 took place around it, and England seized the island of Kömundo. It was at that time that Aston, a diplomat with a significant amount of international authority, gathered a collection which remains the most extensive collection of Korean written texts abroad. Even before Aston had been appointed consul to Korea, while he was carrying out his diplomatic duties in Japan, and before England and Korea had signed a cooperation treaty, the consul was in close contact with such progressive Korean figures as Pak Yöngghyo, who was one of those who took active part in modernising Korea.

As was noted above, the collection which Aston gathered during his 30 years of work in East Asia is a grand one, reflecting various aspects of Korean development. Upon his return to England, Aston sold his collection at auction, where it was bought by the Russian embassy. After the October Revolution in 1917, it made its way into the hands of the Far Eastern Committee.

The history of the other collections requires special study and is not part of the task we set in this paper. We consider it imperative only to familiarise the scholarly public with the especially valuable materials in those collections and to classify them by type.

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1. Korean novels

With the exception of several novels, the authors of most of the works in this genre remain anonymous. One should also note that during the process of circulation, improvement, and reworking, many books of similar content emerged. For this reason, one of the most important tasks is the comparative study of variants and the selection of the most valuable exemplars — *sōnbon*. In this regard, one should recognise that the search for variant manuscripts and books, as well as a familiarity with them once they are found, is one of the researcher's primary obligations.

It is noteworthy that the manuscript collection of the SPIOS contains a large number of Korean texts which belong to the novel genre. These texts can on the whole be subdivided into a) dynastic novels — *Hwa Chōng syōnhaeng nok* 화전선행록 (15 vols., 15 books, 770 pp.), *Ha Chin nyangmun nok* 하진양문록 (25 vols., 25 books, 801 pp.), *Ssyang sōl* kūibong* 쌍설기봉 (22 vols., 22 books, 1231 pp.), *Pouñ kiu rok* 보은기우록 (18 vols., 18 books, 566 pp.) [4]; b) the novels *Syugyōng nangja chyōn* 숙명낭자전, *Syo Taesyōng chyōn* 쇼대성전, *Tyo Ung chyōn* 도웅전, *Sim Ch'yōng chyōn* 심청전 (all works are in manuscript) [5]; c) block-prints containing novels *Ch'oe ch'ung chyōn* 최충전 [6], *Swisa yumun* 수사유문, etc. The search for texts is important not only to conduct research on variants. The search for valuable books is also of importance since they frequently occur among copies of manuscripts and block-prints.

So far information about manuscripts of the novels *Hwa Chōng syōnhaeng nok*, *Ha Chin nyangmun nok*, *Ssyang ch'ōn kūibong*, and *Pouñ kiu rok* in the holdings of the SPIOS has been lacking in Korea itself. The manuscripts present valuable material for the comparative analysis of variants. All of these manuscripts have been identified as manuscripts from the Aston collection. We know that during Aston's stay in Seoul, he purchased an enormous quantity of novels from the repository of Naksōnjae.

We begin with the novel *Ha Chin nyangmun nok*. If we compare the text in the manuscript from the collection of the SPIOS with that in the manuscripts stored at Naksōnjae, Korea, we find that the Institute's text is the most valuable of current known variants.

Ha Chin nyangmun nok (SPIOS MS.)

Cover title: *Ha Chin nyangmun nok*

Language: Korean

Number of volumes: 25 (801 pp.)

Date of copying: (세재 무신칠월 초사일 농호필서)
21.4 × 30.5 cm

Ha Chin nyangmun nok (Naksōnjae MS.)

Cover title: *Ha Chin nyangmun nok*

Language: Korean

Number of volumes: 25 (868 pp.)

Date of copying: (세재 무신칠월 초사일 농호필서)
27.8 × 19.8 cm

The novel *Ha Chin nyangmun nok* has a comparatively large number of variants in both manuscript and book form. In addition to the manuscript held at the SPIOS and 25 volumes in Naksōnjae, there are also 29 volumes in Japan. 30 print volumes were published in 1925 in Seoul, and 31 volumes were published by a public publishing house in 1954. Three manuscripts were copied in the year *munsin*, which may corresponds to 1848 or 1908. One should also note that the manuscripts at the SPIOS and in Naksōnjae are identical in type of paper, date of copying, and number of volumes. The handwriting, indication of the date of copying ('세재 무신 농호 필서') at the end of the eighth volumes, and the number of volumes (25) also correspond. One can assume that the manuscript variants of this novel held at the Institute and Naksōnjae were copied from the same original.

But upon comparison, one discovers that the first and sixteenth volumes of the Naksōnjae version differ significantly from other copies of these volumes. Volumes 1 and 16 correspond to the print variant of the novel, which would seem to indicate that they were copied from that source. It is also noteworthy that the handwriting in volume 16 of the Naksōnjae manuscript differs significantly from the hand found in other volumes; also, the middle section indicates the number and title of the twenty-second part, which confused Korean researchers.

A comparative analysis of the two manuscripts allows one to assume that the manuscript of the first and sixteenth volumes were originally missing at Naksōnjae. They were subsequently copied by someone from the print variant and added to the other volumes. Research also shows that the Institute's manuscript is complete, and the first and sixteenth volumes bear no traces of being copied as additions. All this makes us conclude that the SPIOS manuscript of the novel *Ha Chin nyangmun nok* is an especially valuable manuscript copy.

The work of researchers on these novels is eased by the fact that dates of copying are indicated in the manuscripts: *Ha Chin nyangmun nok* — ('세재 무신 칠월 초사일 농호필서'), on the first page of the third volume of *Ssang ch'ōn kūibong* — ('승장병워팔장'), and on the second page of the same volume — ('갑신정월일쌍설기') and ('갑신정월십이일쌍설기봉'). In the fourteenth volume of the novel *Pouñ kiu rok*, the following date was set down by a subsequent reader — ('을유정월초오일모동서'). We hope that these dates yield valuable information which will help answer such questions as when the novels were written and who read the manuscript when.

At the end of the first and second volumes of the novel *Pouñ kiu rok*, one finds inscriptions, drawings and messages to the owner of the manuscript. Among them we see drawings and inscriptions of an erotic nature, as well as verses by Yi toryōng from the "Legend of Ch'yunyang". All of this can broaden the framework for studying the history of these novels as circulating texts.

A large number of block-print novels is also held at the Institute; they also present valuable material for textological research. A list of these novels follows [7]:

* The mistake of the authors; one should read *Ssyang ch'ōn*.

** The mistake of the authors; one should read *Syugyōng nangja chyōn*.

1. *Syuyōng nangja chōn**: 1 vol. (18 pp.), 13 lines per page, 22 characters per line
on the last page — 경신이월홍수동신간
2. *Syo Taesyōng chyon* ʳ쇼대성전: 1 vol. (36 pp.), 14 lines per page, 23 characters per line
3. *Tyo Ung chyon* ʳ요응전: 1 vol. (21 pp.), 15 lines per page, 24 characters per line
4. *Sim Ch'yōng chyon* ʳ심청전: 1 vol. (26 pp.), 15 lines per page, 24 characters per line
5. *Kum pangul chyon* ʳ금방울전: 1 vol. (28 pp.), 15 lines per page, 24 characters per line
6. *Chyōk Syōngūi chyon* ʳ적성의전: 1 vol. (27 pp.), 14 lines per page, 23 characters per line [8]
7. *Chyang P'ungun chyon* ʳ창풍운전: 1 vol. (31 pp.), 14 lines per page, 25 characters per line
8. *Yim chyanggun chyon* ʳ임장군전: 1 vol. (27 pp.), 14 lines per page, 30 characters per line [9]
9. *Ku un mong* ʳ구운몽: 1 vol. (30 pp.), lined, 14 lines per page [10]
10. *Ku un mong* ʳ구운몽: 1 vol. (32 pp.), unlined, 13 lines per page, 23 characters per line [11]
11. *Chin Daebang chyon* ʳ진대방전: 1 vol. (16 pp.)
12. *Yong Mun chyon* ʳ용문전: 1 vol. (25 pp.), 15 lines per page, 24 characters per line
13. *Yang P'ung chyon* ʳ양풍전: 1 vol. (25 pp.), unlined, 15 lines per page, 22 characters per line
14. *Paekhak syōn chyon* ʳ백학선전: 1 vol. (24 pp.), 15 lines per page, 26 characters per line
15. *Syukhyang chyon* ʳ숙향전: 1 vol. — 1 book (33 pp.), 14 lines per page, 20 characters per line
at the end of the book — ‘무오구월야동신판’
second part — 1 book (30 pp.), 14 lines per page, 20 characters per line
at the end of the book — ‘무오십월야동신판’
16. *Yimjin nok* ʳ임진록: vols. 1 and 2 — one volume each (18 pp., 28 pp.), unlined, 14 lines per page, 28 characters per line
17. *Syōl In'gwi chyon* ʳ설인귀전: 1 vol. (30 pp.), 15 lines per page, 26 characters per line [12]
18. *Chyanghwa Hongnyōn chyon* ʳ장화홍련: 1 vol. (28 pp.), 12 lines per page, 21 characters per line
19. *Hūngbu chyon* ʳ흥부전: 1 vol. (25 pp.), unlined, 14 lines per page, 26 characters per line
20. *Ch'yunhyang chyon* ʳ춘향전: 1 vol. (30 pp.), 14 lines per page, 26 characters per line [13]
21. *Tang T'aejong chyon* ʳ당태종전: 1 volume (26 pp.), 14 lines per page, 26 characters per line [14]
22. *Okchyu hoyōn* ʳ옥주호연: 1 vol. (29 pp.) [15]
at the end of the book — ‘신해원 월무교신간’
23. *Sinmi rok* ʳ신미록: 1 vol. (32 pp.), 12 lines per page, 20 characters per line
at the end — ‘신술이월일홍수동신판’
24. *Sam syōl kūi* ʳ삼설괴: vol. 1 (26 pp.), 14 lines per page, 20 characters per line [16]
at the end — ‘무신십일월일홍수동신판’
the book's contents include: *Hwangsaek kyōlsong* (황새결송), *Nok Ch'yōsa yōnhoe* (녹처사연회), *Nosyōm syangjwa kūi* (노섬상좌괴), and *Noch'yōnyō ka* (노처녀가)
25. *Sam syōl kūi* ʳ삼설괴: vol. 2 (29 pp.), 14 lines per page, 21 characters per line
includes: *Syoch'yo p'aewang ki* (서초패와괴) and *Samja wōnjong ki* (삼자원종괴)
26. *Yang Sanbaek chyon* ʳ양산백전: 1 vol. (24 pp.), 14 lines per page, 24 characters per line [17]
27. *Samguk chi* ʳ삼국지: 1 vol. (30 pp.), 15 lines per page, 21 characters per line
includes — *kwōn ji sam*
at the end of the book — ‘기미맹하홍수동신간’

Additionally, the Institute's collection holds the novels *Ch'oe ch'ung chyon*, *Syo Taesyōng chyon*, and *Syusa yumun*. We list bibliographic information below:

1. *Ch'oe ch'ung chyon* (최충전)
1 vol. (46 pp.), manuscript variant [18]
vert. 16.8 cm, hor. 24.2 cm
printed on first page — 영국아수돈장서
on last page — 청월사소아씨장서
2. *Syo Taesyōng chyon* (쇼대성전)
1 vol. (69 pp.), manuscript variant
vert. 18.2 cm, hor. 27.2 cm
on last page — 명진자월일
3. *Syusa yumun* (수사유문)
12 vols., 12 books (594 pp.), manuscript variant
vert. 19.4 cm, hor. 27.6 cm
on cover — 수사유문권지일
on inner side — 수사유문 권지일
on first page — ‘영국아수돈장서’

The last of the novels — *Syusa yumun* — was previously unknown, and its discovery in the manuscript collection of the SPIOS is of great literary value.

2. Language

The book collection at the SPIOS also contains textbooks on hieroglyphics such as *Hunmong chahoe* (훈몽자회), *Ch'ōnja mun* (천자문), *Yuhap* (류합), and such books as *Samun syōng hwi* (삼운성회), *Chōnun okp'yon* (천운옥편). Moreover, instruction books on writing were discovered such as *Ōngan tok* (언간독), *Kandok chōngyo* (간독정요), as well as textbooks on the Chinese language

— *Chunggan nogōldae* (중간노걸대), *Hwaūm kyemong* (화음계몽), and *Hwaō yuch'o* (화어유초), etc. A valuable find among them is *Yōkka p'ilbi* (역가필비), a textbook on translation techniques which is unknown in Korea.

In the “Language” section of Korean books and manuscripts, we note such works as *Kyorin suji* (교린수지), *P'yomin taehwa* (표민대화), *Hanō hunmong* (한어훈몽)

and *Yilhan sŏnmin t'ongŏ* (일한서린통어). All come from the Aston collection and were gathered by him in Japan before being acquired by the Far East Committee. At present, they are part of the book collection of the SPIOS.

We do not know exactly how Aston gathered this material, but some have proposed that the Englishman Ernest M. Satow collected it while visiting the city of Naeshirogawa and later gave it to Aston. Aston became consul in Korea on 26 April 1884 and was in Seoul until 22 October 1886. His "Comparative Study of the Japanese and Korean" (1879) ranks among the best early works on the comparative analysis of these two languages. Aston wrote it while he was at the English diplomatic representation in China with the help of his colleague, W. F. Mayer.

The books *Kyorin suji*, *P'yomin taehwa*, and *Hanŏ hunmong*, as well as *Kanghwa*, were created as native-

language textbooks by a translator from Tsushima Island, who was the descendant of potters forcibly brought to Japan during the *Yimjin oiran* war. These books at the Institute are from the same series as the books collected in 1920 by a teacher on the Linguistics Faculty of the University of Kyŏngdo; they are stored in the literature section of the University's library. Analogous materials are found in the personal library of the noted Korean potter Sim Sugwan. The library of the SPIOS possesses numerous materials which serve as an important buttress to the study of Korea and Korean culture. Among the manuscripts and books on language, which are held there, *Yŏkka p'ilbi*, *Hanŏ yipmun*, *Taenanuitam* and *Hanŏ hunmong* must be recognised as especially valuable.

3. History

Among the Korean manuscripts and books held at the Institute, written texts on history had been collected in Russia in various fashions since 1860, when the Treaty of Shanghai was concluded with China, leaving Tumangang as the border between Russia and Korea until 1917.

By 1956, the Institute's Korean collection held more than 100 manuscripts dealing with history. We checked the manuscript catalogue and studied the library cards of materials held at the SPIOS, including additions to them.

An analysis of how these Korean manuscripts were collected allows one to establish that Korean texts were very carefully and scrupulously gathered in Russia even before a border between Russia and Korea was fixed in 1884.

Moreover, we also investigated Japanese scholarly works on Korea written in the late nineteenth — early twentieth centuries, as well as works by Russian researchers. Our conclusion is that works in the Russian language were published long before Russia and Korea established diplomatic relations in 1884.

