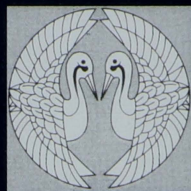


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St. John the Evangelist and his disciple Prochorus, “The Four Gospels”, manuscript B 45
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scribe Stepannos, artist Mesrop Hizantsi, paper, fol. 210b, 11.0×15.0 cm.

Back cover:

St. Matthew the Evangelist, the same manuscript, fol. 19b, 12.0×17.0 cm.

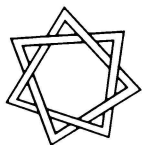
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Главный редактор — Е. А. Резван

Телефон: + 7 (812) 312 3606; факс: + 7 (812) 311 5101; e-mail: rezvan@thesa.ru

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Val. V. Polosin

THE ARABIC BIBLE: TURNING AGAIN TO AN OLD CONTROVERSY

Once, on one of the “folios” of his memoirs which were first published in Russian in 1945, Academician I. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), not without a note of humor,

wrote about what a problem the progress of national schools of Arabic studies creates:

“The young Arabist who wishes to penetrate deeply into his subject has to tread a difficult and sometimes devious path. To begin with he must master various instruments de travail, and perhaps in the first place the languages of Western Europe. As science progresses the number of necessary foreign languages steadily increases. Already the seventeenth century saw the end of the period when a scholar could carry on with Latin alone. To-day he realises from the outset that in order to utilise the fundamental and indispensable hand-books he must be familiar not only with English, French and German but also with Italian, because since the second half of the nineteenth century works in this language on Arabic subjects have taken their place in the forefront of learned literature. The connection of Spain with the Arab world becomes clear to the Arabist from any handbook on mediaeval history, but now he learns that an important school has been created since the end of the nineteenth century by an energetic pleiad of Spanish Arabists whose work in many cases cannot be ignored. If he wishes to devote himself to a special branch of Islamic studies he will soon learn that the best course on Muslim law, as well as a series of fundamental works on the internal history of Islam, have been published in Dutch. The important and original schools of Danish and Swedish Arabists will compel him to acquaint himself with the Scandinavian languages, and he should regard it as a happy accident that the greatest authority on Islam of the past generation, who was a Hungarian, published his works in German, and that Finnish scholars often write in Swedish and other more accessible languages. But this is not all. It would be sinful for a Russian Arabist to ignore works on his subject written in the Slavonic languages: he must in the first place study the centuries old Czech tradition and the new Polish school which has energetically developed its Oriental studies since the first World War in a whole series of editions and periodicals. He should know that in Serbian, besides an important literature on the development of Arab letters in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there have appeared within the last decades many works on general Arab subjects. In some cases he will find Bulgarian useful. In Ukrainian the Arabist will find lively sketches of the contemporary Muslim world and perhaps the best works of fiction on Syria by a distinguished scholar [1]. The list of necessary languages grows longer and longer. Were one to face this phalanx all at once, it might seem overwhelming, but in the steady course of a lifetime one often masters it without noticing.

An Arabist can understand the simulated horror of the famous Dutch Orientalist Snouck Hurgronje who once visited Mecca incognito, as expressed in his letter to Rosen written from Batavia in Sumatra in the eighteen-nineties. In this letter he thanked Rosen with a slight touch of irony for sending him the latest number of the *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologicheskago Obshchestva* which were published only in Russian, adding that soon a young Orientalist might find himself obliged, before he could devote himself to his particular subject, to learn thirty—two languages in which various works connected with his speciality were published, including besides Russian and Dutch even Tamil and Malayan... Fortunately in practice this is not as terrifying as it sounds, for the importance of different languages in the field of Arabic studies varies and not all of them are equally necessary for particular subjects” [2].

Despite the length of this quote, I very much wanted to cite it in its entirety. For a departure from the injunction it contains was at one time the cause of a notable scholarly event; the work I present below is a distant echo of that event.

In 1925, A. Vaccari published an article on a Vatican manuscript with the text of an Arabic Bible (Ms. ar. 468 and 467) [3]. In the article, he reconstructs (with the aid of unpublished documents) the history of the manuscript's appearance in Rome [4], linking it with the preparation of the well-known Rome edition of 1671 which for the first time *presented in printed form* the entire Bible in the Arabic language [5]. The Vatican manuscript itself is, in its own right, no less remarkable: in A. Vaccari's estimation, it was the first manuscript to bring together in a single redact

the disjointed parts of the Arabic Bible on the basis of various manuscripts [6].

Also in 1925 [7], the anniversary edition of *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph* with A. Vaccari's article made its way to the Library of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad (today St. Petersburg), where I. Krachkovsky familiarized himself with the text. On November 18 of the same year he articulated his reaction to A. Vaccari's main ideas at a meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences [8].

Krachkovsky was the beneficiary of a unique confluence of circumstances. In 1924, he had published a catalogue of a small collection of Arab Christian manuscripts acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1919 [9]; the first three entries are descriptions of a three-volume manuscript which

also contains a full translation of the Bible into the Arabic language [10]. The publication displays no indication that Krachkovsky intended to devote special study to this important manuscript [11]. But in 1925, he acquainted himself with Vaccari's article, which gave him cause for a brief, yet noteworthy, remark that entirely negates the most outstanding characteristics imputed to the Vatican manuscript. Krachkovsky brushes aside Vaccari's thesis about the alleged first (numerically speaking) codification of the Arabic Bible, noting that the entire Bible had been translated into Arabic already in the ninth century. Krachkovsky refers those interested in greater detail to his own article on the topic [12]. Additionally, he rejects the possibility that the Vatican manuscript, if not the first codification, may still be considered the oldest full copy, noting that "the original itself of the Vatican manuscript, written in 1238 ... has survived and is held today in the Asiatic Museum" [13]. He based this statement on the following: (i) the undoubted interdependence of the colophons of both manuscripts, which he demonstrated; (ii) the results of comparing two pages of the Vatican manuscript [14] with the corresponding passages in the St. Petersburg manuscript; (iii) the fact, established by Krachkovsky, that in the sixteenth century, the St. Petersburg manuscript had been in the exact place (Tripoli) where the Vatican manuscript was copied.

Krachkovsky's critical response did not touch that part of Vaccari's article which dealt with the question of protograph, but it pulled the rug out from under the article's basic premise in the realm of cultural history. Krachkovsky's written remarks were positively assessed by S. Euringer [15], and evoked a response from Vaccari as well [16]. He reiterates in detail the content of Krachkovsky's article [17], pronounces some of the minor points justified, and formulates his response to the article's principle claims. In general, Vaccari presents an objective, yet passive, recognition of the obvious: an exact correlation between the St. Petersburg and Vatican manuscripts is not established by Krachkovsky's brief description; the disparate order of the text in the two manuscripts (in particular, the arrangement of the book of

Tobit) is left unexplained; the variant readings discovered by Krachkovsky on the two pages he treats testify to nothing concrete and prove nothing. Vaccari also notes the lack of an answer to the question of whether the dating of the Antioch archetype (1021—22) at the end of Maccabees applies to the entire Old Testament or only to Maccabees? [18]

For reasons which are not entirely clear, further research on the two manuscripts came to a halt. Neither Vaccari nor Krachkovsky, to the best of my knowledge, ever returned to the questions they had raised [19]. The results of their discussions were summarized by G. Graf in his reference work [20]. He grants the primacy of the St. Petersburg manuscript and formulates the following conclusions on the basis of the comparative material [21] from the Petersburg manuscript available to him: (i) as concerns the New Testament, there is no possibility that one manuscript was copied from the other; (ii) as concerns the Old Testament, one can assert that the Vatican manuscript, if not in full, than to a large degree, was copied from its St. Petersburg counterpart (although there is a possibility that both manuscripts were based to a significant extent on a single original).

Hence, the question of the relationship between the two manuscripts of the Bible raised by Krachkovsky in response to Vaccari's incidental error remains, in essence, open to this day. And the question of the St. Petersburg manuscript's relation to the Antioch archetype of 1022, raised in the course of the discussion by Vaccari, has not even been discussed. Clearly, both questions should be resolved together, which presumes equal access to both manuscripts. This condition did not exist in the past.

Today, it appears that it is time to renew research on the matter. A significant step forward could be the facsimile publication of the entire St. Petersburg manuscript on CD-ROM. The remarks which follow are intended to accompany the release of this material. They contain some new conclusions based on the direct study of this little-known St. Petersburg manuscript in relation to the questions first raised some 75 years ago.

1

The St. Petersburg manuscript was dated; it also contains information on the place of where the copy was made and the name of the copyist. In the years of the Bible's discovery by scholarship, Arab copyists only rarely evoked the interest of scholars. Their attention was focused entirely on the texts and their authors. But in the case at hand, the polemical nature of the situation and the general cultural significance of the copies under discussion made the question of the copyist be investigated with due attention. As the initiative in the dispute belonged to Krachkovsky, it was he who first provided information on the copyist, primarily in order to underscore the veracity of the colophons in the manuscript and the completeness of the latter. He discovered [22] that, in addition to the Bible, the copyist Pimen, or Sabba of Laura, executed other manuscripts which have reached us [23]. Another work written in his hand was seen at one time by the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo (d. 1669) [24], whose account was later repeated by Mikhail Bureyk [25]. It appears that information about Pimen was borrowed from either Peter of Aleppo or Bureyk by 'Isā Iskandar al-Ma'lūf [26], who, later, in 1924, became the source for Louis Cheikho's tiny passage on the monk Pimen [27].

We can add to this a few more manuscripts also copied by Pimen. In the nineteenth century, they were still held in the monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai, where they were seen by Porphyry Uspensky [28]. Taking them into account, the number of known manuscripts in Pimen's hand rises to six. Luckily enough, they are all dated, and at least some of them are localized:

1. Manuscript of a work entitled *Kitāb al-ḥawī*, seen by the archdeacon Paul of Aleppo in the village of Qāra, located on the caravan road from Damascus to Homs [29]. According to the archdeacon, the monk Pimen copied it in Damascus on 18 Nīsān 6714 or 6724 from the Creation of the World, which corresponds to 1206 or 1216 A.D. [30].

2. Seven years later, also in Damascus, the monk Pimen copied a manuscript today held in the Vatican. This manuscript became known thanks to an early work by A. A. Vasilyev (1867—1953), a specialist on Byzantium. He cites the manuscript's colophon, which includes details of some importance to our topic [31]: "This book was written by Abularam ibn Ghana'im ibn Abrakham, the monk Bimin Lauriot, in the Damascus church of the blessed

Our Lady the Virgin Mary, in the days of the abba John, archbishop of that city, and the abba Simeon, son of Abu Saibekh, patriarch of Antioch. The book was completed in the last decade of the month of Adar, the year 6731 from the Creation of the World, which corresponds to the last decade of the month of Šafar in the year 620 after the Hijra" [32].

3. The following year, 6732 from the Creation of the World or 1224 A.D., also in Damascus and in the same church of the Holy Virgin Mary (*kanīsat al-sayyida Maryam*), the monk Pimen copied a manuscript which, as was noted above (see n. 28 above), was seen in the nineteenth century at Sinai in the monastery of St. Catherine.

4. 13 years later, in 6745 from the Creation of the World or 1237 A.D., in Damascus and also in the same church (*kanīsat al-sayyida*), Pimen copied a *sinacsarius*. It also was seen in the nineteenth century at Sinai in the monastery of St. Catherine (see n. 28 above). This *sinacsarius* is possibly one of two copies held there and described in the 1955 catalogue [33].

5. Also in the year 6745 from the Creation of the World (1237 A.D.), Pimen copied a manuscript which was to make its way centuries later to the British Museum (it is held today in the British Library). The old catalogue (see n. 23 above), which provides a description of this manuscript, does not, unfortunately, contain more detailed information.

The information given above provides the context for evaluating the sixth, and last, of the manuscripts copied by the monk Pimen, his three-volume Bible. Clearly, he was an experienced copyist. The above-enumerated copies executed by Pimen allow one, should the need arise, to gain a better understanding of the monk's professional manner of copying manuscripts.

6. The St. Petersburg manuscript of the Bible (D 226). The colophons show that Pimen copied it over a three-year period. At the end of the Book of Genesis (vol. 1, fol. 35a), he notes:

وكتب الفقير إلى رحمة الله سابا السبيقي المسمى يومئذ بميم
الدمشقي وذلك السابع عشر كانون الأول سنة ستة ألف
وسبعمائة أربعة أربعين للعالم

which gives a date of 17 December 6744 from the Creation of the World, or 1236 A.D. Analogous notes by Pimen appear in the text several times: (i) at the end of the book of Leviticus (vol. 1, fol. 76a); 4 January 6744 (1236); (ii) at the end of the entire Torah (vol. 1, fol. 119a); middle of January 6744 (1236); (iii) at the end of Prophets (vol. 2, fol. 144a); 24 January 6745 (1237); (iv) at the end of the book of Job (vol. 2, fol. 158a); middle of February 6744 [34] (1236); (v) at the end of Maccabees II (vol. 3, fol. 16b); February 6746 (1238).

The error in the penultimate date (at the end of the book of Job), noticed by Krachkovsky (see n. 34), and re-

flections on its cause made the colophons and dates the object of our special attention for a time. Using the table "Quire-by-quire composition ..." (see Appendix 2) to check the copyist's progress by folio and time, we noted certain regularities. For example, 17 days passed between Pimen's first and second notes, and in that time he copied 40 folios. Between the second and third notes only 11 days passed (and 43 folios were copied). An entire year elapsed between the third and fourth notes with no shorter subdivisions; in that time, Pimen copied 276 folios. The next note, however, was made 20 days later (if we accept Krachkovsky's correction of the date), and only 14 folios had been copied. Then, when the next (and final) dated colophon appears a year later, it marks the addition of 90 folios.

Failing to extract from this data any essential information [35], we leave aside the issue of colophons and the number of folios, turning our attention to the dates alone. As it turns out, they are all grouped symmetrically in the winters of three successive years. This suggests that in 1236–1238 Pimen was in Damascus only for a time (once a year). For example, he may have travelled there on monastery business timed to coincide, perhaps, with religious holidays. Upon leaving Damascus, he would each time bring with him a part of the Damascus original for copying. Beginning with his second trip, he could have exchanged the part of the original he had already copied for an as yet uncopied section of the large manuscript. Spending several days or weeks in the city, he may have begun copying directly in Damascus, recording this fact in his copy with the six colophons [36].

If this assumption is correct, one can then form a very general sense of the Damascus manuscript which he copied, and which could, I remind readers, be the "Antioch archetype of 1022" — the archetype was mentioned above: (i) it could not have been bound (or else Pimen would not have been able to take it away in parts); (ii) it could have belonged (although it may not) to the church of the Holy Virgin Mary in Damascus, where Pimen wrote the colophons analysed above; (iii) the Damascus original (the protograph of the St. Petersburg Bible) contained the *complete* text of the Old Testament, and not scattered sections of the Bible, for it would have been more difficult for Pimen to gather scattered sections of the Bible for copying during his short trips to Damascus [37].

The results of this analysis suggest the following conclusions: first, the monk Pimen was an actual person who for two or three decades copied Arabic manuscripts. We know his lay name as well as two names he received as a monk; second, there is no doubt that he copied the Old Testament in Damascus between the end of 1236 — beginning of 1238; third, in 1237, before completing the Old Testament, he began to copy two other books; and, finally, in 1238, after copying Maccabees, he writes down in his manuscript the final colophon (see fig. 2) [38]. Why? It is possible that he had *completely exhausted* his manuscript original, the Antioch copy of 6530/1022 [39].

2

G. Graf, who, because of the reference nature of his work, was compelled to provide various types of classifications, defined the place of the St. Petersburg Bible among other similar copies. His conclusion was as follows: "The first attempt by Christians to establish the full text of the Bible by bringing all

of the books of the Old and New Testament into a *single codex* (my italics — *V. P.*) belongs to a relatively late time, namely, the sixteenth century. The initiative came from the Malkites in Syria. The oldest manuscript of this type is held today in Leningrad (As. Mus., D 226)" [40].

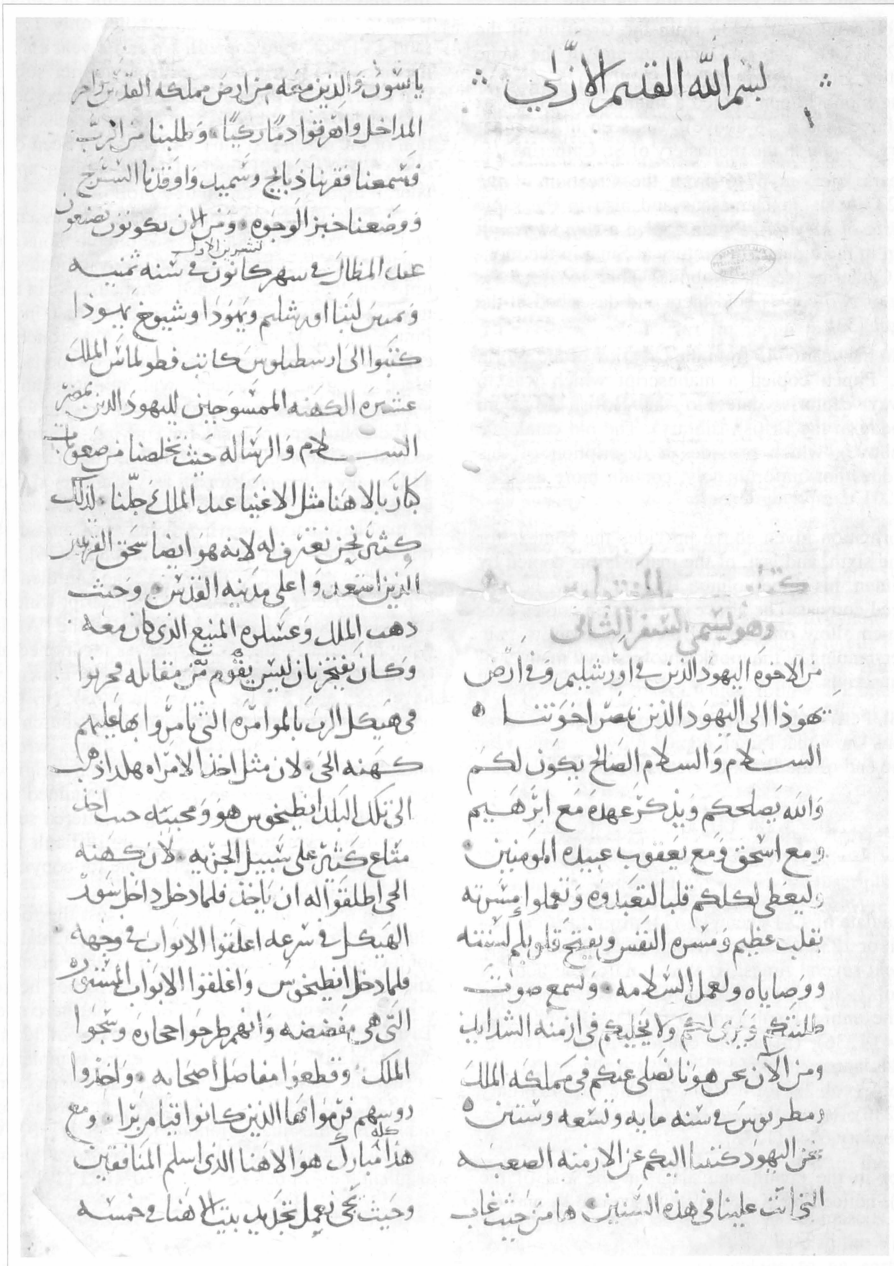


Fig. 1

٢٥
 قدس رب الكل بالجلال. وأصل لسان نيقنور المناق وأمرهم أن يقطعوه ويطرحوه لطبول الشيا
 وبرى البعض ثالوا بيزي الذي دخل وسجروا كلهم للرب صاحب السما الجبار وقالوا أمارل هو
 الذي خطط مكانه ليلا يتجس فيه سبب حسد نيقنور من النعمة وأرب وعرفت لكر الشان
 انحاس فعونه الرب وانهم تعاهدوا المبشور القلب انه الى قط لا ينشأ ذكره هذا اليوم ٥
 وريتم هذا اليوم في ثلثة عشر من اذار الذي هو الشهر الثاني عشر من اجل هذا ايدع لسان اريما من قبل
 يوم واحد لدام موردي حتى كدل هو لا تقيت على هط نيقنور ومن هذه الازمنة احذرنا اهل
 المدينة المتضعين وايضا انا من الان امسكت علمتي وان محسن مقالتي تركيات هو لا هذا هو
 ارادني انا ايضا واركت ايضا انقت شيئا وتقلعت قلته على نسيبه الشان ايضا الشرب الحمر
 وطه والمواحه لكانا ردين فاما ان هو من جهما الحمر والمأجيند يفرج القلب وتم النعمه هكذا
 ايضا ركسات الاقاويل تفرح قلو والذين سمعهم ٥

البحا هنا كان الفراغ من السور الثاني ولربنا ولا هنا الحمد والمنه على ذلك
 كثيرا دائما

ونقل من نسخة ليد بمدينة انطاكية الرسوله الشريه ٥

تاريخ سنة الف وخمسمائه وثلثين راينا ادم

وكان الفراغ من هذه النسخة العرا لوسط من شباط سنة

سبعمائة وسبعمائة واربعتين راينا ادم

والسبح لله دائما وعليها رحمة امين

قوبل

٩٨٣

Fig. 2

But the question seems to be not quite so simple. Did the idea of a "single Biblical codex" take shape among Arab Christians *before the advent of book-printing*? In reviewing the selection of Biblical texts in extant manuscripts, it is difficult to imagine that even in the fifteenth century the relatively weak Arab Christian (in comparison, say, with the Arab Muslim) manuscript tradition would have been able to realize such a costly [41] undertaking. It is more likely that the idea of a complete copy of the two Testaments appeared only in the era of printed books (and even then not immediately).

What did G. Graf mean by a "single codex"? What criteria, in his view, should such a codex have met? [42]

By modern scholarly standards (codicological), *only* the Vatican manuscript of the Bible can be considered a single codex for the sixteenth century [43]. Graf assigns it second place (after the St. Petersburg manuscript) [44]. As concerns the St. Petersburg manuscript, it is, unlike its Vatican counterpart, *a convolute* compiled by someone from *three separate manuscripts*. The first of them is the Old Testament copied in Damascus by the monk Pimen in 1236–1238. In the three-volume convolute [45], this manuscript fully occupies the first two volumes and 54 folios [46] of the third (see *Table 1* and Appendices 1–2).

Table 1 [47]

Volume 1 [48]	lviii (8), 2–3vi (20), 4viii (28), 5xi (39), 12–6x (109), 13viii (117), 14ix (iv/v) (126), 15xi (137), 16viii (145), 17–26x (245), 27vi (251)
Volume 2 [49]	28iv (4), 29–50x (224), 51ix (233)
Volume 3 [50]	52–55x (40), 56iv (44), 57x (v/iv+i) (54); 58viii (62); 59–77x (262), 78vi (268)

The second manuscript in the St. Petersburg three-volume convolute, which is not dated and does not contain the name of the copyist, is the book of Tobit (vol. 3, fols. 55a–62b) [51]. In content, it belongs to the Old Testament (and concludes it in manuscript D 226), but it is not in the hand of monk Pimen. Finally, the third manuscript is the Four Gospels (vol. 3, fols. 63b–267b; fol. 268 is blank and was added later). This manuscript was copied in Damascus by Abū Ghālib b. Abū-l-Fahm b. Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Masīhī [52] (see vol. 3, fol. 210b). The date is missing, but on the lower (left) board of the binding we find a bit of paper pasted on and an annotation intended for Tsar Nikolas II (1868–1918). It indicates the time of copying, if only approximately: "No. 3. The New Testament <...> was copied in Damascus before the Patriarchate was transferred to that city" (my italics — *V. P.*) [53].

Such pasted-on annotations are to be found on all 42 manuscripts given as a gift by Gregory IV, Patriarch of Antioch, to the Russian Tsar. All of the annotations are accurate, and were followed by Krachkovsky in his description of the entire collection. The dating of the Four Gospels is also trustworthy. I was not, however, able to find in the manuscript the above-mentioned *indication*. But an *indication* does not have to mean the presence of something in the manuscript; it could also be the absence of something considered *indispensable* under certain circumstances. One should add here that the Four Gospels in manuscript D 226 are not simply a reading copy, but a liturgical copy intended to be used during church services. Perhaps, living in the capital of the Patriarchy [54], the copyist of such a manuscript was obligated to include in the colophon the name of the acting patriarch [55], which is missing in the present manuscript. The Orthodox Patriarchate was transferred to Damascus in 1359 [56], so our New Testament was copied no later than that date.

Such is the basic information we possess about the St. Petersburg manuscript-convolute. Can it be considered a "single codex"? If yes, as Graf believes, then questions arise about his dating of this codex. Graf explains the origin of his dating as follows: "The *lower* chronological boundary is given by the oldest owner's note from 1539; the *13th century* should be entirely excluded" (my italics — *V. P.*) [57]. As the above mentioned "owner's note" has

never been published before [58], I explain here its role in dating the St. Petersburg Bible as a "single codex". This note, dated according to two calendars [59], states directly that in the year indicated the St. Petersburg manuscript already contained both Testaments (that is, all three components of the convolute which we described above) [60]. The dating of the New Testament proposed above (no later than 1359) allows us to amend significantly Graf's assertion: 1539 is not the lower, but the *upper* chronological boundary for the convolute in question. It would seem that for the first attempt at establishing the full text of the Arabic Bible "by bringing together all the books of the Old and New Testament into a single codex", the sixteenth century is not as obligatory as it seemed to Graf [61].

Pimen began to copy the Old Testament for Laurentius, the archbishop of Damascus [62], but it is not clear whether the latter ever received the manuscript [63]. The first 300 years of the manuscript's existence are a vague time in its history; no dated annotations were made on the manuscript's pages during that period. Then, in 1538 or 1539, we learn that the manuscript, which already included the New Testament, belonged to a certain 'Isā b. Mūsā (vol. 1, fol. 56b, and others) of Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) [64]. From that time on, the manuscript was continuously augmented with remarks by readers and others until 1907. We can only guess why there is nothing until the sixteenth century. The date of 1538 can be interpreted in two ways: either the convolute of the two Testaments was created by 'Isā b. Mūsā himself in 1538, or he received the convolute already complete (before the date indicated), which would move back the date of the two Testaments' unification to some point during the three-hundred year gap in the manuscript's history (the thirteenth — fifteenth centuries) [65].

The year 7126/1618 is found in a note which records the donation of this convolute by Sulaymān b. Jurjī [66] to the monastery of al-Balamand (vol. 2, fol. 1a; see also vol. 1, fol. 003b). For many years it was held in the library of this monastery, whence it was taken by the Antioch patriarch Gregory IV, most likely around 1907, when he had presumably begun to compile the manuscript collection he intended to present to the Russian Tsar Nicolas II. In 1913, Russia celebrated the 300-year anniversary of the ruling Romanov dynasty. Gregory IV took part in the cere-

mony and presented an Arabic Bible (as part of a small collection of Arab Christian manuscripts) to Tsar Nicolas [67]. After the 1917 Revolution, the entire collection of Gregory IV was transferred to the Academy of Sciences, and in the winter of 1919 I. Krachkovsky transferred it by sledge

from the Winter Palace (the former royal residence) to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences [68] (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, in the collection of which the manuscript is preserved now).

3

During its long history, the manuscript's folios were numbered several times, which is most likely linked to the fact that the manuscript remained unbound for most of its existence. This also led to significant damage, as several *qurrāsas* were destroyed and several folios lost. Taking into account the manuscript's size (78 *qurrāsas*), it was necessary on occasion to check and restore the order of the folios, establishing some sort of system of numbering.

We identified six varieties: (i) complete numeration of folios in Greek-Coptic numerals; (ii) numeration in Greek-Coptic numerals (every 10 folios); (iii–iv) two types of signature; (v) autonomous numeration (in Arabic words) for

the Gospels; (vi) page-by-page numeration in Arabic (Indian) numerals. The last (page-by-page) numeration is interesting in connection with the relationship between the Vatican and St. Petersburg manuscripts. We turn to it in more detail.

This numeration can be seen in the upper left corner of *recto* folios and in the upper right corner of *verso*. It runs through the entire manuscript, including the Gospels, and is somewhat mysterious: it is discrete, but is accompanied by a scrupulous running total of the numbered pages (see *figs. 1–2*). In order to demonstrate this peculiarity, we depict the numeration in full for the first volume of the manuscript (see *Table 2* and Appendix 3) [69]:

Table 2

1	2	3
fols. 1b—32a	1—62	—
fols. 33b—56a	1—48	110
fols. 57b—73a	1—32	142
fols. 74b—96a	1—44	186
fols. 96b—116a	1—40	226
fols. 117b—132a	1—30	256
fols. 132b—145b	1—27	283
fols. 146b—177a	1—62	345
fols. 177b—210b	1—67	412
fols. 211b—213b	1—5	417
fols. 216b—251b	1—71	488

Thus, the first volume contains 11 individually paginated groups of folios with an accompanying running total: 488 pages (of 502 pages in the volume). The logic of such a numeration becomes clearer if one examines the 15 pages omitted from the numeration (they are easily identified at the junctures of the 11 groups of folios (see the first column of *Table 2*).

We enumerate the pages omitted in this unusual numeration: fol. 1a — the introduction to Genesis; fols. 32b—33a — the introduction (*al-'illa*) to Exodus; fol. 56b—initially a blank folio, later covered with the annotations of two hierarchs [70]; fol. 57a — the title only of Leviticus; fol. 73b — blank; fol. 74a — the introduction (*al-'illa*) to the book of Numbers; fol. 116b — blank (with a reader's note), fol. 117a — blank (inserted); fol. 146a — blank (also inserted); fol. 211a — the title only to the book of Ruth; fols. 214a—215b — introduction (*al-'illa*) to the Psalter, fol. 216a — blank.

It is clear from this that someone numbered only those pages that contain the actual Biblical text [71], omitting introductions to individual Biblical books, several title-pages and blank folios left by the copyist at various structural junctures of the manuscript (today they are almost entirely covered by notes made by readers at various times). Why was this done and by whom?

The first thought that comes to mind is that we see here an evaluation of D 226 by someone who had decided to copy it and wanted to know how much paper he would need (and, most likely, money), both in total, and for each section of the manuscript [72].

Was this person David, the copyist of the Vatican manuscript? Clearly, it is still too early for an answer to this question [73]. Just as in the first stage of the discussion, we now need more comparative material, direct and free access to the second manuscript. Thanks to the kindness of Prof. Sergio Noja Nosedá and Dr. E. A. Rezvan, I was able to consult a microfilm of the Vatican manuscript and juxtapose it with the St. Petersburg one. Even a cursory comparison of the texts reveals arguments that testify to the dependence of the manuscripts. One of them is the case of the Vatican copyist's "line-jumping". In manuscript Ms. ar. 468 (fol. 285a, beginning of book I of the Paralipomenon or Chronicles), the margins contain a passage omitted in the text proper by the copyist:

واولاد اسمعيل يكم نابتوت وقيدار وادابيل ومنسام / ومشمع
 ودوما ومسا / وخذاد وثيما بطور نافيش وقيدما / هولاي
 اولاد اسماعيل.