In addition to Korean works published in Korea, the book collection of the SPIOS contains an enormous number of books on Korea published in Japan during the Meiji period. Published in Japanese, these books vary in content. They include books on Korean history, geography, the chronicle of the Japanese-Korean war (*Yimjin oiran*), and the history of Japanese-Korean relations. The authors of all of the works are Japanese. An analysis of the books shows that some of them were removed from Korea during the *Yimjin oiran* war, and made their way into the hands of Russian, English, and American diplomats at the beginning of the Meiji period. The manuscripts were subsequently gathered by the Russian government; among these materials are many items not found in Japan itself.

Among the books on the history of Korea, the *Asudon changsŏ* stands out [19]. A print book, among the first of its kind, should be considered one of the most ancient documents — *Samguk sagi*, published in 1403 [20]. The copy of *Samguk sagi* held at the Institute consists of 8 volumes. Volumes 4, 7 and 8 are printed; 1, 2, 3, and 5 are in manuscript; volume 6 is a block-print. Volumes 4, 7 and 8 are volumes of one of the first print edition of *Samguk sagi*.

As was noted above, the Aston collection contains Korean materials gathered by such countries as Japan, the

USA, and France, which increasingly took interest in Korea after the latter began to open its borders to relations with the outside world. An example is the newspaper *Chosŏn sinbo* (조선신보), which was published by the Japanese in Pusan. The first issues of *Chosŏn sinbo* appeared in October, 1881 thanks to the efforts of Japanese residents of that city. At present, the fifth and twelfth issues of the newspaper are held in the newspaper repository of Tokyo University, the largest collection of newspapers published in Japan.

Our inquiries showed that the following issues of the newspaper are held in Russia: 2 (5 February 1882), 3 (15 February 1882), and 4 (25 February 1882). They are lacking in Japan. The first issue of *Chosŏn sinbo* was published in Pusan on 20 December 1881 by the Japanese organisation for foreign trade — the Pusan Committee on Laws for Trade. The newspaper was published every ten days. It can be considered the first newspaper published in Korea, for the publication of *Chosŏn sinbo* came an entire year and 10 months before that of *Hansŏng sinmun*, which is usually considered the first Korean newspaper. The newspaper's dimensions are 17.8 cm long and 12.6 cm wide. It was published as a booklet of 10 folios and 18 pages. The newspaper included materials in Korean, as well as Japanese. The article printed in Japanese in issue 7 has been translated into Korean and published. A summary of the newspaper's aim and contents was published on the first page of every issue. We cite below the text which describes the newspaper's aim:

"In publishing articles on the economy, the newspaper *Chosŏn sinbo* addresses itself to both Japanese and Korean readers. The newspaper's editors promise to report on everything that happens in the country, and they gratefully await letters with interesting materials from readers".

The content of the message clearly shows that the newspaper was intended not only for Japanese readers who lived in Pusan, but also for Koreans. The newspaper included the following sections: *yŏngsangwan noksa** (영산관록사), *chappo* (잡보), events in Pusan, production news, *kisŏ* (기사), prices, etc. The "prices" section included prices for exported and imported goods, as well as advertisements (for the newspaper and for goods).

* The mistake of the authors; one should read *yŏngsangwan noksa*.

The section *yōngsagwan noksa* was published until the seventh issue. It presented articles which informed Japanese residents of Korea of the administrative and legal rights of the consul in relation to them, and listed activities considered crimes in Korea.

The section *chappo* included various articles: news on the state of the *kaehwa* party, sketches of Korean life, news about Japanese residents of Korea, changes in administrative structures, monetary reforms, etc. In a word, it contained all manner of articles on politics, the economy, society, and culture. The section concluded with a brief summary of the preceding day's events.

The sections "Pusan events" and "Production news" featured articles on the state of the economy, trade, and stocks. The list of export and import goods and their prices which was published at the close of each issue is valuable material for the study of trade relations between Korea and Japan at that time.

The section *Hanch'ōn maeil sangchang* treated the exchange rate. The section *kisō* published letters to the editor of varied content: on the necessity of cooperation between Korea and Japan, the development of the country, the need for knowledge about the development process, wishes, and requests related to educational work.

As was noted above, the newspaper ended with advertisements for the newspaper and for goods. The advertisements reported the newspaper's price and the cost of advertising in it. For the first time, the ninth issue printed an advertisement for the medicine *ch'onkumdan* ('천금단').

The materials which appeared in *Chosōn sinbo* are valuable, for they visibly convey the atmosphere of the time and the nature of Japanese-Korean relations, which is of great importance for the study of those relations.

In addition to materials on Korea published in Korea itself, the SIOS contains many publications which appeared in Japan before the Meiji period. For example, the 10-volume *Hoibon Chosōn kungi* ('회본조선군기'), created by Akizato Ritō in 1635 (published by *Kyōngdo sōrim*, 1800), and the *Hoibon*

Chosōn chōngbōl ki ('회본조선정변기') of Tsurumine Hi-koichirō, published in 1853. These works exerted a great influence on Japanese attitudes toward Korea in the period following the Japanese-Korean *Yimjin oiran* war. We find also the *Chosōn mungyōn nok* — absent in other repositories — parts 1—2 (1875) by Sada Hakubō (1832—1907), a diplomat at the Meiji representation in Korea who supported an aggressive Japanese policy toward Korea. Sada Hakubō, who arrived in Korea by the order of the Japanese government in 1869, composed his *Chosōn mungyōn nok* during his stay in Pusan — from March 1870 to the diplomat's leave for Japan. This material comprises the records and observations of Korean life as given by the Japanese ambassador in the period contemporaneous with the Meiji period in Japan; thus this work represents one of the late compositions treating Korean history.

The first part of the *Chosōn mungyōn nok* consists of notes on relations (교제), views (관), marriage (혼), funeral ceremonies (상), wakes (제), and other observations. The second part presents maps of Korea, information on military equipping, punishments, nature, family matters, and social hierarchy. The first chapter of the first part — relations ('교제') — can be viewed as historical material on diplomatic relations between Korea and other countries.

Taken together, all of this allows us to evaluate *Chosōn mungyōn nok* as an extremely important historical source which reflects the Japanese government's understanding and perception of everything related to Korea.

The Institute's library contains a number of books which indicate that Japan supported its invasion of Korea with the publication of necessary books. One can consider Korean textbooks for Japanese speakers as part of this project.

Among the Institute's manuscripts we also find texts of extremely varied contents; for example, a translation of *Myōngūi rok* (명외록), an administrative handbook of a clearly historical nature (1777), *Kukcho chōngt'o rok* (국조정토록), and others.

II. Korean manuscripts in other Russian institutions

Although it was not the primary purpose of our research, we attempted to extend our inquiries beyond the Korean manuscripts and books at the SIOS. In this regard, we gathered the following information.

The library of St. Petersburg University contains more than 40 manuscripts and books which were removed from Korea presumably in the late nineteenth century or possibly even later [21]. They include *Oryun haengsil* (오륜행실) (1787), *Maengja ōnhae* (망자언해), *Chūngsu mūwōnnok ōnhae* (중수무늬언해), *Ch'ōnja mun* (천자문), *Chōnūm okp'yōn* (천운몽편), and *Kamūnp'yōn* (감웅편), all materials on Korean history; also, *Chosōn chiji* (조선지지) (1896), *Kaeguk o paek sa nyōn p'al wōl sabyōn pogosyō* (개국오백사년팔월사변보고서), *Chosōn yōksa* (조선역사), *Kukmin sohak tokbon* (국민소학독본) (1896) and *Kundae naemuso mokch'a* (군대내부서목차) (1937) — historical materials on the period from the late nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century (the time of Korea's seizure by Japan). A copy of the *Kaeguk o paek sa nyōn p'al wōl sabyōn pogosyō*, a work previously unknown in Korea, was made and brought to Korea.

The collection of Korean novels is also noteworthy. The library holds the following novels: *Syōl In'gwi chyōn*

(설원귀견) (1 vol., 40 fols.), *Mongok Ssangbong yōn* (몽옥쌍봉연) (4 vols.), *T'o saeng chyōn* (토생견) (1 vol., 16 fols.), *Samguk chi* (삼국지) (1 vol., 20 fols.), *Syugyōng nangja chyōn* (숙영낭자견) (1 vol., 16 fols.), etc. Among them, *Mongok Ssangbong yōn* is of special interest as a manuscript variant of the novel.

During our second trip to Russia, we visited several libraries in Moscow, where we searched for print texts of Korean culture. The following institutions were visited: the archive of the State Library of Russia, the Moscow Historical Library, the library of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations, the library of the Institute of the Far East, the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow). Korean manuscripts and books were discovered by us at the State Library of Russia. All these still await our study. This time, we had a chance to conduct research on the *Chosōnguk wang naesō* (조선국왕래서), "Korean Sketch", a curious "Book of Signatures from the Korean People to Comrade Stalin on the Anniversary of Independence" and *Wolbong kūi* (월봉기). Certainly, of especial interest among these materials is the ancient Korean novel *Wolbong kūi*; unknown in Korea, which presents a valuable manuscript text.

III. Conclusion

At present, the study of Korean culture is undergoing active development abroad. There are also lively cultural and scholarly exchanges between Russia and Korea thanks to cooperation between the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow and other institutes, research centres, and libraries. Contacts are now supported in such areas as politics, economics, and diplomacy. We would, however, like to see certain changes in the research which is being conducted; it would be very important if the study of Korea was shifted to a more "ancient" framework, while the boundaries of Korean studies — broadened.

In order to collect and evaluate as broad a swath of material as possible, we aimed for the analysis and examination of books and manuscripts created before the end of the nineteenth century. We hope that the results of this second study will serve as useful material for specialists who study

literature, history, philosophy, religion and ethnography, as well as bibliography.

From among more than 1,400 manuscripts, block-prints, and old-print books, 50 were recorded on microfilm and brought to Korea. We hope that these materials will be of invaluable assistance in the development of Korean studies within Korea itself. We also feel that in the future further research is necessary on Korean manuscripts in other institutions, institutes, and libraries in Russia in order to draw up a full list; this is valuable and useful material for Korean studies specialists. Because of a lack of time, we limited our efforts at this juncture to materials in Korean. Yet we know that libraries in St. Petersburg and Moscow hold Korean manuscripts in Chinese collections. We hope that future research will seek out and examine these manuscripts as well.

Notes

1. While preparing this article for publication, the editorial board of *Manuscripta Orientalia* could not but notice some disappointing shortcomings in it. These are primarily the absence of *apparatus criticus* and the list of characters. There are also some mistakes in transcription of Korean words and names. What is more regrettable, the authors made no mention of works on Korean collections and literature written by Russian scholars. Despite all these omissions, the material which the present article contains is of much use for all interested in the field. Bearing this in mind, the editorial board of *Manuscripta Orientalia* came to the decision to publish this article with some notes of the great authority in Korean studies, Prof. A. F. Trotsevich.

2. The collection of Korean manuscripts and block-prints in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Science) was described by O. P. Petrova, see her *Opisanie pis'mennykh pamiatnikov koreiskoi kul'tury* (Description of the Literary Texts of the Korean Culture), pts. 1—2 (Moscow, 1956—1963). In her introduction O. P. Petrova has given an account of the history of the collection and has mentioned its four sources. Prof. Park Songgyu and other authors of the article extensively employ this work by O. P. Petrova without referring to it.

3. *Asudong changsō* means "Aston library".

4. The novels mentioned in the present article, as well as many others, for the most part were discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her work on the traditional Korean romance. See her *Koreiskii srednevekovyi roman* (The Korean Medieval Romance) (Moscow, 1986), pp. 20—41. As to the *Ssyang ch'ōn kūibong*, the text of its first volume was published facsimile with a translation into Russian and an introduction. See *Ssyang ch'ōn kūibong (Udivitel'noe soedinenie dvukh brasletov)* (*Ssyang ch'ōn kūibong*. The Miraculous Encounter of the Two Bracelets), text edition, translation, and introduction by M. I. Nikitina and A. F. Trotsevich (Moscow, 1962). A paper by M. I. Nikitina and A. F. Trotsevich, treating this novel, was read by them at the 25th International Congress of Orientalists (Moscow, 1960) and published in the proceedings of the Congress. See M. I. Nikitina, A. F. Trotsevich, "Koreiskii roman 'Udivitel'noe soedinenie dvukh brasletov'" ("A Korean novel 'The Miraculous Encounter of the Two Bracelets'"), in *Trudy dvadtsat' piatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov (Moskva, 9—16 avgusta 1960 g.)* (Moscow, 1963), v, pp. 275—80.

5. In fact, all texts of novels mentioned in the group "b" are not manuscripts but block-prints.

6. The text of the novel *Ch'oe ch'ung chyōn* is represented in the collection by a manuscript. It was published, see *Ch'oe ch'ung chyōn (Povest' o vernom Ch'oe)* (*Ch'oe ch'ung chyōn*. A Story of Faithful Ch'oe), facsimile of the Korean manuscript text, translation, introduction, and notes by D. D. Eliseev (Moscow, 1971).

7. All the novels given in the list were discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her work on the traditional Korean novel. See A. F. Trotsevich, *Koreiskaia srednevekoviaia povest'* (Medieval Korean Novel) (Moscow, 1975).

8. The text of this novel was published in facsimile with a translation into Russian, an introduction, and notes. See *Chyōk Syōngui chyōn (Povest' o Chyōk Syōngui. V odnoi tetradi). Iz koreiskikh ksilografov St.-Peterburgskogo filiala Instituta vostokovedeniia RAN.* (*Chyōk Syōngui chyōn*. A Story of Chyōk Syōngui. In One Volume. From the collection of block-prints in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Russian Academy of Sciences) (St. Petersburg, 1996).

9. The text of this novel was published in facsimile. See *Yim chyanggun chyōn. (Povest' o polkovodtse Nime)* (*Yim chyanggun chyōn*. A Story of General Yim), facsimile of the block-print, text publication, translation from Korean into Russian, introduction, and notes by D. D. Eliseev (Moscow, 1975).

10. There is no novel with this title in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

11. The text of the novel was discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her book on the Korean traditional romance (pp. 143—65), see n. 4 above.

12. The novel *Syōl In'gwi chyōn* ("A Story of Syōl In'gwi") and the Chinese origin of its plot were discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her "The plots of Chinese fiction in Korean vernacular novels", in *Literary Migrations. Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia* (17—20th Century), ed. by Claudine Salmon (Beijing, 1987), pp. 88—93.

13. The text of the novel *Ch'yunhyang chyōn* was published, see *Ch'yunhyang chyōn kwonji tan (Kratkaia povest' o Ch'unhyang)* (*Ch'yunhyang chyōn kwonji tan*. A Short Story of Ch'unhyang), facsimile of the block-print, translation into Russian, introduction, and notes by A. F. Trotsevich (Moscow, 1968).

14. This novel and the Chinese origin of its plot were discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her article "The plots of Chinese fiction in Korean vernacular novels" (pp. 93—7), see n. 12 above.