Every copyist's omission has two characteristics: length and cause. If we juxtapose the text cited above from

Ms. ar. 468 (fol. 285a) with the corresponding passage in D 226 (vol. 2, fol. 175b. 7–10 left), we find that three lines were omitted (see Table 3) of which the first and fourth begin with the same word. The copyist began to copy the first line, but was distracted and resumed work from the fourth line, which seems to have caught his eye. This sort of error is known as “line-jumping” [74]. The identification of a protograph by such mistake is completely safe as if it

were the identification of a man by his fingerprints. Hence, despite the trivial nature of the incident, this jump is a serious argument in Krachkovsky's favour. Yet Graf was still right when he claimed that it is too early to render judgment in the polemic between Krachkovsky and Vaccari, leaving open the question of the relationship between the Vatican and St. Petersburg manuscripts.

Table 3

Ms. ar. 468, fol. 285a. 18–22 left	D 226, vol. 2, fol. 175b. 7–10 left
هولاي اولاد يقطان سابع شيم ارفحشاد قينان شالح عيبر فالغ راعو سيروع ناخور تارخ * ابرهيم * اولاد ابرهيم : اسحق واسمعييل [واولاد اسمعييل بكره نباتوت وقيدار وادبايل ومنسام / ومنشمع ودوما ومسا وحداد وثيما يطور ناقيش و قديما / هولاي اولاد اسماعيل] ¹ ثامن اولاد قطور سرية ابرهيم	ويوياب كل هولاً اولاد يقطان * فصل شيم ارفحشاد قينان شالح عيبر فالغ رعو شيروع ناخور تارخ * ابرهيم اولاد ابرهيم اسحق واسمعييل * واولاد اسمعييل بكره نبايوت وقيدار وادبايل ومنسام مسماع ودوما مسا حداد وثيما يطور ناقيش واقديما هاول اولاد اسمعييل * فصل اولاد قطورا سرية ابرهيم <...>

Appendix 1

Table of contents of the three-volume edition

	Volume 1	Folios	المجلد الاول	
1	Genesis	fols. 1b—32a	سفر الخليقة	١
2	Exodus	fols. 33a—56a	سفر خروج بني اسرائيل من مصر	٢
3	Leviticus	fols. 57a—73a	سفر الأحبار	٣
4	Numbers	fols. 74a—95b	سفر العدد	٤
5	Deuteronomy	fols. 96a—116a	تثنية الإشرع	٥
6	Joshua	fols. 117—132a	سفر يشوع بن نون وبالعبراني يهوع	٦
7	Judges	fols. 132b—145b	سفر القضاة وبالعبراني شفتيج	٧
8	1. & 2. Samuel	fols. 146b—177a	صمويل الأول والثاني	٨
9	1. & 2. Kings	fols. 177b—210b	سفر الملوك الثالث وللعبرانيين أول الملوك	٩
10	Ruth	fols. 211a—213b	تسعيه رعوث المابية التي كانت في أيام الديانث	١٠
11	—	fols. 214a—215b	صلة كتاب مصحف المزامير المشتمل على تنبيه عدتها وأسماء قاتليها من الأنبياء	١١
12	Psalms	fols. 216b—251b	مصحف القديس داود النابي [المزامير]	١٢
	Volume 2	Folios	المجلد الثاني	
13	Wisdom of Solomon	fols. 1b—13a	كتاب حكمة سليمان بن داود	١٣
14	Proverbs, 1—24	fols. 13b—21b	أمثال سليمان الحكيم أي مواظله	١٤
15	Proverbs, 25—31	fols. 21b—24a	اداب سليمان المستعجم تلخيصها التي استكتبها اصدقاء حزقيا ملك يهودا	١٥
16	Ecclesiastes	fols. 24b—29a	كتاب الجامعة أقوال الجامع بن داود ملك اسرائيل	١٦
17	Song of Solomon	fols. 29b—31b	كتاب نشيد الإنشاد وهو تسبحة التسابيح لسليمان الحكيم	١٧

¹ In square brackets, the text omitted by the copyist of the Vatican manuscript but later re-created by him on the margins is placed.

18	Isaiah	fols. 32b—61a	نبوة شعيا بن عاموص	١٨
19	Jeremiah	fols. 61b—90a	نبوة ارميا	١٩
20	Ezekiel	fols. 90b—113b	نبوة حزقيال النبي	٢٠
21	Daniel	fols. 114b—124b	نبوة دانيال النبي	٢١
22	Hosea	fols. 125b—128b	نبوة هوشع بن باري	٢٢
23	Amos	fols. 128b—131a	نبوة أموص النبي	٢٣
24	Micah	fols. 131b—133b	نبوة ميخا النبي	٢٤
25	Joel	fols. 133b—134b	نبوة يوييل النبي	٢٥
26	Obadiah	fols. 134b—135a	نبوة عبوديا النبي	٢٦
27	Jonah	fols. 135a—136a	نبوة يونا النبي	٢٧
28	Nahum	fols. 136a—136b	نبوة ناحوم النبي	٢٨
29	Habakkuk	fols. 137a—137b	نبوة حبقوق النبي	٢٩
30	Zephaniah	fols. 137b—138b	نبوة صفينا النبي	٣٠
31	Haggai	fols. 138b—139b	نبوة حجي النبي	٣١
32	Zachariah	fols. 139b—143a	نبوة زخريا النبي	٣٢
33	Malachy	fols. 143a—144a	نبوة ملاخيا النبي	٣٣
34	Job	fols. 145b—158a	كتاب أيوب الصديق	٣٤
35	1. Ezra	fols. 159b—168a	السفر الأول لعزر الكاهن	٣٥
36	2. Ezra	fols. 168b—174b	السفر الثاني لعزر الكاهن	٣٦
37	1. & 2. Chronicles	fols. 175b—203a	كتاب سفر [تاريخ] الأيام المدعو دبري هيميم	٣٧
38	The Book of the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach	fols. 203b—221b	كتاب يشوع بن سيراخ	٣٨
39	Esther	fols. 222b—226b	كتاب استر من بنات اسرائيل	٣٩
40	Nehemiah	fols. 227b—232b	خطاب نحميا بن خلقيا الكاهن الكبير	٤٠

	Volume 3	Folios	المجلد الثالث	
41	2. Book of the Maccabees	fols. 1b—13b	كتاب المنقباين و هو يسمى السفر الثاني	٤١
42	“Arabic Book of the Maccabees”	fols. 14b—43b	كتاب المنقباين	٤٢
43	Judith	fols. 44a—53a	يهوديث	٤٣
44	Tobit	fols. 55a—62b	كتاب طوبيا	٤٤

	New Testament	Folios	العهد الجديد	
1	Matthew	fols. 63b—86a	انجيل متى	١
2	Mark	fols. 86b—100a	انجيل مرقس	٢
3	Luke	fols. 100b—124a	انجيل لوقا	٣
4	John	fols. 124b—141b	انجيل يوحنا	٤
5	Apostolikon	fols. 144b—211a	الأربعة عشر رسالة للقدس فولوس الرسول	٥
6	Acts	fols. 212a—242a	الابركسس وهو أعمال الرسل	٦
7	Catholikon	fols. 242a—255a	كاثوليكون	٧
8	Revelation	fols. 256a—267b	ايوكاليسس المعروف بالجليان	٨

Appendix 2

Quire-by-quire composition of the entire manuscript and the folio composition of its *qurrāsas* [75]

Volume 1

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
01*	1	9	15	21	29	40	50	60	70	80	90
02	2	10	16	22	30	41	51	61	71	81	91
03	3	11	17	23	31	42	52	62	72	82	92
04	4	12	18	24	32	43	53	63	73	83	93
	5	13	19	25	33	44	54	64	74	84	94
	6	14	20	26	34	45	55	65	75	85	95
	7			27	35	46	56	66	76	86	96
	8			28	36	47	57	67	77	87	97
					37	48	58	68	78	88	98
					38	49	59	69	79	89	99
					39						

12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
100	110	118	127	138	146	156	166	176	186	196	206
101	111	119	128	139	147	157	167	177	187	197	207
102	112	120	129	140	148	158	168	178	188	198	208
103	113	121	130	141	149	159	169	179	189	199	209
104	114	122	131	142	150	160	170	180	190	200	210
105	115	123	132	143	151	161	171	181	191	201	211
106	116	124	133	144	152	162	172	182	192	202	212
107	117	125	134	145	153	163	173	183	193	203	213
108		126	135		154	164	174	184	194	204	214
109			136		155	165	175	185	195	205	215
			137								

24	25	26	27	00
216	226	236	246	001
217	227	237	247	002
218	228	238	248	003
219	229	239	249	004*
220	230	240	250	
221	231	241	251	
222	232	242		
223	233	243		
224	234	244		
225	235	245		

Volume 2

28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
1	5	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	85	95	105
2	6	16	26	36	46	56	66	76	86	96	106
3	7	17	27	37	47	57	67	77	87	97	107
4	8	18	28	38	48	58	68	78	88	98	108
	9	19	29	39	49	59	69	79	89	99	109
	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110
	11	21	31	41	51	61	71	81	91	101	111
	12	22	32	42	52	62	72	82	92	102	112
	13	23	33	43	53	63	73	83	93	103	113
	14	24	34	44	54	64	74	84	94	104	114

40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
115	125	135	145	155	165	175	185	195	205	215	225
116	126	136	146	156	166	176	186	196	206	216	226
117	127	137	147	157	167	177	187	197	207	217	227
118	128	138	148	158	168	178	188	198	208	218	228
119	129	139	149	159	169	179	189	199	209	219	229
120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230
121	131	141	151	161	171	181	191	201	211	221	231
122	132	142	152	162	172	182	192	202	212	222	232
123	133	143	153	163	173	183	193	203	213	223	233
124	134	144	154	164	174	184	194	204	214	224	??

Volume 3

0	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62
01*	1	11	21	31	41	45	55	63	73	83	93
02	2	12	22	32	42	46	56	64	74	84	94
03	3	13	23	33	43	47	57	65	75	85	95
04	4	14	24	34	44	48	58	66	76	86	96
	<u>5</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>35</u>		<u>49</u>	59	67	<u>77</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>97</u>
	6	16	26	36		50	60	68	78	88	98
	7	17	27	37		51	61	69	79	89	99
	8	18	28	38		52	62	70	80	90	100
	9	19	29	39		53		71	81	91	101
	10	20	30	40		54		72	82	92	102

63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	70	71	72	73
103	113	123	133	143	153	163	173	183	193	203	213
104	114	124	134	144	154	164	174	184	194	204	214
105	115	125	135	145	155	165	175	185	195	205	215
106	116	126	136	146	156	166	176	186	196	206	216
107	<u>117</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>137</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>157</u>	<u>167</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>187</u>	<u>197</u>	<u>207</u>	<u>217</u>
108	118	128	138	148	158	168	178	188	198	208	218
109	119	129	139	149	159	169	179	189	199	209	219
110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220
111	121	131	141	151	161	171	181	191	201	211	221
112	122	132	142	152	162	172	182	192	202	212	222

74	75	76	77	78	00
223	233	243	253	263	001
224	234	244	254	264?	002
225	235	245	255	<u>265</u>	003
226	236	246	256	266	004*
227	<u>237</u>	<u>247</u>	<u>257</u>	267	
228	238	248	258	268	
229	239	249	259		
230	240	250	260		
231	241	251	261		
232	242	252	262		

Appendix 3

Page-by-page numeration in manuscript D 226

Volume 1			
fols. 1b—32a	1—62	—	Genesis
fols. 33b—56a	1—48	110	Exodus
fols. 57b—73a	1—32	142	Leviticus
fols. 74b—96a	1—44	186	Numbers
fols. 96b—116a	1—40	226	Deuteronomy
fols. 117b—132a	1—30	256	Joshua
fols. 132b—145b	1—27	283	Judges
fols. 146b—177a	1—62	345	1. & 2. Samuel
fols. 177b—210b	1—67	412	1. & 2. Kings
fols. 211b—213b	1—5	417	Ruth
fols. 216b—251b	1—71	488	Psalms

Volume 2			
fols. 1b—13a	1—24	512	Wisdom of Solomon
fols. 13b—24a	1—22	551 (sic!)	Proverbs
fols. 24b—29a	1—10	561	Ecclesiastes
fols. 29b—31b	1—5	566	Song of Solomon
fols. 32b—61a	1—58	624	Isaiah
fols. 61b—90a	1—58	682	Jeremiah
fols. 90b—113b	1—47	729	Ezekiel
fols. 114b—124b	1—21	750	Daniel
fols. 125b—128b	1—7	757	Hosea
fols. 129a—131a	1—5	762	Amos
fols. 131b—133b	1—5	767	Micah
fols. 134a—144a	1—21	788	Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zachariah, Malachy
fols. 144b—145a	1—2	—	Two full-page additions erroneously taken for the Bible text
fols. 145b—158a	1—26	814	Job
fols. 159b—168a	1—18	832	1. Ezra
fols. 168b—174b	1—13	845	2. Ezra
fols. 175b—203a	1—56	901	1. & 2. Chronicles
fols. 203b—221b	1—37	938	Book of the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach
fols. 222b—226b	1—9	947	Esther
fols. 227b—232b	1—11	958	Nehemiah

Volume 3			
fols. 1b—13b	1—25	983	Book of the Maccabees
fols. 14b—43b	1—60 ¹	1043	Book of the Maccabees
fols. 44a—53a	1—19	1062	Book of the Maccabees
fols. 55a—62b	1—16	1078 ²	Tobit

New Testament			
fols. 63b—86a	1—46	1124	Matthew
fols. 86b—99b	47—73 (27)	1151	Mark
fols. 100a—124a	74—122 (49)	1200	Luke
fols. 124b—141b	123—157 (35)	1235	John
fols. 144b—255a	1—222	1457	Apostolikon, Acts, Catholikon
fols. 256b—267b	1—23	1480	Revelation

¹ During the numeration of this group of folios, the number 23 was omitted (24 is recorded instead); as a result, the total number of folios is given as 60 (instead of 59).

² The method of counting changed after this; the number of the final folio in each part of the New Testament was added to 1078: 1078 + 46 = 1124; 1078 + 73 = 1151; 1078 + 122 = 1200; 1078 + 157 = 1235.

Notes

1. Krachkovsky bears in mind here Professor A. E. Krymsky (1871—1942), Fellow of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, author of the "Beirut Tales" and "Songs of the Lebanon".

2. See *Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men*. By I. Y. Kratschkovsky. Trans. from the Russian by T. Minorsky (Leiden, 1953), pp. 123—5. The book is available also in German, French, Polish, Czech, Arabic (and perhaps other) translations. The Russian edition contains the subheading "Leaves of Reminiscence of Books and People".

3. A. Vaccari, "Una Bibbia araba per il primo Gesuita venuto al Libano", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, X, fasc. 4 (1925), pp. 79—104 and plates IV—V. The catalogue description of this manuscript appeared 94 years previously, see *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae arabicorum, persicorum, turcorum, aethiopicorum, copticorum, armeniacorum, ibericorum, slavicum, indicorum, sinienisium, item eius partis hebraicorum et syriacorum quam Assemani in editione praetermiserunt*, edente Angelo Maio, 2. parte (Romae, 1831), No. LXXIX. — *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita ab Angelo Maio*, IV.

4. The manuscript was copied in Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) in the year 7087 from the Creation of the World (1578—1579) at the behest of the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Eliano, dispatched to Syria by Pope Gregory XIII specially for this purpose.

5. A. Vaccari successfully timed his article to coincide with two anniversaries: the 50-year anniversary of Beirut's Saint-Joseph University, where the author studied on the Oriental faculty, and the 255-year anniversary of the above-mentioned Rome edition of 1671. For more information on the history of this edition and its reception among the Arabs. See A. E. Krymskiĭ, *Istoriia novoi arabskoi literatury. XIX — nachalo XX veka* (The History of Modern Arab Literature. 19th — Early 20th Century) (Moscow, 1971), pp. 400—4 (with references).

6. Vaccari, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 94 ff.

7. This is worth noting when comparing that time with the present capabilities of the Academy. In a country ravaged by two destructive wars (World War I and the Civil War), the efficient delivery of scholarly literature from abroad was not a problem in 1925.

8. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Original vaticanskoi rukopisi arabskogo perevoda Biblii" ("The original of a Vatican manuscript of an Arabic translation of the Bible"), *Doklady Akademii nauk*, series B (1925), pp. 84—7; the work is also published in I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Selected Works) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), vi, pp. 472—7, ill.

9. *Idem*, *Arabskie rukopisi iz sobraniia Grigorii IV, patriarkha antiokhiiskogo (kratkaia opis')*. *Les manuscrits arabes de la collection de Grégoire IV, patriarche d'Antioche* (Leningrad, 1924). These manuscripts were given as a gift by the Patriarch to the Russian Tsar Nicholas II (see below).

10. Its current call number is D 226; see *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR. Kratkii katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. A Brief Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1986), No. 10367.

11. One should note, however, that Krachkovsky twice (on separate occasions) mentioned a more detailed catalogue of this collection which he had prepared but not yet published: "My joy was clouded only by the fact that the original list with all the quotations remained in Holland, from whence it returned to me only after the loss of several years when other work prevented me from continuing the planned *catalogue raisonné*, so that I published only a brief list" (*Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men*, p. 38); also "By mid-July [1914], during my stay in Leiden, the catalogue was completed in full, but wartime conditions compelled me to leave it, together with all of luggage and other works, in Holland, where, I hope, it remains at present" (*Izbrannye sochineniia*, vi, p. 428; written in May, 1919, printed in 1924). No traces of this catalogue have yet been found in Krachkovsky's archive. But the 1924 publication indicates that in this catalogue the question of redacts of the Biblical translations was more or less elucidated (see *ibid.*). In the catalogue printed in 1924 the question of redacts is lacking.

12. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "O perevode Biblii na arabskii iazyk pri khalife al-Ma'mune" ("On the translation of the Bible into Arabic under the caliph al-Ma'mun"), *Khristianskii Vostok*, VI/2 (1922), pp. 189—96. Vaccari was not familiar with this article published in Russian.

13. *Idem*, "Original vaticanskoi rukopisi", p. 85. This original is nearly 350 years older than the Vatican copy.

14. On the basis of photocopies present in Vaccari's article.

15. S. Euringer, "Zum Stammbaum der arabischen Bibelhandschriften Vat. ar. 468 und 467. Referat über zwei einschlägige Arbeiten", *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, 7 (1929), pp. 259—73.

16. A. Vaccari, "La storia d'una Bibbia araba", *Biblica*, XI, Jul.—Sept., 1930, pp. 350—5.

17. This is of no little importance, as Krachkovsky's article was published in Russian and for this reason was not accessible to all.

18. We find the following unfortunate phrase in Krachkovsky: "The date at the end of Maccabees II refers to the entire manuscript ..." (in his "Original vaticanskoi rukopisi", p. 86). In fact, there is not one, but two dates. One (6746 from the Creation of the World = 1238 A.D.) holds, for all practical purposes, for the entire Old Testament; this is the date Krachkovsky had in mind. The other (6530 = 1022 A.D.) dates the Antioch archetype from which the St. Petersburg manuscript was possibly copied. It was fundamentally important for Vaccari to know how the date for the St. Petersburg manuscript was treated: as dating only one of the books of Maccabees or as dating the entire Old Testament which proceeded it? On the basis of the Vatican manuscript, he chose in favour of the former option.

19. Both A. Vaccari and G. Graf mention a certain written communication from Krachkovsky (Graf specifies that it was the only one). Its content is unknown; it most likely contained only examples of text from the St. Petersburg manuscript and information on the order of texts in it. See Vaccari, "La storia d'una Bibbia araba", p. 355; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Citta del Vaticano, 1944), i, p. 92.

20. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 88—92.

21. Including the written communication from Krachkovsky discussed in an earlier note.

22. ٢٥٩٠، ٧٧٨، ص ١٩٢٥، ٢٢، م الشرق. — كراتشكوفسكي، اغناطيوس. المخطوطات العربية لكتبة النصرانية في المكتبات البطريركية. (Krachkovsky, Arabic Manuscripts by Christian Authors in Petersburg Libraries).

23. One is in the Vatican, see *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, pp. 172—8, No. LXXIX. The other is in the British Museum, see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*. Pars secunda: codices arabicos complectens (Londoni, 1846—1871), No. 25.

24. G. Murkos, *Puteshestvie antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makarii v Rossiiu v XVII v.* ("The Journey of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, to Russia in the 17th century"), fasc. V (Moscow, 1900), p. 184; there is the French translation of the work, see *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche*, ed. Basile Radu, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1930), p. 28. — *Patrologia Orientalis*, XXII.

25. See, for example, manuscript B 1229 (ARKK, No. 10544), fol. 87.4—7.

26. ١٤٤٤ — ١٤٤٣، ص ١، مجلة النعمة.

27. L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam* (Beyruth, 1924), pp. 72—3, No. 259, where one should read *kitāb al-hāwī* in place of *kitāb al-muḥīṭ*.

28. *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum et impressorum Monasterii S.Catherinae in Monte Sinai...* (Petropoli, 1891), Nos. 156 and 298.

29. An old travel guide to Syria describes travel times from Damascus as follows: from Damascus through Saydnaya to an-Nabka, 13 hours (through Kutayfa, 6.5 hours); from an-Nabka to Qāra, another 2:45. See *Palestine et Syrie. Manuel du voyageur*, par K. Baedeker, deuxième édition (Leipzig, 1893), p. 396.

30. The original source (see n. 24 above) gives the date in two forms: from the Creation of the World and from the Hijra. They do not match, so the modern equivalent is necessarily hypothetical. Murkos, p. 184: 6724 from the C.W. = 604 A.H. = 1216 A.D.; Radu, p. 28: 6724 (in words!) = 604 A.H.; M. Bureik, fol. 87: 6724 from the C.W. = 604 A.H.; 'Isā al-Ma'lūf and Cheikho: 6714 from the C.W. = 604 A.H. = 1216 A.D. The year 604 A.H. indicated by all authors corresponds not to 1216, but to 1208 A.D. (that is, 6716 from the C.W.). Hence, the dates do not match.

31. A. A. Vasil'ev, *Arabskaia versia zhitia sv. Ioanna Damaskina* (An Arabic Version of the Life of St. John of Damascus) (St. Petersburg, 1913), pp. 3—4.

32. The end of March, 1223 A.D.

33. A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*. A hand-list of the Arabic manuscripts and scrolls microfilmed at the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai (Baltimore, 1955), p. 12, Nos. 418 and 421.

34. "Probably erroneously instead of 6745", as Krachkovsky remarks in his "Original vatikanskoī rukopisi" (p. 86, n. 2); the article was republished in *Izbrannye sochineniia*, vi, (see p. 476, n. 1).

35. Or even any satisfactory sense of the copyist's productivity.

36. The parts of the Bible copied by Pimen in the course of each year appear, we note, better balanced in size.

37. When more facts have been gathered about the work of medieval Arab copyists, there will be occasion to return to this question. Yet, the manuscript was copied for the archbishop of Damascus, Laurentius (see below), so that he could commission copying books as well.

38. From this year on we lose all traces of the monk and his activities.

39. The reference to the Antioch manuscript in this colophon can, however, be understood as it was by Vaccari. The absence of a summarising colophon in the manuscript of Pimen, which is hard to explain since there remained enough place for it at the end of the manuscript, does not permit us to make choice between the positions indicated above.

40. Graf, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—90.

41. As concerns the Bible, it is doubly expensive — because of the large number of folios in the Holy Scripture (which renders the production of a manuscript book extremely costly) and because of the difficulty of choosing between various translations and redacts of some parts of the Scripture, which requires a certain level of expertise.

42. As concerns textology and codicology, various answers are possible. At the time of Vaccari, Krachkovsky, and Graf, a clear understanding of this was lacking in the field of Arabic studies.

43. It was copied by a single person, and we know for certain that his goal was, in fact, the entire Bible (see the article by Vaccari).

44. The reason (though indirectly expressed) is that Graf deems the St. Petersburg manuscript a "single codex" on the basis of the oldest *owner's note* (1539), and the Vatican manuscript, on the basis of the *date of its copying* (1578—1579). The difference of 40 years favours the St. Petersburg manuscript. Strictly speaking, the Vatican manuscript should not be a part of Graf's classificatory system at all, as it is not really in the Arab Christian manuscript tradition. Its appearance was conditioned by an external — European — order; upon completion, it was immediately removed to Europe.

45. The Petersburg Bible was divided into three volumes and bound in the eighteenth or nineteenth century. All three bindings are covered in light-black leather with identical blind tooling in Christian style. The lower left covers of the binding have pasted-on labels with annotations in Russian: "No. 1. OLD TESTAMENT, p[ar]t I. Date: 6744 from the Creation of the World (1235 A. D.); "No. 2. OLD TESTAMENT, p[ar]t II. Date: 6745 from the Creation of the World (1237 A. D.); "No. 3. NEW TESTAMENT and part of the OLD TESTAMENT. Undated, but with an indication that the book was copied in Damascus before the Patriarchate was transferred to that city". We can assume that these pasted-on annotations were made by church authorities (in Damascus or Jerusalem) before the manuscript was dispatched to Russia.

46. Pimen himself is responsible only for the first 53 folios. Folio 54 is blank; moreover, it is inserted. It was added when the manuscript was bound.

47. Print Arabic numerals (at the beginning of the group of numbers) indicate the numbers of the *qurrāsas* (quires) which make up the volume. Roman numerals designate the number of folios in each *qurrāsa* in the number group. Cursive Arabic numerals in brackets (at the end of each number group) indicate the order number of the final folio in the final *qurrāsa* of each number group.

48. 03 + 251 + 003 fols., Oriental paper, thick (fols. 117, 132, and 146 are added during binding. They have watermarks). Folio dimensions: 31.0Ç24.0 cm, text dimensions 26.0Ç18.3 cm and 26.4Ç17.5 cm (fol. 95b); 26 lines per page.

49. 233 + 001 fols., same paper as in vol. I. Folio dimensions: 31.3-31.5Ç23.4-23.7 cm, the same text dimensions as in vol. I, 26 lines per page.

50. 03 + 268 + 003 fols., Oriental paper of at least three types. Folio dimensions: 30.5-30.7Ç22.6-23.0 cm; text dimensions vary.

51. The book of Tobit displays a number of features which set it apart from the basic material of D 226. It was copied in ordinary, entirely unprofessional handwriting. The text dimensions vary throughout the book (16 pages of the *qurrāsa*) from 24.3Ç14.7 cm to 25.3Ç15.5 cm. This is partly because the number of lines per page is not constant (17, 21, 22, 23 and 26 with a preponderance of 21- and 22-line pages). Moreover, the copyist maintained a shaky left margin. The latter is perhaps because the folios in this section of the manuscript were not lined with a *mīstara*, traces of which are indeed not evident in this *qurrāsa*. In general, the book of Tobit contrasts in appearance quite sharply with the remainder of the three-volume Bible. The non-standard size of the paper contributes to this general impression. The book of Tobit is the only place in the three-volume manuscript where we find paper of another format. The folios in this

part of the manuscript are significantly smaller than elsewhere. This is not immediately noticeable, as *all of the folios* in the book of Tobit were overfitted with strips of paper to bring them into line with the dominant format of the manuscript. In addition to the above-noted features, the separate nature of the book of Tobit is underscored by the fact that it occupies a full (separate) *qurrāsa* within the third volume. Tobit fits in full in the 16 pages of a single *qurrāsa* (59 in order). This *qurrāsa* contains neither text that precedes the book of Tobit nor text that follows it. In this sense, Tobit has all the earmarks of an entirely autonomous manuscript text which made its way into the manuscript "from elsewhere". Hence, the dating and localization of this *qurrāsa* require further study. One more circumstance suggests this. The book of Tobit ends with a copyist's colophon; part of its text has been scraped away. Nonetheless, the remaining traces of ink allow us to determine that it is a date of some kind. It may have contrasted with the antiquity of the preceding part of the manuscript and for that reason been removed. This is, of course, only speculation.

52. I was also unable to discover any information about the copyist.

53. See note 45.

54. One must bear in mind that the dating by clerics designates with the upper figure the transfer of the Patriarchate (from Antioch to Damascus).

55. As was done (if for different reasons) by Pimen in the Old Testament (see his colophon with the name of Patriarch Simeon in vol. 1, fol. 116a) and in another of his manuscripts, the colophon of which was cited above (see No. 2 in the list of manuscripts copied by Pimen). In general, dated colophons have on more than one occasion been an important (and sometimes the only) source for determining the chronology of the Antioch patriarchs. This source was used by many, from Paul of Aleppo to contemporary historians; see J. Nasrallah, "Chronologie des patriarches melchites d'Antioche de 1500 à 1635", extrait de *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 1956–1957, pp. 1–7.

56. See *Lakhza jaliyya fi mukhtasar ta'rikh al-kanīsat al-masīhiyya*. Jama'aha al-kāhin Basīliyyus Mīkhāilūfskī. 'Arrabahā ... al-arshimandrit Rafā'il (Kazan, 1894), p. 258, n. 1.

57. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

58. A photographic reproduction appeared only in 1997 in Val. V. Polosin, E. A. Rezvan, "To the CD-ROM edition of the St. Petersburg Arabic Bible", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), p. 43, fig. 3.

59. 7047 from the Creation of the World and 945 A. H. (1538 or 1539 A. D.).

60. The note, of course, mentions only the Old and New Testament. We remind readers that the Vatican original was copied from its original in Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) in 1579, that is, 40 years after this note was made in the St. Petersburg copy of the Bible.

61. If, to be more specific, we recognize as such attempts at simply gathering separate parts of the Bible of varied origin into a convolute.

62. See vol. 1, fol. 32a. At that time, the Patriarch of the Antioch Orthodox church was Simeon.

63. The name of this archbishop appears for the second (and last) time only on fol. 116a of the same volume.

64. There are other notes which indicate that the Bible was in Ṭarābulus: in 957/1550 (vol. 1, fol. 216a); in 7069/1561 (vol. 1, fol. 56b).

65. If we recognize the convolute as a complete Bible ("a single codex"), then the thirteenth century is entirely acceptable, as the Damascus archbishop who ordered the Old Testament from Pimen surely possessed the New Testament as well. If the two Testaments came together in this fashion, then this would be a complete Bible (in the thirteenth century). It seems to me that the question of the first full Arabic Bible has lost some of its actuality. Its place should be taken by the question of the Old Testament's codification and, in particular, the relation of the St. Petersburg manuscript to the so-called "Antioch archetype of 1022".

66. The secretary (*kātib*) of Yūsuf Pāshā Sifā (d. 1624 A. D.) and founder of the well-known literary family, al-Yāzījī.

67. The inner sides of the lower covers of all three volumes bear the *ex libris* "His Majesty's Library in the Winter Palace", and call numbers which indicate the cabinets where the volumes were held. Folios at the beginning of the tomes bear annotations in pencil that record the acquisition of the volumes by the library from the Chambers of His Imperial Majesty. The "Book of Acquisitions" contains a corresponding entry for March 13, 1913 under the numbers 265–267.

68. *Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men*, pp. 37–8.

69. Column one of this table indicates the folios of the manuscript in accordance with their contemporary archeographic numeration; the second column gives their page-by-page numeration as we determined it; the third column reproduces the page-by-page running total on fols. 56a, 73a, 96a, 116a, 132a, 145b, 177a, 210b, 213b, 251b.

70. A photographic reproduction of this page see in Polosin and Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 43, fig. 3. Five illustrations (figs. 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6) in this article, on the contrary, demonstrate the examples of this page-by-page numeration.

71. Cf. the table of contents (Appendix 1) and table of page-by-page numeration (Appendix 3): 958 such pages by the end of vol. 2 — see the total on the final folio with Biblical text, fol. 232b; or 1480 such pages by the end of vol. 3, their total is displayed on fol. 267b.

72. I see no other explanation for this strange method of numbering the pages. But if I am correct, we have a rare glimpse here into the "workshop" of a medieval copyist. The mere existence of this method in the St. Petersburg manuscript would be enough to eliminate A. Vaccari's surprise at the differing order of certain parts of the Bible in the St. Petersburg and Vatican manuscripts. In terms of archeographics or codicology, it is a great boon that this manuscript will be issued on CD-ROM, where the specimen of this numbering the pages will be available to all for scrutiny. For more on copyists' techniques of calculating paper needs, see Val. V. Polosin, "Arabskie rukopisi: plotnost' teksta i ee konvertiruemost' v kopiakh sochineniia" ("Arabic manuscripts: text density and its convertibility in copies of works"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 5 (1994), pp. 202–20; the English version of this article was published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/2 (1997), pp. 3–17.

73. Yet it is still necessary to highlight two important circumstances. First, the numeration of this presumed copyist covers the entire Bible. And second, this numeration appeared after 1539 (as it extends to all parts of the convolute dated to that year). What manuscript, other than the Vatican copy of 1578–1579, comes to mind? If we consider the numeration more ancient (by the same token opening the door to speculation about other copies of the St. Petersburg Bible that may not have reached us), that would mean rejecting the sixteenth century as the time of the complete Bible's appearance in the Arabic language.

74. For more detailed information, see D. S. Likhachëv, *Tekstologiya* (Textology), 2nd edn. (Leningrad, 1983), p. 71.

75. The tables reflect the composition and structure of the three volumes as they were established (or retained) when the manuscripts were bound. During preparations for the CD-ROM, it was discovered that the first folio of the first *qurrāsa* in vol. 1 consists of not one, but two folios pasted together. In practical terms, this shifts the entire folio count by one and changes the total from 251 (as recorded in the table) to 252. This discovery is taken into account in the introductory article of the CD-ROM, but the tables reflect data on the physical condition of the volume before the discovery. The bold Arabic numerals at the column heads indicate the numeration of *qurrāsas*, which run through the entire manuscript (from 1 to 78). The “zero” columns (0 and 00) were introduced into the tables so that the endpaper folios added by the binder could be removed from the general folio count and put into an auxiliary (additional) count. However, the count of endpaper folios was conducted in the standard fashion — from right to left, but separately for each volume; within each volume, separately for the front (01—04) and back (001—004) endpapers. Endpapers pasted onto the inner sides of the covers are numbered in bold-face and marked with an asterisk (*). In “non-zero” columns, ordinary non-boldface numerals indicate the number of folios which make up each *qurrāsa* (numeration runs straight through within each of the three volumes). Boldface italics are used for the numbers of folios added during restoration and binding to replace lost, original folios. A horizontal line (—) in the column indicates the middle of *qurrāsas* stitched through during binding.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Arabic Bible, manuscript D 226 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, vol. 3, the beginning of Maccabees 2, fol. 1a, 30.5 × 22.6 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, vol. 3, the end of Maccabees 2, fol. 13b, 30.5 × 22.6 cm.

ON THE DATING OF AN “UTHMĀNIC QUR’ĀN” FROM ST. PETERSBURG

After the publication in *Manuscripta Orientalia* of two articles on the oldest Qur’ānic manuscript from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [1], a vivid interest in the manuscript was shown both by specialists in Oriental studies and the general public. The editors and author received many questions on various aspects of the research in progress. One of the most frequently asked questions was whether the negatives of the 63 pages, photographed by B. Babajanov in 1983 not long before their confiscation, were restored after the damage they suffered in a fire. The answer is unfortunately negative. But according to what one of the characters in Mikhail Bulgakov’s popular novel “The Master and Margarita” says with heat, ‘Manuscripts do not burn!’, we can also say that there is still hope that the photographs will be restored.

The second question concerns the dating of the manuscript. In May, 2000, thanks to the kindness of Dr. J. van der Plicht (Groningen) and Dr. G. I. Zaytseva (St. Petersburg), a radio-carbon analysis using AMS technology was conducted on parchment fragments taken from the St. Petersburg manuscript of the Qur’ān. A report on the analysis of the parchment fragments received from Groningen is published in the present article (see Appendix, *Diagrams 1—2* and *Table 1*). The results were as follows: the manuscript is dated to the period between 775 and 995 A.D. with a likelihood of 95.4%. Palaeographic analysis gave the date of about the final quarter of the eighth century [2], which matches the radio-carbon dating. This dating was also corroborated by F. Déroche [3].

The auction house Christie’s recently commissioned an Oxford laboratory to conduct a radio-carbon analysis of parchment from one of the folios from another manuscript of an “‘Uthmānic Qur’ān” (today held in the Religious Administration of Muslims in Tashkent). According to the results of this analysis, the fragment is dated to between 595 and 855 A.D. with a likelihood of 95%. Palaeographic dating also indicates the turn of the eighth — ninth centuries [4].

Both manuscripts contain text which differs only slightly from the standard text of the Qur’ān [5]. They are both documents from the period of the Qur’ān’s *written-oral existence*. This period, which began in the lifetime of Muḥammad with the recording of his first sermons and ended in the tenth century, was marked by a constant strug-

gle, conducted at first by the Prophet himself, and later by the community, to preserve the exact text rather than a generalized variant. However, discrepancies inevitably multiplied in the course of time because of the nature of the right-hemisphere memorization mechanisms that determine how oral information is stored [6].

The Prophet’s opponents repeatedly drew attention to inaccuracies in the transmission of previously uttered revelations. The appearance of *āyāt* close in meaning but textually divergent from those uttered earlier [7] provoked disputes and disagreements: “It is He who sent down upon thee the Book, wherein are verses clear (*muhkamāt*) that are the Essence of the Book, and others ambiguous (*mutashābihāt*). As for those in whose hearts is swerving, they follow the ambiguous part, desiring dissension, and desiring its interpretation (*ta’wīluhu*); and none knows its interpretation (*ta’wīluhu*), save only God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge say, ‘We believe in it: all is from our Lord’...” (3:7) [8]. This *āya* would later give rise to a special theory which divided all *āyāt* into *muhkam* and *mutashābih*, with a special procedure for interpreting the latter [9].

Both manuscripts can serve as a fine example of the standardisation of the text that the community had achieved by the end of the eighth century. Knowing the difficulties that had to be overcome, one must concede that an enormous project was completed in the 100 — 150 years that passed after the death of the Prophet. For this reason, it seems that the discovery of significant manuscript fragments from the turn of the eighth — ninth centuries cannot be overestimated. This was evidently the important period when older copies that contained a by then unacceptable number of variant readings were being actively removed from circulation. In most cases, they made their way to special repositories in large mosques where they slowly decayed. They could also be “buried” with a special ritual [10]. In our view, the widespread disappearance of early copies took place not under the caliph ‘Uthmān (at that time there were only a few full copies of the Qur’ān), but at the turn of the eighth — ninth centuries. Additionally, copies created at that time with a minimal number of variant readings were preserved by the community for many centuries. Such was the fate of the two “‘Uthmānic Qur’āns” discussed in the present article.

Appendix

Diagram 1

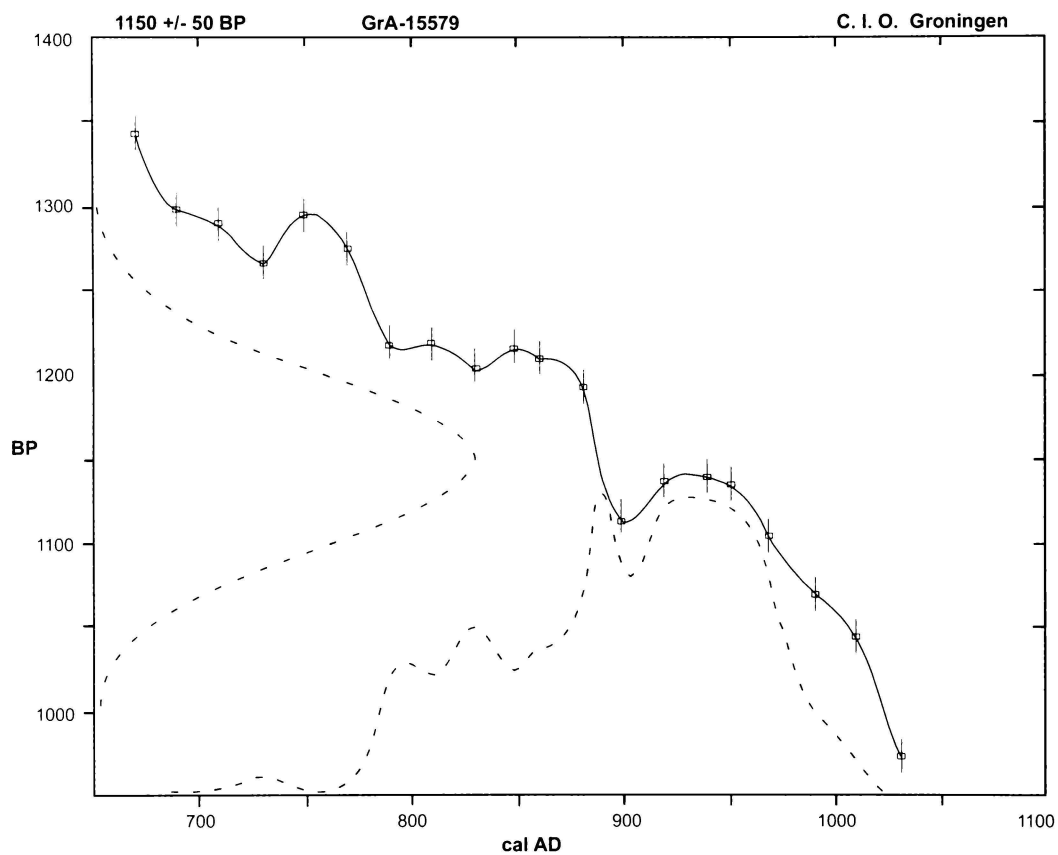


Diagram 2

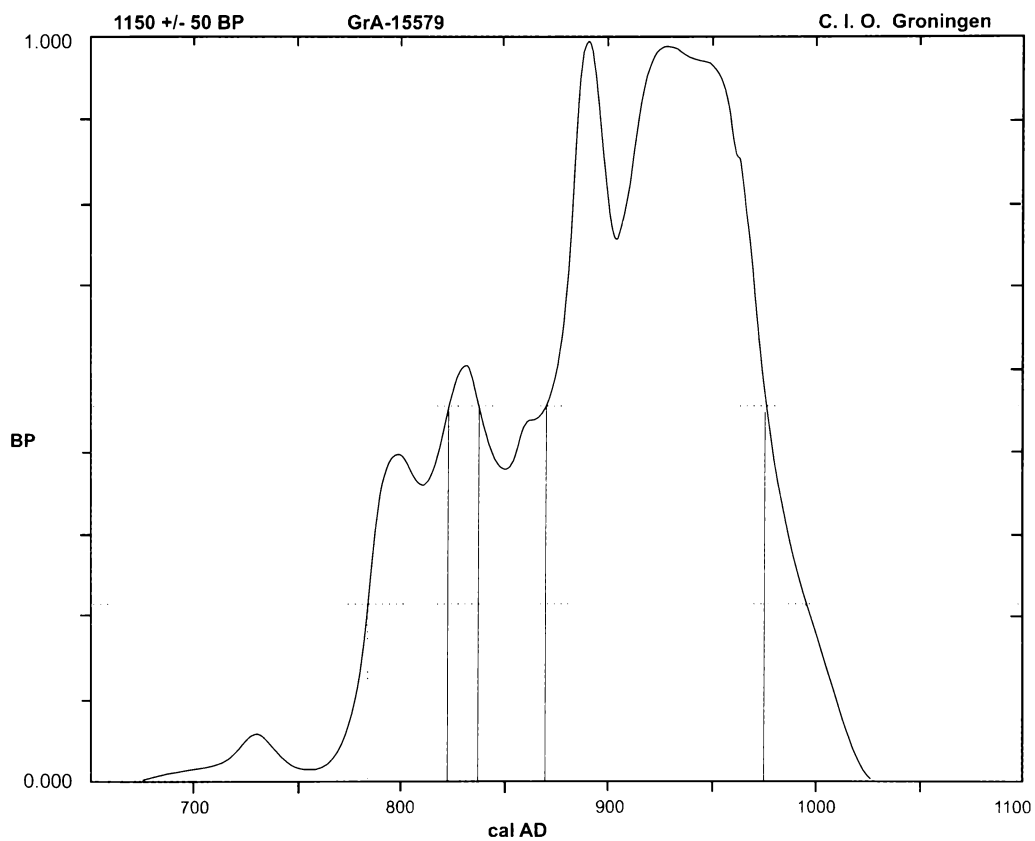


Table 1

The results of the St. Petersburg MS radio-carbon analysis

<p>GrA-15579</p> <p>Calibration of: 1150 BP \pm 50</p> <p>The calculations were performed using the following datafiles:</p> <p>Calibration data: c:\cal25\data1\cal40.dta.</p> <p>Spline fit data: c:\cal25\data1\fit40s0.spl, which means: Stuiver et al. — INTCAL98</p> <p>Integration step size (1/years): 5</p>
<p>Analysis of probability distribution:</p> <p>Seattle / Groningen Method</p> <p>1/2 sigma confidence interval analysis</p> <p>68.3 % (1 sigma) confidence level yields the following ranges:</p> <p>781 cal AD ... 791 cal AD</p> <p>825 cal AD ... 843 cal AD</p> <p>859 cal AD ... 903 cal AD</p> <p>915 cal AD ... 977 cal AD</p> <p>95.4% (2 sigma) confidence level yields the following ranges:</p> <p>775 cal AD ... 995 cal AD</p>

Notes

1. E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VI. Emergence of the Canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), pp. 13–54; *idem*, "Yet another 'Uthmānic Qur'ān" (on the history of manuscript E 20 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies)", *ibid.*, VI/1 (2000), pp. 49–68.
2. *Idem*, "The Qur'ān and its world", p. 26.
3. F. Déroche, "Note sur les fragments coraniques anciens de Katta Langar (Ouzbékistan)", *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l'Asie Centrale Islamique. Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, VII (Tashkent — Aix-en-Provence, 1999), p. 70.
4. Lots 225–225a, sold on 20 October 1992, Qur'ān 22:6–12 and Qur'ān 22:12–17. Lots 29–30, sold on 19 October 1993, Qur'ān 15:62–74 and 4:2–5.
5. See Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world", pp. 24–5; A. Jeffery and I. Mendelsohn, "The orthography of the Samarqand Qur'ān codex", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 3 (1942), pp. 175–94.
6. For the special characteristics of information storage in early-writing and non-writing societies, see V. V. Ivanov, "Nechët i chët. Assimetriia mozga i dinamika znakovykh sistem" ("Odd and even. The asymmetry of the cerebrum and the dynamics of sign systems"), *Izbrannye trudy po semiotike i istorii kul'tury* (Moscow, 1999), i, pp. 566–70.
7. Such a level of variant readings is an inevitable consequence of the non-written existence of the texts, which relies "on the right-hemisphere mechanisms of memorization", see Ivanov, *op. cit.*, p. 568.
8. Translation of A. J. Arberry.
9. J. Wansbrough, *Qur'ānic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977), index; M. Ayoub, "Study of Imāmī Shi'i tafsīr", in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), p. 189.
10. J. Sadan, "Genizah and genizah-like practices in Islamic and Jewish traditions", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLIII/1–2 (1986), pp. 36–58.

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI: II. *AVADĀNAS* AND *JĀTAKAS* (PART 1)

We have already described the discovery of a Buddhist manuscript on birch-bark removed from the earth not far from the city of Bairam-Ali (Merv oasis, Turkmenia). We have also published a general description of the manuscript and one of the texts which belongs to the *Vinaya* section of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* [1]. This text is a completed work and has a colophon, thanks to which we were able to establish that the manuscript contains an excerpt from the Sanskrit Canon of the Sarvāstivādins. The other part of the manuscript is a work which lacks both beginning and end. This part consists of 68 full folios and several fragments. The full folios are 19.0×5.0 cm and contain five lines of text on each side. All of the folios were copied in the same hand, which differs from the rest of the manuscript. The hand is close to calligraphic and neat; according to L. Sander's classification, it belongs to the Turkestan Gupta type, and can be dated to the fifth century A.D.

In content, the manuscript consists of a selection of *avadāna* and *jātaka* stories. In the text itself, they are sometimes termed only *avadāns*; the term *jātaka* does not occur once. The nature of the extant text suggests that it did not contain a full copy of the work at hand, but rather a part of it written in conspectual form. It is possible that the *avadānas* and *jātakas* were copied from the *Sūtras* section and the *Vinaya* Canon of the Sarvāstivādins. In our view, the conspectual nature of the exposition and the arrangement of the text in the manuscript indicate that the text was

written down for memorizing and was used as illustrative material during proselytizing. Divergences from the Buddhist tradition of the Theravādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins and the ideological affiliation of the stories selected from the Canon reveal a connection with the early teaching of Śravakāyāna. Certain *gāthās* and aphorisms may have been recorded from memory or from the words of the teacher.

Before the manuscript was shut into a pitcher, its folios were shuffled in such a way that the collection of *avadānas* and *jātakas* was distributed in various parts of the manuscript. As has already been noted, 68 pages of this work were discovered among the 150 folios of the manuscript. The bulk of them — 41 folios — were at the end of the sheaf, 25 folios in the middle, and 2 in the section with excerpts from *sūtras*. Nearly all folios have *brāhmī* numerical pagination on the left margin, running inclusively from 5 to 69. The first two folios lack pagination; judging by content, they are fols. 3 and 4.

The original pagination is faulty in two places: (i) two folios are numbered fol. 15, while the second of them should apparently have been 18; (ii) after folio 29, there is a doubly paginated folio: 28 and 30. In the remainder, the numeration is accurate.

Fragments were also preserved among folios of unrelated content. They will be published in the order in which they were discovered during restoration.

Structure of the text

The stories, gathered into a single text, are compositionally linked with the aid of *uddāna* and set off from each other graphically. The following signs were used to set stories apart: double *śad* (||) between stories; *cakra* between two double *śads* (|| Ø ||) to identify an *uddāna* from both sides; a slanted mark similar to a horizontally extended comma in place of a dot within the story or quotes for direct speech in the *gāthās*. The order numbers of the *gāthās* have been preserved only on one folio, 52a (numbers 3, 4 and 5).

The principle of ordering a text with the aid of *uddāna* was widely employed in Indian literature in general and in Buddhist literature in particular. This would appear to reflect the original function of the *uddāna* — to present the text together with the chapter-by-chapter colophon in a form convenient for memorizing and oral transmission.

In other words, this is an indication of the extensive oral tradition that surrounded Buddhist texts. Later, the *uddāna* functions as an independent organizing factor, appearing in place of headings within semantically discreet parts of the text [2].

In our text, stories are indicated doubly: with a heading before each story (only once is this omitted), and an *uddāna* before each new group of stories, which usually include some 10-12 stories. In two instances, the *uddāna* concludes a group of stories: see fol. 12b(4—5) and 33a(4—5). In the last case, before the *uddāna* we find the only instance of the term itself in the form *udāna*. In all, there are 17 *uddānas* in the text; they enumerate the titles of 190 stories (not all *uddānas* have been fully preserved because of *lacunae*). Hence, we can conclude that the extant part

of the work contains 17 sections. Two groups of stories, enumerated in the *uddānas* on fols. 51a(5)—b(1) and [2]9a(3—4), have not been preserved. The titles of several stories were omitted in some *uddānas*; for example, a number of titles on fols. 9, 10, 11. The omissions total 10 in all. A total of 163 stories have survived (not counting several fragments). We were not able to ascertain the principle of division into sections. It appears that, as in other such collections of *avadānas* and *jātakas*, the stories were gathered into groups to illustrate certain propositions of *sūtras* and rules of the *Vinaya*, the texts of which served as the source for the tales.

The headings of the stories usually coincide with their titles in the *uddānas*. There are several instances where we find Sanskrit words in the *uddāna* and the same words in prakritized form in the heading. We provide several examples: fol. 61a(1), in the *uddāna* the title of the story is *aśva* ("Horse") — before the story on fol. 62b(1) — *iśṣoti*; fol. 61a(1) — *udś[i]ṣṭa* ("He Refused") — fol. 63b(2) — *ucchiṣṭotti*. In all likelihood, the preacher knew the *uddāna* by memory in its Sanskrit form and used the conversational form when telling the story.

Conspectual nature of text

The work is clearly conspectual in nature. The plots of most stories are either not given or are presented so schematically that it would be impossible to reconstruct the contents of the story if one could not identify them as well-known *avadānas* and *jātakas* by the proper names or certain details. The author of the conspectus must have known the contents of the stories well, for he wrote down only those details that would help a preacher refresh his memory when necessary. It is likely that the preacher himself drew up the conspectus and either copied it himself or entrusted the copying to a qualified copyist. This is supported by the fact that, in addition to the folios copied in a calligraphic hand, the manuscript preserves folios in another, less skilled, hand. Some of them were recopied in a more presentable form.

One can cite the following text on fol. 5b(5—6) as an example of a conspectual annotation: *yadā bhagavatā trayāḥ kūla-putrā vinītā ajñatakonḍi[n]yaḥ bimbisārahśakraśca ekameka aśīti sahasra parivārah avadānam vistareṇa* ("How three youths of noble lineage — Ajñatakonḍīnya, Bimbisāra, and Śakra — were converted by the Bhagavān one after the other together with a retinue of eighty-thousand, [tell the] *avadāna* in detail"). It is entirely clear that this refers to the famed Benares sermon of the Buddha, but the text contains a number of errors: the number and names of the converted youths are given incorrectly (for more detail, see the commentary to fol. 5b).

On fol. [4]b(4), a note is given in place of the content of the story "About how Dhṛtarāṣṭra was a Leader of *Hamsa* Birds". There is a Pāli *jātaka* about this episode, and a Sanskrit version [3]. Clearly, this *jātaka* was extremely popular and there was no need to provide a detailed exposition of its contents in the conspectus.

Further, on fol. 20a(5), we read *ṛkṣasyāvadānam kṛtvā yathā akṛtajñeṣu* ("Tell the *avadāna* about the bear as [an *avadāna* from the series] about those who are not [fittingly] grateful"). This apparently refers to the story, widely represented in Indian literature from the time of the *Pañcatantra*, about the obliging bear who killed the sleeping son of a ruler while shooing a mosquito away from his head.

There are also a great many stories with the same title in the work, but there are only two actual repetitions. Those are *Kubjā iti* ("[Story] Entitled *Kubja*"), fol. 14b(4), a comparatively full variant of the text, a few words that clarify the content, and a *gāthā*. (The same *gāthā* is given a second time on fol. 62a(2) with the title *Kujjāni* — the same name of the heroine in Prakritized form); and *Sinho* ("Lion"), see the *uddāna* on fol. 68b(2), the title is omitted before the story on fol. 68a(4). This is a story about friendship between a lion and a bull; it is well known in Indian literature from the time of the *Pañcatantra*. The same story is repeated with minor variants on fol. 69a.

The same *gāthā* is given, with significant variants, in two different stories with different headings. They appear to be two varying redacts of the same plot: on fols. 9b(2)—10a(2) in the story under the heading *Susārtho bodhisattvaḥ* ("[Story] about the Bodhisattva Who Brings Good"); on fols. 58b(4)—59b(1) — in the story with the title *Jaḍiloma iti* ("[Story] Entitled *Jaḍiloma*"). In the second story, the *gāthā* deals with the subjugation of the *yakṣa Ātavaka*.

In place of the contents of several stories, we find only *gāthās* that is, those parts of the stories which had to be memorized accurately. For example, on fol. 6a(1—2), the entire text of the story after the heading boils down to the following: "A detailed [story] about the body with two faces. As [it is told] in the *Vinaya*, and it holds for this world, and for that world" (henceforth we omit the Sanskrit text unless it contains terms important for the interpretation of the text).

On fol. 14b(3), in place of the story about Ceti (Cedi), we find: "As [it is said] in the *Vinaya*, by cutting down seven palms, you [will not help to] explain the meaning".

Beginning with fol. 54a(1), all of the stories are told in a standard form: indication of setting, a *gāthā* before which we learn who pronounced it.

The collection abounds in authorial notes, connective words, and relative pronouns. The following relative pronouns appear especially frequently in this function: *yavā*, *yathā*, *yadā* with the meaning "as": "as this or that happened", "as he went there", etc. Further, *iti vistareṇa vācyaṃ* ("one should tell in detail") — an extended phrase found on fols. 22b(3), 31a(6), 30a(1), [2]9a(2—3), 31b(5), [33]a(2) and others. The abbreviated form (*iti vistareṇa*) is more frequently found before the heading: "[one should tell] the *avadāna* in detail" with such and such a title. This phrase is sometimes used at the end of the story, where we find the expression *iti vistaraḥ* ("detailed account"). In place of *kim tasya karma* ("what is his karma?") in the middle of the story we usually find *kim karma* or simply *karma*.

Notes are sometimes found in the text of the collection which were clearly intended for the preacher; they explain in which situations he should tell certain stories. For example, after the story entitled *Matsoti* (in place of *matsa iti*) — "The Fish" (version of the Pāli *jātaka* No. 114, *Mitacinti-jātaka*), we find a remark absent in the Pāli text: "[Tell the story about those] who think a thousand times and who a hundred times do think. Devadatta, [for example], 'he who thinks once'" (see fols. 62a(5)—62b(1)).

Some remarks on genre

Of the 163 stories in the collection, 19 are called *avadāna* in the text. In most cases, the type of story is not defined. Not one story is termed a *jātaka*, although two thirds of the stories are, in fact, *jātakas*. Both the *jātakas* and *avadānas* belong to the *Buddhavacanāni* category, that is, words of the Buddha, which make up the *Dvādaśaka-dharma-pravacanam* ("Twenty Types of Instruction as Regards the Dharma") [4]. The *avadānas* occupy the seventh place in this list, and the *jātakas* the ninth. We limit ourselves here to repeating what has already been said on the topic of these genres by our predecessors. J. S. Speyer notes that the basic function of the *avadānas* is to illustrate the action of the law of the *karma* and its inevitable force with stories that are presented as actually having happened and told by the Bhagavān himself [5]. The *avadānas* are closely linked with the *jātakas*. Both contain morally edifying tales intended to provide moral instruction, and were used as illustrations during preaching. The difference between *avadānas* and *jātakas*, as was first noted by L. Feer, is merely that in *jātakas*, the Buddha or *bodhisattva* is an obligatory character, while in *avadānas* his presence is not obligatory, although he frequently appears [6]. Hence, each *jātaka* can be called an *avadāna*, but not every *avadāna* is a *jātaka*.

All *jātakas* are constructed in like fashion: first, there is a "story about the present" which contains a reason for the Buddha's account of one of his past rebirths. This reason is often simply a monk's question; the Buddha answers with a "tale about the past". Both stories are linked in the concluding part of the *jātaka* through the identification of the characters in the story. In *avadānas*, the events described are often dissimilar and are brought together only with a tie of cause and effect: the "tale about the present" is the effect, and the "tale about the past", the cause.

These basic theoretical propositions hold for the collection in our manuscript. The *jātakas* and *avadānas* are interspersed, yet one can divide the collection into two parts on the basis of the structure of the stories:

1. On fols. [4]—53 — there is a mixture of *avadānas* and *jātakas*, among which the stories vary in the completeness of their exposition. Brief stories contain one *gāthā*, saying or aphorism, sometimes only a heading and an authorial comment. Full stories are constructed as follows: the "tale about the present" usually appears as an authorial explanation of the reason for the "tale about the past". Sometimes this is a question put to the Bhagavān by monks. It frequently begins with the word *paśya* ("Look!"). For example, fol. 6a(4—5): "Look at how Devadatta inflicted much insult on the *tathāgata*, and the Bhagavān forgave them all. They asked the Bhagavān: 'Is [this not] marvelous that the Bhagavān forgave [Devadatta]? How glorious he is!'" And further the "Tale about the Past" begins with the words *Bhagavān āha*: "What here seems miraculous [is explained by the relations] between the *rājā* of Benares and the *rājā* of Videhā in a past incarnation". After the "tale about the past", there is no identification of the characters. The absence of such an identification is one of the typical features of this collection. The "tale about the present" can also be connected to the "tale about the past" as the result

of the action of *karma*. In such cases, the question *kim karma* follows the "tale about the present", after which the actions of the hero in previous incarnations are described.

2. The 16 concluding folios of the collection, beginning with fol. 54a, present only *jātakas*; moreover, their contents are omitted. What has remained in the text can be described with the following outline, common to all *jātakas*: a) the setting is given, for example: *Rājagṛhe nidānam* ("The matter took place in Rājagṛha"). This formula is typical of other collections of *jātakas* as well; b) the person who *gāthāṃ bhāṣati* ("said the *gāthā*") is named; c) the text of the *gāthā* is given; d) the concluding formula *siyāti vistaraha* or *siyā vistaraha* ("Thus may it be. [Here is a] detailed [account]") is present. This marks the end of the *jātaka* text. An identification of the characters is absent.

The significance of the work in the Bairam-Ali manuscript is worthy of special comment. It is a collection of didactic stories. Three quarters of their plots can be identified with the aid of Pāli and Sanskrit collections of similar content such as the *Avadānaśataka* collection, which includes 100 *avadānas* of the Sarvāstivāda school; the *Divyāvadāna* — a collection which consists of 38 *avadānas* of the Sarvāstivāda school [7]; the *Apadāna* — a collection of *avadānas* in Pāli, 397 in all, of the Theravāda school [8]; the *Jātaka-Māla* ("Garland of *Jātakas*") — a collection drawn up by the Indian author Āryaśūra on the basis of Sarvāstivādin texts; and finally, the collection of 547 Pāli *jātakas* chosen from the Pāli Canon by V. Fausbøll [9].

In its division into sections and the number and arrangement of stories within sections, the work does not coincide with any of the known collections of *jātakas* and *avadānas*. Only in one instance does the *uddāna* on fol. [2]9a(3—4) approximate the *uddāna* of *varga* 5 in the *Avadānaśataka* in the titles and order of the stories enumerated; but stories with these titles are absent in the manuscript (the details are described in the notes to fol. [2]9a). In both *uddānas*, the concluding part is identical: *vargo bhavati samudditaḥ* ("gathered into a single *varga*"). This formula is attested only in this single case in the manuscript.

The titles of the stories in the manuscript usually do not coincide with the titles of *avadānas* and *jātakas* of similar content from other collections. It remains unclear whether we have here different versions and redacts of the same stories, or distortions by the compiler of this particular collection. It is possible that the collection under consideration also contains versions of didactic stories that belong only to the Sarvāstivādin school. As concerns translations of the didactic stories from Sanskrit into Chinese, the comparison with the collection published by Éd. Chavannes [10] shows that many of the plots underwent Chinese alteration and editing.