15. The novel was discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her work on the Korean traditional romance (pp. 20—41), see n. 4 above.
 16. The authors of the present article give wrong information. The copy of *Sam syöl kûi* in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has only two volumes (2 and 3). The 1st volume is absent. Each volume contains three stories: the 2nd volume contains “The Dictator of Western Ch’u”, “The Three Disciples Had Their Wishes Followed”, “The Song of the Old Maid”; the 3rd volume — “The Stork Decides the Case”, “The Hermit Stag’s Party”, “The Old Toad Took the Seat of Honour”.
 17. The novel and the Chinese origin of its plot were discussed by A. F. Trotsevich in her article “The plots of Chinese fiction in Korean vernacular novels”, pp. 97—9.
 18. See n. 6 above.
 19. For *Asudon changsŏ*, see n. 3 above.
 20. The text of *Samguk sagi* from the collection of the SPIOs was published in facsimile with a translation into Russian, an introduction, a study of related problems of Korean history, and notes. It was published in 2 volumes (the annals of Silla, Koguryo, and Paekche). The 3rd volume is being prepared for print at the moment. See Kim Busik, *Samguk sagi*, text edition, translation into Russian, introduction, and notes by M. N. Pak (Moscow, 1959). — Pamiatniki literatury narodov Vostoka. Teksty. Bol’shaia seriia, I; Kim Busik, *Samguk sagi. Letopisi Koguryo. Letopisi Paekche. Khronologicheskie tablitsi* (Kim Busik, *Samguk sagi. Annals of Koguryo. Annals of Paekche. Chronological Tables*), text edition, translation into Russian, introduction, and notes by M. N. Pak (Moscow, 1995). — Pamiatniki literatury Vostoka. Teksty. Bol’shaia seriia, I—II.
 21. The collection of Korean manuscripts and block-prints in the library of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University was also described by A. F. Trotsevich. See her “Opisanie korejskikh pis’mennykh pamiatnikov, khраниashchikhsia v Biblioteke vostochnogo fakul’teta St.-Peterburgskogo universiteta” (“Description of Korean literary texts held in the library of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University”), *Vestnik Tsentra korejskogo iazyka i kultury*, fasc. 2 (1997), pp. 117—35. The authors of the present article did not mention Korean manuscripts and block-prints written in Chinese (18 titles, 323 volumes) in the holdings of the same library. This collection has been described recently by A. F. Trotsevich. See her “Korejskie pis’mennye pamiatniki v fonde kitaiskikh ksilografov vostochnogo otdela nauchnoï biblioteki St.-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta” (“Korean literary texts in the collection of the Chinese block-prints in the holdings of the St. Petersburg University Scientific library”), *ibid.*, fasc. 3 (1999), pp. 229—86.
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CONSERVATION PROBLEMS

E. A. Mikolaychuk

SOME RESULTS OF AN ANALYSIS OF PAPER FROM KHARA KHOTO (TWELFTH — FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

Paper was widely known and amply used in the Tangut state Xi Xia, which is confirmed by discoveries in Khara Khoto, where a number of articles were found with paper as their base or component.

Fibrous materials are used in paper production; most often vegetable fibre is employed, because the main component of such fibres is cellulose (pulp), a natural polymer of organic origin. It possesses several valuable properties which are essential in different papermaking processes. The cohesion forces between fibres in paper stock are determined mainly by the ability of cellulose to generate bonds. This allows one to produce sheets of paper without binder additives.

Papermaking originated in China in the first century A.D. While making paper the artisans could observe in practice the behaviour of fibrous materials at various stages of the process, as well as what properties the finished product displayed. Today we know that the paper-generation properties of vegetable raw materials depend on their chemical composition and the morphology of the fibres.

The chemical composition is basically determined by the content of cellulose in pulp and by the hemicellulose content. We do not consider here the chemical composition of raw wood materials, as they have been used since as late as the nineteenth century.

Different morphology of fibre suggests different types of paper produced. However, the relationship between the chemical composition of raw material, its morphology and the properties of paper as a finished product is a very complex one. Of great importance in this case is the production method selected.

The process of papermaking has steadily developed over the course of time. Nevertheless, very primitive technologies of papermaking, such as, for example, producing paper from mulberry bast, have been preserved and are still in use. The history of paper has recorded certain features of its emergence, both time-dependent and local. This is why it is important to indicate the technological factors of paper production, such as appearance, structure, thickness, fibre fineness, method of moulding, the type of the moulding screen, sizing agents, the method of sizing application, paper transparency and cloudiness, watermarks, dye, etc.

Being of organic nature, paper is naturally subject to considerable changes over time which are determined by

natural ageing processes of paper components, their reciprocity, and the conditions of paper production, use, and storage. As a rule, changes affect all the main properties of paper: physical, mechanical, chemical, optical, as well as colour.

Since fibres are the main component of paper, their identification is a major issue in research on paper. The morphology of fibres, however, may also be subject to destruction. Visually, this shows up in damage fibre: cracks, fractures, and ruptures may be observed. Eventually, this process may lead to the loss of specific features of fibre, or, on the contrary, to the appearance of features not inherent in the fibre in question. The result is that the destruction of the morphological structure seriously impedes the identification of fibre.

The current article aims at summarising the results of the study of twenty-eight samples of paper originating from Khara Khoto in the collections of the Hermitage and the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Mostly it is paper of manuscripts, paper employed in producing crowns, banknotes, or paper used in manufacturing ladies' shoes. These types of paper employed vary in their appearance, representing thin, thick, soft, dense samples, with uniform or cloudy translucence. Some of them are dyed. The removal of sizing substances, which by now have become yellow, and of the products of decomposition of the lignocarbhydrate complex, makes it possible to lighten paper and restore its initial colour. As a rule, yellow paper becomes white, brown paper — beige, and dark blue paper — light blue. This reveals a clearer picture of the paper structure, and its screen lines show up. In the process of examining Khara Khoto samples of paper, multilayer types of paper have been revealed; for example, three beige layers and one azure layer, or two azure layers with a white layer between them are present.

Also, moulding screen lines have been found in twenty-two samples. They all were moulded on screens manufactured after the Chinese model, that is, using horse hair. The distribution of the screen lines is seven to eight per centimetre. All papers studied are starch sized over the surface. Some of them have a second sizing.

Ten samples of paper are made of mulberry bast, and nine of these are thin, sometimes nearly completely transparent, silky, light-coloured and strong paper of very high

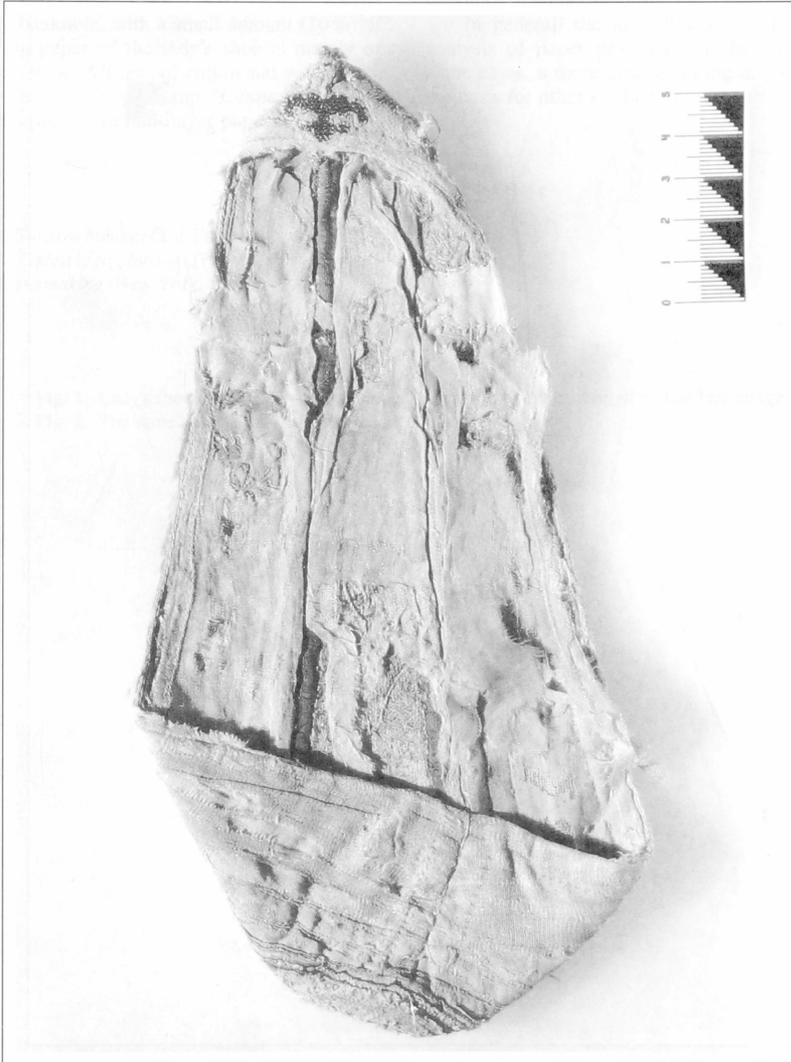


Fig. 2

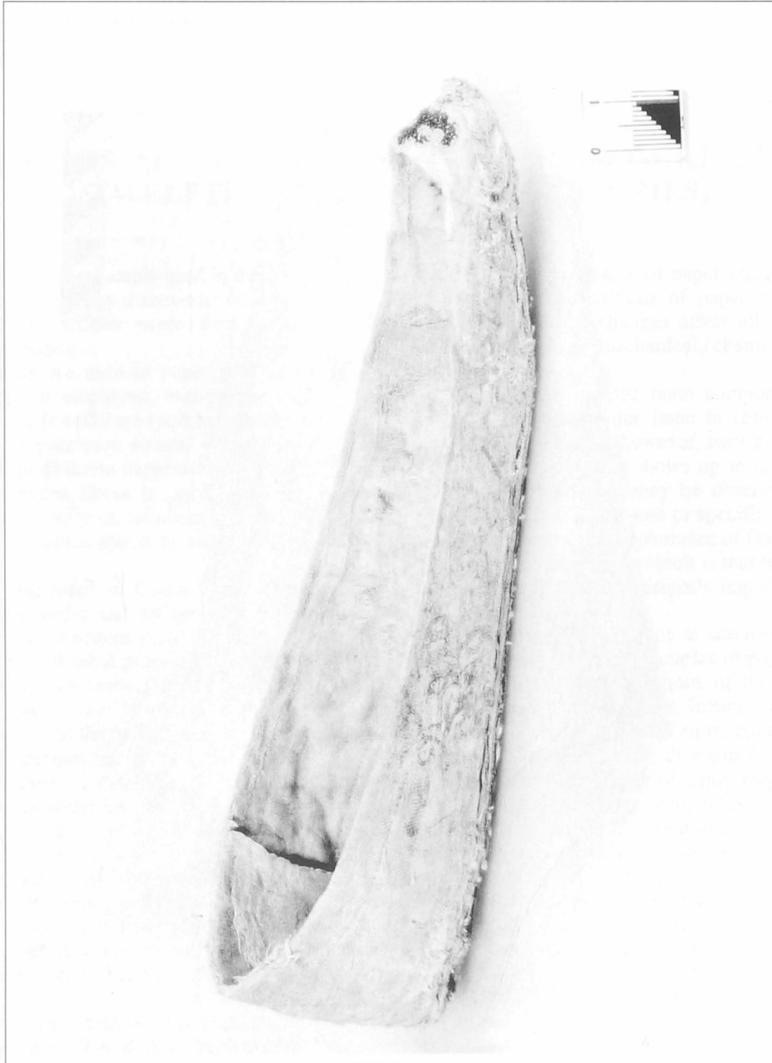


Fig. 2

quality. To make such paper, a soft inner layer of mulberry bast was used. One sample is denser, of a greyish colour and of lower quality. To produce such paper, a coarser outer layer of mulberry bast is used.

The paper in eight manuscripts from Khara Khoto is made of bamboo. Bamboo has been used in papermaking since the early twelfth century, and it was the material from which writing book, and mail grades of paper were made.

Four paper samples are produced from rag stock, while paper in two manuscripts is of cotton and hemp in various proportions. Also of cotton and hemp is paper used for the fourteenth-century banknote, with a small amount (10%) of wool fibre. The rag paper of the lady's shoe is mainly of hemp and silk fibre, with additions of cotton and wool.

Two samples are solely of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*). Hemp paper is also present in multilayer papers. The hemp

fibre structure provides a much denser and thicker paper than, for example, mulberry bast paper.

Two paper samples are of flax fibre. This type of paper has been identified in the composition of the crown, which also contains other kinds of fabric.

Finally, one sample is a mixture of hemp (80%) and rice straw (20%), while another consists solely of rice straw (rice straw in papermaking has been used since the fourteenth century). These materials had probably not yet gained firm positions in the production of paper by the downfall of Khara Khoto.

In general, the identification of fibre, as well as the analysis of paper production technology, can provide, in some cases, a more precise dating of paper or may serve as the basis for other kinds of research.

Reference literature

1. D. M. Fliate, *Svoïstva bumagi* (The Properties of Paper) (Moscow, 1976).
2. S. N. Ivanov, *Tekhnologiia bumagi* (Paper Technology) (Moscow, 1970).
3. D. Hunter, *Papermaking* (New York, 1956).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Lady's shoe from Khara Khoto (before restoration), 14th century, the State Hermitage.

Fig. 2. The same lady's shoe after restoration.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

A. S. Matveev

PERCEPTIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY: A DATABASE PROJECT

Recent years have witnessed growing interest, both in Russia and abroad, in the history and culture of the states which have taken shape on the territory of the former Soviet Union in Central Asia and the Caucasus. The serious difficulties — primarily in the area of relations between nationalities — which face this region underscore the special need for all manner of cross-cultural research on the mutual influence of Russian and Eastern cultures: “colonisers” and “colonised”. The major source for research on this mutual influence consists of various texts from the period when the Russian Empire colonised its southern regions. The nineteenth century, rich in the traditional types of texts found in state and private archives in Russia and the former Eastern principalities, provides us with a vast base of source material unknown for earlier periods. These include, first and foremost, materials from Russian periodicals on Central Asia and the Caucasus. Such texts have not yet received systematic study, yet they contain a wealth of material on mutual cultural influence in these regions.

The present article discusses the first stage of the large project [1] aimed at studying cultural dialogue. It consists of two aspects: the perception of Central Asia and the Caucasus by Russian society, and the perception of Russia and Russians by Eastern society. To study the latter aspect, we plan to gather materials from archives in St. Petersburg [2] and in the republics of the CIS. These relatively late documents have not yet received the attention they merit from scholars, yet they contain valuable information on the first direct contacts between the local population and Russians, and the perceptions of this population of Russia and Russians. For example, the archives of the Zarafshan *beks*, held in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, provide an excellent indication of how attitudes toward Russians changed as they advanced ever deeper into Central Asia [3]. During the first stage of Russian penetration into the region, Russians are termed “unbelieving Russian”, “damnably unbelievers”, or simple “the damned”; one must fight them at all costs. Later, the tone changes as resistance becomes practically impossible. Then we learn from the newspaper *Turkestanские Vedomosti* (“Turkestan Gazette”) of the 1870s, that many of these uncompromising foes of the “unbelievers” soon began

to collaborate with the Russian authorities and came to serve the Russian Empire to the fullest extent.