The *gāthās* in the text could not in a single instance be identified as *gāthās* from the above-mentioned collections. Comparison with similar Pāli *jātakas* showed that what is there laid out in prose is in our work presented in the form of *gāthās*; the reverse holds as well. A number of stories found among Pāli *jātakas* also exist in Tibetan translation [11]. Moreover, the stories in the collection under con-

sideration here are closer to the Tibetan translation than to the Pāli versions. All of these topics will be discussed in detail in the commentary to the translations of the stories.

The main conclusion which can be drawn from an analysis of the content of the stories in the collection is that the attention of the preacher is directed not toward the concrete actions of the characters, but toward a description of the “path and result” which should mark the lives of those who set out along the way of the Teaching. Events and actions are recorded only minimally in the stories, but their results are depicted quite clearly, and always in the same fashion: one receives instruction in the *Dharma*, and as a result — a righteous way of life; one takes vows, and enters the Buddhist community (performing the ritual of *pravrajya*), and finally, one attains a state of *arhat*. The accomplishments of he who sets forth along the path are almost always described in the same terms: “gave gifts”, “hosted the monks”, “took part in constructing the *stūpa*”, “kept the area around the *stūpa* clean, adorned it with flowers”, and so on in like spirit.

The cult of the *bodhisattva* is virtually absent in the collection, although he is mentioned in many stories. There is no description of the *bodhisattva*'s heroic efforts to save living things. Calls to lead the life of a hermit are also missing.

The stories note the way to “free oneself from rebirth” or “leave the circle of rebirth”, which is typical of the early *Śravakayāna*. This way is acceptable for ordinary people, for lay-persons. Among the terms which describe this way, there are virtually none connected with the perfection of intellectual and psychological abilities, but these terms do appear in the manuscript in the section with quotations from the *sūtras*. Comparing the way of liberation presented in the manuscript with the description of the way of other Buddhist schools — Mahīśāsaka [12] and Dharmaguptaka [13] — we conclude that the basic stages of the way are the same. It could not be otherwise, as all of these schools represent the “Little Chariot”. But there are some differences. In the *Vinaya* of the two above-mentioned schools, the Bhagavān calls for “instruction of three types”: (i) instruction for acquiring the fundamentals of supernatural abilities (Skt. *ṛddhipāda*); (ii) instruction in following the *Dharma*

(Skt. *dharmadeśanā*) (iii) training in following the instructions and rules or “instruction regarding consciousness” (Skt. *anusmṛiti*) [14]. Among the Sarvāstivādis, according to this work, the path of preparation for a state of *ahrat* consisted of two, not three, stages: 1) instruction in the *Dharma* — *dharmadeśanā*; 2) training in following the instructions and rules or instruction in the necessity of recognizing: *cittam prasāḍita* — “consciousness was enlightened”, *satyāni dṛṣṭāni* — “[the four noble] truths [were] grasped”.

The term *ṛddhipāda* is not attested for the work under consideration. Its first part — *ṛddhi* (“supernatural abilities”) — occurs only twice in the manuscript, and both times refers to the Bhagavān.

The most important element in evaluating the collection of stories lies not in identifying its content and terminology, but in the nature of the document itself. We have here a unique creation, the living tradition of transmitting the Buddhist teaching to non-initiates, a model for proselytizing. This is a conspectus of fables and stories used by a Buddhist preacher of the teaching in his interactions with others. With such materials he set out for the West, to distant lands. These were the didactic stories the preacher was to tell in order to buttress the propositions of the *Vinaya* found in the first work we published from the manuscript and to reinforce the terminology of the *Sūtras*, quotes from which are found in the third and final part of the manuscript.

The texts of the fragments on fols. [3, 4] and fol. 5 are published in the present issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. Two fragments have been preserved of the folio we conditionally term No. 3: the larger is 7.0×4.5 cm; the smaller — 3.5×2.5 cm. The text covers both sides, but the context does not indicate which should be considered *recto* and which *verso*. We present below the Sanskrit texts in transliteration, English translation, and facsimile. We omit a translation for the second fragment because of insufficient material. As the limitations of a journal publication do not allow us to print large sections of the text, the publication will be spread out over several issues.

TRANSLITERATION

FRAGMENT I: FOL. [3a?]

1.(illegible)
2. *gaja iti* || *paśya bhagavāṃ mātā-pi*] ...
3. [*bra*] *hmadatta iti paryantaḥ po*] ...
4. *ddhaviti yāva*¹ *mukto abhaya*] ...
5. [*vi*] *stareṇa ghrta-pānam bhikṣavaḥ X*] ...

FOL. [3b?]

1. *sarva-duḥkhāt-pramucyitum*] || *bhaga*[*vān*] ...[*va*]-
2. *rgge agnir-muktaḥ sārtho bhāyam*] ...
3. *n-āha rāgāgnir-ddoṣāgnir-mo X*] ...
4. *hi pavaka bhikṣavo bhagava*] ...
5. *taḥ bhagavān-āha bhikṣavo X*] ...

¹ Possibly a slip of the pen in place of *yavā*.



Fig. 1

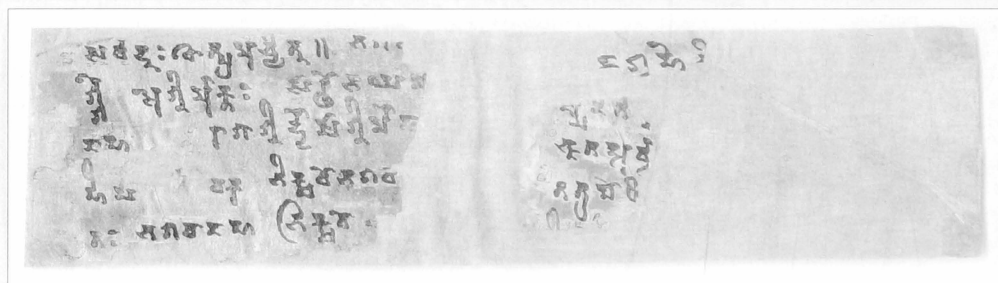


Fig. 2

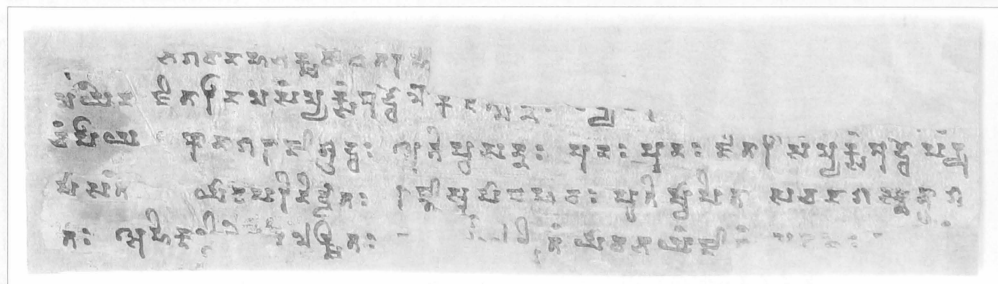


Fig. 3

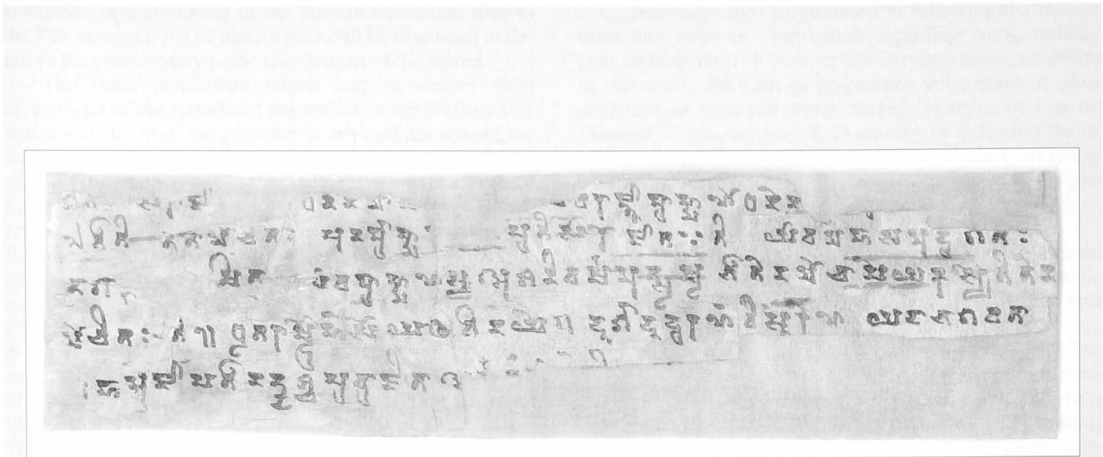


Fig. 4

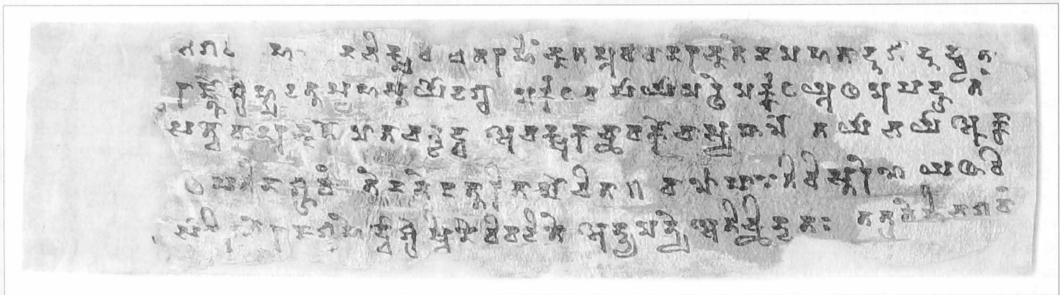


Fig. 5

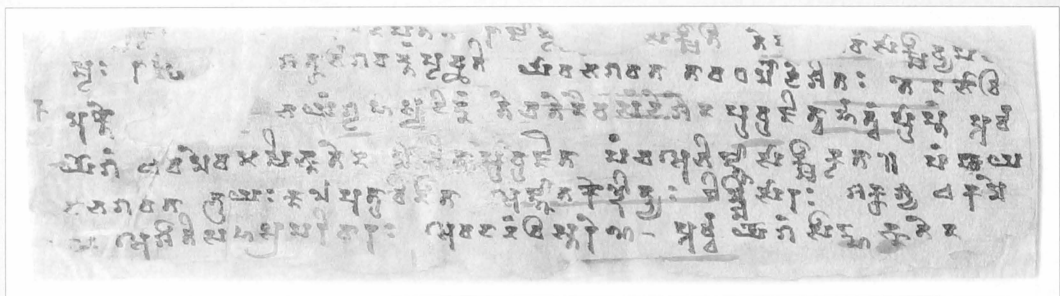


Fig. 6

FRAGMENT 2 [FOL. 3a?]

1. ...]ṇasya vi] ...
2. ...]svat[i] mo] ...
3. ...]yūtha vetra la] ...
4. ...]ka ma s[u?] ...

FOL.[3b?]

1. ...] X grhe X] ...
2. ...]Xman-iti] ...
3. ...] bhūta-pūrvva] ...
4. ...] tatra pā X] ...

TRANSLATION

FRAGMENT 1 [FOL. 3a?]

1. ...
2. ... [Story entitled] **Elephant**. Look! Bhagavān ... the parents ...
3. [Story] entitled **Brahmadatta**. Neighbouring ...
4. [Story] by the title ... How [he] freed himself from fear ...
5. In detail. Monks ... jug with oil ...

[FOL. 3b?]

1. to free from all misfortunes. Bhagavān ...
2. in the section "Free from fire"^[1]. Having the goal ...
3. [Bhagavān] said: "fire of rage, fire of errors ...
4. cleansing, monks". Bhagavān ...
5. [Bhagavān] said: "Monks! ...

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] Cf. the Chinese translations of the *Vinaya* of Mahiśāsaka, *Tripiṭaka Taisho*, No. 1421, p. 109b: "What is training in the instructions and rules? It consists of telling monks: 'All is aflame. What is everything that is aflame? The eyes are aflame, the forms are aflame, that which is perceived with vision is aflame, vision itself, the thought that gives rise to vision, is also aflame. Why do they burn? They were set alight by the fire of desire, they were set alight with the fire of delusion, set alight by the fire of hatred ...' etc., about all the sensory organs and forms of polluting consciousness, and as a result of this the pupil develops a disgust for everything, and he can say: 'My task has been completed, my behaviour has become pure, I will not receive a new birth'". See A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha*, vol. I, p. 319. The same is found in the Pāli Canon.

FOL. [4a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. X X X bhagavān-āha bhikṣavo etarahi] ... [sa]-
2. mayena jītārī-nāma saṃmyaksambuddho lok[e] utpanna X X X X X] ...
3. daṃ pīya ko nāga-rājā śraddhaḥ ati prasannaḥ punaḥ punaḥ jītārī samyaksambuddho paryu-
4. pāsate yāva parinirvṛtaḥ rājñāsu pāpa-pavaḥ pratiṣṭhāpitā sa ca nāgas-tatra-āga-
5. taḥ ahi-ku X X X X lakṣitaḥ X X X X tam yāva bhayaṃ jāt[ī]am X X X X X X X X

TRANSLATION

1. ... Bhagavān said: “Monks! At that very time ^[12])
2. an entirely enlightened [one] by the name of Jitārin ^[13] was born in the world
3. having drunk, the ruler of the *nāgas*, full of faith and righteous beyond measure, again and again revered the entirely enlightened Jitārin.
4. How [he] attained [thanks to this] *nirvāṇa*. A cleansing from sins was held among the rulers, and that *nāga* arrived there.
5. ^[14]

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] *etarahi* (Skt. *etarhi*) — “at that very time” — the form is attested in Buddhist texts, see *BHSD*, p. 155.

^[2] The Buddha's proper name — Jitārin — was not found in other texts.

^[3] The isolated words preserved in line 5 are left untranslated because of insufficient context. The story remains unidentified.

FOL. [4b]

TRANSLITERATION

1. X X *sa rājā* X X *dhananāmā* X X X X X X *va rājñā brāhmaṇo dhanena*] ...
2. *latīti tato moc[i]taḥ punar-brāhmaṇasya*] *pratisāro jāta iti yāva mahasamudra-gataḥ*
3. *nāga-aṣita eva brāhmaṇasya aśani-varṣam-utsrṣtam bhītena mocāpeya-kasyeti tena*
4. *mocitaḥ iti || dhrtarāṣtro haṁso yathā ti naye || durgād-uddharaṇam* *vistareṇa yadā bhagavatā*
5. *mahāprajāpatī nandaśca pravrajitā* X X X X X X] ...

TRANSLATION

1. ... the *brāhmaṇ* [was given] wealth by the ruler ...
2. thus it is known. Thanks to this, he received freedom [from attachments]. He was born again as a *brāhmaṇ* ^[5]. [Tell] how [he] set out [to sail] upon the ocean,
3. [he] came to the *nāgas*. How the *brāhmaṇ* survived the storm ^[6], [getting by with only] a fright, [tell] about a certain tree sap unfit for drinking; [how the *brāhmaṇ*]
4. [still managed to] survive. About how **Dhrtarāṣtra was the leader of the haṁsa birds** ^[7]. A detailed story about the prevention of an evil matter. When from the Bhagavān
5. Mahāprajāpatī and Nanda received the initiation of the *pravrajyā* ...

C o m m e n t a r y

^[5] *brāhmaṇasya pratisāra* — lit. “return back in the guise of a *brāhmaṇ*”.

^[6] *aśani-varṣa* - - lit. “thunder and rain”.

^[7] The reference is to one of the early incarnations of the Buddha, about which there is also a Pāli *jātaka* (*Nacca-jātaka*, No. 32) and a Sanskrit *jātaka* (*Haṁsajātaka*, in *Jātaka-Māla*, pp. 127—42). This plot is also known through other texts, see *BHSD*, p. 286.

The text of the *jātaka* is not given in the manuscript. After its title, there immediately follows the title of another *jātaka* — “On preventing an evil thing”. See the following folio.

FOL. [5a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. ...] *bhaga[vān-ā]ha, na bhikṣava etarahiṃ bhūtapūrvā vānara bhūtena mahatā[d]-urgād-uddhṛta*
2. ...] *rājño brahmadattasya hastayo dagdhā markāṭa-vasāyāmar-the markāṭa-yūtham-upad[ru]taṃ*

3. ...*bodhi*]*satvo vānara-bhūto mātā ca vṛddhā acakṣu-kacchāva-*
*ko*² *cāsyā bālo tayā-bhayā*³ *ākkrā-*
4. [*nta*]...[*yū*]*tha-patinā śrutaṃ tena te uttāritā-mocitā || vālāpa iti*
vistareṇa yathā vi-
5. ...] *sam* [*ji X rājagṛhe dvā śreṣṭhine*⁴ *vivadite annyamanye*
*aticchin*⁵ *-ṛtaḥ tatra tehi bhagavām*

TRANSLATION

1. ... Bhagavān said: “No, monks! At precisely that time in a previous incarnation, when [the *bodhisattva*] was a monkey, an evil thing was prevented by [that] great being^[8]
2. ... The elephants of the *rājā* of Brahmadatta received burns. In order [to get] the monkey brain [to treat the burns], a group of monkeys was ambushed.
3. ... The *bodhisattva* was [at that time] a monkey, and [he had] a mother, old [and] blind [as] a turtle. And her son, fearing for her, came
4. [running] ... [and this news from him] was heard by the leader of the group. Thanks to this, those [monkeys] avoided the danger [and] were saved. [Story] by the title *Vālāpa*^[9].
5. ... in *Rājagṛha*, two leaders of the merchants quarreled. One was a guest of the other. Then Bhagavān by them

Commentary

^[8] The reference is to the Sanskrit version of *jātaka* No. 404 (*Kapi-jātaka*), which tells how a monkey soiled a priest of the *rājā* and the latter decided to take vengeance on all monkeys who lived in the ruler's garden. At precisely that moment, the ruler's elephant stable caught fire because of the negligence of a servant-girl and the elephants received serious burns. The priest proscribed a treatment of monkey brains. According to the Pāli version, the leader of the monkeys began speaking with the *rājā* and explained to him that not all of the monkeys were guilty, but only one of them. In this fashion, he saved the group. The leader's old mother is not mentioned in the Pāli version. Evidently, the compiler of the collection brought together two *jātakas*. *Jātaka* No. 222 (*Cūla-nandiya-jātaka*) tells of how the *bodhisattva*-monkey sacrificed himself to save his old, blind mother.

^[9] *Vālāpa* — female proper name. We were unable to find it in other texts in the given phonetic form.

FOL. 5b

TRANSLITERATION

1. ...] *pata* X X *rājā* ... *sākṣīti* te X X X *vā sākṣī-vyapa*[*kr*]-
2. *ṣṭaḥ rājā* [*ajāta*]*śatru-Bhagavāntaṃ prcchati yāva bhagavatā*
tāva dharmodeśitaḥ tena bhāvi
3. *mukte* ... *bhayaṃ gṛhasya dīnnaṃ te ca tenaiva saṃdeśena*
pravrajitvā-arhatvaṃ prāptaṃ pūrva-
4. *yogaṃ evameva ṛṣi-bhūtena mocitvā pravrajitā pañca-abhi-*
jñā sākṣī kṛtā || paṃpha *ya-*
5. *dā bhagavatā trayāḥ kula-putrā vinītā ajñātakonḍi*[*n*]*vaḥ*
bimbisāraḥ śakraśca ekame-
6. [*ka*] *aśīti sahasra parivāraḥ avadānaṃ vistareṇa, pūrvavayogaṃ*
sīha bhūtena

TRANSLATION

1. ...[Story] entitled *Ego*. After rejecting self-consciousness,
2. the *rājā* [*Ajāta*]*śatru* asked the Bhagavān [for instruction]. How he was instructed by the Bhagavān in following the *Dharma*. Thanks to this, in the future
3. [together with the *ṛṣi* he] left the circle of rebirths ... The house was given up, and thanks to [following] this instruction they received the initiation of the *pravrajyā*. A state of *arhat* was achieved [by them]. In a previous incarnation, they were thus *ṛṣī*, [and], having received liberation [from worldly attachments], they accepted the ritual of *pravrajyā* and fully realized the five knowledges beyond bounds. [Story] about **Paṃpha**^[10].

² Instead of *kacchapakā*?

³ Instead of *bhayāt*.

⁴ Instead of *śreṣṭhīni*?

⁵ Instead of *atithin*.

5. How three youths of noble lineage — Ajñātakauṇḍinya, Bimbisāra and Śakra^[11] — were converted by the Bhagavān one after the other

6. together with a retinue of eighty-thousand, [tell] the *avadāna* in detail. In a previous incarnation, when Ajakara^[12] was

Commentary

^[10] The proper name Paṇṇha does not occur in other texts.

^[11] The “conversion of the three youths of noble lineage” is not mentioned in the Buddhist Canon. One of those enumerated — Ajñātakauṇḍinya — is the first of the five pupils of the Buddha converted in Benares. There is reason to believe that the compiler of the collection has this episode in mind. On the conversion of the Buddha's first five pupils — Kauṇḍinya (after his conversion he received the name Ajñātakauṇḍinya), Bhadrīka, Vāṣpa, Āsvajit, Mahānāman, see Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha*, pp. 183—9. The same tradition is found in the *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 328—9. See also in the *Lalitavistara*.

^[12] Proper name, see on the following folio.

Notes

1. See *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; VI/2 (2000), pp. 10—9.
2. Arīa Shura, *Girlianda Dzhatka ili Skazaniia o Podvigakh Bodhisattvy* (The Garland of *Jātakas* or Tales of the Heroic Exploits of the Bodhisattva), trans. from the Sanskrit by A. P. Barranikov and O. F. Volkova (Moscow, 1962). See Introduction by O. F. Volkova, p. 9.
3. *The Jātaka-Māla or Bodhisattvāvadāna-Māla by Ārya-śūra*, ed. H. Kern (Boston, 1891), pp. 127—42.
4. *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, ed. Sakaku, Nos. 1266—1278.
5. *Avadāna-cātaka*, ed. J. S. Speyer (Hague, 1958), Preface, p. II.
6. *Annals du Musée Guimet*, XIII (1888), p. XII.
7. *The Divyāvadāna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. E. B. Cowell, R. H. Neil (Cambridge, 1886).
8. *The Apadāna of the Khuddaka Nikāya*, pts. I—II (London, 1925—1927). — Pāli Text Society, vols. 75, 77.
9. V. Fausboll, *The Jātaka Together with its Commentary Being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotam Buddha*. Pāli text with trans. by T. W. Rhys Davids, in 6 vols. (Lodon, 1877—1897).
10. *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka Chinois*, tr. par Éd. Chavannes, in 4 vols. (Paris, 1910—1912).
11. *Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources*, trans. from Tibetan of the Kah-gyur by Anton von Schiefner (London, 1906).
12. *Tripitaka Taisho*, No. 1421, p. 109b(1)—c(1).
13. *Ibid.*, No. 1428, p. 797a(1)—b(1).
14. A. Bareau, *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha* (Paris, 1963), i, pp. 318—9.

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, fragment 1, fol. [3a?], 7.0 × 4.5 cm; fragment 2, the same folio, 3.5 × 2.5 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fragment 1, fol. [3b?], fragment 2, the same folio.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [4a], 18.0 × 4.5 cm.

Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. [4b].

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. [5a], 16.5 × 4.5 cm.

Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. 5b, 18.5 × 5.0 cm.

SONG *BIJI* AUTHORAL COLLECTIONS: “LOFTY JUDGEMENTS BY THE PALACE GATES” BY LIU FU

The collection *Qing suo gao yi* (青瑣高議 — “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” [1]) by Liu Fu (劉斧) has not hitherto received special study either in Russia and, as far as I know, abroad [2]. Yet the quality of its preservation and the originality of its genre render it a valuable document: it is the only early Sun *biji* collection which contains *chuanqi* novellas, and, besides, it was the source from which Lu Sin extracted a number of novellas for his famous “Collection of *chuanqi* novellas of the Tang and Song dynasties” (*Tangsong chuanqi ji*). Very little information about the author, Liu Fu, has survived. We know for sure only his name; rather, the name with which he signed the collection. We know that a person with this name held the scholarly degree of *xiucai*, meaning that he passed first-level exams in a competition for a vacant position. Most likely, Liu Fu came from a family of officials and was preparing himself for civil service. We can establish the dates of Liu Fu's life only on the basis of the dates found in the collection. The earliest mentioned refer to the reign of the emperor Zhen-zong (1022—1063), and the latest to the reign of Zhe-zong (1086—1101); the latest date in the collection is 1077 [3]. In another work by Liu Fu which has come down to us in fragmentary form — *Han fu ming tan* (翰府名談 — “Well-known Tales about Hanfu” [4]) — the bulk of the dates also fall in the period between 1045 and 1075. Moreover, in the collection *Qing suo gao yi*, such Song dignitaries as Wang An-shi (1021—1086) and Sima Guang (1019—1086) are referred to by their posthumous names [5]. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Liu Fu lived between 1020 and 1100, perhaps somewhat later, and that the collection “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” appeared after 1086 [6]. We also know (from the introduction to *Qing suo gao yi* by a certain Sun Fu-shu [7]) that Liu Fu stayed in Hangzhou and the city of Kaifeng, then the capital of China. One can even presume that Liu Fu was in Kaifeng for quite some time, as it is the most frequent setting for the tales in his collection. Moreover, Liu Fu himself tells us that one of his relatives (most likely his father) served in the prison administration in the region of Tongzhou (today's Sichuan province), and that Liu Fu was there with him [8].

First briefly mentioned is the collection “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” in the literature section of a Song dynastic history, where we learn that Liu Fu is the author of *Qing suo gao yi*, which comprise 20 *juans*, and

Zhi yi (摭遺 — “Collection of What Has Been Lost”) in 20 *juans*, and “Han fu ming tan” in 25 *juans* [9]. The last two works have come down to us only in scant fragments included in other collections and anthologies [10]. The bibliography of Chao Gong-wu notes: “‘Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates’, 18 *juans*, compiler's name not indicated, [the book] contains records of various events [from the time] of today's dynasties, remarks and stories written by well-known statesmen, yet in this book the expressions and thoughts are extremely vulgar” [11]. Later, during the Yuan period (1279—1368), the collection “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” vanishes entirely from official bibliographies and can be found, at best, in lists of missing books. In the middle of the Ming dynasty (1368—1644), the book reappears, but in three separate (disjoint) parts to exist in this form until the ascension of the Qing dynasty (1644—1911), when it was reassembled by the well-known Qing textologist and bibliophile Huang Pi-le (黃丕烈; 1763—1825). He left his afterword (跋 *ba*) [12] in the book and signed it with one of his pseudonyms, Fu-weng (復翁). This afterword which of the three parts (they are present in the contemporary edition) provide important information that the collection *Qing suo gao yi* existed for many years in copies, and that one such copy was commissioned by Huang Pi-le himself. The first and second parts were copied from a manuscript which belonged to a certain Shen Wen-bian (沈文辨), who also left a record which was made in 1522. Huang Pi-le edited the text he received, finishing his work in the first decade of the first lunar month of 1813. In the summer of 1814, Huang Pi-le received as a gift from a friend yet another copy of the second part of the collection. This unnamed friend dated the copy (judging from the paper and Indian ink) to the pre-Ming period. Also, Huang Pi-le knew of yet another pre-Ming copy, which differed from those in his possession and belonged to Zhang Zheng-an (張訥菴; twelfth century). Before it was acquired by Huang Pi-le, the third part belonged to Wang Shi-zhen (王世禎; 1634—1711), who left his autograph in it with the pseudonym Yuyang shanren (漁洋山人). Huang Pi-le affirms that Wang Shi-zhen's copy dates to the time of Zhen-da (1506—1521), while Wang Shi-zhen himself says about Liu Fu's collection: “These are offshoots of the ‘New Tales by the Speaking Lantern’” [13]. He also expresses his surprise that *Qing suo gao yi* should be so widespread despite the “vulgarity” of its contents [14].

Thus, by 1500, three parts of “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” were known in China, and they existed in the form in which we know them today. In the Song period, a two-part version of the work circulated; each part contained around ten *juans*, as a dynastic history states that it held 20 *juans* (according to Chao Gong-wu, the number was 18). Today, we have a text of 27 *juans* based on the Qing editions. It is, however, possible that the two parts circulated in the Song period were much larger than the first and second parts as we know them today. In all likelihood, their text was later lost or heavily damaged and reconstructed, acquiring in the process a somewhat different internal structure than the original text. Additional fragments of the Song text were later discovered and brought together into a third part which is shorter and appears to be incomplete. This is supported by the fact that individual fragments not included in the known text of *Qing suo gao yi* continued to come to light until recently, which explains the appearance of yet another *juan* as part of modern reconstructions of the text in the 1983 edition.

We present here brief information on the contents of the collection. As was noted above, *Qing suo gao yi* consists of three parts: the first two hold 10 *juans* each, the third — 7. The collection includes 144 works in various genres: 49 works are in the first part, 72 in the second, and 23 in the third. One should also note 36 fragments which form an appendix to the main body of the text (in the 1983 edition). The collection combines *chuanqi* novellas, pre-Tang *xiaoshuo* plotted prose, which predominates and treats both the miraculous (*zhiguai*) and events and people (*zhiren*); it also includes plotless prose (remarks and reflections), individual poetic works, and reflections on verse (*shihua*). All of the works in the collection have headings with varying numbers of characters (usually three), and subheadings of seven characters which describe the contents [15].

Liu Fu was not so much the author as the compiler of the collection: a large number of the works which form the main body of the text belong to other Chinese authors. These include several stories, but, mainly, *chuanqi* novellas, the authorship of which is revealed in notes which follow the headings. There are fourteen such works [16]. The compilers of “Selected *Chuanqi* Novels by Song Authors” believe that some of the other novels may not belong to Liu Fu either, although their authors are not known. These are *Sui yan di shan hai ji* (隋煬帝山海記 — “Notes on the Seas and Mountains of Sui Yan-di”) and *Zhu she ji* (朱蛇記 — “Notes on the Red Snake”) [17]. Although this assertion lacks necessary argumentation, it is quite indicative: that not all instances of borrowing are indicated in *Qing suo gao yi*, is obvious. Besides, the study of several earlier *biji* collections (and not only *biji*) shows that many times Liu Fu employed the works of other authors without noting his sources [18]. It is also important that around a quarter of all the works in *Qing suo gao yi* are equipped with summaries, which begin with the words 議曰 or, more rarely, 評曰 (“[My] opinion is that”). They were probably added by Liu Fu to the works of others, which would mean that the presence of a summary can serve as an indication that Liu Fu was not himself the author.