As concerns the perception of Eastern regions in Russian society, the traditional texts employed for the study of this question (archival materials and literary sources) can clearly be augmented by yet another category of texts usually ignored by historical and cultural studies — the Russian periodicals noted above (for more detail, see below).

The first part of the project was dedicated to developing a method of processing and storing the necessary information. The enormous scope of the material which must be processed to achieve reliable results makes it impossible to use traditional methods and forced us to turn to a computer database which would include all relevant information. Such a database allows easy retrieval and use of the data. The database I developed was created primarily to process Russian periodicals and other Russian materials (for example, state and private archives). With minor changes, however, this database can also be used for storing and processing information from local Central Asian sources (Persian, Tajik, etc.). Of course, the questions which are posed to these other texts (and the database interface respectively) will inevitably require some corrections in accordance with the nature of the texts to be processed.

The database I developed was created in MS Access 97 for PC. It has an English interface, but the data entered in it is mostly in Russian. It was designed to work in Windows 95/98 PanEuro or NT (and, of course, in Russian localised versions of Windows 9x/NT), but it can work in the Arabic version of Windows 95/98 as well. In the latter case, the English interface of the database will be retained, but the data entered can be in Arabic script, which is important for processing local Central Asian sources. The database can also be used in Windows 2000 with MS Office 2000. It supports both Russian and Arabic alphabets (in theory, it should support other Eastern languages as well), which was virtually impossible in previous versions of Windows. This means that in a few years, when this version of Windows becomes standard for most users, we will be able to process all languages necessary for our project (Russian, Tajik, Persian, Caucasian languages, etc.) in a single database.

At present, however, I decided to stick with Access 97, as it is the most common program of this kind.

On the other hand, the technical results of this project have even broader application. The principles elaborated for this database can be applied to other fields of historical or philological study, where using a database to store and process texts is desirable but impossible in practice because of the lack of a necessary tool. The above database can be

used as a basis for other text (and even picture) databases; the adaptation required is not overly complicated and can relatively easily be accomplished. The latter is especially important, as using MS Access 97, a standard program for MS Office, allows the researcher to avoid the complicated and expensive procedure of creating a specialised database in every particular case [4].

I. The Project and its methodological base [5]

The study of cross-cultural contacts in an area of active interchange between profoundly different cultures, as took place in Central Asia and the Caucasus in the nineteenth century, poses the question of analysing how foreign cultural elements were perceived by the various peoples involved. Such questions are traditional for one of the most promising tendencies in modern history — the history of mentalities (that is the aspect of this project which first attracted me, as I had examined similar problems for an earlier period). Advanced by the French “Annals School” in the process of studying medieval Europe, this approach has gradually spread to other areas of historical inquiry. Oriental studies has been less affected by the influence of the “Annals School”, but works have begun to appear in the discipline on the mentalities of various peoples.

Perceptions of the surrounding world are highlighted in encounters with the unknown and unusual; that is why the study of the “image of the other” occupies such an important place in the approach noted above. In this context, it is only natural that Edward Said’s “Orientalism” [6], which treats perceptions of the East in European society, should have drawn so much attention. While one can dispute the book’s merits, it demonstrated the productiveness of this approach and evoked a great deal of interest in the issue at hand. In fact, however, the perception of the East even in Western Europe was more complex and went beyond the concept of “orientalism” as interpreted by Said. As concerns Russia, Said’s theoretical conclusions are far less applicable to society’s actual attitudes toward the Eastern territories of the Russian Empire.

For an educated Russian of the nineteenth century, the traditional concept of “Eastern exoticism” was usually limited to the remote East as represented by the tales of “1001 Nights”. Pushkin’s “Bakhchisaray Fountain” was not perceived by readers as directly linked to the actual Russian Crimea; it was rather a part of an imagined, fairy-tale “East”. To a certain degree, elements of this perception are inherent in the romantic image of the Caucasian mountaineers who surround the “romantic hero” of Pushkin’s “Prisoner of the Caucasus”. But on the whole, the perception even of the Caucasus was different, more “prosaic”. As concerns Central Asia, annexed by the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century, “Eastern exoticism” did not play a particularly important role. The complex interplay in nineteenth-century Russian consciousness of the “exotic” and real East inevitably brings the researcher face to face with the following question: how in fact were culturally different regions perceived by Russian society?

To answer this question, one must first determine the source base which contains the necessary information. However, I must note that at present the object of my re-

search is “educated society” only; the peasantry and urban lower classes are not considered. Of course, the study of uneducated classes, as was shown by the research of the “Annals School” on the mentality of the “silent majority” is not *a priori* impossible. But the lack of a solid source base in the current case compels us to postpone the study of this question until the necessary material has been gathered.

Since we speak here of educated society, our major source consists of literary materials. But which sort of literature should we turn to first? It is common practice to employ well-known literary works by famed authors and poets for this aim. A typical example of such a study is Susan Layton’s interesting article “Nineteenth-century Russian mythologies of Caucasian savagery” [7], which discusses the North Caucasus (Central Asia has received little study from this vantage point). The issue of how Caucasian mountaineers were perceived by Russian society is here viewed primarily through the prism of fiction, with passing reference to other works. As a result, Layton presents a relatively full picture of how *Russian literature* depicted the “Caucasian mountaineer” throughout the nineteenth century. But the question of how this image was perceived by Russian society at large remains open. Of course, Pushkin’s “Prisoner of the Caucasus” was enormously influential in establishing the image of the Caucasus in Russian society. However, it remains unclear to what extent this romantic image was changed by Caucasian realia and other materials on the Caucasus.

In any case, the relation between the depiction of the East (or any other object) in fiction, especially when one speaks of outstanding literature created by exceptional people, and the image of the East in actual contemporary society is complex and requires special analysis in each concrete case. Of course, works of fiction by a major writer reflect the realities of the time and conditions in society, but to what extent? In the image created by an artist, what actually corresponds to the perception of the world by the artist’s contemporaries, and what is the product of a creative individual? These questions are significantly more complex in Russian literature than in Western European literature, as most of major Russian writers (at least as long as the nineteenth century is concerned) never worked for “the market”. Having other sources of income, they did not write in order to sell books. As a result, they made fewer efforts than their Western counterparts to coordinate their works with the direct needs of the reading public or to reflect its interests.

Periodicals are another story, however. They had to be sold. Consequently, they had to be more flexible and, as a minimum requirement, satisfy readers’ interests. For example, if Lev Tolstoy could lambaste in his works the tenets of the Orthodox Church, the average literary journal could hardly permit itself such liberties, no matter what

views its editors or publishers might hold; it would simply lose subscribers and fall into financial ruin. Of course, meeting the expectations of readers was not the only criterion for selecting journal publications, but the connection between periodicals and readers was, nonetheless, much closer than between major writers and their readers. (Moreover, one can resolve the question of the correlation between societal consciousness and that of writers only by juxtaposing their works with more popular print production, which usually receives far less attention from literary critics than "serious literature").

Of course, such factors as the editor's personal views or the journal's ideological orientation also had a certain significance. Journals frequently held to particular political views (conservative, liberal, radical) or could express the official view of events. The latter, however, is not typical of Russian literature and even Russian periodicals; the Russian "littérateurs" for the most part considered itself duty-bound to speak out against all initiatives of the state, especially when they contradicted the intelligentsia's abstract ideas of justice (which was the case in nearly all instances). The principle of higher "state interests" was unknown to the intelligentsia, and any attempts by the authorities to gain the ideological support of the "creative intelligentsia" in creating and strengthening the Russian Empire were unsuccessful. Russian literature never produced a figure comparable to "Iron Rudyard", the bard of the British Empire. The actual needs of the state remained utterly alien to the intelligentsia up until the Russian Empire's final collapse in 1917. On the whole, any "correction for ideological pressure" from the authorities is of minimal importance when analysing Russian periodicals; the majority of the press, and certainly literary journals, reflected not official views, but the opinions of their authors and of the "reading public".

Consequently, in working on the project at hand, a decision was made to concentrate the bulk of attention not on the masterpieces of Russian literature, but on the popular periodical press, which is preferable for a number of reasons. Russian magazines are a unique source, because at a time when there was no TV or radio, they were the major source of knowledge for the general public and, to a great extent, shaped public opinion on many important issues. The image they shaped was especially important, because Central Asia was far away from typical tourist routes, unlike Western Europe or even the Caucasus. The lack of other sources of information (until the end of the nineteenth century historical and geographical books on Central Asia were rare and had a limited readership) means that the general picture presented by these journals must be very close to the image of the Central Asia in Russian society as a whole.

On the other hand, interest in this newly incorporated part of the Russian Empire was extremely great, as we see from the popularity of infrequent public lectures on Central

Asia delivered by returning travellers [8], and from an analysis of the periodicals themselves. For example, the number of publications on Central Asian themes in the journal *Niva* ("Field") is comparable to the number of publications on the Caucasus, and is exceeded only by materials on Western Europe.

For the first stage of the project, it was decided to select one journal to test the proposed approach to the problem and develop a system for data processing. For this aim, the most typical and widespread journal of the late nineteenth — early twentieth century was selected, *Niva* — an "illustrated journal of literature, politics, and contemporary life". This weekly journal "for family reading" came out from 1870 to 1918; it was the most popular journal among various groups of the educated population, from the upper classes to urban intellectuals of common birth. For a long time, it had the largest number of subscribers among publications of its type. As a weekly, it responded with alacrity to the major issues in foreign and domestic politics. Moreover, the journal was politically neutral and did not express open sympathy either for leftist or rightist political parties. Nor was it a mouthpiece of official views. It can be classified as "moderately liberal". On the whole, the views expressed there were closest to the standard perceptions of the surrounding world in Russian educated society, which makes it an ideal object for the study of the period's mentality.

Besides, there is another factor which renders the journal even more appropriate for the study of Central Asia; the journal collaborated with one of the most gifted journalists, writers, and artists of the final third of the nineteenth century, Nikolai Karazin. Karazin, who began his career as an officer in the Russian army and served for six years in Turkestan, later left the military and became a permanent correspondent for *Niva*, as well as a number of other Russian and Western journals. His articles, short stories, novels, numerous illustrations (he was called the Russian Gustave Doré for his magnificent drawings, which served as the basis for hundreds of engravings in journals and books), and detailed essays significantly contributed to the formation of the journal's image of Central Asia.

Of course, his publications were not limited to that region, but his special interest in Turkestan manifested itself quite frequently. On the other hand, his talent as a writer was on the standard "average level" best suited to the needs of our study. It is difficult to accuse Karazin of excessive originality in his judgments and views. But his novels of "Turkestan life" were enormously popular among ordinary readers. Many issues of *Niva* feature announcements of individual publications and even republications — "in response to numerous requests from readers" — of Karazin's novels. Especially popular was the "Two-legged Wolf", a melodramatic novel which shaped an entire generation's perceptions of Central Asia.

II. The technical side of the project: the database

The next question which faces the researcher is how to store and process the information contained in Russian periodicals. As was noted above, the nature of the material necessitates recourse to a computerised database, which allows one to store a large amount of information and process it with ease, making it possible to conduct searches and statistical analyses.

This stage was rather complicated technically, as historical databases of this kind belong to a new field of research. Consequently, it was necessary to develop the whole system virtually from scratch. First of all, a special system of processing information from periodical publications was developed on the basis of a template-sample proposed by Dr Nikolai Serikoff (with some changes and

additions made in the course of working with actual materials). The next stage was creating the database itself.

In theory, there could be several ways of developing the required database program. The best way is to write a special program that meets all our requirements, which are very specific and by no means "standard" for databases. Such highly specialised humanities databases exist in some libraries, as well as in a number of large research projects, usually to store and describe a whole class of sources. Unfortunately, creating such a special program involves

a great deal of complicated programming, which I could not possibly do alone. Consequently, I had to reject this variant and concentrate on the programs which already existed on the market.

After trying a number of variants, I decided to use MS Access 97 for Windows, although this program does not suite our task particularly well [9]. Nevertheless, this program has an important advantage — it is included in the standard package of MS Office for Windows, so most PC users have it already installed on their computers.

1. The database structure

The database structure is based on the description of "quotations", i.e. a "quotation" is the main unit of the database. The "quotation" is a publication or a part of publication on the subject (Central Asia in our case). The size and form of the "quotation" depends on the type of the publication: a travel description is rather short, but contains up to 90% of information we need, while a long novel may have few relevant passages, which represent only a fraction of the text.

The database itself consists of several "tables", "queries" and "forms" (these are standard Access elements), but the end user needs only the last 3 "forms". Two of them (**Quotations** and **Authors**) are designed for storing texts and information about publications and their authors. The third is for processing this data, i.e. retrieving relevant information.

1. The **Quotations** form (see *fig. 1*) contains a full computerised description of a "quotation" (in English and Russian), its text (in Russian), and comments when necessary. The description includes such groups of parameters as:

- bibliographic information on the text: periodical (or archive), year, issue number, pages, title of publication (or catalogue number of document in case of archive description), genre, author, etc.;

- subjects, i.e. themes touched on by authors: settlement, fortification, roads, mountains, climate, agriculture, etc.;

- people: national identification of the people described in the texts, their beliefs, language, attitude to outsiders, hospitality, clothes, etc.;

- attitudes: point of view of the author (I, We, They, Military, Russians, etc.), evaluation of the people described, opposition Barbarism — Civilization, etc.

2. The **Quotations** form is linked to the **Authors** form (see *fig. 2*), which contains full information about the authors of the publications. It includes the full name of the author, dates, education (secondary and high), profession, place and period of service, etc.

3. The **Search** form (see *fig. 3*) allows a user to retrieve quotations concerned with the subjects he/she is interested in. One can ask such complicated questions as "how many majors who were once students in the Military Academy in St. Petersburg wrote in the period between 1870 and 1885 about Tajik Muslims in Ashkhabad with a positive attitude to them?" or similar questions. The result is a set of relevant quotations for further analysis. In addition, one can find a word he/she is interested in. For example, one can retrieve all quotations which contain the word *yurta* or "brigand".

Besides, I have added scanned "illustrations" to the publications, so one can see them when reading **Quotations** (to open it one has to double-click the "illustration" box). The pictures seem to have been as important to *Niva* readers as the texts themselves. There was even a specific "genre" in the *Niva* magazine — pictorial description (illustrations followed by extensive comments).

2. The database using

The use of the database is simple: one has to open the database in Access 97 (or convert it into Access 2000), and run the **Search** form in the "Forms" group. A form with the parameters for search described above will appear. The user has to fill in the **Search** form (marking square boxes by clicking the mouse, and filling in rectangular boxes where necessary) in order to select search parameters, and then click the button "Search". A form with quotations appears (see *fig. 4*). This form sums up the information from both the **Quotations** and **Authors** forms. The lower part of this form shows information about the number of quotations found, which one can browse through. If the quotation contains a picture, a relevant icon appears in the form.

A number of relevant quotations from the selected 400 publications from *Niva* magazine have already been entered into the database (this work will continue during the further stages of the project). If the user does not plan to add new entries to the database, he/she can use **Search** form only — in order to retrieve the necessary information. However, the user can also open the **Quotations** or the **Authors** forms and browse through them. Moreover, one can add new entries to these forms by filling in new blank pages in them. Consequently, the development of the database can be continued by the user in the future.

This database — though limited at the present stage to a single magazine — already presents enough positive information about perceptions of Central Asia and its native inhabitants by Russian society. It is not my intention to pre-

sent a complete analysis of this information in the current article, but some brief notes seem to be appropriate.

The database shows that the authors of the relevant publications are varied. Some of them are officers of the

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Russian army who had their own specific point of view, with some emphasis on military or related matters. Still, they were quite interested in nature and "ethnographic" questions. Besides military men, there were civilians who wrote for journals. Most of them were professional journalists, but some were civil officials. "Pure" travellers were rare. A characteristic example is the above-mentioned Nikolai Karazin, an officer who participated in Central Asian military campaigns (and, later, in geographic expeditions) and wrote articles for St. Petersburg journals.

As was mentioned, Central Asia was one of important subjects in the *Niva* magazine. The number of relevant publications is rather high (ca. 400 items). The frequency of delivering information about Central Asia almost directly corresponds to Russian policies in this region. Most publications appeared in the 1870s—1880s, when Russia was busy annexing Central Asian territories. In the 1890s, the number of materials decreased (except for publications on anniversaries of the major campaigns). In the 1900s, and especially the 1910s, Central Asia disappeared from the list of important magazine topics. The area became an integral and more or less ordinary part of the Russian Empire, and readers' interest in it, obviously, decreased.

Despite the variety of topics, it is possible to distinguish a number of recurring themes and ideas in articles about Central Asia. Thus, almost all authors wrote about Central Asian deserts as totally lacking water and plants. For the authors, it was the most impressive — and fearsome — feature of the local environment. The importance of this topic can also be seen from pure statistics: the number of entries with the semantic field of "Steppe"/"Desert" exceeds 500, "Sands" — 300 (i. e. *deserts* are mentioned in virtually every publication, and often — more than once). On the other hand, native agriculture was also one of the major points of interest, which is by no means strange for observers who belonged to such a profoundly agrarian country as nineteenth-century Russia. Ethnographic descriptions of "native" inhabitants and their dwellings — especially nomadic ones — also belong to the realm of typical subjects. On the other hand, an analysis of family ties ("Relatives" item in the **Quotations** form) mentioned in these publication shows that the penetration of authors into local society was not very deep. There are few terms denoting family ties in the list, and women are especially rare. Hence, the family life of the indigenous population was not

well known to most authors, who observed the locals from the "outside".

These materials also demonstrate a set of *standard ideas* about natives and about the place of Russia in Central Asia. The main issue concerns a civilising role of Russia in a "savage" country, and that the coming of the Russians resulted in prosperity and the cultural development of these lands. Another important aspect of the coming of the Russians to Central Asia, frequently mentioned in the sources, was stopping raids by the nomadic brigands-Turkomans, who used to pillage neighbouring sedentary population and enslave peasants, merchants and travellers. Freeing thousands of Russian, Persian and local slaves in Khiva, Kokand, Bukhara, and other places, was of major importance in public opinion, and several stories told by former Russian slaves were published in *Niva*. Taking into account that this journal was not political but rather a neutral magazine "for family reading", one can conclude that such themes were widespread in society and genuinely reflected the interests and the convictions of both authors and readers.

It is also possible to distinguish a number of typical images of natives. Thus, the standard image of the Turkoman was that of a savage but brave brigand who used to steal his neighbours' property and enslave people, especially women. On the other hand, the so-called "Sarts" and other sedentary peoples were highly regarded as industrious — but usually quite poor and uneducated — peasants. Such images became stereotypes and survived for many years.

The analysis of such recurrent motifs and ideas allows us to understand better Russian policies in Central Asia and a response to them in society. The further study of the database information will help us to comprehend the complicated process of cross-cultural contacts which took place in the Eastern parts of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth — early twentieth centuries and continues to influence perceptions and relations in the present.

Thus, the development of this database project gives us a new, powerful research tool. In view of the particular goals of the present section of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I hope that some elements of the approach and the database program described here would be also of use to scholars engaged in creating new approaches in the field of information processing for Eastern manuscripts.

Notes

1. The idea for this project belongs to Dr. Nikolai Serikoff (Wellcome Institute, London), who had also proposed the database template which I used as the basis for designing an actual database. This idea has been supported by Prof. Dr. Paul (University of Halle), who organised the work on this project. In 1999, thanks to the kind financial support of the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung and the help of its representative in Moscow, Dr. Bomsdorf, I was able to start the "pilot project" *Central Asia as Viewed by Russian Officers (on the Basis of the Niva Magazine)*, which was the first stage of the large-scale database project: *The Perception of Central Asia by Russian Society*. My task was to analyse different ways of achieving research goals, and select the best of them to be used in the future project. The main result of the pilot project was the creation of a database which can be used to store and analyse data from Russian periodicals and other sources. This database can be used as a basis for further research on both Russian Central Asia of the period and the perception of Central Asia by Russian society. I am grateful to the St. Petersburg programmers Alina Rodionova and Alexei Petrov for their indispensable help and advice in my work on the database.

2. For example, a large collection is held at the M. E. Saltykov-Schedrin National Library of Russia (henceforth cited as NLR); a detailed description has recently been published by Olga Yastrebova (Ol'ga Iastrebova) in her *Persidskie i tadzhikskie dokumenty v otdele rukopisei Rossijskoj Natsional'noj Biblioteki. Sistematicheskij katalog* (Catalogue of Persian and Tajik Documents in the Manuscripts Department of the NLR) (St. Petersburg, 1998).

3. Ol'ga Iastrebova, "Dokumenty 19 v. iz verkhov'ev r. Zeravshan v Otdele rukopisei RNB" ("Nineteenth-century documents from the highlands of the Zarafshan river in the Manuscripts Department of the NLR"), *Vostochnyi sbornik*, VI (forthcoming).

4. Anyone interested can contact the journal for more technical details. Additionally, the development of the present database is by no means completed, so I would appreciate any suggestion connected with this project.

5. Though there is no special publication on the approach used in this project, some basic ideas on the subject can be found in Nikolai Serikoff, "'Saratsinskii leksikon': 'ΦΑΚΥΝΟΝ' i 'ΓΗΖΟΙ ΕΛΛΙΟΥ' (O "slovakh-priizrakakh" v vizantiiskom farmatsevticheskom glosarii XV v. i ikh roli v izuchenii arabo-vizantiiskikh kontaktov v spednie veka)" ("Saracen Lexicon": "ΦΑΚΥΝΟΝ" and "ΓΗΖΟΙ ΕΛΛΙΟΥ" ("words-phantoms" in a fifteenth-century Byzantine pharmaceutical glossary and their significance for the study of Arab-Byzantine contacts in the Middle Ages)), *Vizantiiskii vremennik. BYZANTINA XPONIKA*, 58 (1999), pp. 84—116; see also Alexander Matveev, "Arabic sources on Russes and Slavs: problems of interpretation of the text", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/3 (1996), pp. 16—26.

6. E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979).

7. S. Layton, "Nineteenth-century Russian mythologies of Caucasian savagery," in *Russia's Orient*, eds. Daniel R. Brower and Edward J. Lazzerini (Bloomington, Ind., 1997), pp. 80—100.

8. For the lectures delivered in St. Petersburg by the traveller and artist Piasetsky, see, for example, "P. Ia. Piasetskii i ego zhivopisnye otchety o svoikh puteshestviiakh" ("P. Ya. Piasetsky and his artistic reports on his travels"), *Niva*, No. 3 (1895), pp. 66—8.

9. For our specific purposes, standard Access options are not sufficient, so it is necessary to write commands directly in Visual Basic and adjust them "by hand". Additionally, Access is an extremely cumbersome program: making changes in an already completed database (which is a standard situation when one is making a new product) is a complicated and time-consuming task (e. g., if one wants to change/add a field in the final form, one has to correct half a dozen other forms, queries and tables). Moreover, Access is not powerful enough: it failed to work with more than 70 parameters which I needed (standard databases created in Access rarely have more than a dozen or two of parameters for search "queries"), and it was necessary to find "by-passes". The above problem, however, *does not affect the final user* who receives the already adjusted database. Once created, it is simple to use it; it is also easy to adapt it to individual needs.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. A page from the **Authors** form.

Fig. 2. A page from the **Quotations** form.

Fig. 3. A page from the **Search** form (with search parameters).

Fig. 4. A page from the **Result** form (with the results for the **Search** shown in *fig. 3*).

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

AN ILLUSTRATED COPY OF A GEORGIAN TRANSLATION OF “KALILA AND DIMNA”*

The first Georgian manuscript was brought to Russia in 1773. This unique manuscript is, in essence, an entire collection of materials on the history of Georgia. The copyist entitled the collection “A Small ‘Life of Georgia’”. The manuscript was given as a gift to the Russian Academy of Sciences by Academician J. Guldtenstedt [1]. In 1818, when the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences was formed, this manuscript was among the first items in the manuscript collection of the Museum, which later constituted the base for the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies holdings. Subsequently, the number of Georgian manuscripts increased, and at present the collection contains some 500 manuscripts in the Georgian language; earlier they belonged to Georgian and Russian scholars and bibliophiles and were given to the Academy of Sciences.

Two manuscripts of “Kalila and Dimna”, represented in this Georgian collection, occupy a special place. Like other items in this collection, both entered it as gifts. One manuscript M53 is from the collection of M. Brosset; the second was presented to the Asiatic Museum in 1839 by a corrector at the Synodal printing-press in Moscow, the bibliophile Pyotr Ivanovich Kebabze. We do not discuss manuscript M53 here, although it is of considerable interest for the history of translations of “Kalila and Dimna” into Georgian. Our concern is the second manuscript (call number P2), which contains a completed version of the text present in manuscript M53. What is particularly interesting with regard to this manuscript is that, as we know, it was ordered from copyists and artists by the Georgian King Vakhtang VI (1675—1737) as a display manuscript. So far, a facsimile copy of this manuscript has not been published. The present article is devoted to this manuscript.

The triumphal success of the original work which acquired the title “Kalila and Dimna”, as well as its wide spread in the Near East and Europe, are well known. After appearing in ancient India around 1000 B.C., the edifying stories and tales which make up the heart of the collection were slowly transmitted in oral form, acquiring new plots

and details. Many of them became a part of *jātaka* collections, the canon of the Jains, and literary works of ancient and medieval India. It is possible that their first codification in the collection *Pañcatāntra* (“Five Books”) should be dated to the fourth century A.D. [2]. The name of the compiler is not known.

According to Indian tradition, the *Pañcatāntra* was viewed as “instructions on wisdom”, a “textbook” for heirs to the throne, as we learn from the introduction to the collection. Several versions of the *Pañcatāntra* are known — Kashmiri, Jain, and Buddhist. In the eleventh — twelfth centuries A.D., the Sanskrit version was translated into numerous New Indian languages.

The spread of the *Pañcatāntra* beyond the borders of India dates to the sixth century A.D., when the Persian ruler Khusraw Anūshīrwān ordered it translated into Pahlavi. In the same century, a translation was made from Pahlavi into Syriac; in the eighth century, ‘Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa’ translated it into Arabic. In the process of numerous translations from one language into another, the work acquired a new title: “Kalila and Dimna”. This is first attested in the Arabic translation. Kalila and Dimna are the names of two wily jackals who plot and cause conflict, ignoble deeds, and various foolish acts in people and animals. Their names arose through a distortion of the Sanskrit names for the jackals in the first book of the *Pañcatāntra*: *Karaṭaka* (lit. “dark-red”) and *Damanaka* (lit. “suppressor”).

Only in the late fifteenth — early sixteenth century was the *Pañcatāntra* translated from Arabic into New Persian; it spread further under the title *Anwār-i suhaylī* (“Luminaries of Kanop”). Its translator and literary editor was Ḥusayn Wā’iz Kāshif. This translation served as the basis for the Georgian version, as is indicated by its title:

კარი პირვილი. ქელილა და დამანაკი.
სპარსულსაგან ქართულად ნათარგმანები. მეფის
ვახტანგისაგან

“First chapter. [Beginning of the] “Kalila and Dimna”, translated from the Persian into Georgian by King Vakhtang” [3].

* The description of Georgian manuscript P2 which forms the basis for this article was prepared in the early 1960s by the late Rusudana Rubenovna Orbeli, a member of the Institute of Oriental Studies, for the book *Gruzinskie rukopisi Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Georgian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies), fasc. 2. The work was never published. R. R. Orbeli’s materials were here employed and published for the first time by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.

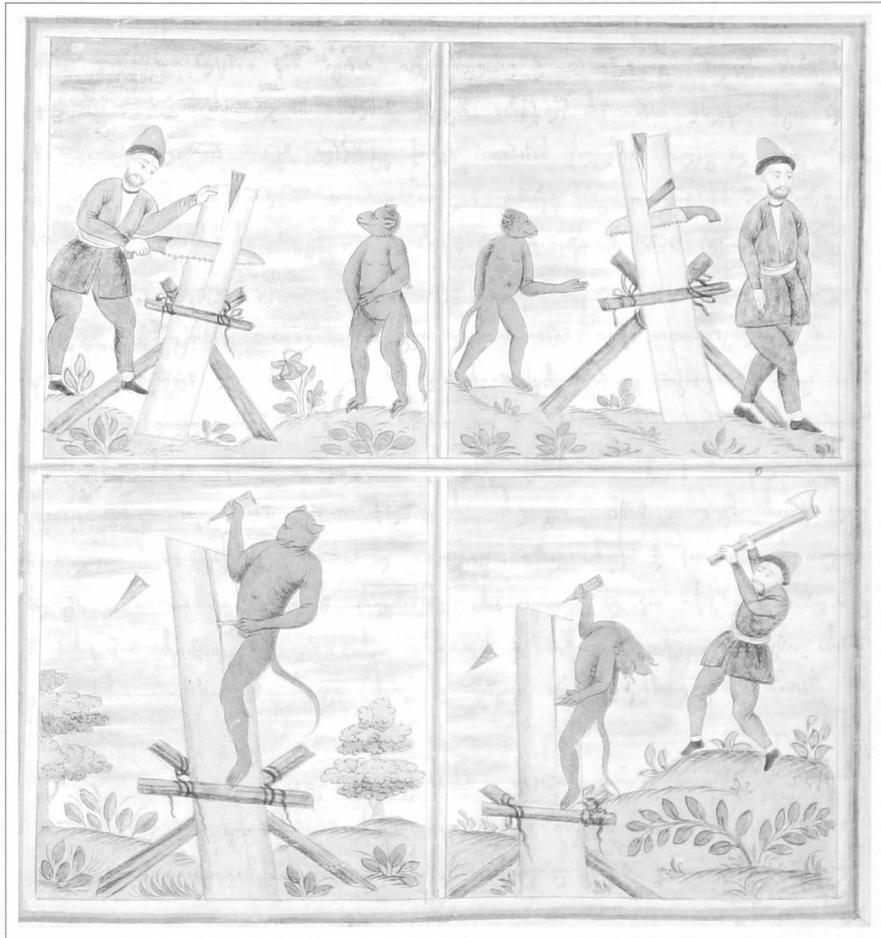


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Manuscript P2 contains the third, final version of the third Georgian translation of the "Kalila and Dimna". The first translation of the "Kalila and Dimna" into Georgian, carried out in the eleventh — twelfth century, has not come down to us. Neither the name of a translator nor the language from which the translation was made are known. The second translation (from New Persian) appeared at the end of the sixteenth century. Its author was the king of Kakhetia David. His translation remained incomplete. Manuscripts with this translation have been preserved in collections in Georgia. Subsequently, the Georgian king Vakhtang VI employed it for a new, third translation (in the first version). It has also been preserved in Georgia. This third translation is known in four eighteenth-century versions and one from 1839. The three basic full versions date to the period from 1712 to no later than 1724. Vakhtang VI worked on the first version with two assistants from 1712—1714 in Isfahan. Between 1714 and 1716 Vakhtang translated the entire book anew in Kerman. This second work was entirely in prose (except the first eight verses); the remaining verses present in the original text were merely marked by Vakhtang with the word "verse".