As was noted above, Liu Fu included in his book a motley selection of works: plotted and plotless, prose and poetry, tales of the everyday and the supernatural. However, this mixture reveals an original principle of text

organization characteristic of such kind of literature: various works are grouped around a particular theme of interest to the author. There are several such themes, and in each *biji* collection we can easily identify the thematic group which corresponds to the compiler's interests and views. The same holds true for Liu Fu's collection — the plots and motifs here recur within the framework of the themes which interest him. The scholar cannot ignore this regular recurrence of thematically linked plots and motifs, but it is not valuable in and of itself — it is, rather, a typical feature of Chinese literary culture, a form of “literary etiquette”, to expand on the use of D. S. Likhachev's well-known term. Plots and motifs — with some variations — recur until a certain semantic saturation of the concept, or situation, is achieved. Since the plots and motifs are well-known, and their number is limited, their recurrence is less important than the selection and accentuation of certain aspects. In his work, the author begins with what is already known, commenting and adding specifics. For this reason, it seems suspect to view the recurrence of plots within one collection and in various collections as the “basic constructive principle of the *biji*” [19]; rather, this is the basic constructive principle of the collection as a type of medieval book. Of course, *biji* collections stand out by virtue of a greater degree of “authorial freedom”, for they are limited neither by genre nor theme. It is important that the group of themes treated may be well familiar from other, earlier collections, and within the medieval literary tradition, the number of such themes was fairly small, but the focus of attention in each individual collection is what characterizes the author. In the collection “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates”, one can identify several main themes around which plots and motifs recur in various parts of the work. These themes are closely linked to the main characters.

1. The Noble man, a Confucian bibliophile. In Liu Fu's collection, we find two types of such heroes and the circumstances that surround them: noble statesmen in antiquity (for Liu Fu, this is the time of the Tang dynasty and later) and noble statesmen contemporary to Liu Fu in Song society. The Confucian bibliophile appears as the main character in the bulk of the works included in *Qing suo gao yi*: he is usually a model of virtue and proper conduct. Liu Fu cites his actions as an example for emulation. Noble statesmen in antiquity are primarily Han Yü and Liu Zhongyuan. Liu Fu is especially interested in the well-known incident with the crocodiles which Han Yü expelled in Chaozhou (today's Guangdong province). As a true Chinese bibliophile, Liu Fu ascertains the facts known to him about this event, even describing the crocodiles' appearance [20]. Liu Fu considers Han Yü an ideal official whose virtues allowed him to rule wisely not only over people but also over the beasts and spirits found in the land under his administration [21]. Among other examples, which are shown as deserving of respect in Liu Fu's collection, we find the renowned Liang military commander Wang Yan-zhang (863—923) — the text on the latter's memorial stela, written by Ouyang Xiu, is cited by Liu Fu in “Notes on a Decorated Statue of Wan Yan-zhang” — and several other historical figures.

But the majority of the noble men of state in “Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates” belong to the Song era. They are entirely real officials, poets, and bibliophiles known thanks to the rich heritage that has come down to us

and the official biographies from Song dynastic history. Their verses can be found without difficulty in any old or modern Chinese anthology. They include such impressive figures as Li Fang (925—996), Zhan Yong (946—1015), Kou Zhun (961—1023), Ouyang Xiu, Mei Yao-chen (1002—1060), and others. Liu Fu provides some episodes from each of their lives, which demonstrate solely the positive qualities of these outstanding personalities. For example, Wang An-shi (1021—1086) extends financial help to a woman compelled to sell herself into slavery [22], while Han Wei (1017—1098) shows tolerance toward an official who accidentally breaks his favourite wine cups; he also does not punish a soldier who carelessly sets his (Han Wei's) beard on fire [23], etc. Liu Fu constantly returns to images of noble statesmen and their virtuous qualities: loyalty to the ruler, a sense of duty, filial respect, humanity, wisdom, etc. In this sense, Liu Fu's collection can be considered a model of edifying reading. The information conveyed in such stories is especially valuable because it reflects the view of a contemporary (or contemporaries, as we cannot be sure that all of the contents were penned by Liu Fu himself).

The fourth *juan* of the first part also contains three *chuanqi* novellas on noble men. But since they are not in state service, they manifest their virtues differently: they are headlessly brave, faithful to the call of duty and true to their word above all else in life. These are, for example, Wang Ji, who metes out justice to a repressive local ruler and his subordinates, Sun Li, a slaughterer of cattle, who helps a friend to deal with the offender of his mother, an unnamed lover of justice, who stands up for those insulted [24], etc.

2. The noble woman. The images of women in *Qing suo gao yi* are fairly traditional. They are wives faithful to their spousal duty and willing to brave death for its sake. Such is the heroine of the tale *Zheng Lu*, who commits suicide in order to save her husband; such is the lady Song, who firmly refuses the advances of a young neighbour despite her deep feelings for him [25]. The heroines of other tales — girls from nobles families who find themselves in complicated, tragic circumstances but do not forget their duties, escape the "fall", not losing self-control — are, for example, Sun Jiao-niang [26] and Wang Xung-nu. About the latter, Liu Fu apparently collected all of the material available to him, beginning with a third-person account of her tragic fate, her own account, and ending with verses by Wang An-go [27], praising the girl [28].

Female-singers occupy a special place in the collection. The singer, unlike the girl from an upstanding family, was more accessible in conduct and received money for her music-making, singing, versifying, elegant service at feasts, and love, as well. One cannot say, of course, that all Chinese female-singers of the time were talented and educated; but, judging by Liu Fu's collection, they were valued primarily for their talents: the Chinese bibliophile sought out the company of beautiful, unusual women and, despite their dependent position, popular singers renowned for their talents and beauty were relatively free in their choices: they could refuse to converse with an unwanted guest, not to mention engage in other activities, even if he offered vast sums. It is exactly such singers — virtuous, elegant, educated — who are the main heroines in the *Qing suo gao yi* novellas *Tan Yi-ge* and *Wen Wan* [29], which are in effect biographies.

3. Dao (Buddhist) teachers. The collection also includes the works treating the deeds and qualities necessary for self-perfection, attaining moral harmony and sanctity. Tales about Buddhist teachers contain a number of postulates of Chinese folk Buddhism, mainly in dialogues and admonitions, when someone who thirsts for knowledge or someone who seeks to expose somebody's ignorance asks a teacher of the Law questions (usually tricky), and the teacher's answers reveal the essence of some aspect of the teaching. Liu Fu names a number of Buddhist teachers who attained perfection, for example, the teacher Cheng-ming, the teacher Da-yan, the teacher Zi-zai [30], and others. In the dialogues cited, the teachers frequently correct misguided interpretations of the Buddha's utterances, condemn certain rituals widely practiced by Buddhist monks for reasons of ignorance. In turn, the Dao saints and ascetics in "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" are either saints already canonized by the Song era such as Lü Dong-bin, Han Xiang-zi and He Xian-gu, or Song dignitaries contemporary to Liu Fu whose exceptional qualities and accomplishments in life allowed them to attain posthumous sanctity and occupy various ranks in the hierarchical system of the afterlife.

4. Unusual feelings (love). One should group under this theme primarily the works on the well-known story of the Tang emperor Xuan-zong's love for his concubine Yan-guifei and the mutiny of An Lu-shan: "Notes on Lishan Mountain", "Notes on Warm Springs", "The Story of Guifei's Stockings", "Song of Mawei" [31]. Unusual feelings are also experienced by the above-mentioned noble women — Tan Yi-ge, Wen Wan, lady Sun, model of fidelity and loyalty. A somewhat separate category are those works which describe romantic relations between people and unusual beings, such as the soul of a departed girl or a fox-werewolf (for example, "Spring Walk along the Western Pond", "Notes on Xiao-lian", "Notes on Yue-niang" [32], and others).

5. The soul of one departed, *gui* (鬼). The souls of the departed, their qualities, manifestations in the world of the living, and means of interacting with the living form a theme that long attracted the attention of *xiaoshuo* [33] authors. One of the basic motifs encountered in *Qing suo gao yi* is the return of a deceased person's soul distressed by the conditions of its burial. The Chinese believe that the soul finds peace, successfully makes its way to the afterlife, and is born again in a new form only if the body which it inhabited is buried in accordance with all necessary rites. Especially important are the burial location and presence of a proper grave. Hence, the *xiaoshuo* contain frequent examples of a *gui* coming to a person with a request to tend to its remains. They do not visit just anyone, but someone with perfect moral qualities who is capable of understanding the importance of the matter which brought the soul of a deceased person to him, someone who is able to respond to the request with the care it deserves. This is how Liu Fu's hero, Peng Jie, conducts himself in "Notes on Buried Bones" [34]: the soul of a girl unjustly hounded to the grave appears to him with a request that her remains be reburied. Also interesting are the tales of the Song dignitary Fu Bi (1004—1083), who was responsible for the mass burials of victims of natural disasters and famine [35]. One should also not forget sacrifices, the only "means of the soul's existence" [36] after the burial, etc.

If a person visited by a *gui* with a request for reburial fails to satisfy the hopes of the deceased or acts treacherously or deceptively, the soul takes vengeance, as in the tale "The Story of Jiang Dao" in the third part of the collection. The main character steals money given him to cover the expense of reburial from the soul of a deceased military commander [37].

Another motif in the collection is that of retribution for evil deeds. First of all, three stories of the same type in which the main character, driven by mercenary motives, deceives a young woman should be mentioned. When the young woman is no longer needed, he kills her or hastens her death. Liu Fu's moral remarks are: "If one cannot seize the possessions of a person without punishment, than what of secretly inflicting harm on his life?", and "One cannot cause insult, for there will be punishment in the afterlife! Those who read this should avoid conducting themselves in this way!" [38] Along with the moralistic tales in *Qing suo gao yi*, there are also several short observations in a Buddhist vein which tell of retribution for causing harm to living things either intentionally or as a result of professional necessity. A harsh fate befalls Yu Yuan, who fed his hunting falcons with the innards of rabbits, and the horse-doctor Chen Gui, even though the former acted of his own volition, while the second slaughtered horses by necessity, earning money to survive [39]. Most often, however, the guilty party dies, and in his death agony experiences all the suffering that he caused living things [40].

Yet another frequently encountered motif in *Qing suo gao yi* is marriage to a magic maiden. This takes place with magical wives of two types: the souls of the departed and the fox-werewolves mentioned above. A fine example of human relations with the soul of a departed girl is found in the *chuanqi* novella "Notes on Yue-niang" [41]. The main character in the novella, Yang Shun-yu, attempts to establish relations with a beautiful girl in whose house he finds himself by chance at night. At first, the girl offers deter-

mined resistance; later, after surrendering, she makes every effort to break off sexual intercourse. The moral is that carnal relations with the soul of one departed causes harm to a person no matter what the wishes of the departed may be, as the *gui* — bearer of a dark force — willingly or unwillingly saps people's vital energy, being unable to stop the process. The person suffers irreparable harm, as terrible punishment awaits the soul in the afterlife.

The collection "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" presents the reader with a diverse and complex magical world with a rigidly hierarchical organization. We find here a partial description of the two spheres of the other world: the underworld (hell) and the sphere of celestial beings. Hell is depicted in the tale of *Chen Shui* [42]. A sense of the hierarchy of the saints can be gained from the novella "Lists of Saints from the Mountain of Cunyufeng" [43], where an entire table of ranks is presented.

Thus, in terms of content and genre, Liu Fu's collection, while retaining the typical features of a *biji*, also stands somehow apart: it is only in this collection — among those Song books which have come down to us — that we find a substantial number of large plotted works (*chuanqi* novellas). Besides, the "mix of genres", which results from authorial selection, makes it possible to study various aspects of Song culture from various angles: one can find in *zhiren xiaoshuo* and plotless remarks details from the lives of major Song dignitaries and bibliophiles; the plotted works, in turn, provide insights into the specific features of the world-outlook and, more broadly, the mentality of the era. Because *Qing suo gao yi* is an authorial collection, but is also quite compilative, we can speak of it as reflecting the views and predilections not only of Liu Fu (as manifested in the choice of material), but also — in mediated form — views on the world and man's place in it common to

educated circles in Song society.

Notes

1. B. L. Riftin proposes a different translation of the title: "Elevated Reflections by the Green Palace Gates", see B. L. Riftin, "Kitaishkaia proza" ("Chinese prose"), in *Klassicheskaiia proza Dal'nego Vostoka* (Moscow, 1975), p. 30. See also K. I. Golygina's version "Elevated Reflections by the Green Gates", in K. I. Golygina, *Novella srednevekovogo Kitaiia: Istoki snizhetov i ikh evoliutsiia* (The Novella in Medieval China: the Sources of the Plots and Their Development) (Moscow, 1980), p. 65, or "Reflections on What is Moral by the Green Gates" as is translated in *Rasskazy u svetil'nika: kitaishkaia novella XI—XVI vv.* (Tales by a Lantern: the Chinese Novella of the 11th — 16th Centuries), trans. from the Chinese, compil., introduction and commentary by K. I. Golygina (Moscow, 1998), p. 11. All of these translations convey the content of the title, but it seems to me that in the case at hand, there is no need to translate 青 as "green", for since antiquity the concept of 青瑱 has been used figuratively to indicate any gates leading to palace chambers. The "History of [the] Han [Dynasty]" notes that the gates of the palace of Quan-hou were covered with a strip of carved adornments in green, see Ban Gu, *Han shu* (Peking, 1962), xii, p. 4025.

2. Liu Fu's collection is briefly described in I. Tsiperovitch, "Ch'ing-so Kao-i", a Sung Bibliography (Hong Kong, 1978), pp. 342—3. The collection has been partially translated into Russian: B. L. Riftin translated the novellas entitled *Chen Shu-wen* and "Notes on Xiao-lian", see Riftin, *op. cit.*, pp. 89—95; A. P. Rogachev — "The Red Leaf" and "Fluttering Sparrow", in *Nefritovaia Guan'in: novelly i povesti epokhi Sun (X—XIII vv.)* (Nephrite Guanyin: Novellas and Stories from the Song Era, 10th — 13th Centuries) (Moscow, 1972), pp. 41—54. K. I. Golygina used 18 works from Liu Fu's collection (including a number of large *chuanqi* novellas: "Notes on Lishan Mountain", "The Story of Tan Yi-ge", "Notes on a Girl from Yue", and others) in her collection of translations *Rasskazy u svetil'nika*. In the foreword, she comments on the arbitrary abridgement of poetic excerpts because of the "poetic superfluity of the texts". This is relevant, but one cannot but notice another important fact, the scholar sometimes terms as *chuanqi* novellas works that do not belong in the category, which once again confirms how little study has been accorded the genres of traditional Chinese plotted prose. See also my selected translations in "O sbornike Liu Fu 'Vysokie suzheniia u dvortsovykh vorot'" ("On the collection 'Lofty Judgments by the Palace Gates' by Liu Fu"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 2 (1992), pp. 153—218.

3. On dating the collection, see Tsiperovitch, *op. cit.*, as well as the publisher's foreword to the Shanghai editions of 1958 and 1983.

4. The reference is to the court academy of Hanlinyuan.

5. Liu Fu, *Qing suo gao yi*. Chong Yi-zhong jiaodian (Shanghai, 1983), pp. 122—3.

6. Further confirmation of the fact that Liu Fu's collection appeared no earlier than 1070 is the presence in *Qing suo gao yi* of a work with the "geneological" characters 詩話 in the title "Ruminations on Verses by Unknown Authors" (Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—50). We know that the term *shihua* gained currency after the appearance in 1071 of the first work with these characters in the title: "*Shihua* of the Hermit Liu-yi" by Ouyang Xiu. As Liu Fu's collection contains borrowings from the *shihua* of Ouyang Xiu, it would appear that "Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates" appeared later.

7. The forward is signed: 孫嗣樞資政殿大學士 ("Daxueshi of the chamber of Zizhengdian Sun Fu-shu"). Nothing else is known about the author of the foreword. The honorary position of *daxueshi* in the chamber of Zizhengdian was founded in 1005 especially for Wang Qing-zho (962—1025); after him, it was usually awarded to retired officials in recognition of their services. It appears that Sun Fu-shu occupied the post in the retinue of the emperor and was a fairly important official. It is also likely that the Song Qi-weng 孫次翁 mentioned in *Qing suo gao yi* is Sun Fu-shu's second name. Golygina's reasons for stating that the author of the foreword to *Qing suo gao yi* was Yue Shi (Rasskazy u svetil'nika, p. 12) are entirely unclear. If she means the Song novelist Yue Shi (樂史), he died in 1007 (as noted by Golygina herself several times in her own foreword; in her last book, *Velikii predel: kitaiskaya model' mira v literature i kul'ture (I—XIII vv.)* (The Great Boundary: the Chinese World Model in Literature and Culture, 1st — 13th Centuries), Moscow, 1995, Golygina furthers this misconception by giving an erroneous date for Yue Shi's death: 1107, p. 347) and could not have written the foreword to a collection finished many years after his death. The misunderstanding likely results from the fact that *Qing suo gao yi*, immediately after the foreword and an excerpt a dynastic history, contains a note by a certain Xiang Yao-shi (項藥師) dated to the year *ding-hai*. We were unable to ascertain his identity. In all likelihood, he inserted the excerpt from the "History of [the] Song [dynasty]" much later, but was not, of course, the author of the foreword. It is possible that Fu-shu is not a name, but the abbreviated title of an official position. In a letter to the author of the present work, Cheng Yi-zhong suggested that Sun Fu-shu is Sun Mian (孫滿; 996—1066), who occupied a number of important positions at court, including *shumi fushu* (樞密副使); this seems unlikely to me, however.

8. Golygina's translation — "In the years of Jia-yu (1056—1063), I occupied the position of clerk in the Tongzhou region" (Rasskazy u svetil'nika, p. 12) — strikes me as inaccurate. The Chinese text is: 嘉祐年間余侍親通州獄吏 (Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, p. 132), which is better translated as: "In the years of Jia-yu, my relative was appointed in Tongzhou as a prison warder, and I went [there] together with him". The reference is apparently to Liu Fu's father, for in the story *Chen Shui*, we read: "Chen Shui and my father once served together", and the preceding states that Chen Shui served as a prison warder in Chenzhou (Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, p. 138).

9. *Songshi yiwenzhi* (Peking, 1958), p. 125.

10. For example, two fragments from *Han fu ming tan* were included in the anonymous Song collection *Lü chuan xin hua* ("New Tales by the Green Window"). As was noted by the Chinese scholar Zhou Yi, who is the author of the textological commentaries in the modern edition of the text, these are "Wang Xuan on Zhugu Mountain Meets with Xi Shi" and "Qian-tao Tests the Virtue of [Lord] Kou", see Huang du feng yue zhu ren, *Lü chuan xin hua*, (Shanghai, 1959), pp. 27, 114—5. The anonymous author also borrowed several tales from *Qing suo gao yi* without alteration. Another five fragments of *Han fu ming tan* — on poetry — have reached us in a *shihua* and were published as part of "Selected Ruminations on Verses in China in Various Periods" (*Lidai zhongguo shihua xuan*, in 2 vols. (Changsha, 1982), i, pp. 194—5). The preface to the 1958 edition of *Qing suo gao yi* mentions 15 excerpts from "Well-known Tales" in the fifty-second *juan* of *Lei shuo* ("Encyclopedia of Plots") by Zeng Zao (12th century). We also find there 48 tales and novellas from *Qing suo gao yi*, and, curiously enough, a number of fragments missing in the 1958 edition of the collection. They were added by Cheng Yi-zhong in the 1983 edition as an appendix (Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 225—71).

11. Chao Gong-wu, *Jun zhai du shu zhi jiao deng* (Shanghai, 1990), p. 597. The same remark about the style of exposition is found in the dynastic history.

12. Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 198, 253.

13. The reference is to a collection of *chuanqi* novellas by the Ming author Gū Yū (15th century); his legacy has been studied by Golygina, see her *Novella srednevekovogo Kitaia*, p. 154ff. She also translated a text from the collection into Russian, see her *Rasskazy u svetil'nika*, pp. 170—294.

14. Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, p. 253. Cf. Huang Pi-le: "Old books are difficult to obtain, but the collection 'Lofty Judgements by the Palace Gates' is widely available" (*ibid.*).

15. Liu Xin also noted that Liu Fu was the first to introduce seven-syllable subheadings, and suggested that they inspired the seven-syllable titles of *huaben* urban stories, see Liu Xin, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* (Peking, 1956), p. 12.

16. These are: "Song on the *Guangdiao* Motif 'Wrath of Immortal'" by Dou Hong-yu (竇弘餘廣調仙怒詞, pp. 27—9), "Notes on a Floating Red [Leaf]" by Zhan Shi (張實流紅記, pp. 51—3), "Notes on Warm Springs" by Qing Chun (秦醇溫泉記, pp. 63—6) and his "Unofficial Biography of Zhao Fei-yan" (趙飛燕別傳, pp. 74—8), "Notes on Lady Song" by Qiu Rui (丘潛孫氏記, pp. 70—3), "The Story of Teacher Shi-yi" by Pang Jue (龐覺希夷先生傳, pp. 79—80), "Notes on Wang Yu-yu" by Liu Shi-yin (柳師尹王幼玉記, pp. 95—8), "Notes on an Adorned Statue of Wang Yan-zhang" by Ouyang Xiu (歐陽修王彥章畫像記, pp. 99—100), *Song Wei-han* by Qian Xi-bo (錢希白桑維翰, pp. 163—5) and "Notes on Yue-niang" by the same author (越娘記, pp. 218—23), *Wang Wan* by Qing Su-zi (apparently a pseudonym: 清虛子溫琬, pp. 166—72), "Afterword to Extant Information about Gan-tan" by Cai Zi-chun (蔡子醇甘棠遺事後序, pp. 175—80), "The Story of Tan Yi-ge" by Qing Chun (秦醇譚意歌, pp. 212—7) and "Notes on Yong-cheng" by Du Mo (杜默用城記, pp. 243—5). We lack information on many of the authors listed above; these are the only works by them to have come down to us.

17. Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 146—57 and 188—90. See *Songren chuanqi xuan*, pp. 46, 120.

18. Liu found things to his liking in works by ancient authors and his contemporaries, abbreviating the texts of others as he saw fit. For example, the tale of Zhan Hua, who exposed a fox-werewolf, from *Sou shen ji* by Gan Bao is found in Liu Fu's collection in extremely abbreviated form (*op. cit.*, p. 235); the episode with the visit of the first Song emperor to the temple of Syangosa from the *biji* collection of Ouyang Xiu (see above, pp. 101—2 of the present work); Liu Fu also borrows materials from "The *Shihua* of the Hermit Lu-yi" by Ouyang Xiu. Cf., for example, Ouyang Xiu, "Liu-yi shi hua", *Lidai shihua* (Peking, 1981), i, p. 269 and Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

19. O. L. Fishman, *Tri kitaiskikh novellista XVII—XVIII vv. Pu Sun-lin, Tsz lun', luan' Mei* (Three Chinese Novella Authors of the 17th — 18th Centuries Pu Song-ling, Ji Yun, Yuan Mei) (Moscow, 1980), p. 6.

20. As a result, we find in *Qing suo gao yi* a description of crocodiles with horns whose nostrils emit fountains of water; not only baby crocodiles, but also turtles hatch from the eggs laid by these crocodiles (Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, p. 187).

21. Liu Fu also finds an analogy among Song officials — Zhang Yong (Guai-yai; 946—1015). Like Han Yü, he expelled from the region he administered a vicious and dangerous tiger which had caused the populace much harm. Liu Fu finds in the tale the following moral: "This is how the ferocious tiger obeyed just rule! But in antiquity, they expelled not only tigers, and for this reason when you learn how Wen-gong (the posthumous name of Han Yü — *I. A.*) expelled the crocodiles from the river Eshi (Malicious backwater), it

becomes clear that all of this is more than empty words! In what dynasty with enlightened rule did such things not take place?" (Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, p. 8).

22. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 40—5. Such heroes are fairly typical for Tang-era *chuanqi* novellas. Wandering incognito avengers are usually scholars and bibliophiles compelled by special circumstances to avenge insults inflicted on them and on others. The cruelty of the avengers is entirely in keeping with the cruelty of those who have wronged them; hence, descriptions of freshly severed body parts and bloody feasts are not a rarity in these tales.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 70—3.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 33—4.

27. Wang An-go (王安國; 1030—1076) was a Song official and poet, the younger brother of Wang An-shi; he appears in Liu Fu's collection under his second name, Ping-fu (平甫).

28. Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 35—7.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 212—7, 166—73.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 240—3.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 57—68.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 203—11, 128—30, 218—23. The theme of the fox-werewolf deserves special consideration as a most unusual figure in ancient Chinese prose and Chinese beliefs. The question of the fox-werewolf's place in traditional Chinese culture is worthy of separate study. In Liu Fu's collection, foxes do not receive much attention, which allows us to limit ourselves to a brief note on the matter.

33. In this regard, see my work "'Zhizn' posle smerti' v siuzhetnoi proze starogo Kitaia" ("Life after death" in the plotted prose of ancient China"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, 4 (1993).

34. Liu Fu, *op. cit.*, pp. 11—2.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 12—3.

36. See *ibid.*, pp. 13—4.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 231—3.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 140—5.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 145. Retribution varies: he who harms a monkey is himself transformed into a monkey (*ibid.*, p. 135).

40. Retribution in the afterlife is not as blind as it might seem. In the tale "Notes on the Perfect Person Zi-fu" (*ibid.*, pp. 14—5), we learn that Sun Mian, called to account for the death of a turtle he shot, escaped the requisite punishment because he committed the crime while performing his official functions, guarding a dam threatened by the turtle.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 218—33.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 136—8. Three sections of hell are mentioned: the hell of frying, hell of boiling, and hell of sawing. Strict order prevails in the underworld: officials rush about, orders are given, an office functions like its counterparts in the real world. A newly registered soul is interrogated and its case studied. The degree of guilt and severity of punishment necessary for rebirth are ascertained. A certain number of souls are for a time not eligible for rebirth (these souls are termed "lost"), either because of improper burial or a decision by the lord of the underworld. Errors occasionally occur in the bureaucracy of the afterlife, but they are usually rectified.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 19—21. The saints advance within a hierarchy, perfecting their *dao* through temporary immersions in the world of people, where the moral purity of a saint is tried and bettered in the sinful temptations of ordinary life just as steel is fired in a crucible. Liu Fu writes that grandees in the world of people are, for the most part, temporary incarnations of saints; when they depart the world of people, they assume the appropriate position in the celestial realm.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

K. J. Solonin

THE TANG HERITAGE OF TANGUT BUDDHISM. TEACHINGS CLASSIFICATION IN THE TANGUT TEXT “THE MIRROR”

The Tangut collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a number of texts which can be regarded as important sources for the native Tangut tradition of Chan Buddhism. Some of them have been briefly examined elsewhere [1]. Among these texts, a compilation known only by its abridged title “The Mirror” [2] occupies a unique place, being the text which introduced the Chan doctrine of the late Tang Huayan Heze tradition to Tangut readers. This text has already been preliminarily investigated and a draft translation of it was provided by the present author [3]. This paper is an attempt at a more detailed analysis of the contents of “The Mirror” to locate the text within the framework of the development of Chinese Buddhism in Northern Asia before the Mongol period. Another point is to locate the tradition represented by “The Mirror” within the Tangut Buddhist context, and to bring out its Chinese component in particular, as it is known now [4]. The idea advocated by the present author is that the Tang Buddhist scholar of the later period Guifeng Zong-mi (780—841), from the Straw Hut Temple (草堂寺), was the most influential among Chinese Buddhist thinkers in Xi Xia. His own writings, as well as the works related to him and his tradition, are numerous both in the Chinese and Tangut parts of the Tangut holdings in St. Petersburg [5]. There is evidence that the lineage of Guifeng Zong-mi was not totally destroyed by Huichang prosecution, as was previously believed, but continued in Xi Xia until at least the twelfth century and even later. Moreover, the doctrine of Zong-mi once again emerged in the capacity of the source of a harmonious Chan tradition in

the writings of the founder of the Korean Son tradition Chinul (1158—1210) (see below) [6].

As was demonstrated by the present author in his previous works, “The Mirror” is a text which may be considered evidence of the continued lineage of Zong-mi in the Tangut State. Judging by its contents, it is clear that it is a “teachings classification” text. It shares the general approach and certain ideas of Zong-mi, but its classification scheme is rather unique and independent from the late Tang author. The most famous classification treatise by Zong-mi — “The Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources” (諸說禪源諸詮集都序 Taisho No. 2015) — was well known in the Tangut State and produced various commentaries [7]. One of the extant books is a complete translation of the first *juan* of the “Chan Preface” [8] whence a number of observations concerning the nature of the text may be made. First, the Tangut version is extremely close to the Chinese original. The existing differences are very few and minor (mainly in word order). The “ten principles” (十理), according to which Zong-mi develops his classification, are highlighted in the text, forming a sort of partial table of contents. Generally, the Tangut text is better prepared in terms of reader's convenience: the major points are highlighted and marked with numbers, so that the text can be easily read [9]. Besides, the Tangut translation is most valuable for the reconstruction of Tangut Buddhist terms, proper names and text titles; it also contains no information which would be different from the present Taisho copy. The comparison between “Chan Preface” and “The Mirror” confirms the substantial similarity between these texts.

1. The structure of “The Mirror”

The structure of “The Mirror” [10] follows the approach adopted by Zong-mi in his “Chan Preface” and could therefore be viewed as a teachings classification text [11]. It probably adheres the composition scheme of the “Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices” by

Bodhidharma. Being a collection of sayings of various Buddhist masters, “The Mirror” can also be compared with Tibetan treatises on Chinese meditation, as they are described in the literature [12], or, to a certain degree, with the “recorded sayings” (語錄) texts of early Chan [13].

The Chan doctrines, as presented in the text, are divided in "The Mirror" into several groups depending on their understanding of mind, human and Buddha nature, and their attitude towards the practices. The text's main emphasis is to underline the basic unity of all doctrines and practices. The quest for unity was characteristic of Zong-mi who aspired to construct, after the years of controversy, a non-contradictory whole of Buddhism and to reestablish, on the basis of Heze and his own "sudden awakening/gradual perfection" doctrine, the original teaching of the Buddha in its purity and harmony.

An important element of the imaginary "perfect teaching" was the Huayan tradition, almost extinct in China but still alive in the other parts of Buddhist world. It provided a broad framework into which both Chan (宗) and other doctrinal teachings (教) could have been incorporated [14]. Simultaneously with the Tangut, the same approach was shared by the Korean Chan master Chinul, who believed that the teaching of Heze was appropriate to become some sort of a "perfect teaching" together with Huayan [15].

The structure of "The Mirror" is close to the "Chan Preface" of Zong-mi. Actually, few of the author's personal opinions are to be found in "The Mirror"; the compiler limits himself to several notes in his commentary, though rather lengthy at times, while the main body of the text is nothing but a set of quotations from a limited number of sources. The bulk of the text deals mostly with the classification of the Chan doctrines, with practically no attention to the so-called "teachings". However, the word "chan" (Tang. 禪, Chin. 禪) is not used very often, and no lineages, except for the generalizing terms "Southern lineage" and "Northern lineage" are specified. The "teachings" (教) are not mentioned either.

Although the text demonstrates a strong Huayan affiliation, it can hardly be described as a Huayan treatise: apart from Zong-mi among the Huayan masters, only Zheng-guan appears, but as a Chan authority rather than as a Huayan thinker. Besides, the author of "The Mirror" appears to be more radical than Zong-mi or Chinul, since he seems not to discriminate between the scholastic or *sūtra* argument and the sayings of Chan masters, attaching equal value to the "teachers" and Buddha word. The two sorts of arguments, one coming from *sūtras* and *śāstras* and another, borrowed from the teachers, are placed together in "The Mirror", sometimes in the same line. Thus, "The Mirror" demonstrates a high esteem of the truth of the "founding masters" (宗師) and of the canonical texts [16], acknowledging both to be equal.

The criteria for the classification of teachings in "The Mirror" are their attitude towards mind, nature, and practices. The general framework for the analysis of Chan doctrines in "The Mirror" is provided in terms of *ti-yong* (substance/essence and function) paradigm [17], which is exactly Zong-mi's approach [18]. True, this approach is used in a far less sophisticated way than in Zong-mi's writings, therefore, as far as the authorship of "The Mirror" is concerned, it seems likely that the author was exclusively a Chan adept not very well versed in dogmatic issues. That Zong-mi's approach is followed by "The Mirror" is apparent from the extensive use of the term "awareness", a crucial one in Zong-mi's "sub-

stance/function" paradigm, both in philosophical and practical Chan dimensions [19].

Probably following the pattern of Zong-mi's "Chan Preface", "The Mirror" opens up with the exposition of the "tradition" (Tang. 傳, Chin. 傳) of "one mind" [20], which constitutes the core of the Chan teaching in general. In fact, this expository part reproduces the passages from the "Chan Preface" and "Chan Chart" [21], introducing the concept of mind as the source of all teachings and practice. The following pages provide the representation of mind as "the sphere of mind", or the "mind ground" (Tang. 心地, Chin. 心地) producing "miraculous function" (妙用) inseparable from mind; the defilements are described as adventitious; they should be removed from the practice. The whole rhetoric of this passage in "The Mirror" allows to suggest that we have here part of the exposition of the "teaching that reveals that the true mind is the nature" (現實真心即性教), the summons of Zong-mi's classification adopted both in his "Inquiry into the Origin of Man" and "The Chan Preface." [22] The quotation from the final section of the first part of the first *juan* of the "Chan Chart", together with the remarks at the end of the text, support this view [23]. However, while Zong-mi refers this doctrine to the concept of *tathāgatagarbha* on the one hand and the teachings of Heze and Hongzhou on the other [24], "The Mirror" avoids this linkage. Even the term *tathāgatagarbha* (Tang. 如來藏, Chin. 如來藏) appears closer to the end of the text. This "tradition" differs somehow from what is exposed later, i.e. the doctrines, or the teachings. "The Mirror" features them as "gates" (Tang. 門, Chin. 門), the "one-mind" being, somehow the basis for all them.

"The Mirror" singles out three basic Chan doctrines. First comes the "teaching/tradition of the one mind" (see above), the second is "the teaching of the calming of mind" [25] and the third is the "teaching of awakening of practices" [26]. The point is that there is no separate Chan tradition or some separate lineage which would fit into the scheme developed by "The Mirror". Quite on the contrary, all the quoted Chan lineages, though not specified, are believed to have retained elements of each doctrine, introduced by "The Mirror". Therefore, the compiler of the text did not consider it necessary to discriminate between the lineages or to go into detail of their specific doctrines or lines of transmission. One of the reasons might be that for the compiler of "The Mirror" and his audience the writings of Zong-mi were probably one of the most important, if not the sole, source of information on various Chan schools, and he took the knowledge for granted [27]. It might be also that the quest for the unity of Chan was so overwhelming that it basically denied the discrimination between the Chan schools.

Thus, all the teachings described in "The Mirror" come together in a sort of unity or harmony that allows each of them to put forward their advantages, and, at the same time, to diminish the drawbacks. The approach of "The Mirror" is that it is not constructing the "perfect teaching" from various traditions, like a mosaic; the idea which lies behind the whole text seems to be that the perfect teaching already exists and needs solely to be expounded. This is more or less what Zong-mi also does in the final part of his "Chan Preface", when he reconstructs what he believes to be the

perfect teaching, putting its exposition into the mouth of Buddha. The sayings of the Patriarchs and *sūtras*' texts are indications of the existence of the perfect teaching, therefore, the sectarian discriminations between the lineages could well be omitted.

"The Mirror" tends to collect the sayings of various traditions in order to demonstrate their legitimacy in terms of Buddhist orthodoxy, showing that each of them has its foundation both in the Buddha word and the word of Chan authors. As the structure of the text reveals, the basic source of this orthodoxy is the founder of all Chan traditions — Bodhidharma, whose "Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices" seems to form the framework of the Tangut text. "The doctrinal teachings" as such seem to be eliminated from the discourse, while the Chan sayings are put together in a way that all of them, even those which are known to have been criticized by Zong-mi and to contradict each other, agree on certain points. The basic idea here is that all of them actually expound the true mind, or are instrumental in bringing about the enlightenment, which is nothing but the "awakening of the nature", as "The Mirror" terms it [28].

It is also interesting that the classification of the teachings, provided by "The Mirror", has actually not so much in common with that of Zong-mi, whose authority "The Mirror" constantly invokes. The idea implied in the Tangut text is not to harmonize Chan and the doctrinal schools, but to find a common ground within the complex of Chan itself and to show that some *sūtras*, basically the Huayan-jing and the "*Sūtra of the Perfect Enlightenment*", coincide with Chan views [29].

If compared with the classification schemes of Zong-mi, "The Mirror" reveals in particular that its approach to classification is different: while Zong-mi tends to structure the teachings in ascending order, "The Mirror" starts with the exposition of the ultimate doctrine of "one mind", which is the basis for all others, both in theory and in practice. The misunderstanding of this doctrine of "one mind" results in the "exhaustion and fatigue", as "The Mirror" puts it, and the fruit of the Thus Come cannot thus be attained. The classification scheme of "The Mirror" is represented in *Table 1*. This scheme is different from what Zong-mi developed elsewhere in "Chan Chart" (see *Table 2*).

Table 1

<p>1. The tradition of one mind</p> <p>2. The doctrine of the calming of mind</p> <p>3. The doctrine of the awakening of practices [30]</p>	<p>1. Contemplating the truth</p> <p>2. Sudden enlightenment based on the rise of thought</p> <p>3. Pure mind free from any support</p>
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Table 2

"Chan Cart"	"The Mirror"
<p>1. Cultivating of mind by the elimination of delusion (Northern line)</p> <p>2. Pure mind free from any support (Ox-head line)</p> <p>3. Directly revealing mind as nature [31] (Southern and Heze lines)</p>	<p>1. The tradition of one mind</p> <p>2. The calming of mind</p> <p>3. The awakening of practices</p>

The point is that "The Mirror" does not affiliate any of the teachings or Chan doctrines it features with a corresponding Chan lineage known from history. It does not even mention them. Thus, one may suggest that the whole idea behind the compilation of the Tangut text was different: not to demonstrate that the lineages are essentially close, but to construct the perfect Chan school without any sectarian division. For this reason, all the sectarian notions,

lineages, etc. remain omitted. Since the source of the variety of the practices is seen in the "one mind" principle, it is quite natural to employ as its theoretical basis the tradition of *Avatamsaka* and Huayan masters, as well as the selected Chan sayings related to that tradition (especially Zheng-guan and Zong-mi). In effect, for every Chan teaching "The Mirror" provides the authority sources, which are basically the same for every teaching described (see *Table 3*).

Table 3

Doctrine	Source of Authority
One mind / seeing nature	Chan Chart, <i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , Chan master Guifeng, <i>Śūraṅgama-sūtra</i> , <i>Sūtra</i> of Contemplation of Good and Evil in Mahāyāna, Master (Ming), Treatise on the Awakening of Faith, Master Xuan-shi, Zheng-guan, <i>Sūtra</i> of the Golden Light, Sixth Patriarch, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna, Huangbo, Master (Shi)
Calming of mind	Bodhidharma
Contemplating the truth	<i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , Seventh Patriarch, Sixth Patriarch, Awakening of Faith
Sudden enlightenment based on the rise of thought	Seventh Patriarch
Pure mind free from support	<i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , <i>Sūtra</i> of the Perfect Enlightenment, (Shi-luo), Sixth Patriarch
Awakening practices	Bodhidharma
“Perfect Teaching” [32]	Zong-mi, <i>Avataṃsaka-sūtra</i> , Zheng-guan.

It is not easy to determine the correlation between the classification scheme suggested by “The Mirror” and the original Zong-mi’s ideas which, no doubt, had influenced the author of the Tangut text. But hardly any clear identifications are possible: for example, Zong-mi connects the teaching of the “mind without any support” with the Ox-head tradition, while “The Mirror” features *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, “The *Sūtra* of Perfect Enlightenment”, the Sixth Patriarch and one Shi-luo as the main authorities to support it. Further, this teaching is not considered as an independent one but as a sub-type of the broader doctrine of the “calming of mind”. Actually, while expounding this teaching, the compiler of “The Mirror” bears in mind something different from the Ox-head lineage: he does not refer to Zong-mi’s criticism of that line, present both in the “Chan Chart” and the “Chan Preface”, although both works were undoubtedly known to him.

The same is the case with “the calming of mind teaching” which “The Mirror” establishes as a sort of a broader framework, incorporating three other smaller teachings (contemplating the truth, awakening based on the thought, and the mind free from support), while Zong-mi tends to apply the term “calming” to the Hongzhou lineage [33]. The use of “the calming of mind” as a general term for

a variety of contemplation practices, with the ultimate goal of attaining the direct “seeing of nature”, bears resemblance to the concepts of Dao-xin [34], though “The Mirror” provides no evidence of the knowledge of Dao-xin’s work [35]. Each of the practices mentioned is instrumental in the process of realization, and of no independent value, being merely part of an integral process of perfection.

The criticism of the teaching of “the calming of mind” in the notes by the author of “The Mirror” shows mainly the underestimation of the importance of the “one mind” concept and neglect of the crucial role of the practices, or perhaps the lack of experienced teachers. It also does not mention any ethical or ontological consequences of the later Hongzhou teaching [36]. The “substance/function” paradigm, crucial to Zong-mi in his criticism of the Hongzhou lineage, does not occur in this context either [37], but it is certainly implied: the teaching of the calming of mind is possible due to the ever-present enlightened mind, whose existence it manifests. As the compiler puts it, the teaching of the “calming of mind” should be accompanied by the adequate way of perfection and understanding of mind as nature. In this way its aim can be achieved, and the true nature is revealed.

2. Understanding of Chan

The question arises of what the Chan teaching “The Mirror” was intended to propagate, and what was the actual purpose of the composition of the text. To answer this question, one needs to pay special attention to the author’s notes closer to the end of the extant part of the text:

“Further, what is said in *sūtras* and *śāstras* of the doctrine of the awakening of the nature and the Southern line of Chan, is all about “no-mind” or “no-thoughts” [teachings]. These two do not differ. Previously,

those who were following the Chan rites did not understand the meaning of the “no-mind” in this fashion, [therefore] resembling stubs and stones. They said: “When discrimination and views disappear, the ‘no-mind’ arrives”. To say so means to cease to see [the nature] and leads to great sins” [38].

As is obvious from the passage, the text of “The Mirror” does not concern the description or criticism of the Chan lineages no longer extant; it deals only with establishing harmony between the teaching of *sūtras* and *śāstras* and

the Southern line of Chan in terms of the doctrine of the awakening of the nature. What is curious is the understanding of the dominant Southern tradition: “The Mirror” seeks to bring together the teachings of Shen-hui, Huangbo, Hui-neng, Zong-mi, Wo-lun [39] and other Chan masters on the grounds of Huayan theory and the doctrine of “no-mind”. What is more interesting, the Hongzhou line in the whole is represented only by a single quotation from Huangbo, while other personalities of the lineage are not mentioned at all [40]. Such understanding of Chan of the Southern line is probably due to the continued Zong-mi’s lineage in Xi Xia: Huangbo was perhaps a more welcome figure than other radical Hongzhou leaders, since once he was a friend and master of Pei Xiu, and, for some time, also a student of Zong-mi. More evidence could be that “The Mirror” advocates the idea of the Seventh Patriarch under which the title Shen-hui was known [41]. One major shift in the thought of Zong-mi’s followers can be traced in “The Mirror” as well: the Sixth Patriarch Hui-neng often appears on its pages, while Zong-mi himself never quoted Hui-neng directly [42].

The Tangut text also provides a description of the relationship between the three teachings as given in “The Mirror” and the teachings listed by Zong-mi in his “Commentary on the *Sūtra* of Perfect Enlightenment” (i.e. 大方廣圓覺經大疏鈔). Although “The Mirror” points out certain differences in the classification scheme, it mentions, however, that they are minor [43]. According to “The Mirror”, the awakening to the degree of the total iden-

tity of living beings’ mind with the Buddha produces a “true understanding” (眞知 in the Chinese rendering), which serves as the foundation for the practice, leading to the emergence of the “Womb of the Thus Come”. It seems rather tempting to identify the “true understanding” (眞知) of “The Mirror” with the “knowing”, or “awareness”, of Shen-hui and Zong-mi. Given its connection with the “Womb of the Thus Come” and the “teaching that reveals the nature”, this suggestion does not at all seem unlikely [44].

As it is clear from the Tangut text, the supreme authority for all the three teachings is provided by Bodhidharma, who is said to have propagated all of them. In general, “The Mirror” tends to avoid the radicalism of the non-duality to preserve the approach of Zong-mi in his criticism of the Hongzhou lineage. The “no-thought” and “no-mind” concepts are introduced from the point of view of practical necessity. Being followed alone, they can provoke the deadly sin of misunderstanding the Buddha nature and lead to fatigue and weariness because of not achieving the ultimate goal. According to the text, there is a basic unity of wisdom, faith and practice, and only within this unity each of those teachings is able to contribute to the attaining of the fruit of Buddhahood. “The Mirror” ends with the conclusion on the urgency of establishing a harmonious teaching.

Chan, as it is outlined in the composition, might be represented as follows (the functions and capacities of the teaching are marked in bold):

Table 4

awakening of nature → the true mind → faith

calming of mind

contemplation of the truth

awakening through the rise of thought → **cessation of discrimination (no-mind)** → **wisdom**

mind free from support

awakening the practice → perfection → compassion [45]

Put together, the nine functions highlighted above seem to constitute, according to “The Mirror”, the “perfect teaching”, in which a multitude of *bodhisattva* virtues is complete.

To construct a harmonious doctrine, “The Mirror” resorts to the ideas of Zheng-guan:

“[There are four ways to attain the enlightened mind]. The first is the rejection of the words of wisdom, that is the awakening of the true knowledge of objects. (It corresponds with the teaching of the awakening of the nature — K. S.). The second ... is the true awakening of the enlightened mind, which demonstrates pure intentions (i.e. the way of the calming of mind — K. S.). The third is harmony between contemplation with wisdom, which fulfills all the practices (i.e. the teaching of the practices — K. S.). The fourth is the way of *bodhi* which, from the

attraction towards a flower, produces the perfect fruit (i.e. the unity of all the three teachings — K. S.). Bodhidharma himself preached the three teachings of the awakening of nature, calming of mind and performing the practices. [These three are] like the three legs of a tripod — if one is missing, the whole thing does not exist” [46].

Thus, the essence of the three ways of attaining the enlightened mind are the Chan methods of contemplation, supported by Huayan doctrines of *tathāgatagarbha* and Buddha nature.

There is one more problem which the contents of “The Mirror” pose: it is its relation to the “sudden/gradual” paradigm. Judging from the descriptions provided both by the main body of the text and by the author’s notes, “The Mirror” in all likelihood follows the “sudden enlightenment/gradual cultivation” paradigm characteristic of

Zong-mi. At least, numerous sayings cited in the final part of the text, contain indications that perfection or cultivation should be attained through *kalpas*, or unceasingly, “day and night”. We also find in the text a number of sayings peculiar to “The Mirror”, like “direct or sudden attainment of the innate purity of mind” [47] (Tang, 頓悟, Chin. 直悟), which is a quotation from Zong-mi, or, for example, “direct understanding”. I incline to regard both as synonymous to

the “sudden awakening”. The term “sudden enlightenment” (Tang, 頓悟, Chin. 頓悟) is also present, but it should be treated with caution, since it is used in the context of the “calming of mind” teaching, whose independent value is questioned by “The Mirror”. The fact that the author of “The Mirror” generally shares Zong-mi’s approaches seems to support the suggestion.

3. Relationship between “The Mirror” and Bodhidharma’s “Treatise of the Two Entrances and Four Practices”

In the part on the “teaching of the practices”, “The Mirror” turns directly to Bodhidharma’s “Treatise of the Two Entrances and Four Practices”, which it quotes abundantly, starting with the section on the “Four Practices” [48]. According to “The Mirror”, the goal of the practice is to cleanse the innate true mind and to attain the state of “no-mind” and “cessation of discriminative thoughts”, as “The Mirror” puts it [49]. The process is parallel to the awakening of compassion, protecting living beings and accomplishing the merits of *bodhisattva*. Thus the unity of faith, wisdom and compassion is achieved.

In order to understand better the relationship between the two texts’ approaches, let us turn once more to the problem of the composition of the Tangut text. Its first part is devoted to the exposition of the “one mind” and the “calming of mind” teachings; the second is the explication of the doctrine of the practices with quotations from the treatise of Bodhidharma; and the third provides Zong-mi’s criticism of various traditions, introduction of “no-mind” concept and contains an exposition of a suggested “perfect teaching”. The message of the first part of “The Mirror” is clear; it is to demonstrate both the presence of the innate pure mind in all living beings and its key role in the

process of enlightenment. Applying mostly the sayings of Zong-mi and quotations from *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, the Tangut text seems to follow the very sense of the first part of Bodhidharma’s treatise which deals with the “entrance through principle” (理入) [50]. Not surprisingly, the concept of the “wall-contemplation” occurs in this part of the Tangut compilation. Therefore, although the first page of “The Mirror” is missing, one may suppose that it contained the part of Bodhidharma’s work treating “the entrance of the principle”, with a view to uniting Chan with the doctrinal teachings in order to bring about a harmonious whole on the basis of Bodhidharma’s treatise which was probably held in great esteem in Xi Xia, or in the lineage of Zong-mi. This suggestion seems to be even more reasonable if we take into account that Bodhidharma, alongside Zong-mi, was among the few Chan or Chan-influenced authors known in Xi Xia. It would have been interesting to trace the title of the Tangut text to the metaphor of mirror, peculiar to the early Chan [51], especially if one bears in mind the existing relation between the metaphor and Chan practices. But, surely this association is merely speculative, since we do not know the exact title of the work.

4. Conclusion. The ideal, or “perfect” teaching

The final portion of “The Mirror” will probably never be found. It could be appropriate to provide a synopsis of that alleged “ideal teaching” that seems to have been elaborated by “The Mirror”, since the general intention of its author is more or less clear: it is a quest to establish an ideal teaching based on the highest possible authority, the Buddha and his 28th successor — Bodhidharma. This teaching should also be based on the most profound of the concepts of Buddhism, which were the “sudden teaching” and the “perfect teaching” of *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and “The *Sūtra* of Perfect Enlightenment”, as well as “Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna” [52]. The understanding of *Avatamsaka-sūtra* doctrines in “The Mirror” is not what one would expect: the text undoubtedly holds it in a sort of doctrinal authority but no theoretical consequences follow yet. “The Mirror” contains no discussion either on favorite Huayan topics like the “ten profundities”, “interpenetrating of phenomena and principle”, etc. According to the text, the ideal teaching is rooted in the “sphere of mind” (or “mind-ground”) serving as the source of all *dharma*s and providing the attainment of a sudden enlightenment through

“knowing” or “awareness”. In this, “The Mirror” no doubt positions itself in the lineage of Zong-mi to whom “awareness” was a crucial term describing the functioning of the ever-luminous self-nature [53]. Moreover, the process of enlightenment, also termed as an “arrival” at the state of “no-mind”, is thought to be accompanied with a permanent practice and cultivation, which leads to the attaining of the supreme virtues of *bodhisattva*. Once the unity of faith, wisdom and merits is achieved, the ultimate realization of the ever-present condition of identity between the mind and the Buddha takes place. The practical dimension here is provided both by various contemporary Chan practices, incorporated into the framework of spiritual advance preached by Bodhidharma. The Southern line, mentioned in “The Mirror” is, therefore, not the lineage of Mazu or Heze, it is used as a general term for all of the appropriate Chan practices which could be grounded in Huayan theory and, for this reason, comply with the ultimate teaching of the Buddha [54].

The usage of the phrase “Southern line” in the Tangut text is similar to the way the word “Chan” was used in

Tibet. It should be noted that the Tibetan Chan was a unique trend of thinking, peculiar to Tibet, not representing any Chinese tradition, be it Northern, Southern or Baotang [55]. The Tangut “Southern line”, as presented in “The Mirror”, also does not correspond to the real Southern School of China (neither of the classical nor of the earlier periods); it is representative of an independent development based on its own preconditions. Keeping in mind the parallels with the approach of Chinul, one may conclude that Xi Xia was close to establishing its own Chan tradition,

independent of the Chinese influences. The source for this tradition was the doctrine of Zong-mi. This conclusion allows us to position the development of Tangut Buddhism, at least in its Chinese dimension in the line of the Korean Son, which also emerged from the writings of Chinul, who based himself on the ideas of Zong-mi. The heritage of Zong-mi in Xi Xia was so influential that it had a certain impact on recession of other Chan traditions, especially that of Hongzhou lineage [56].

Appendices

Table 5

Classification of teachings by Zong-mi from “The Preface to the Collection of Chan Sources”.
Chan doctrines in the relation to the “teachings”

Chinese	Tangut
禪宗	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
息妄修新	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
泯絕無寄	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
直顯心性	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
教	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
密意依性說相	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
密意依性破相	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
顯示真心即性	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍

Table 6

Classification of teachings by “The Mirror” *

Chinese	Tangut
一心/見性傳	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
靜心門說	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
真實觀念門	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
念起頓悟門	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
心起無寄門	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍
行起門說	𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰍

* The teachings marked with character 門 are the subdivisions of the doctrine of “calming” or “tranquility of mind”. The tradition of “seeing the nature” sometimes is styled as “awakening of nature” as it is sometimes referred to in “The Mirror” itself. The teachings marked with 門說 are greater subdivisions of the classification scheme.

Table 7

Selected name list of characters in the “Chan Preface” [57]
and “The Mirror”, and the list of Chan schools

Chinese	Tangut
南僦	𐰽𐰺𐰍
北秀	𐰽𐰺𐰍
保唐	𐰽𐰺𐰍
宣什	𐰽𐰺𐰍
天台	𐰽𐰺𐰍
華嚴	𐰽𐰺𐰍
牛頭	𐰽𐰺𐰍
石頭	𐰽𐰺𐰍
南宗	𐰽𐰺𐰍
北宗	𐰽𐰺𐰍
洪州	𐰽𐰺𐰍
何澤	𐰽𐰺𐰍
圭峰	𐰽𐰺𐰍
什羅	𐰽𐰺𐰍
明師	𐰽𐰺𐰍
臥輪	𐰽𐰺𐰍
悟極	𐰽𐰺𐰍
澄觀	𐰽𐰺𐰍

Notes

1. K. Iu. Solonin, “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov iz tangutskogo sobraniia SPbF IV RAN” (“Concerning the Chan-Buddhist texts from the Tangut holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences”), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie. St. Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies*, fasc. 7 (1995), pp. 390—412; K. J. Solonin, “The masters of Hongzhou in the Tangut State”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/3 (1998), pp. 10—5; K. J. Solonin, “Guifeng Zong-mi and Tangut Chan-Buddhism”, *Chung-hwa Buddhist Journal*, XI (1998), pp. 365—423.

2. E. I. Kychanov, *Katalog tangutskikh pamiatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* (Catalogue of the Tangut Texts in the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies) (Kyoto, 1999), entry No. 752, Tang. 413, inventory 2548; 32 pages in all, no beginning, no end (Tangut 𐰽𐰺𐰍).

3. Solonin, “Guifeng Zong-mi”, pp. 396—409.

4. The students of Tangut Buddhism recently obtained a powerful research tool, a catalogue of Buddhist holdings in the Tangut collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, compiled by E. I. Kychanov (cf. n. 2).

5. Solonin, “Guifeng Zong-mi”, pp. 370—5; cf. also his “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov”, pp. 394—9. For the general description of Chinese Buddhist materials, including the extant Chinese versions of Zong-mi's writings, see L. N. Men'shikov, *Opisanie kitaiskoi chasti kolektsii iz Khara-Khoto. Fond P. K. Kozlova* (Description of the Chinese Part of the Khara Khoto Collection) (Moscow, 1984), entries TK 186, TK 254, TK 241, TK 242.

6. It would have been very interesting to find out whether the works of Zong-mi had been incorporated into the corpus of the Jurchen *Tripitaka*. The reproduction of Jurchen Buddhist Cannon was completed in 1994 (information of V. L. Uspensky), but unfortunately the edition remains unavailable for me. At the same time, it is well known that the Straw Hut Temple of Zong-mi still existed shortly before the Mongol invasion of Xi Xia and enjoyed some recognition from the Jurchen rulers (see, for example, Solonin, “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov”, pp. 398—9, and notes).

7. For the Tangut versions of the “Chan Preface”, see Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 321, Tang. 227, inventories 7554 and 5172; entry 322, inventory 4731; entry 323, Tang. 227, inventory 735; entry 749, Tang. 292, inventory 7119. The last item was reproduced in Solonin, “Guifeng Zong-mi”, pp. 416—23. The list of the commentaries is placed *ibidem* and in *idem*, “Po povodu chan'-buddiiskikh tekstov”, pp. 396—8.

8. Inventory 735 (see n. 6).

9. Unfortunately, the existing Dunhuang fragments of Zong-mi's “Chan Preface” remains unavailable for me, so it is not clear whether the Tangut translation resembles the “Chan Preface” or depends on it in any way.

10. Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 752, Tang. 413, inventory 2548.

11. A brief outline of the contents of "The Mirror" with a translation is to be found in Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi".
12. For the text of Pellio No. 116, see J. Broughton, "Early Chan schools in Tibet", *Studies in Chan and Hua-yen* (Honolulu, 1983), pp. 1—69; G. Mala, *Un traite tibetain de dhyana chinois. Ms. de Dunhuang Pelliot Tibetan 116, folios 119—170* (Tokyo, 1988). For the review of the study of the Tibetan Chan tradition, see Daishun Ueyama, "The study of Tibetan Chan manuscripts, recovered from Dunhuang. The prospects of the field", *Early Chan in China and Tibet* (University of California Press, 1983).
13. As Yangida Seizan mentions it, sometimes the recorded sayings are introduced with the formula "someone in the past has said" or "someone worthy in the past has said". See Yangida Seizan, "The "recorded sayings" texts of Chinese Chan Buddhism", *Early Chan in China and Tibet*, pp. 190—1. In the Tangut texts, the phrase "the teachers of the past" seems to correspond to Prof. Yangida's observation.
14. The relation between Chan lineages and doctrinal teachings is examined in P. N. Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism* (Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 225—7; also see Yoshizu Yoshihide, "The relation between Chinese Buddhist history and soteriology", *Paths to Liberation. Mārga and its Transformations in Buddhist Thought. Studies in East Asian Buddhism*, 7 (Honolulu, 1992), pp. 309—38.
15. A detailed exposition of Chinul approach is given in R. E. Buswell, *Tracing back the Radiance. Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu, 1983), pp. 46—50, 57—60; see Sung Keel, *Chinul: the Founder of the Korean Son Tradition* (Berkley, 1984), pp. 67—89. — Berkley Buddhist Studies Series. However, the approach of Chinul was different from that of Zong-mi: while the former actually intended to subdue Chan/Son to the teachings, the latter was tackling Huayan from the viewpoint of a Chan adept. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 147—8. It is, therefore, more appropriate to consider Chinul the follower of Zheng-guan.
16. This was, of course, not an innovation but a further implementation of Zong-mi's intention. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 225—9.
17. This is a general impression from reading the text, since its author never goes into philosophical debate, his approach being more practical.
18. Zong-mi used this approach extensively in his criticism of various Chan lines. The most telling example is his analysis of Hongzhou. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 239—43.
19. The concept of "awareness" is discussed *ibid.*, pp. 240—4.
20. See original text, fasc. 4a—5b. The translation of "The Mirror" was published in Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi", pp. 365—425.
21. That is, another famous work by Zong-mi — "The Chart of the Transmission of the Chan Teaching of the Mind-Ground from Master to Disciple in China" (中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖). This text is present in the Tangut holdings of St. Petersburg, both in Chinese and Tangut versions. For the Tangut one, see Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 759, Tang. 407, inventories 2261 and 2865; entry 760, Tang. 421, inventory 2893. For the Chinese version, see Men'shikov, *op. cit.*, entry 228, TK 254.
22. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 210—2. Having no information about whether an English version of the "Chan Preface" exists, I refer here to my own Russian translation in Zong-mi, *The Chan Truths* (St. Petersburg Technical University Press, 1998). As for the "Chan Chart", I refer to the 續藏經 (pp. 110, 433—8) and the Chinese edition from Khara Khoto, yet very fragmentary. The Tangut and Chinese versions are identical, so further on I do not specify the quotations found in "The Mirror".
23. For an exposition of Zong-mi's "teaching that reveals the nature", see Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 165—7. Original text, fasc. 5a—5b.
24. Gregory, *op. cit.*
25. Original text, fasc. 5a—9a.
26. *Ibid.*, fasc. 9a—11a. For the Tangut and Chinese equivalents, see Appendices at the end of the present article. One thing, however, should be mentioned: the "one mind" is sometimes styled as "tradition", while the other two as "teachings" (Tang. 教說, Chin. 門說).
27. This is highly probable, since the throughout survey of the Tangut Chan materials, preserved in the St. Petersburg and other Tangut collections demonstrates that Zong-mi was the only Chan writer known in Xi Xia. See Kychanov, *op. cit.*
28. This is the basic idea of Zong-mi which inspired his quest for the unity of Chan with the doctrinal teachings. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 227.
29. This approach seems to be in line with Zong-mi himself, who considered the teachings from the point of view of a Chan adept. See Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 148. Zong-mi's early training was that of Chan, not Huayan.
30. For Tangut and Chinese equivalents, see the Appendices at the end of the present article.
31. The Chart can be found in Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 225.
32. This term is not mentioned in the original text, so I resorted to a reconstruction.
33. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 238—40. The term "tranquillity" or "calming" the mind (安心) is the core of the teaching and practice of Dao-xin (580—651). It occurs in the title of his "Means of Calming the Mind and Entering the Path" (入道安心要方便法門, found in Taisho, vol. 85, pp. 1286—9), but his interpretation is different from what is found in "The Mirror". The translation and study of Dao-xin's work is given in D. W. Chappell, "The teachings of the Forth Chan Patriarch Tao-hsin (580—651)", *Early Chan in China and Tibet*, pp. 89—129.
34. See Chappell, *op. cit.*, pp. 108—9. However, it is very unlikely that Dao-xin's treatise circulated in Xi Xia or in the North-Western China independently: it is not discovered as an independent text among the finds in Dunhuang. Anyway, its origin and date remain obscure. See J. R. MacRae, *The Northern School and the Formation of Early Chan Buddhism* (Honolulu, 1985), pp. 119—20.
35. Dao-xin might have been known through the writings of Zong-mi and Chinese Buddhist histories. One of those which has no direct Chinese counterpart has survived. See *The Most Important of the Lamp [of the Teaching]*, pt. 3, (Tang. 燈要三, Chin. 燈要三) in Kychanov, *op. cit.*, entry 756, Tang. 368, inventories 6238 and 7117. Also, Solonin, "Guifeng Zong-mi".
36. Original text, author's commentary, fasc. 8b—9a.
37. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 239—42.
38. Original text, author's commentary, fasc. 13b.
39. Wo-lun is actually criticized in "The Mirror" for not understanding properly the "no-mind" and "no-thought" teachings.
40. This is even more surprising, since the Hongzhou line was known in Xi Xia both indirectly from Zong-mi and through their own writings which, however, influenced also by Zong-mi. See Solonin "Guifeng Zong-mi", also *idem*, "The Masters of Hongzhou in the Tangut State".