The third version which belongs to Saba Sulhan Orbeliani (1659—1725), a statesman, poet, and translator, took shape on the basis of the second Vakhtang's translation and was executed at the latter's request. In all likelihood, Saba Sulhan Orbeliani worked on his translation from 1717 to 1724 in Georgia. This translation retains the division of the text into 14 chapters. All of the verse sections of the text — and they make up a considerable part of "Kalila and Dimna" — were this time executed in verse. The prose section was reworked in literary fashion. The style of this third translation, represented in our manuscript (P2), is distinguished by the poetic nature, ease, and clarity of its exposition. In addition to our manuscript, there are also six copies in Georgian collections, although not all of the copies are complete and not one of them is adorned with miniatures.

Manuscript P2 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains valuable information on the history of the text preserved in the manuscript. The work's 14 chapters are prefaced by: 1) introductory strophes by Vakhtang VI, left unchanged by Saba Sulhan Orbeliani (fol. 2a; we note that these were the strophes that Vakhtang translated for the second version); 2) a foreword from *Anwār-i suhaylī* (fols. 2a—6a), which confirms that it was precisely this Persian translation which served as the basis for the Georgian translation; 3) a foreword by Vakhtang VI himself, called "Testament" in the text (fols. 6b—7b); 4) a table of contents to the book's 14 chapters (fol. 8a). At the end of the text (fols. 332b—333a), we find concluding strophes translated by Vakhtang VI and his note that Saba Sulhan Orbeliani took part in editing the translation.

But what is exceptional about manuscript P2 is that it is lavishly adorned with all sorts of miniatures; 334 folios contain 804 miniatures. In effect, each tale is illustrated by an entire series of miniatures grouped in blocks. Each block presents the development of the tale's plot and consists of 4—6 illustrations or even more. The illustrations betray the strong influence of the Persian school of miniature painting. The manuscript was possibly adorned by two artists. The miniatures in the first half appear more sophisticated; in the second half of the manuscript, they are less vivid and sometimes seem uncompleted. Besides, the miniatures

bear traces of later work: in some, the background is covered with black paint, which was not originally used by the artists; black paint sometimes covers entire miniatures (miniatures on fols. 58b, 91b, 92b, 164b, 175b, 177a, 178a, 180b, 197a, 234a, 263a, 282b, 305b). Some years ago, one of the manuscript's Georgian readers suggested to us that these alterations may have stemmed from a desire to block out certain inscriptions which displeased the manuscript's owners. But a close analysis of the miniatures shows that there is no text beneath the black paint.

It is interesting, folio 3a contains a portrait of Vakhtang VI and Saba Sulhan Orbeliani. Moreover, depictions of Vakhtang adorn many other folios of the manuscript, mainly in illuminations to specific chapters. The names of the artists and place where the miniatures were executed remain unknown.

Another characteristic of the manuscript is its outstanding calligraphic hand — small *mkhedruli*. The manuscript was copied in black Indian ink; headings and first words are highlighted in red Indian ink. The manuscript's copyist was Melkhisedek Kavkasidze. He worked on it between 1724 and 1737. The following facts indicate this. The portrait of Saba Sulhan Orbeliani was apparently painted from life; in all likelihood, the copying of the manuscript began in Georgia in 1724. It is unlikely that this occurred later, in Astrakhan, to which Vakhtang and Saba Sulhan Orbeliani repaired after 1724. The latter died in 1725. The completion of copying took place no later than 1737, for Vakhtang, who paginated the entire manuscript, died on 26 March, 1737.

The manuscript is copied on glossy paper and the folio dimensions are 40.0×26.5 cm. There is a gold border on the leaves; there are traces of a watermark, but it has been badly damaged. The manuscript bears double pagination. One was carried out in the hand of the copyist himself in Georgian *mkhedruli* letters. The second, by page, in Arabic numerals, is in the hand of Vakhtang VI. Folio 2a contains a note in French in the hand of M. Brosset; it runs that the prose was translated by Vakhtang VI, and the verse by Saba Sulhan Orbeliani. The manuscript is held in a wooden binding covered in embossed leather; there are also traces of three metal clasps.

The copy originally belonged to Dimitri Bagrationi (1746—1826), a poet and translator (a note by him is found on fol. 333a). It was then acquired by Pyotr Kebabdz, who gave it as a gift to the Asiatic Museum.

Part of the manuscript's Georgian text — the introductory and concluding strophes and foreword by Vakhtang — was published in Tbilisi in 1947 [4]. A Russian translation of the Georgian version was published as far back as 1878, but was most likely based on some other version which differs from that present in our manuscript [5].

Surely, this is but a very brief information on the precious Georgian manuscript from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It is interesting primarily because of the abundance of illustrations and, of course, because of their special qualities. It is the miniatures that await first of all their researcher. Despite an evident influence of the Persian school of painting, one can consider the miniatures as a precious product of the Georgian art of book painting. The portraits of Vakhtang VI and of Saba Sulhan Orbeliani are also of interest as reflecting a trend of miniature portraying. There is a great temptation to connect somehow the appearance of

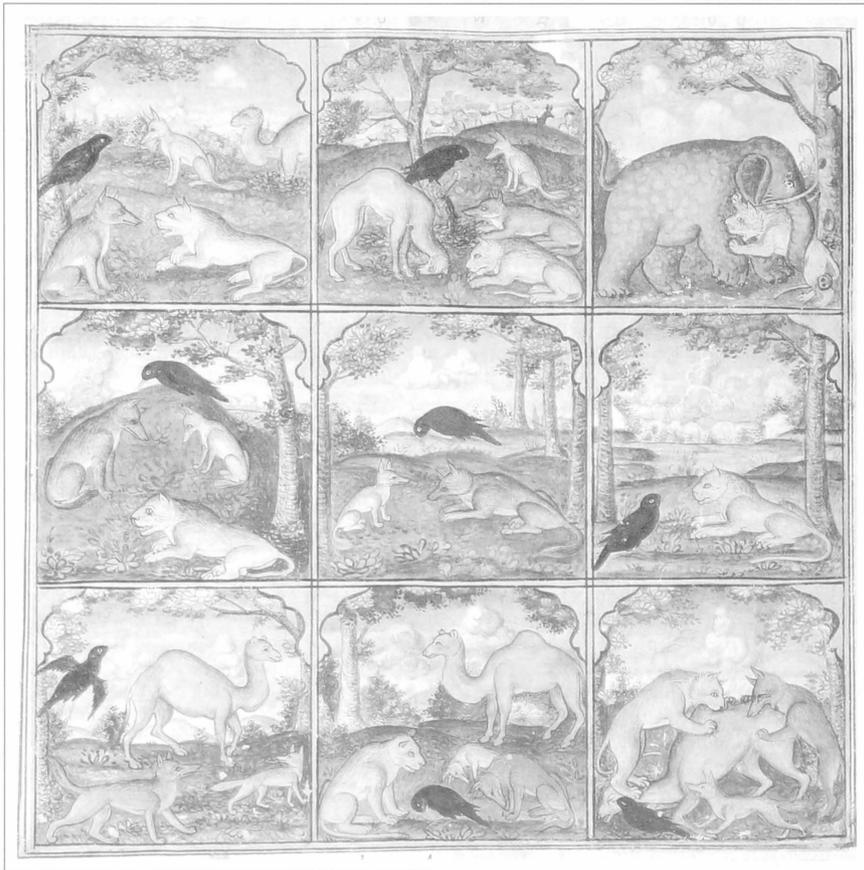


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

these portraits in the Georgian manuscript with a piece of painting art by Joseph al-Muṣawwir, who richly illustrated a manuscript containing the Arabic text of Matthew Kigalas's chronicle, also in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. True, it is not easy to trace a direct link between the manuscripts and their paintings. Nevertheless, the presence of portraits of the outstanding history figures of Eastern Christendom in both of them makes us remember an indisputable, though indirect, tie of Joseph al-Muṣawwir with Georgia. A suggestion with strong prove exists that Joseph al-Muṣawwir was well acquainted with Paul of Aleppo, a translator of Kigalas's work into Arabic. And there is a suggestion that al-Muṣawwir's manuscript was with Paul

of Aleppo in Georgia while he was returning to his homeland from Russia. In any case, the manuscript with al-Muṣawwir's painting found its way into the hands of Vakhtang VI. That he indeed possessed the manuscript illustrated by Joseph al-Muṣawwir is attested by the translations into Georgian of the Greek inscriptions in it. A palaeographic investigation found by R. R. Orbeli showed that these notes belonged to Vakhtang VI [6]. Thus, the manuscript of al-Muṣawwir might serve as a model to the painter who adorned manuscript P 2 with the portraits of Vakhtang and Saba Sulhan Orbeliani. All which is related to the origin of the portraits in the manuscript lies in the sphere of suggestions, and the circumstances observed above pose some questions which need special research.

Notes

1. See R. R. Orbeli, *Gruzinskie rukopisi Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Georgian Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies), fasc. 1: history, geography, travels, archaeology, legislation, philosophy, linguistics, bibliography (Moscow—Leningrad, 1956), p. 23.
2. *Panchatantra* (*Pañcatāntra*), trans. from the Sanskrit by A. Syrkin (Moscow, 1962), p. 23.
3. "Kalila and Dimna", manuscript P 2 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2a.
4. Vakhtang VI, *Sobranie sochineniĭ. Stikhi i poemy* (Collected Works. Poetry and Poems), ed. and annot. by A. Baramidze (Tbilisi, 1947), pp. 51—5.
5. *Kniga mudrosti i lzhi* (*gruzinskie basni i skazki XVII—XVIII stoletii*) *Savvy-Sulkhana Orbeliani* (The Book of Wisdom and Lies: Georgian Fables and Tales of the 17th—18th Centuries by Saba Sulhan Orbeliani), trans. with explanations by Al. Tsagareli (St. Petersburg, 1878).
6. For more details, see A. I. Mikhaylova, "An illustrated Arabic manuscript of a translation of a seventeenth-century Greek chronograph", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/1 (1998), pp. 58—64. This article contains several reproductions of miniatures.

Illustrations

Front cover:

Portrait of the Georgian translators of "Kalila and Dimna", king Vakhtang VI, and of the poet and scholar Saba Sulhan Orbeliani. Manuscript P 2 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 3a, 22.0×19.0 cm.

Back cover:

Illustration to the story "Disservice", the same manuscript, fol. 97a, 19.0×22.5 cm.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** Illustration to the tale of the foolish monkey, the same manuscript, fol. 48b, 19.0×21.5 cm.
- Fig. 2.** Illustration to the tale of how a young hare vanquished a lion, the same manuscript, fol. 68a, 20.0×6.5 cm.
- Fig. 3.** Illustration to the tale of three fish in one pond and the fishermen, the same manuscript, fol. 71a, 20.0×10.5 cm.
- Fig. 4.** Illustration to the tale of how a camel, a leopard, a raven, and a jackal were in a lion's service, the same manuscript, fol. 83b, 19.5×20.0 cm.
- Fig. 5.** Illustration to the tale of the crow, the jackal, and the cock, the same manuscript, fol. 102b, 19.5×16.5 cm.

EDITORIAL BOARD

IN MEMORIAM OF MUḤAMMAD TAQĪ DĀNESHPAZHŪH

1911—1996*

From his earliest years, Muḥammad Taqī Dāneshpazhūh (1290—1375/1911—1996) came into contact with the academic method thanks to his father and the teachers of the ancient *madrasas* of Amul, Qum and Tehran. Later, he continued his education at the University, and upon completing the Faculty of Theology at Tehran University, first became a teacher in primary school. However, afterwards, drawn by books and research, he became librarian of the Juridical Faculty. Already head of the library at age 25, he plunged into bibliographic work, and during his time at the library, Dāneshpazhūh was first charged with drawing up the card catalogue. Somewhat later, he was entrusted with the management of the reconstituted library, which owed its basic collection to a gift received by Tehran University from the late Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt. The valuable manuscripts he donated formed the basis of the library known as the Central University Library. Dāneshpazhūh remained at that post until 1341/1962.

Accepted as a lecturer on the Faculty of Theology and Islamic Sciences in 1969, he left his position with the Juridical Faculty and began teaching and conducting scholarly research. But since bibliographic work at the University required his profound knowledge and expertise, the Central Library requested his services from the rector. As a result, he received the title of academic advisor to the library. He fulfilled that important function, often going above and beyond it, until the end of his life.

Estimating Dāneshpazhūh's contributions to bibliographic science, we note that his main efforts were concentrated on the compilation of manuscript catalogues. The most important among these are the catalogues of: the Central Library, the Juridical Library, the Literary Library, the libraries of the Majlis and the former Senate, the Sipāhsālār (in collaboration with 'Alī-Naqī Munzawī), the State Library (together with Aḥmad Munzawī and Dr. Hujjatī), the regional library in Qum, the library of Los-Angeles, and the private library of Mujtabā Mīnuwī. Furthermore, while on the Juridical Faculty he took part in the compilation of reference anthologies on Iranian studies, textology, and various aspects of Islam. These were based on the study and selection of manuscripts from the collections of the Central University Library, the library of the Majlis and former Senate, and the collections of regional libraries. The informative and scholarly nature of these materials was

a boon to the manuscript repositories of these libraries, which benefited enormously from his efforts. Future users are indebted to him.

From 1335/1956 onward, Dāneshpazhūh was a member or participant in the following organizations: the Society of Bibliophiles, the National Committee of Bibliographers, the National Committee on State Archives, The Philosophical-Anthropological Society, the Congress of Iranian Scholars, the journal *Rāhnamā-yi kitāb* ("Guide to Books"), the Society of the History of Medicine and Science, councils for the evaluation of manuscripts at the Central University Library, the Majlis and former Senate, and several other scholarly societies. He was an enthusiastic and active participant in many scholarly societies, as well as in Iranian studies conferences and sessions on the culture, literature, and history of Iran. Moreover, he delivered original scholarly papers at conferences and in academic societies in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Paris.