41. The problem of the Seventh Patriarch is however more complicated, because Pu-ji was claiming the same title. There are also other controversies concerning the problem.

42. See n. 13. As far as Hui-neng is concerned, he appears to be a strange personality in Xi Xia: only 12 scattered fragments of the "Platform *Sūtra*", dated around 1070, have been discovered insofar. The text is close to the Dunhuang text, but it is not a translation of it. There is hardly solid evidence of Hui-neng's substantial popularity in Xi Xia. See Shi Jin-bo, "Translation of the 'Fragments of the Tangut Platform *Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch'" (西夏文“六祖壇經”殘頁議釋), *Shijie Zongjiao yanjiu*, No. 3 (1993), pp. 90—100.

43. Original text, fasc. 11b—13a.

44. Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 216—8.

45. Outlined in the text different concepts of perfection, "no-thought", etc. deserve a further study.

46. Original text, fasc. 16a.

47. The Tangut seemed to resort to one character 慧, representing the concepts of both direct and sudden enlightenment.

48. For the discussion of the meaning of the Four Practices, see MacRae, *op. cit.*, pp. 108—12.

49. Original text, fasc. 9a—11a.

50. MacRae, *op. cit.*, pp. 103—15.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 145—7.

52. The problem of sudden and perfect teachings in their connection with Zong-mi and other Huayan authorities is discussed in length by P. Gregory in his outstanding work. Here I am not going into much detail. For the complete discussion of the issue, see Gregory, *op. cit.*, pp. 144—70.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 216—8, 240.

54. This complies with the important transition from early Chan to the classical Chan in China itself, for which the name of the "Southern School" was adopted. In fact, the Southern school of classical Chan did not have too much in common with that of the early period. See MacRae, "Shen-hui and the teaching of sudden enlightenment in early Chan Buddhism", *Sudden and Gradual. Approaches to the Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu, 1987), p. 229.

55. Obata Hironobu, "Kodai chibetto ni okeru tonmonha (zensu) no nagare", *Bukkyoshi gaku kenkyu*, 18 (1976), cited in Daishun Ueyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 337—8.

56. See Solonin, "The Masters of Hongzhou in the Tangut State".

57. Tang. 227, entry 735.

PATAÑJALI'S COMMENTARY ON A SŪTRA BY PĀṆINI V, 3.99

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the world's leading Sanskritologists were engaged in an animated discussion about Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* [1], trying to date his life and activities. And since Patañjali's commentary on P. V, 3.99 mentions the Mauryas, representatives of the famous imperial dynasty, naturally enough, no one participant in the discussion could not pass over this commentary in silence. Later authors, outstanding philologists and historians of the twentieth century, also made their contribution to the question [2]. Heatedly debated was virtually every word in Patañjali's commentary, and the scholars who took part in the controversy disagreed profoundly on both the translation and interpretation of the text. Moreover, each was entirely convinced he was right. The only scholar who evinced any doubt in the correctness of his own understanding of Patañjali's commentary was Theodor Goldstücker. He was also the first to espy irony in it and its possible significance for historians, though he was not brave enough to provide interpretation of his own [3].

The translation Th. Goldstücker proposed was not adequate, generally speaking, as were also unsatisfactory the translations of the other eminent scholars who took part in the discussion. The participants' extensive grammatical background, their thorough knowledge of texts by Pāṇini, Patañjali, as well as later grammarian-commentators, is worthy of great respect. Nevertheless, their failure to form a consensus on a reasonable interpretation is, unfortunately, evident. Almost all of them were philologists or linguists, and were generally unable to examine the text from the viewpoint of the historian, as Goldstücker suggested to. For this reason, they all failed to notice the irony in Patañjali's commentary and to grasp its historical significance.

I consciously do not go into the details of the discussion itself, which is fascinating and instructive; such an analysis would require a book, not an article. The reader can find the participants' works in the bibliography appended to this article.

Let us turn now to Patañjali's commentary on P. V, 3.99 which reads as follows: *apaṇya ity-ucyate tatredaṃ na sidhyati. śivaḥ skandaḥ viśākha iti. kiṃ kāraṇam. mauryair hiraṇya-arthabhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ, bhavet tāsu na syāt. yās-tv-etāḥ samprati-pūjā-arthāḥ tāsu bhaviṣyati* [4]. It seems that Patañjali's phrase — *mauryair hiraṇya-arthabhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ* — and the remaining text of Patañjali's commentary can be understood adequately. The Pāṇini *Sūtra* V, 3.99 is: *jīvikārthe ca apaṇye* (i.e. "[When forming nouns which designate depictions of those objects]

which can serve as a means of subsistence, but cannot be bought or sold, [the affix *kan* is omitted]" [5]. It contains, as we see, an exception to the rule for using the secondary (*taddhita*) nominal word-forming affix *kan* (=ka), which has a wide range of meanings [6].

Patañjali comments only on the word *apaṇya*. He writes: "'Cannot be bought or sold', it is said there. [However], this is not confirmed [in practice]. For [Pāṇini] means [such nouns as] Śiva, Skandaḥ, Viśākha [etc.]. But why? [After all], the Mauryas, who thirsted for gold, *arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ* ...". We stop here before going on a translation of Patañjali's remark to summarize the information which provides the context of Pāṇini — Patañjali. From this context we learn that: (i) the objects which Pāṇini defined as *jīvikārtha* and *apaṇya* have the names of the gods; (ii) these objects are some sort of depictions of the gods; (iii) in forming the nouns which designate the depictions of the gods, the affix *kan* was not used in Pāṇini's time, and the depiction of Śiva, for example, was called Śiva, not Śivaka; (iv) depictions of the gods can serve as a means of subsistence; (v) yet in Pāṇini's time (5th century B.C.), they could not be and were not bought or sold; (vi) in Patañjali's time (2nd century B.C.), depictions of the gods were already an object of commerce: *apaṇya ... idam na sidhyati*, writes Patañjali, referring to certain deeds of the Mauryas, who "thirst for gold"; (vii) these deeds were undoubtedly related to selling depictions of the gods.

If we take into account that in specialized texts on graphic art — *śilpaśāstra* texts — *arcā*=*pratimā* denotes graven image, statue, sculpture, and the root *prakṛp* appears in the same synonymic group as *kṛp* and *kr* with the meanings "do, produce, create, form, construct", etc. [7], then the phrase of Patañjali under discussion can be read as follows: "[After all.] the Mauryas, who thirsted for gold, manufactured graven images [of the gods to be sold]". Nāgajībhāṭṭa, an authoritative commentator on Patañjali and Kaiyaṭa, convincingly confirms this: *mauryā vikretum pratimā-śilpavantas tair arcāḥ kalpitāḥ vikretum iti śeṣo ...* (that is, "In order to conduct commerce, the Mauryas maintained craftsmen. These [craftsmen] made graven images [of the gods] for sale. This is the meaning [of the passage in Patañjali]" [8].

The sarcasm that permeates the concluding phrases of Patañjali's commentary, so telling for the historian, now becomes evident and intelligible: *bhavet tāsu na syāt, yās-tv-etāḥ samprati-pūjā-arthāḥ tāsu bhaviṣyati* ("Well now, [as it stands, when forming nouns for] those [graven

images of the gods that are traded, the affix *kan*] cannot be used, [but when forming nouns for] those [graven images of the gods] that are [not] objects [of commerce], but great veneration [and at the same time are a means of subsistence, apparently] one can") [9].

Patañjali distinguishes here between two types of graven images of the gods: (i) graven images which, in violation of the traditions, were blasphemously traded by the Mauryas; (ii) graven images which served as an object of great veneration for the truly pious and were at the same time a means of subsistence (*sampratipijārthā* [*arcāḥ*]), as Patañjali terms them. Further, Kaiyata explains how and for whom these *sampratipijārthā* [*arcāḥ*] served as a means of subsistence: *yās-tv-etā iti. yāḥ parigrhya grhād atanti tāsv-ity-arthaḥ* ("And those which" [we find in Patañjali] are those [graven images of the gods] with which [impoverished *brahmanas*] go from house to house [asking for alms]") [10].

We can now quote in translation the entire text of Patañjali's commentary: "'Cannot be bought and sold' is what is said there. [However,] this is not confirmed [by the facts. After all, Pāṇini] means [those nouns such as] Śiva, Skandha, Viśākha [and the like]. But why? [After all,] the Mauryas, thirsting for gold, produced graven images [of the gods for sale]. Well now, [as it stands, when forming nouns for] those [graven images of the gods that are traded, the affix *kan*] cannot be used, [but when forming nouns for] those [graven images of the gods] that are [not] objects [of commerce], but great veneration [and at the same time are a means of subsistence, apparently] one can".

We summarize in conclusion the important and viable information one can extract from the preceding:

1. the Mauryas maintained craftsmen and delivered their goods — statues of the gods — to market;

2. the Mauryas sold statues of the gods in violation of the traditions attested by Pāṇini, and this trade was still viewed by the *brahmanas* of Patañjali's time as sacrilege;
3. this trade was undoubtedly important for the financial policy of the Mauryas.

In closing, we note that in medieval texts of the *śilpaśāstra*, such noun formations as *śivaka*, *vāsudevaka*, etc. are used as fully acceptable designations for depictions (including statues) of the corresponding divinities [11]. Clearly, the trade in statues of the gods under the Mauryas and subsequent social practice had an effect that was reflected in the language. But this necessarily means that the means of forming nouns that designate depictions of the gods can serve as a useful means for the relative dating of Sanskrit texts.

Patañjali's commentary undoubtedly looks like a sarcastic remark by a contemporary of the Mauryas. And, in this fashion, can itself serve as an argument in the question of dating Patañjali. Regrettably, the venerable scholars who debated the dates of Patañjali's life and his activities failed to notice this in the heat of their dispute.

The production of statues of the gods for temples and domestic altars took place before the "avaricious Mauryas" and was, undoubtedly, a pious deed. Both temples and priests found ways to remunerate craftsmen without resorting to the blasphemous practice of buying and selling. This is the tradition — so natural for a devout person who did not distinguish in his consciousness between a depiction and an original — that was broken by the rapacious Mauryas. We can be sure that only a pressing need for funds compelled them to embark on such a sacrilegious practice.

Notes

1. R. G. Bhandarkar, "On the interpretation of Patañjali", *Collected Works* (Poona, 1933), i, pp. 125–9; *idem*, "The Maurya-passages in the Mahābhāṣya", *ibid.*, pp. 148–53; *idem*, "A supplementary note on the Maurya-passages in the Mahābhāṣya", *ibid.*, pp. 154–6; *idem*, "The date of Patañjali. No. 1: being the first reply to Professor Peterson", *ibid.*, pp. 157–85; Th. Goldstücker, Pāṇini: *His Place in Sanskrit Literature* (Allahabad, 1914), pp. 175–6; F. Kielhorn, "The Maurya-passages in the Mahābhāṣya (P. V, 3.99)", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, I (1887), pp. 8–12; P. Peterson, "Note on the date of Patañjali", *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XVI (1883–1885), pp. 181–9; A. Weber, "On the date of Patañjali", *Indian Antiquary*, II (1873), p. 61.
2. A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 428–9; *Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya* (*Paspasahnika*), ed. and trans. by K. Ch. Chatterji (Calcutta, 1957), p. 2; S. D. Joshi, "R. G. Bhandarkar and Sanskrit grammar", *Sanskrit and Indian Studies, Essays in Honor of Daniel H. H. Ingalls* (Dordrecht, 1980), pp. 33–60; G. M. Bongard-Levin, G. F. Il'in, *Indiia v drevnosti* (India in Antiquity) (Moscow, 1985), p. 237; R. Sh. Sharma, *Drevneindiskoe obshchestvo* (Ancient Indian Society) (Moscow, 1985), p. 237.
3. Goldstücker, *op. cit.*, pp. 175–6.
4. *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, ed. F. Kielhorn (Bombay, 1883), ii, p. 429.
5. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, ed. Sh. Ch. Vasu (Benares, 1897), p. 975 (V, 3.99).
6. Thus, *aśva* (horse) + *kan* (*ka*) = *aśvaka* 1) nag; 2) jade; 3) depiction (graven image) of a horse, etc. For more detail on the semantics of the affix *kan*, see Pāṇini, *op. cit.*, pp. 974–5 (V, 3.95–100).
7. See *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, III, 2, GOS, CXXX (Baroda, 1958); *Agnipurāṇa*, XLIV–LV (Calcutta, 1873); Varāhamihira, *Brhatsaṃhitā*, 58 (Calcutta, 1865); *Amaraśaṅkha*, II, 10, 36 (Bombay, 1907); P. N. Bose, *Principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra* (Lahore, 1926).
8. Nāgojībhaṭṭa, *Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa-uddhṛta*, as cited by Goldstücker, *op. cit.*, p. 176, n. 266.
9. Cf. Goldstücker, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
10. Kaiyata, *Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa*, as cited by Goldstücker, *op. cit.*, p. 176, n. 266; see additional explanations by Nāgojībhaṭṭa.
11. See, for example, *Agnipurāṇa*, 42, 45 (Calcutta, 1873). Bibliotheca Indica, 66.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

K. N. Yuzbachian

ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN ST. PETERSBURG

The present article seeks to introduce to readers the collections of Armenian manuscripts held at the National Library of Russia (112 items), at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (441 items), the St. Petersburg State University (5 items), the State Hermitage (7 items), the St. Petersburg Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive (1 item), and the Institute of Russian Literature (1 item), 537 items in all. After the collections in Matenadaran (Erevan), Venice, Vienna, and Jerusalem, the Petersburg collections make up one of the largest in the world. The collections arose of their own accord and today provide a more or less full overview of medieval manuscripts. We do not speak here of the comparative value of individual manuscripts, but it is worth noting that several manuscripts are of obvious significance.

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies holds manuscripts with works by the most important Armenian historians: Moses of Khoren, Lewond, Jkhtanes, Asolik. One also finds there an extremely rare manuscript created in Ani, the medieval Armenian capital, dated to 1298, copyist Elbayrik, illustrated by Chatchatur (call number B 44).

The Hermitage collection has in its holdings a volume of the Four Gospels (call number VP-1010) dated to 1395. It is illustrated by the famous artist Tserun. Another manuscript, a Bible from the late thirteenth — early fourteenth century (Armenian Cilicia) illuminated by Huseph and Martiros, also draws special attention.

The colophons of the Armenian manuscripts are of independent value, and a significant number of them will soon appear in the general catalogue of Armenian manuscripts in St. Petersburg collections, prepared by the author of this article for publication. This catalogue gives the chance to drop a new glance at the collections under discussion.

The manuscript section of the National Library of Russia, the former Imperial Library, then the M. E. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library, took shape at the very beginning of the nineteenth century. The basis for the manuscript section (or, as it was once known, the manuscript depot) was laid by materials from the famed collection of P. P. Dubrovsky. P. P. Dubrovsky was the Depot's first curator [1]. By 1812, the Depot held manuscripts in 38 languages; Oriental manuscripts were represented in all their diversity. According to official documents, the Depot already held two Armenian manuscripts at that time [2].

As we learn from the Public library's Report, in 1814 "the Armenian Araratsky presented as a gift an Armenian prayer-book, titled *shar-akan* in Armenian, with many miniature adornments and gilding" [3]. In the Report for 1815, we read that the director of the Library, A. N. Olenin, presented as a gift an Armenian prayer-book in octavo [4]. Two years later, Olenin donated another prayer-book to the Library, a manuscript on paper of duodecimo [5]. Also in 1817, two manuscripts were acquired from the Frolov collection [6]. In 1818, the library received manuscript donations from Lazarev and I. Ioannisian. In the 1820s and 1830s, the Library acquired a number of extensive collections of Oriental manuscripts, but they contained few Armenian manuscripts. Several manuscripts were acquired in 1831 [7]. When a composite catalogue of Oriental manuscripts was being prepared for publication about the middle of the nineteenth century, the Manuscript section of the Library contained only 11 Armenian manuscripts.

The collection of Armenian manuscripts grew slowly through individual, and frequently haphazard, acquisitions, which receive brief mention in the literature. A large collection was acquired in 1891: 44 items transferred through the intercession of N. Y. Marr. These were manuscripts copied in the Armenian colonies of Poland and Ukraine, mainly in Kamenets-Podolski, and primarily liturgical in content [8].

The collection was also augmented after the 1917 Revolution in Russia, and also through individual acquisitions; Armenian manuscripts were concentrated in the Asiatic Museum, a predecessor of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

At present, Armenian manuscripts at the National Library of Russia are held in three collections:

1. Manuscripts included in B. Dorn's composite catalogue: 11 items. They were described by M. Brosset during the directorship of Olenin.

2. The Armenian new series. The collection was begun with 5 manuscripts from a lot of 109 brought by K. Tischendorf in 1859 [9]. It includes 56 items, filed under Nos. 1—56 and 60, but manuscript No. 28 has been lost. The Library's reports contain brief records on these acquisitions. There is also an old card catalogue that contains information on the sources of the acquisitions.

3. The Armenian special collection containing 44 items. It consists of manuscripts acquired through

N. Y. Marr in 1891. The report for that year includes brief annotations drawn up by Marr on 12 manuscripts.

Additionally, one Armenian manuscript is listed in the National Library of Russia's collection of manuscripts in various languages, bringing the total number of Armenian manuscripts to 111.

The collection of Armenian manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is nearly as old as the collection in the National Library of Russia. Manuscripts acquisitions began in the first years of the Asiatic Museum, founded in 1818 and transformed in 1930 into the Institute of Oriental Studies (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). The history of the Institute collection was studied by R. R. Orbeli who for many years was the curator of the Armenian and Georgian manuscripts. Information on the Armenian manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is based here on her article devoted to the manuscripts (see n. 14). "The collection began to take shape over nearly a century, in almost the same year as the Asiatic Museum itself (1818). The first Armenian manuscript to be acquired was recorded in the proceedings of the Academy of Sciences in 1828. The last large acquisition took place in 1919. Additional manuscripts and small collections were acquired until 1939. The Institute collection contains a number of materials of much interest, which have served as the basis for research in Armenian studies. Many of the manuscripts have not yet been studied and may prove to be of value to contemporary researchers.

[...] The collection took shape from various sources: one finds several private collections (which may not be represented in full, but in certain selections) and individual acquisitions. The study and description of various copies at one time drew the attention of leading scholars. Their labours left traces both in the scholarly literature and on the pages of the manuscripts which preserve numerous notes of researches.

The collection grew after its initial formation thanks to purchases and gifts. Some volumes bear the seal of the library of the Pedagogical section of Oriental languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These copies made their way to the Academy of Sciences thanks to the intercession of the Asiatic department, which initially received them. Moreover, a number of manuscripts were acquired by the Academy of Sciences as the result of special expeditions dispatched to save documents (for example, the Van collection).

It should be noted that the real history of the Asiatic Museum's collection of Armenian manuscripts began with Academician Ch. D. Frähn (1782—1851), the Museum's first director, whose interest in the manuscript legacy of the East extended to Armenian written sources as well. Many Armenian manuscripts acquired by the Museum during Frähn's tenure bear his autograph, translations of headings, registration numbers, and other notes. In 1844, Frähn drew up a catalogue of Armenian manuscripts at the Asiatic Museum; it lists 22 manuscripts. In 1846, Frähn's catalogue was published in Academician Dorn's "Das Asiatische Museum" [10] on the basis of an autograph copy today held in the Institute collection.

But the most consistent and long-standing collector and investigator of Armenian manuscripts for the Asiatic

Museum was undoubtedly Academician M. Brosset (1802—1880), who was primarily a specialist in Georgian studies, but also took interest in Armenian and Caucasian studies in general too. As an acting member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, M. Brosset strove to create within it a centre for Russian scholarly Caucasian studies and to raise it to the necessary level. M. Brosset maintained long-term ties with scholars and collectors of antiquities in Armenia and Georgia and knew the extensive repositories and private collections of manuscripts in the East, Transcaucasia, and Western Europe; relying on the aid of local dwellers during his travels, he tirelessly acquired materials for the collections of the Asiatic Museum. These included originals and replicas created at M. Brosset's behest on the basis of copies that interested him. Thanks to the labours of this outstanding collector and scholar, the collection of Armenian manuscripts not only grew for many years, but was abundantly employed in his scholarly investigations. M. Brosset's contribution is to a certain extent marked by his personal interests which were focused on historical writings. After Brosset's death, the Armenian and Georgian collections were augmented (1884) with manuscripts from his private collection; at that time, his archive was transferred to the Asiatic Museum.

After a significant interruption, in 1893, the collection resumed its growth. Work on it was renewed and began to be reflected in the scholarly literature. The collection owes this prominence to the efforts of Russian specialists on the Caucasus. Individual items and large collections were acquired by the Asiatic Museum through its direct efforts and through representatives. The archaeologist and specialist on the Caucasus S. V. Ter-Avetisian did much to enhance the collection. The valuable acquisitions between 1912 and 1916 are indissolubly bound up with his name.

Despite the collection of Armenian manuscripts took shape over many decades, its description was primarily the result of individual scholars' interest in specific works. The only catalogue, that of 1844, may be regarded as one of historical value. Only in 1934 did S. V. Ter-Avetisian undertake the creation of a card catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts in the Institute collection. He concentrated his attention primarily on the registration of volumes, and sometimes only on the title of the first work or the generalized heading, for example: "Book of sermons". True, the catalogue registered some information of a palaeographic nature. The catalogue project begun by Ter-Avetisian, was not finished by him, but was unfortunately continued by individuals who lacked the necessary qualifications. Much of what Ter-Avetisian did, in the form of short notes on sheets inserted into the manuscripts, seem to have been lost for the most part. At the same time, alongside with the work of Ter-Avetisian on the compilation of the general catalogue of Armenian manuscripts, the scholarly description of individual collections also began. For example, in detail were described the manuscripts of N. N. Muravyev-Karsky. This project, however, remained unfinished. Later, in 1935, the parchment fragments from the collection of K. A. Kostanian were also described by R. Shaumian [11].

If certain manuscripts were treated in specialized studies and sometimes their description appeared in the minutes of sessions of the Historical-philological section of the Academy of Sciences [12], little was published about the Institute collection as a whole, which consists of nine





Fig. 2

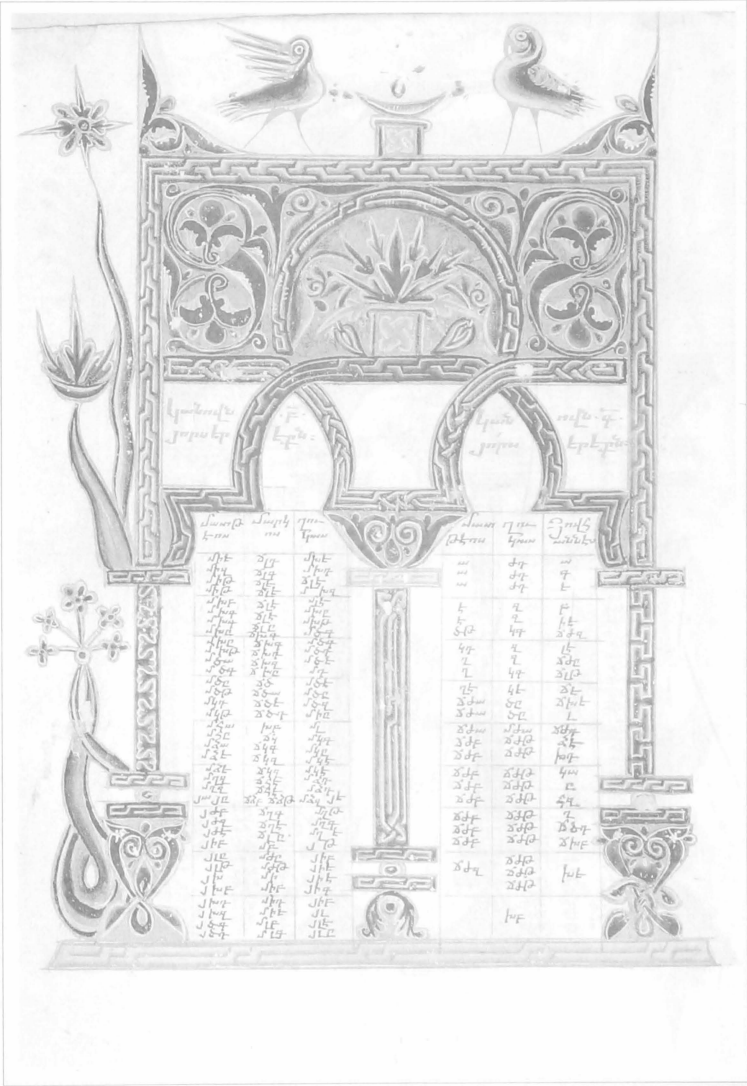


Fig. 3

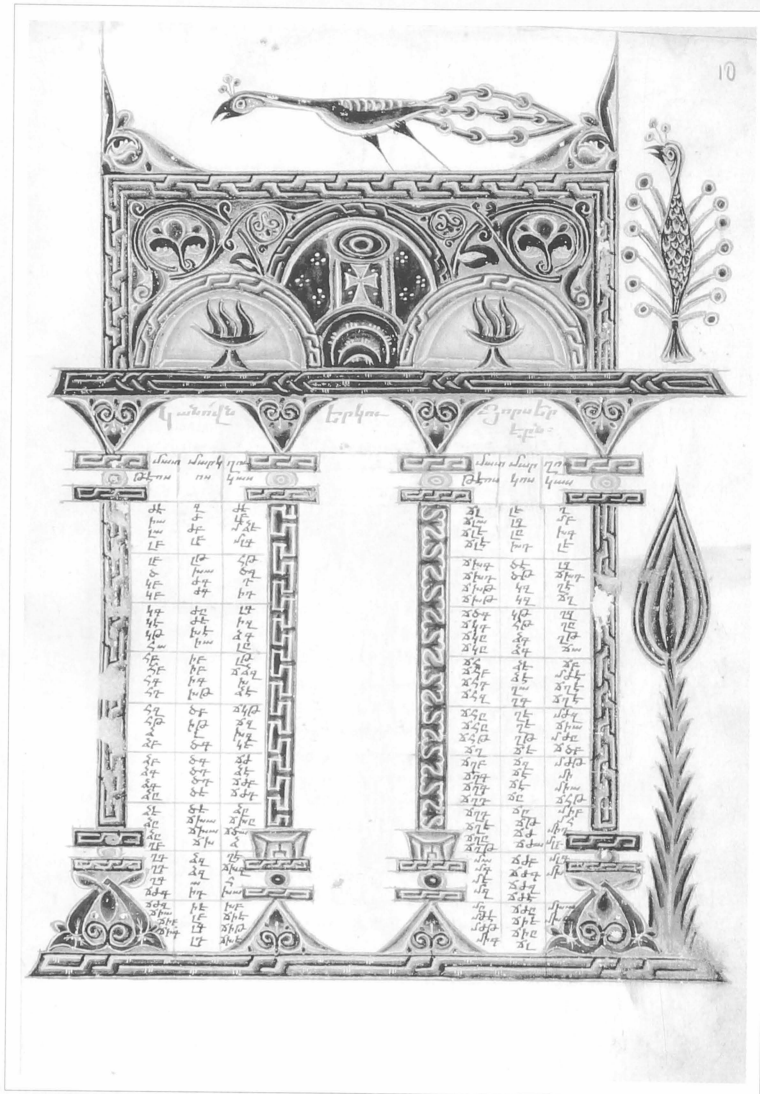


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

collections of varying sizes and individual items acquired at various times. The part of the collection which took shape during the lifetime of Ch. D. Frähn — the oldest part — can be called the “basic collection”. This collection, in addition to individual acquisitions, contains actually two collections: that of P. P. Suchtelen — 1837 (11 volumes), and that of M. Brosset — 1884 (17 volumes). In sum, the “basic collection” holds 67 items. This part took shape between 1828 and 1884. Further acquisitions were distributed in the following chronology: N. Y. Marr — 1893 (5 volumes); G. Aganian — 1912 (79 volumes); K. A. Abramian — 1914 (13 volumes); the Van collection — 1916 (26 volumes); K. I. Kostanian — 1919 (2,304 items) [13]; I. A. Orbeli — 1923 (6 volumes); N. N. Muravyev-Karssky — 1905–1916 (15 volumes). Finally, 27 items were acquired from an unidentified source, but there is reason to believe that they made their way to the Institute from Van. The “Van collection” would appear to contain 53 manuscripts. In addition to collections acquired between 1884 and 1939, the collection of Armenian manuscripts was augmented by individual manuscripts; they total 16” [14].

To this vast quotation from R. Orbeli one must add the following: in 1953, the Armenian collection was augmented with a number of manuscripts previously listed in the Georgian collection. Some of these were formerly a part of Brosset's archive [15]; others were held earlier in the Asiatic Museum. Later, in 1976, two manuscripts belonged to A. N. Akuliantz entered the collection. And not long ago, in 1980, the Armenian collection received 24 manuscripts previously held in N. Marr's library which was acquired by the Institute in 1960; these manuscripts make up a separate collection. At present, the collection at the Institute consists of 410 Armenian manuscripts.

As for the work on cataloguing the manuscripts, 22 manuscripts are included in the catalogue drawn up by Ch. Frähn [16]. There are also two printed catalogues of 7 manuscripts acquired from the Pedagogical section of Oriental languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first of these was executed by K. P. Patkanov [17], the second by N. Marr [18]. Besides, R. R. Orbeli's article “The Armenian manuscripts collections of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies” mentioned above can be regarded as a sort of a catalogue as well. It should be added that R. R. Orbeli also drew up a card catalogue which still retains its value (it provides, in particular, a detailed information on the acquisition of manuscripts).

The collection of the St. Petersburg State University holds five Armenian manuscripts, one of which is stored in the section of rare books at the University's Scholarly library; the remainder are in the library of the Oriental Faculty. The manuscript in the rare book section is listed in the inventory of 1888 [19], but the time and source of the acquisition of others are not known [20]. The manuscript in the rare book section (“Book of Canons”) was described and employed by S. Tigranian [21]. Among the manuscripts of the Oriental Faculty is a copy of the “Interpretations of Grammar” by Iohannes Erznkatsi made from the original, which is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Notes in pencil on the manuscript's pages indicate that someone attentively read the copy.

The collection at the State Hermitage at present holds seven manuscripts [22]. The collection began in 1909.

These manuscripts are of special artistic value; they were described in detail and studied by T. A. Izmailova, an expert in Armenian medieval miniatures [23]. The Institute of Russian Literature holds only one Armenian manuscript while the Marr collection of the St. Petersburg section of the Academy of Sciences Archive there is a group of fragments which were deciphered and numbered by R. A. Shaumian.