The bulk of Dāneshpazhūh's travels, both within the country and abroad, were connected with his work on manuscripts — seeking them out and microfilming them. He made enormous personal sacrifices, journeying extensively and enduring numerous hardships, in order to familiarise himself with newly discovered or previously unknown manuscripts and then to introduce them to others. He visited Afghanistan, the former Soviet Union (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Dushanbe, Tashkent, and Baku), Germany, Holland, the USA, France, and China. He brought back from these countries valuable gifts and regularly published catalogues or detailed descriptions of manuscript copies in journals. Most of his publications were in the manuscript editions of the Central Library, of which he was one of the founders. By way of example, we cite the manuscript catalogue he prepared for the library of the University of Los Angeles. To this day, the catalogue remains the basis source for any work scholars conduct in the library's manuscript collection.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Dāneshpazhūh examined and studied approximately one-hundred thousand manuscripts. He tirelessly presented manuscripts he deemed worthy in articles, catalogues, and introductions to other works. A glance at the four-volume *Barrasī-yi muskhabā-yi khaṭṭ-i islāmī* ("World Survey of Islamic

* The current material was prepared on the basis of Īrej Afshār's article on the activities and works of Muḥammad Taqī Dāneshpazhūh published in *Nāme-ye Farhangestān* (II/3, Tehran, 1375/1996).

Manuscripts”), published by the al-Furqān foundation, is sufficient to convey the extent of Dāneshpazhūh’s endeavours and the importance of his research on manuscripts.

Thanks to his wide-reaching activities, Dāneshpazhūh attained great fame and popularity in the world of Muslim Oriental studies. One can state without doubt that he did more than compile card catalogues — he put together analytical, research- and description-oriented catalogues. The third volume of the catalogue of the Central Library of Tehran University is an obvious and telling example of this. It seems that it was precisely in recognition of the love with which Dāneshpazhūh approached his work that he was made an honorary member of the Société Asiatique (France).

The shift toward cataloguing manuscripts and his long experience in this field allowed Dāneshpazhūh to move forward and extend his interests and research to bibliography and the serial publication of books in this area. In fact, he came to orient himself toward the history of science and scholarship. His bibliographic research in numerous areas testifies in each case to his great capacity for work and his broad erudition. Such research encompassed Persian-language *fiqh* (a separate catalogue on this topic), music (a separate catalogue), philosophy and logic (which he examined in the introductions to several books, among them a detailed introduction to the Persian translation of Shahrizūrī’s *Nuzhat al-arwāh*), ethics and politics (published both in articles and in introductions to other works on this topic), a bibliography on sects and religious beliefs in the *Farhang-i Irānzamīn*, on encyclopaedias and branches of science, manuals of letter-writing and epistolary works, and on the art of book miniatures — in a serious article entitled *Ganjūr* (“Guardian of Treasures”). Each of his bibliographic or descriptive publications is a reference work for the inquisitive scholar who plans to conduct research in that area. They are all instructive and abound in new approaches.

Before undertaking a catalogue of the manuscripts donated by Sayyid Muḥammad Mishkāt and familiarising himself with the collection, Dāneshpazhūh began his scholarly career with a series of articles on famous individuals, philosophical questions, logic, and *kalām* in the journals *Jilwa*, *Dāneshnāma*, *Mihr*, and *Dānesh*. He also translated two texts, the *al-Nukat al-i’tiqādiyya* by Shaykh Muḥīd and *Muṣḥafaqat al-ikhwān* by Shaykh Ṣādūq. But once he had immersed himself in the multi-layered treasure trove of manuscripts, each of which represented a potential object of study, he came into contact with other branches of knowledge. He displayed interest in and conducted research on each new subject while continuing to publish reference materials across the spectrum of new and familiar materials. In particular, he was compelled to turn to manuscript catalogues from London, Berlin, Paris, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Madras, Cairo, among others, in order to find what had

been done and said before him. He owed his success at this stage to his scrupulous notes on what he saw and read, recording everything in its proper place.

Dāneshpazhūh chose the difficult task of editing and publishing purely Persian texts and newly discovered manuscripts, exerting worthy efforts in the publication of various commented texts, the majority of which were unknown and appeared for the first time. He also edited and published around one-hundred short *risālas*, an unusual novelty in the world of Islamic-Iranian studies. When he republished a previously published text, it was only because he had turned up a new copy of the text which surpassed previous copies. His edition of the *Bayān al-adyān* will soon be published; it is superior to the edition of the late ‘Abbās Iqbāl Bābī. Similarly, Rashīdī’s *Sawāniḥ al-afkār* will also be republished.

A brief glance at the texts he published allows one to demonstrate with greater clarity just how many scholarly pursuits he aided and which of them were dearest to him.

The first step he took in editing and publishing was on



Muḥammad Taqī Dāneshpazhūh

the occasion of the Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī conference in 1335/1956, when he enthusiastically prepared and published six short *risālas* by this scholar. He also published a facsimile of Ṭūsī’s *Risāla-yi mu’īniya* on astronomy and the interpretation of related problems. His interest in the publication of Persian-language scientific texts was spurred by a desire to acquaint the scholars who took part in the conference with the potential of the Persian language and with the accomplishments of scholars from ancient Iran. During those years he exerted astounding efforts in the publication of *Rasā’il-i Ikhwān al-Ṣafā*, striving in particular to gather copies of the Persian translations of the *risālas* with the aim of publishing exceptional texts among them. Today, forty years later, the result of this work — the *Mujmal al-ḥikma* — has still not been published.

After making a profound study of logic, Dāneshpazhūh turned his gaze to mathematics, astronomy, and the natural sciences. He frequently spoke of the necessity of publishing mathematical texts (on arithmetic, astronomy, and astrology, too). The same considerations led him to undertake serious, concerted efforts in the editing and publication of multi-purpose works (branch encyclopaedias). The *Baḥr al-fawā’id*, *Yawāqūt al-’ulūm*, *Nawādir al-tabādir*, and *Mujmal al-ḥikma* are four works which contain sections on these branches of science; all four were published thanks to Dāneshpazhūh. Additionally, we note two treatises — *al-Risālat al-sanjariya* by Ibn Sahlān Sāwī and another by Sharaf al-Dīn Ma’sūdī — which are dedicated to the knowledge of heavenly signs and are the first Persian-language works on the nature of the firmament. Dāneshpazhūh also published an Arabic work by Muḥammad b. Zakariyā Rāzī, the *Sirr al-asrār*. He was also responsible for editing and publishing another scientific text by Abū Naṣr Fārābī, who

interprets the problems raised by Euclid. In the area of medicine, his assistance led to the appearance of two books of the ten which make up the Persian-language *Dhakhīra-yi khwārazmshāhī* and the Arabic *Mifīāh al-ṭibb* by Ibn Hindūs (in collaboration with Dr. Maḥdī Muḥaqqaq).

He considered the views of Muslim authors on the principles of dividing the sciences extremely important. He carefully read known works on this topic and himself published two previously unknown treatises: *al-Risālat al-sharāfiyya* by Abū 'Alī Salmāsī and *Aṣnāf al-'ulūm* by Abū Sahl 'Isā Masḥī. In serious introductions to these editions, he discussed the importance of the division of the sciences. Independent of the editions which appeared thanks to Dāneshpazhūh and the works which were made known to others through his catalogues, one result of his labours was an article by the well-known historian of Muslim mathematics, Rushdī Rāshid, on the mathematician Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Yazdī. Rāshid dedicated his article to Dāneshpazhūh, the publisher, and presented it to him as a gift.

His energetic labours resulted in the publication of many works on *kalām*, *fiqh* and the Islamic sciences, and, in particular, on the history of religions, nations, and religious dogmas. On *fiqh*, he introduced into circulation: early Persian translations of the *Nihāyat* by Shaykh Tūsī, *Mukhtaṣar-i nāfi'* by Muḥaqqaq Ḥilli, *Mu'taqid al-imāmiyya* by an unknown author, *Shar'ayī' al-islām*; on *kalām* and the traditions: a Persian interpretation of the *Shihāb al-akhbār*, a translation of the *Mīlāl wa-nuḥal* by Muḥammad b. Zakariyā Rāzī, the treatises *Imāmat wa fuṣūl* by Khwāja Naṣīr and four other *risālas* by him on questions of *kalām*, *al-Kaṣh' an manāhij aṣnāf al-khawārij* by Ṣāhib b. 'Ibbād, *Majdūl-i 'itrat-i nabī* by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Risāla-yi tawhīd* by Ya'qūb b. Mūsā Mutāṭabbab, *Iḥbāt-i wāhib* by Khufri, *Fuṣūl* by Rashīd al-Dīn Maybadī, on the history of religion and the *madhāhib*: two treatises on 72 groups, and one on 73 (by 'Abd al-Wāhid Kirmānī), the treatise *Bayān al-madhāhib wa-l-firaq*, and a lost chapter from the *Bayān al-adyān*. The entire text of the *Bayān al-madhāhib*, as was noted above, was prepared under his editorship and in collaboration with Qudrat Pīshnamāzade on the basis of a newly discovered copy. It will soon appear in print. The *Ma'arīj nahj al-balāgha* is another work on the Islamic sciences which appeared in print thanks to his efforts. He also published several treatises on figures of state and *shaykhs*: *Mashāyikh al-shī'a* by Ardakānī, *Tārīkh-i mashāhīr-i imāmiyya* by Radī Qazwīnī, and two untitled, lost treatises on statesmen.

Dāneshpazhūh had an even greater affection for research on philosophy and logic than for research on other branches of knowledge. A fine example of his erudition and stature in this area is his introduction to the Persian translation of *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ* by Shahrizūrī, the text of which was published by him in collaboration with Muḥammad Sarwar Mūllā'i. It can be asserted that the article remains unsurpassed in scope and significance among the Persian-language literature on the bibliography of Islamic sources on philosophy.

The editing of the Arabic work *al-Najāt*, by Ibn Sīnā, became one of his major works. He published the first translation of *al-Taḥṣīl* by Bahmanyār, entitled *Jām-i Jahān-nāma*, in collaboration with Shaykh 'Abdallāh Nūrānī. Furthermore, Dāneshpazhūh discovered one by one many other works in the back corners of libraries and went

to publish them. He did this with the intention of writing his own history of logic. He collected and read dozens of books in French, English, German, and Arabic with for the sole purpose of completing this task.

In the area of ethics and politics, his efforts led to first editions of a number of valuable books, among them *Akhḫāq-i muḥtashimī* by Khwāja Naṣīr (together with three *risālas* by other authors), a Persian translation of *Jāwidān-i khīrad* and *Hadā'iq al-sayr* by Abū 'Alī Salmāsī, *Makārim al-akhḫāq* by Radī al-Dīn Nīshābūrī, *Gushāyish-nāma*, *Tuḥfa* (both by unknown authors), *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* by al-Ghazālī, *al-Risālat al-siyāsi* by Salmāsī, two *risālas* on ethics, written by the author of *Shurūq al-anwār*, the Persian translation *Firmān-i Mālik-i Ushur* by Āwī. The last book in this field, the Persian translation of *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya* by Māwardī, was prepared by him in collaboration with Chingīz Pahlawān. The first volume will soon be released.

In the area of mysticism, Sūfism and related disciplines, Dāneshpazhūh edited and published texts, the best known of which is the *Rūzbihān-nāma* (a collection of texts about the life and deeds of Rūzbihān Baqlī). He was also responsible for: works by Darwīsh Muḥammad Ṭabasī (Tīmūrīd era), *Kasr aṣnām al-jāhiliyya* by Mullā Ṣadrā, the treatises devoted to the trials over Sūfīs, two interpretations of "*Kunt kanzan makhfiyyān*", *Silsilat al-awliyyā'* and *al-Aḥādīth al-arba'in*. Additionally, he prepared a text about the life and deeds of Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī at the request of the Shāhriyār 'Adl. It will appear in print shortly.

In the area of historical texts, Dāneshpazhūh began his work with the history of Ismā'īlism, Bāṭiniyya, and Nazāriyya, publishing in two volumes of separate appendices excerpts from these currents from two well-known books, *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh* and *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*. At the same time, in collaboration with Yaḥyā Dhakā' he completed the publication of *Wazārat dar 'ahd-i salājiqa* by 'Abbās Iqbāl. His reedition of the *Sawānih al-afkār* (by Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlallāh) represents a significant improvement over the first edition. He edited two other important books. The first is in Persian, the *Tārīkh wuzarā-yi Qumī*; the second is in Arabic, and was one of Dāneshpazhūh's final works, the *Nihāyat al-arab fi-akhbār al-fars wa-l-'arab*. The latter is of considerable merit as a source on the pre-Islamic history of Iran.

One should not forget that in the area of Kulturgeschichte and disciplines related to sociology, Dāneshpazhūh rendered a great service by publishing texts which include: *Jāmi' al-hidāya* by Niẓām Bayhaqī on the art of the bow, two *risālas* on perfumery and the production of scents, a *risāla* on music by Muḥammad Nīshābūrī, *Tāwūs-khāna-yi Isfahān*, two *risālas* on paper-colouring, *Qānūn al-suwar* on minting coins, albums with poetry, drawings, and *muraqqa'*, the *Dasṭūr al-mulūk* by Rafī'a, *Hidāyat al-taṣdīq* by Faḍlallāh Khunjī about the fire in Medina, and many other articles.

Dāneshpazhūh was always eager to broaden the horizons of the Persian language. In publishing ancient texts, his primary aim was always to enrich the Persian language. He was of the firm and frequently expressed conviction that terminology found in the texts of his nation's ancestors can be used to express concepts in modern science, culture and civilization. He believed in this with all his heart and considered his membership in the Iranian Academy of Language and Literature a means to achieve this goal and his cherished dream, no matter what efforts it might cost him. We know that he strove mightily to ensure that all

he wrote was expressed in genuinely Persian words and in expressions of the Dari language.

Dāneshpazhūh, who published about 50 books, about 50 catalogues, and approximately 400 articles, stands above his predecessors in presenting to us many well-known individuals as well as in introducing to us many names and works, both unknown and forgotten, which had previously gone unmentioned.

All of Dāneshpazhūh's publications and articles are not enumerated here. Such an enumeration would itself require a long, separate list. Such a list of works up through 1358/1979 was prepared; it appeared in the eighteenth volume of the "Guide to Books" journal. And 'Ināyatallāh

Majīdī and Qudrat Pishnamāzāde have already finished the remaining part, which, one hopes, will soon be published as a separate booklet.

Dāneshpazhūh was an outstanding scholar who devoted immense energies to studying and publishing numerous pearls of Muslim literature. His profound knowledge of Muslim written tradition was truly surprising. At the same time, he was a modest and hard-working person whose labours brought so fruitful a result in the field of Iranian, and broader, Muslim studies. Dāneshpazhūh's unique contribution to the study of Islamic literature, history, and philosophy was universally recognised.

BOOK REVIEWS

***Botschaften an die Götter: religiöse Handschriften der Yao; Südchina, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar*, hrsg. von Th. O. Höllman, M. Friedrich. München: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 1999, 96 pp., Ill. — Ausstellungskataloge, 71.**

The book under review here is a catalogue of an exhibition of Yao manuscripts from the collection of the Bavarian State Library, which took place in Munich between November 4 and December 22, 1999. According to its compilers, the edition is somewhat of a compromise between a catalogue and a monograph. The Munich collection of Yao manuscripts — among the largest in the world — contains approximately one thousand manuscripts from various periods. The so-called “Yao project” has received separate financing for more than four years; this exhibition represented the first result of that work.

The Yao are a people who number more than two million and live compactly in the southern provinces of China (Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Guangdong, Hunan), as well as in Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar (Burma). After the dramatic political events which overtook Indochina in the twentieth century, a part of the Yao emigrated, primarily to the US, Canada, and France. According to Chinese sources, the ethnonym Yao has existed since the eleventh century. The Yao language is part of the Miao-Yao group of the Sino-Tibetan family, and is divided into three branches, although we still do not know when and why this division came about. One of the branches, the Mianjing, is itself divided into two: Yumian and Jingmen (we note that in accordance with Chinese tradition, the name of this group consists of elements from the names of its sub-groups). Manuscripts from the Yumian and Jingmen branch of Mianjing make up the basis of the Bavarian collection of Yao manuscripts.

The book consists of an extensive introductory section and an illustrated catalogue. The introductory part is composed of several sections, each of which was written by a participant in the project and treats a specific aspect of Yao culture.

The first of these sections is on the religion of the Yao. The Yao profess Daoism, which is relatively rare on the scale of an entire ethnos. We do not know how the Yao received and adopted this particular Chinese religion (we add that in the matter at hand one can speak of Daoism only as a religious teaching). Chinese sources indicate that the process took place primarily during the rule of the Ming dynasty (1368—1644). Various groups adopted this Chinese teaching in their own fashion; the Jingmen are considered very orthodox, while the Yumian espouse non-dogmatic Daoism strongly influenced by local beliefs. The Jingmen distinguish two categories of priests: *daogong* high priests and a lower order, the *shigong*. The Yumian recognise only the latter. The Yao pantheon is strictly hierarchical, in full accord with the bureaucratic structure of Chinese religions. Rituals are numerous as an inevitable consequence of the enormous number of divinities. Initiation and burial rituals and sacrifices are of special significance. The goal of all rituals is to ensure that a person occupies his proper place in the strict hierarchy at every stage of his earthly or otherworldly existence.

The next section treats Yao book culture. Books played an important role not only in religious, but also in everyday life: we know of children's textbooks, almanacs, genealogical records, collections of legends, publications on business. The Yao use Chinese writing; only recently has the younger generation of Yao in South-East Asia begun to copy manuscripts in Laotian or Thai writing, which indicates a weakened role of Chinese writing among the Yao who live outside the CPR.

Books are drawn up in accordance with Chinese tradition. Writing is from right to left and top to bottom. Chinese double folios are frequently employed, and we note a preference for expensive Chinese paper, although when necessary texts can be written even on simple packing paper. Ritual books belong to the person who actually carries out the ritual, and he is responsible for their maintenance.

In addition to Yumian and Jingmen manuscripts of primarily religious content, the Munich collection contains the

crowns of Daoist priests, paper masks, wooden seals, and decorated pieces of cloth. These objects were displayed at the exhibition and are reflected in the catalogue, where each is treated in a separate section. This information substantially broadens our understanding of Yao spiritual culture.

The catalogue itself presents 55 descriptions: a carefully selected colour photograph of a page from the manuscript which best conveys its distinguishing characteristics, and a detailed description of the manuscript in the following form:

- title (if one exists) in Chinese phonetic transcription, in Chinese writing, and German translation;
- time of writing;
- place of writing;
- information about owners;
- information about copyists;
- information on language — Jingmen or Yumian, the presence of Thai or Laotian bilinguals;
- presence of illustrations;
- number of pages;
- format;
- call number.

This is followed by a free-form description of the text in terms of form and content. Each description is signed by a participant in the project.

The lack of a Yao transcription is somewhat of a disappointment, as the texts appear entirely Chinese without it.

One should note the broad chronological sweep of the manuscripts: the earliest date to the 1720s, the majority to the nineteenth century, and also there are many undated manuscripts. It is valuable that old manuscripts are augmented by manuscripts from the twentieth century, from its beginning up to the 1970s. On the one hand, this reinforces the unbroken nature of the Yao literary tradition; on the other, it demonstrates the irrevocable nature of change: packing paper, inscriptions in ballpoint pen or magic marker, the presence of Laotian or Thai explanatory notes. The material objects — masks, crowns, and scarves — are from the beginning of the twentieth century. While they are formally not old, they are entirely traditional.

Drawings in the manuscripts are usually monochromatic and rarely show tints of another colour. They infrequently explain the content of the text; more often, they are typical Daoist talismans.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the manuscripts are accompanied by information about owners and copyists, which is undoubtedly a consequence of the well-developed tradition of using personal seals, especially among Daoist

religious figures. A special article in the first part of the catalogue discusses these seals.

Manuscripts were selected for the catalogue in order to present the fullest possible sense of their contents.

Naturally, the overwhelming majority of manuscripts are connected with Daoism. One can enumerate texts of the Daoist canon, liturgy, many manuscripts on the performance of burial rituals, the exorcism of evil spirits, and healing. In essence, these are manuscripts that Daoist priest use when performing rituals. Added to this are various calendars and horoscopes, as well as objects of material culture — masks, crowns, scarves covered in magical signs. One also finds, however, collections with works of the Confucian classics. Among the more unusual manuscripts is a song book from the 1970s written on American packing paper (Cat. No. 2). Four publications give one a sense of special works of Yao literature: two (Cat. Nos. 11 and 12) recount the Chinese mythological story of Pan-gu and the creation of the world, linking these events with the history of the Yao clans themselves. We note that one of these texts was written in 1797, the other in 1955. Two other texts (Cat. Nos. 17 and 55) contain the purely Yao legend of King Ping, who inherited control over the Yao from Pan-gu. The entire story of the transfer of power and ascent of King Ping, which took place, according to tradition, in 1260, is presented in the form of documents and legal acts also drawn up in 1260. A separate chapter in the first part of the book deals with research on these “documents”. Both manuscripts are long, illustrated scrolls which present in detail the history of the Yao, closely interwoven with Chinese history. In the manuscript under catalogue number 55, a page is reproduced where we find the story of Sun Wu-kong and Zhu Ba-ze from the journey of the Tang monarch Xuanzang to India in search of *sūtras* and the story of the Song military commander Yue Fei and the Ming emperor Tai-zu. Clearly, the exhibition and catalogue do not represent the end goal of the project's participants. The written texts of the Yao should serve as the basis for a fundamental study of the Yao religion. Much work remains to be done on the classification and analysis of manuscripts (we remind readers that the catalogue presents only 55 examples of a thousand). The result should be a catalogue in the series *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, the publication of which we all eagerly await. For the texts, descriptions, and research presented in the exhibition catalogue are extraordinarily interesting, and the introduction of Yao religious manuscripts into scholarly circulation will be of value for scholars of religion, book historians, specialists on the culture of South-East Asia, and Sinologists.

T. Vinogradova

Martin-Dietrich Glessgen. *Die Falkenheilkunde des <Moamin> im Spiegel ihrer volgarzamenti: Studien zur Romania Arabica.* S.-Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1996, 2 vols., XVII, 1152 pp. — Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 269—270.

The selection of Arabic works which were translated into Romance languages was at times unusual. For example, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī's "Book of Lights" was extremely popular among the Moriscos, although Arab scholars considered the author a bit superficial writer. Certain Arab works have not been preserved at all in the original and have come down to us only in translations, leaving researchers to face numerous questions about the texts of the originals and their authorship. One of these cases concerns a certain "Moamin", who was the author of a work translated into various languages. The somewhat ambiguous title, and sub-title, of M.-D. Glessgen's book allows one to suppose that it will discuss translations from Arabic into Italian, although the Italian translations, like all others (with the exception of Spanish), are secondary and go back to a single translation directly into Latin.

M.-D. Glessgen is not the first to turn to manuscripts of Moamin. Perhaps for this reason the book's introductory section, which prefaces the publication of the manuscripts, is relatively short and generalises existing information on the history of Moamin's text concerning which there is no consensus among scholars, nor can there be, as one is compelled to rely more often on various speculations than on actual facts. The introduction also provides ample references to other sources.

In the words of gratitude which open the book, the author speaks of his interest in zoology, as well as in the paths through which Arab scientific knowledge made its way to the Latin world. In truth, a fortuitous confluence of circumstances is necessary to occupy oneself with such adjacent areas of knowledge as Arabic studies, Romance studies, and the history of veterinary science. In the introduction, the history of Moamin's study is described, beginning with the Tjerneld edition of 1945; we also learn the sources employed for the present work. The first section treats the history of Moamin's text.

The study begins with a historical-geographic survey of falcon-hunting and its penetration into Europe and the Arab world, the history of veterinary science and the treatment of falcons in particular, the question of whether the Arabs under the 'Abbāsids adopted the Greek system of medicine directly or in mediated fashion, and the insufficient study of Arab veterinary science and publication of manuscripts. The same, in the author's view, holds true for the European Middle Ages, although the situation there is somewhat better. Still, matters are improving in Arab studies thanks to the efforts of the Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften.

The author goes on to lay out the history of the composition and distribution of Moamin's text, one of the few Latin translations from Arabic carried out in Italy, not Spain. He lists Italian centres of translation and translators from Arabic. Moamin's declared translator was Theodorus Philosophus, and we are given available information about him. We do not know whether the Arabic manuscript made its way to the translator by chance or whether it was specially requested. Moamin's ties to other Arab and Byzantine works are investigated. As concerns the form of the name

"Moamin" (various researchers hold various views on the matter), Glessgen inclines to the opinion that it originated as Muḥammad, basing his contention on an anonymous Spanish translation of a text very similar to Moamin, where the author is called Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Bāzyār, and the work *Kitāb al-jawāriḥ* (a ninth-century Arab text that has not survived; mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm). It is difficult, however, to believe that the name Muḥammad, which was fairly well known in the West, took on such an unusual form. The author goes on to sketch the manuscript tradition of the Latin translation and translations into the vernacular languages, giving descriptions of manuscripts and old-print editions (eight, in all). He also lists the names of copyists and those who ordered the texts.

The second section of the book contains the texts themselves. The Neapolitan version is the 1482/89 manuscript Firenze, Bibl. Laurenziana, Ashb. ital. 1249 (olim Bibl. Bigotiana). In the dedication — *A lo invictissimo et sapientissimo re Fernando, reitálico* — the translator and scribe calls himself Ioammarco Cynico Cocleachristianissimo, in the prologue — Giovan Marco. The publication of the Toscan version is based on the 1472 manuscript Venezia, Bibl. Marciana, ital. III, 22 (=5049, olim Bibl. Giacomo Nani 64), collated with a Parma manuscript from the mid-sixteenth century, Bibl. Palatina, Parm. 54 and a Rome print edition from 1548. We find the following information about the translator there: *maestro Morello, medico di Sarcana, sulle fiere di Campagna nel .cccxiij.*; and about the copyist: *Antonio di Lionardo de' Nobili (...) a Monte Pulciano (...) .M.cccc.Lxxij.*, and the dedication — *A Ser Lamberto, miocavaliere*. So that readers might have the opportunity to assess the Neapolitan translator's work, Glessgen has also published two manuscripts of Latin translations of Moamin: New Haven, Beineke Libr., 446 (olim Phillipps 2253), juxtaposed with Paris, B.N., lat. 7020, both are fifteenth century, and Vaticano, Bibl. Ap. Vat., Reg. lat. 1617, sixteenth century, juxtaposed with Paris, B.N., lat. 7019, fourteenth century.

All Latin manuscripts and the Neapolitan translation indicate that Moamin compiled four treatises: three on hunting birds and one on dogs and other quadrupeds. Only the first three are reproduced; moreover, in the Neapolitan translation and the first pair of Latin manuscripts, works by Dancus and Guillelmus are added. The second pair of Latin manuscripts do not contain additions. The Toscan translation claims that Moamin had five treatises: three on hunting birds and two on dogs and other quadrupeds, the second of which discussed the treatment of canine ailments. All five treatises are reproduced and Gatrif is added.

The texts of all published manuscripts differ, sometimes very significantly. Clearly, they also differ from the Arabic original, the text of which was altered by translators and copyists and, possibly, Friedrich II (1194—1250), who is thought to have ordered the Latin translation. It is, for example, highly unlikely that information about Norwegian falcons belongs to a ninth-century Arab author. The first volume closes with illustrative material, which is, unfortunately, quite scant: four black-and-white photographs of pages from the manuscripts, two of which are illuminated.

The entire second volume of the book treats the lexicon of Moamin and his translators. The word lists drawn up by the author significantly broaden the potential readership of his book and render it quite useful for those interested in both Arabic and Romance lexicology. For Moamin's

subject, the treatment of falcon ailments is extremely specific and presumes a special terminology both in the Arabic original and equivalents selected for the Latin and Italian translations. After the introduction, which treats medieval terminology, Glessgen provides three word lists: ornithological, medical, and pharmaceutical. Each is further subdivided, and all of the lexical material is combined in a glossary. All of the word lists were drawn up with great care and should take their place among requisite reference sources.

The book's final section is also on lexicology; it provides a theoretical analysis of the material in the word lists. We cite the titles of several chapters and headings: "Lexical features of Arabic-Latin translation as reflected by the *vogarizzamenti*"; "Neologisms in Theodorus", "On the quality and intelligibility of translations". The question of intelligibility is especially important. One of the copyists, it seems, encountered this problem as well: where one copy speaks of plumage around the *culo*, another copy speaks of it around the *collo*. What, for example, is a reader supposed to make of the following ingredients: *akak et chiacetak*? Glessgen's word list helps us to ascertain that *akak* is an incorrect spelling of

acoro, and *chiarcetak* is an ambiguous transcription of an Arabism. Or how should a reader proceed when he is asked to use the "juice of a grass similar to clover"?

The extensive bibliography drawn up by Glessger is interesting in its own right, as it takes into account publications in editions which usually escape the gaze of philologists (for example, "Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Pharmazie"). For some reasons, however, the author chose to ignore the Madrid series *Fuentes arabico-hispanas*, which has made a great contribution to the study of the history of Arab science.

Finally, Moamin's work was originally intended for practical purposes. Some reader, particular curious about recommendations presented by Moamin, can ask how applicable today are, for example, such recommendation as the following cure for constipation (*gesso*): "Take a seed of dill, seed of celery, wheat, pepper, seed of radish, seed of caraway, all in equal amount, crush, mix with sesame oil, and apply a clyster to the bird"? This is a question, however, to be answered by naturalists, and not philologists.

I. Wojewódzki

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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

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