A significant part of the Armenian manuscripts in St. Petersburg collections are compilations [24] and their thematic description would greatly obfuscate any general sense of the manuscripts. Any thematic division of the material is, at best, formal. In the forthcoming catalogue of the Armenian manuscripts mentioned above, it was considered expedient to take as the basic unit of description the manuscript book as such (rather than the individual work) and to follow the order in which the manuscripts are listed and stored. The description structure is as follows:

1. Description number (running total).
2. Call number of the item.
3. Heading of the description in accordance with the content of the copy.
4. Heading of the work according to the copy. If there is no heading, it is reproduced from other sources and noted as such. The work's heading is given according to the colophon or other remarks in the manuscript.
5. Definition of the work — descriptive or with a translation of the heading (in parentheses), with references to catalogues, specialized literature, editions, etc. In some cases, the definition is contained in the heading of the description. Works are described in the order of their appearance in the copy and are indicated with Roman numerals; linked works are listed with Arabic numerals.
6. Information on the manuscript's artistic merits: illustrations, illumination, marginalia, etc.
7. Information on the time and place of the copy's creation, names of copyists, receivers (clients), binders and other persons who had a hand in the manuscript's appearance and its subsequent history.
8. External description of the manuscript in the following order: collection; dimensions in cm; number of folios; columns of text; number of lines per folio; material; writing; binding [25]. Defects were noted only for heavily damaged manuscripts.
9. Bibliography for the copy (not the work).

In reproducing text, *titlo* abbreviations are explained and ideograms are conveyed with letters. The orthography of the original is retained in all cases. In some instances of distortion, correct readings are given to clarify the meaning. Punctuation in Armenian texts has been adjusted in accordance with contemporary practice, as has the use of upper- and lower-case letters.

Following the long-standing tradition of describing Armenian manuscripts, the catalogue reproduces all more or less significant colophons, added comments, and annotations (Arm. *yishchatakaran* and *yishchatakagrutium*, that is, memorial annotations and comments; the term *ishatakaran* has been adopted in Russian scholarly practice). Such appendices are a characteristic feature of most Armenian manuscripts. The annotations could arise not only at the time of the manuscript's creation, but also much later. In Armenian book culture, they comprise a literary genre of

their own and are sometimes of greater interest than the manuscript's actual content [26]. The text of the annotation is given in the catalogue in full, with the exception of formulaic glorification, which is usually omitted after the title word. The catalogue also provides all annotations of any scholarly interest. The only exceptions are those *ishatakarans* already published in the well-known, soon to be completed, series *Pamiatnye zapisi armianskikh rukopisei* (Memorial Annotations in Armenian Manuscripts) [27].

Some words must be said about the Armenian alphabet employed in the manuscripts. It provides a fine example of phonetic writing. The alphabet created by Mashtots in approximately 405 contains 36 letters and corresponds to the language's phonetic structure. It has reached the present day without significant alteration. Only in the twelfth — thirteenth century did the letter *o* appear to convey the combination [aw] in closed syllables when it becomes a simple sound. At the same time, the alphabet acquired the letter [f] to convey a European *f* in borrowings. Over time, a flexible system of punctuation developed, and up to six punctuation marks are found in manuscripts. Texts consist of horizontal lines arranged from top to bottom and written from left to right. Abbreviations and *titlo* contractions are used. Late manuscripts make use of ideograms.

Armenian writing, like Greek, Latin, Georgian, and Slavic writing, is divided into majuscule and miniscule. The majuscule group (where writing is delimited by two imaginary parallel lines and letters remain within them for the most part) includes "capital", "rounded" or "proper *mesrop*" *erkatagir*; in the literature, it is also defined as uncial or lapidary writing. In the catalogue, the term *erkatagir* is used. This appears to be the most ancient of Armenian scripts and is the formal writing for manuscripts and inscriptions on hard surfaces, primarily stone. Rounded *erkatagir* consists of a combination of vertical axes and connective arcs. Letters are not connected and there are no divisions between words. Rounded *erkatagir* was retained until the twelfth — thirteenth century (it was later used only for capital letters, headings, and introductory lines).

Another variety of *erkatagir* is "straight" *erkatagir*, termed "mid-*mesrop*" or semi-uncial in the literature. As the term indicates, the arched connectors are straight in this style. Straight *erkatagir* is written vertically or with an incline to the right. As in the preceding case, letters are not connected and there are no consistent divisions between words. Dated documents in this script go back to the tenth century; it was retained until the twelfth — thirteenth century too.

Rounded and straight *erkatagir* form the two basic groups of majuscule writing. "Small *erkatagir*" has often been singled out as another variety. This is a fairly well-defined group, but it does not reveal constructive differences from straight *erkatagir* other than its size. It does not seem justified to consider small *erkatagir* an independent style of writing.

The miniscule group is defined by four parallel lines to arrange individual elements of letters. The basic element is located between the two middle lines; it can extend above and/or below. The miniscule group contains three styles of writing. Primary among them is *boloragir* ("round writing") (see *fig. 1*); despite its name, it consists almost exclusively of combinations of straight lines. Letters are usually written with an incline to the right, and there is a certain tendency toward ligatures. Divisions appear between groups of words, and later, between individual words. The most ancient dated documents go back to the twelfth century. *Boloragir* served as the basis for the scripts that until recently predominated in printing practice.

Notragir ("notary writing" which is called cursive in the literature) consists of a combination of straight, rounded, and waved elements. *Notragir* is smaller than *boloragir*, and the use of this script allowed one to conserve writing material. This script was usually not used for copying canonical books (the Old and New Testaments) and certain other books. The oldest examples of *notragir* go back to the fourteenth century.

Shlagir, or cursive, also used in manuscripts, consists of a combination of straight, broken, and rounded elements. *Shlagir* became fairly widespread for the first time in the seventeenth — eighteenth centuries. This script served as the basis for modern cursive. Apart from these scripts, numerous variations are possible within each of the groups noted above.

The present article necessarily avoids a thematic description of the St. Petersburg collections which contain many manuscripts of much scholarly importance. The forthcoming catalogue will partially fill in the gap, but, certainly many copies deserve more intent investigation to provide new information on the Armenian writing culture and literature in the Middle Ages. We limit ourselves here by providing only one sample of illustrated Armenian manuscripts, which was produced in comparatively late period but still retained the characteristic features of medieval Armenian book art (see illustrations on the front and back covers of the current issue and *figs. 1—5* inside the text).

Notes

1. *Imperatorskaia Publichnaia Biblioteka za sto let. 1814–1914* (100 Years of the Imperial Public Library. 1814–1914) (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 23.
2. *Otchet v upravlenii Imperatorskoiu Publichnoiu bibliotekoiu, predstavlennyi ... Oleninyim za 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, i 1812 goda* (Report on the Administration of the Imperial Public Library. Presented by ... Olenin for the Years 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812) (St. Petersburg, 1813), register (7).
3. *Otchet za 1814 g.* (Report for 1814), p. 23, note beneath the line.
4. *Otchet za 1815 g.* (Report for 1815), register entitled "On various donations ...".
5. *Otchet za 1817 g.* (Report for 1817), p. 16.
6. B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Pétersbourg, 1852), p. XI.
7. *Ibid.*, p. XV.
8. See *Otchet za 1891 g.* (Report for 1891), pp. 11–6.
9. For details, see *Imperatorskaia Publichnaia Biblioteka*, p. 246.
10. *Das Asiatische Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1846).
11. R. R. Orbeli in her work, which laid the basis of this part of the present article, erroneously attributes the collection of these fragments to the St. Petersburg section of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive.

12. One can cite: Dorn's collection "Das Asiatische Museum", with Frähn's catalogue and some brief remarks on manuscript acquisitions; K. P. Patkanov's *Bibliograficheskiĭ ocherk armianskoĭ istoricheskoi literatury* (A Bibliographic Essay on Armenian Historical Literature), with information on the extent of the Asiatic Museum's collection of Armenian manuscripts (1880), and finally, a brief essay by N. Marr, "Kavkaz" ("The Caucasus"), in the collection *Aziatskii Muzei Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 1818—1918. Kratkaia pamiatka* (The Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1818—1918. A Short Commemorative Booklet) (Petrograd, 1920), where the description of Armenian manuscripts is limited to a single paragraph, as R. R. Orbeli points out in her article.

13. Manuscripts and documents — 78 manuscripts and 2,226 documents as R. R. Orbeli identifies them.

14. R. R. Orbeli, "Sobranie armianskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR" ("The Armenian manuscripts collection of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, VI (1953), pp. 104—7. See also *idem*, "Kavkazovedenie" ("The Caucasian studies"), in *Aziatskii Muzei — Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Moscow, 1972), pp. 468—99. R. R. Orbeli made great efforts to identify collections and determine the conditions under which individual manuscripts were acquired. The results of her research are reflected not only in her works noted above, but also in the card catalogue and record cards for the collection that she drew up. These materials were handed over to me in the course of preparing the catalogue under preparation now.

15. "Manuscripts, correspondence et ouvrages de feu Mr. M. Brosset", in *Musei Asiatici Petropolitani Notitiae*, VI (Petropoli, 1904).

16. See Dorn, "Das Asiatische Museum", pp. 742—4.

17. "Les manuscrits arabes (non compris dans le No. 1), karchounis, grecs, coptes, éthiopiens, arméniens, géorgiens, et babys de l'Institut des Langues Orientales, décrits par MM. D. Güntzburg, V. Rosen, B. Dorn, K. Patkanof, J. Tchoubinof", in *Collections scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des affaires étrangères*, fasc. 2 (St.-Petersburg, 1891), pp. 260—6. The description in this work was made by K. P. Patkanov.

18. N. Marr, "The Armenian manuscripts of the Pedagogical section of Oriental languages at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs", *Handes Amsoya* (1892), pp. 45—54, 80—5, 111—7 (in Armenian).

19. Ms. E. I. 137.

20. Ms. Caus. Nos. 1—3 and 5; No. 4 is a Georgian manuscript. In A. T. Abramov's article "Vostochnyi otdel Nauchnoi biblioteki im. A. M. Gor'kogo Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A. A. Zhdanova" ("The Oriental section of the A. M. Gorky Scholarly library at A. A. Zhdanov Leningrad State University") in *Vostokovednye fondy: krupneishikh bibliotek Sovetskogo Soiuza* (Moscow, 1963), the presence of Armenian and Georgian manuscripts is not mentioned (cf. p. 227).

21. S. Tigranian, *The Ancient Armenian Book of Canons* (Petrograd, 1918). Regrettably, the doctoral thesis by N. G. Adonts, *Dionisiĭ Frakiiskii i armianskie tolkovateli* (Dionysius of Tracia and Armenian Interpreters) (Petrograd, 1915), for some reason, does not take this copy into account, although the author collected materials in Echmiadzin, Vienna, and Venice.

22. In 1958, 10 manuscripts of insignificant artistic value were transferred from the Hermitage to Matenadaran.

23. T. A. Izmailova, "Armianskaia rukopis', napisannaia v Genue v 1325 g., i ee serebrianyi oklad 1347" ("An Armenian manuscript written in Genoa in 1325 and its silver setting of 1347"), *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, XX (1961); *idem*, "Kilikiiaskaia rukopis' 1290 g. i ee master Toros Filosof" ("A Cilician manuscript of 1290 and its craftsman, Toros the Philosopher"), *Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, XXIII (1962), pp. 45—9; *idem*, "Armianskie illiustrirovannye rukopisi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha" ("Illustrated Armenian manuscripts of the State Hermitage"), *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, X (1969), pp. 110—41.

24. Strictly speaking, one should distinguish collections of like material from composite manuscripts of mixed content. In practice, however, such a division is often strictly formal. Cf., for example, O. F. Akimushkin, V. V. Kushev, N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, A. M. Muginov, M. A. Salakhedinova, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Peoples of Asia. A Concise Alphabetic Catalogue), ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1964), pp. 10—2.

25. In number of cases, the nature of the material precluded such a detailed description of each individual text.

26. For more detail, see L. S. Khachikian, *Memorial Notes in Armenian Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century* (Erevan, 1950), introduction (in Armenian); G. Bakhchian, "Memorial notes in manuscripts", *The Genres of the Medieval Armenian Literature* (Erevan, 1984), pp. 395—414 (in Armenian); K. N. Iuzbashian, "Armianskie rukopisi" ("Armenian manuscripts"), *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka*, book I (Moscow, 1987), pp. 145—65; *idem*, "Sobirateĭnyi obraz perepishchika v kolofonakh armianskikh rukopisei" ("The composite image of the copyist in the colophons of Armenian manuscripts"), *Literatura i isskustvo v sisteme kul'tury* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 69—75.

27. The series began with the publication of annotations of the fourteenth century (see n. 26). At present, it has published annotations from the fifth century to 1660, with the exception of the sixteenth century.

Illustrations

Front cover:

The Evangelist John and his disciple Prochorus, "The Four Gospels", manuscript B 45 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Shosh (Isfahan), 1623, scribe Stepanos, artist Mesrop Hizantsi, paper, fol. 210b, 11.0 × 15.0 cm.

Back cover:

The Evangelist Mathieu, the same manuscript, fol. 19b, 12.0 × 17.0 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. The same manuscript, *boloragir* script, fol. 185a, 13.2 × 18.4 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, Introduction, fol. 8a, 14.8 × 18.8 cm.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, Concord Canons, Armenian *khorans* in which common Eastern Christian and national Armenian traits are seen, fol. 11b, 13.5 × 18.7 cm.

Fig. 4. The *khorans*, fol. 10a, 14.2 × 18.8 cm.

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, the beginning of St John's Gospel, the initial lines are written in coloured majuscules, fol. 211a, 14.5 × 20.9 cm.

CONSERVATION PROBLEMS

Françoise Cuisance

MOUNTING AND EARLY RESTORATIONS: THE CASE OF AN ACCORDION BOOK, PELLIOT TIBETAIN 45*

Manuscript Pelliot Tibtain 45 (see *fig. 1*) [1] is among one hundred and forty Tibetan manuscripts in accordion form which belong to the Bibliothèque nationale de France collections. Eleven other manuscripts of similar form are written in Chinese. Other collections are to be found in London and St. Petersburg. Ninety per cent of the extent books in this form are written in Tibetan.

According to specialists on the history of the Far Eastern book, the accordion-form book dates to no earlier than the late eighth century and spread mainly under Tibetan influence. Its form is inspired both by Indian books on palm leaves and Chinese scrolls. The accordion book allows the

reader easier and faster consultation, avoiding unrolling and rolling up; it certainly represents an improvement in comparison with the scroll book. The Tibetan accordions probably date from the Tibetan occupation of East Turkestan, judging from their paper and their number. As for ways of naming the accordion book, beginning with the twelfth — thirteenth centuries its other names, such as “fanfold book” or “*siitras* folded binding” (in China) aimed to designate printed editions of texts from the Buddhist Canon. The accordion became the usual form of them up to our day. First of all, some words on the presentation and production technique of the accordion book [2] must be said.

ACCORDION BOOK TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The accordion book consists of sheets of rather thick paper with laid marks often easily visible or sometimes placed very tightly. The sheets are first pasted together with a few millimetres overlapping, just as in scroll manuscripts; the sheets can be double-layered. The mounting neither follows any strict rule regarding sheets overlapping nor the placement of joints. Once the paper strip is obtained, it is folded in accordion form at regular, more or less large intervals, depending on the format of the book expected, making volets that I will call leaves.

The text is written on both sides of sheets; it follows lines parallel to the long sides of the leaves, in Tibetan manuscripts, or the text is written in columns, as in Chinese scrolls [3], after preliminary ruling in red or brownish ink or dry-point etching. To protect the manuscript, the first and last leaves, or only the front side of the first leaf and the back side of the last leaf, remain blank; a leaf, made of

the same paper as other leaves in a manuscript, can also be added both at the beginning and at the end of the volume; it may be also that a cover, made of one or several layers, is lightly glued on the final leave. These covers are sometimes tinted in dark brown or blue. They can also be of silk.

Reading is performed by successively unfolding the leaves. At the end of the front side of the last leaf, the text continues on the back side of that leaf and further on the back side of other leaves. Therefore, the book pleats represent the part most vulnerable to damage in this kind of book. They need almost constant repairing and strengthening. Our manuscript Pelliot Tibtain 45, a personal collection of prayers, which probably belonged to a pious person who most likely bore the book in his pocket or possibly in the sleeve of his robe, is an example of such numerous restorations.

PRESENTATION OF MANUSCRIPT PELLIOT TIBETAIN 45

Pelliot Tibtain 45 is a small book (162 mm × 70 mm) comprising fifteen Buddhist incantations. Thirteen of them are complete; they bear no date but were probably copied in

the period of the Chinese occupation of Dunhuang. Several scribes participated in copying the text. They certainly had much experience; although the manuscript has no visible

* This study has been developed following the proposal of Mrs. Monique COHEN, Head of the Oriental Manuscripts Department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in collaboration with the Laboratories of analyses and the Photographic Department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

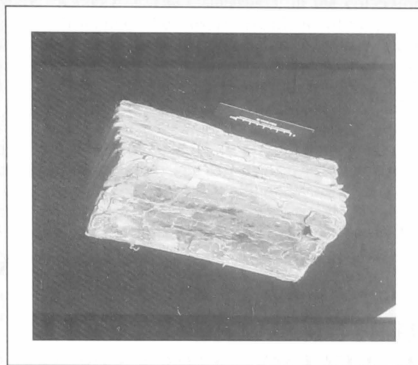


Fig. 1

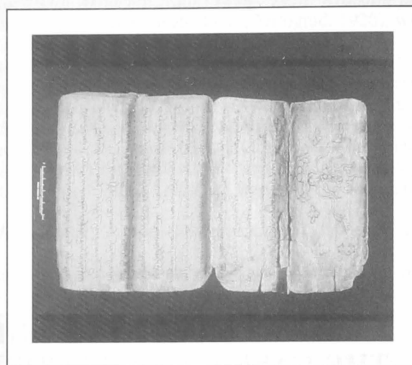


Fig. 2

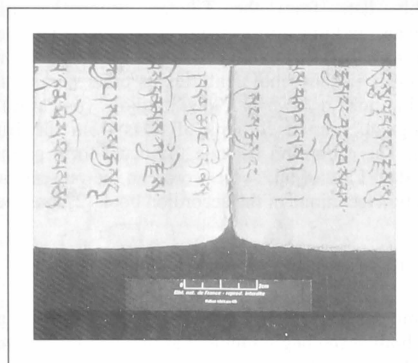


Fig. 3

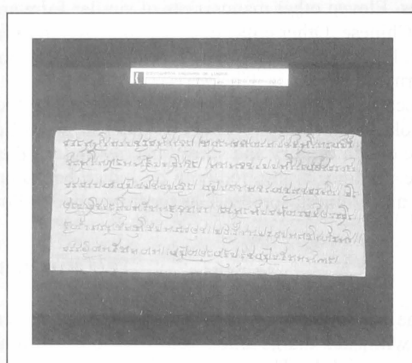


Fig. 4

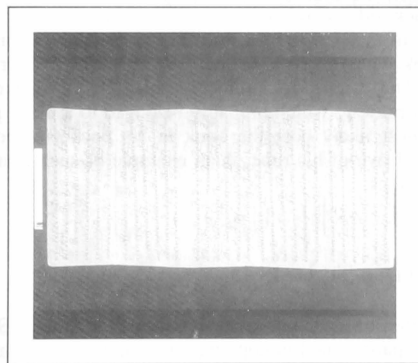


Fig. 5

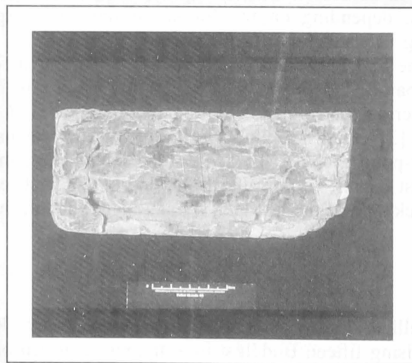


Fig. 6

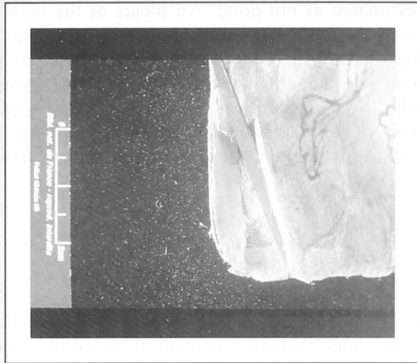


Fig. 7

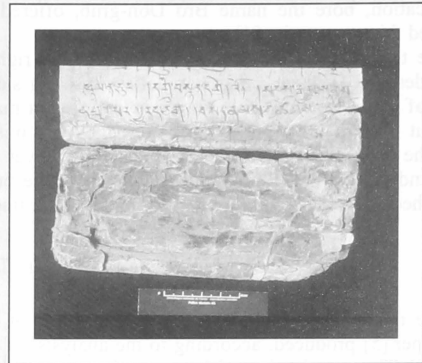


Fig. 8

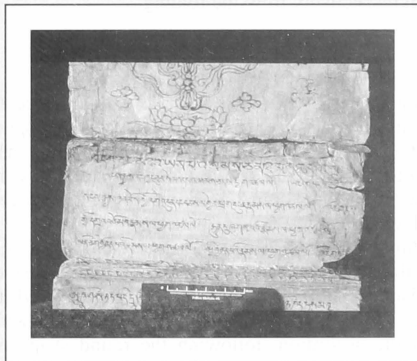


Fig. 9

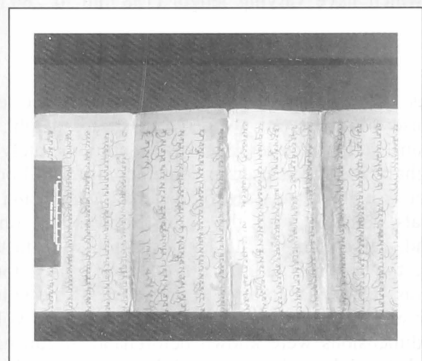


Fig. 10

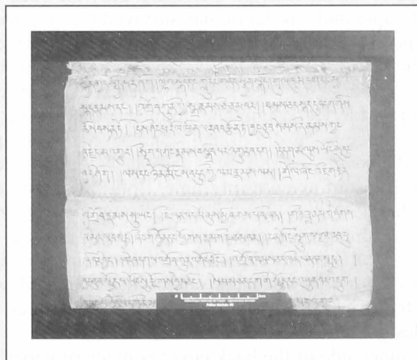


Fig. 11

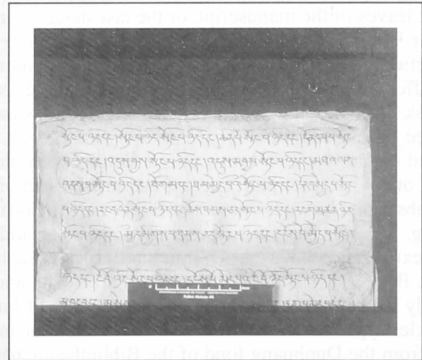


Fig. 12

ruling, the lines seem to be straight and are at regular intervals. The bibliographical notice issued by Marcelle Lalou indicates that some person, who, according to the scholar's identification, bore the name Bro Don-grub, offered and reviewed this manuscript [4].

The text in black ink is written from left to right on both sides of the leaves; it is parallel to the long side of each leaf which contains five lines per leaf, with a margin of about 10 mm all around. The front cover is missing while the back one is damaged. The surviving cover is of paper and silk layers. Remaining fragments of the brown paper sheet which covers the board bear black ink lines of

a design that cannot be identified now. On the counter-board, a design of Vajra on a lotus can be seen.

The present state of preservation of the manuscript can be estimated as not good. All pleats of the book have undergone several restorations, nevertheless the folds are in bad condition. There are, however, original pleats which bear no trace of restoration. The manuscript was read by unfolding the accordion, leaf by leaf, as explained above. Except for some very few restorations, using small chiffon backings, carried out at the Bibliothèque nationale in 1965, all restorations of this manuscript are old.

MANUSCRIPT PELLIOT TIBETAIN 45 TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

The manuscript contains seventy-nine leaves of light buff paper [5] produced, according to the analysis, of mulberry [6]. The examination of the paper shows that it is not very homogeneous. It is rather thick (0.17 mm to 0.32 mm) with wide laid lines going perpendicular to the pleats; each sheet contains twenty laid lines with 45 mm intervals between them. The chains are not visible, while 5.0 mm to 7.0 mm wide joints can be clearly seen; they mark off the sheets which have varying length (138 mm to 286 mm).

* * *

It is not unusual to find sheets of different length in manuscripts from this period. The sheets' height, that is the long side of the book leaves, is approximately half the height of the sheets used in contemporary scroll books. The fact that the sheets are of different length and that the pleats coincide with the joints shows that, on the one hand, half sheets, of full length or not, were fastened to make the volume, and, on the other, the place for the joints was selected according to the width of the volume. In other words, the initial strip was prepared for a volume whose dimensions were known beforehand. It can be assumed that we have here a careful mounting performed at one time, which would explain the fact that most of the joint pastings are in the same direction and with about the same width.

Some additional remarks should be made concerning our manuscript. It demonstrates the following feature: the two last leaves of the manuscript, or the last sheet, are made of paper which is thicker (0.32 mm) and looks more buff and fluffier than the others. The last joint corresponding to them differs in place and pasting direction. On these leaves, pale pink horizontal lines between the written lines can be seen (see *fig. 2*). They are about 3.0 mm wide, traced free-hand and certainly with a brush. It is a feature we could not find in other manuscripts. These pink lines' function remains obscure, although one could think that it was a sort of ruling. This sheet of the manuscript might be an addition to the text or an extra paper completing the calligraphy of the text. Besides, the angles of the leaves are neatly and deliberately rounded (see *fig. 3*), as in manuscripts of bundle or booklet type. A closer look at other accordion manuscripts from the Dunhuang fond of the Bibliothèque nationale shows that almost all of them have this particular feature; some of them have trimmed angles.

We have also noticed that all the leaves must have been trimmed together after the sheets were given accordion

The current state of the volume does not allow us to discover all of them. Actually we have detected only twelve. All joints, except the last one, are made in the same fashion as in Chinese scrolls, in the direction of reading, i.e. the edge of each sheet is glued over the edge of the following one [7] (see *scheme 1*). The paste, yellow and thick, used for mounting has overflowed the joints [8]. All pleats are made along the joints except the last two which are 9.0 and 12.0 mm respectively from the folding.

form. Manuscripts Pelliot Tibetan 46 and 261 (see *figs. 4* and *5*), are, for instance, obvious examples. The leaves of the first one have the form of trapezium while the leaf edges of the other are not right-angled. Irregularities similar to those found on the first leaf occur on other leaves as well, which is characteristic of both manuscripts.

Although our manuscript 45 is badly damaged, one can assume that this method of trimming manuscript leaves after its shaping into accordion might have been used in this case too. As a matter of fact the joints coincide with the folds of the accordion, following the round shape of the sheets' angles; on the other hand, the round shaping, which is not strictly the same in every four corners of the first leaf, keep the same shape throughout the volume.

As was mentioned above, the volume under discussion certainly had two covers, one at the beginning and another at the end of the manuscript. Currently, only the back cover made of paper and silk fabric has survived (see *fig. 6*). It is in very poor condition. The cover consists of five layers of which the middle one is a double layer of rather thick buff mulberry paper [9] of sheets-size format. Rather thick blue silk with a fabric design and thinner salmon-pink silk, folded on three sides, are pasted successively on the paper basis of the cover (see *scheme 2* and *fig. 7*). The folded silk serves as a sort of manuscript frame. Both silks protrude on the fourth side of the cover, forming some kind of protection like a hinge; they are pasted on along the last pleat connecting the two last leaves in the manuscript (see *fig. 8*). A sheet of dark-brown paper covers the whole of which only a fragment now survives, and it is decorated with an ink design.

The inner side of the back cover is made of paper similar to that of the manuscript; it is decorated with the Vajra design in ink; the sheet is pasted on the cover board which in turn is glued on the last sheet, forming a guard of a few millimetres thick (see *fig. 9*).



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

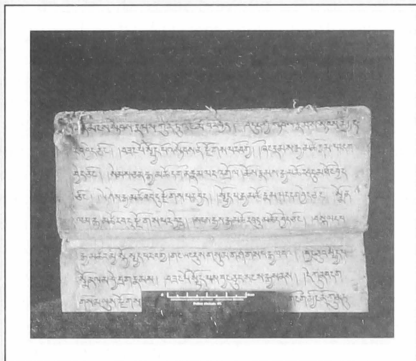


Fig. 15

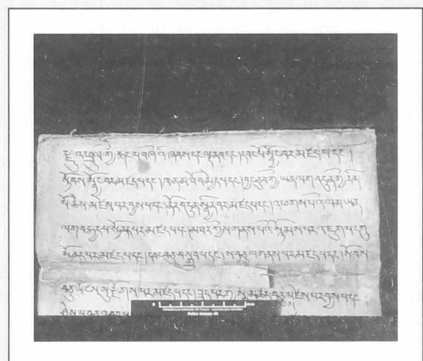


Fig. 16

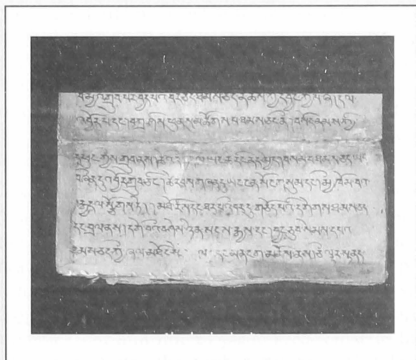


Fig. 17

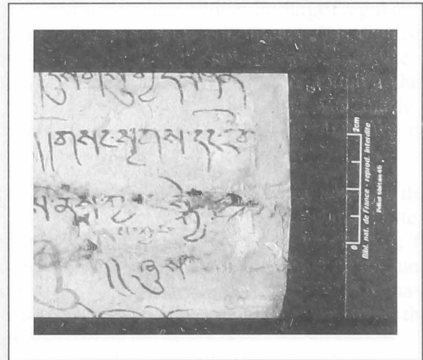


Fig. 18

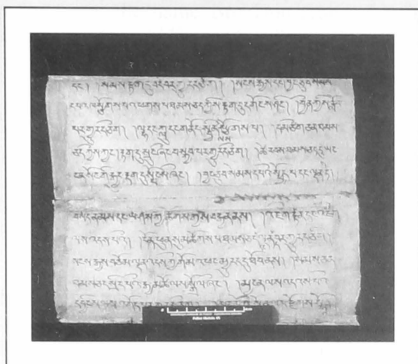


Fig. 19



Fig. 20

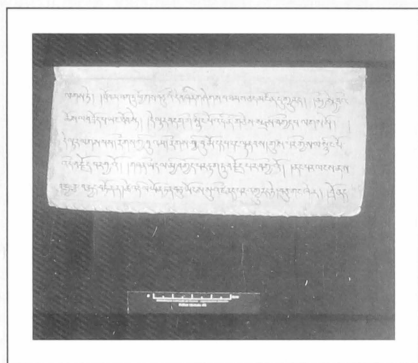


Fig. 21

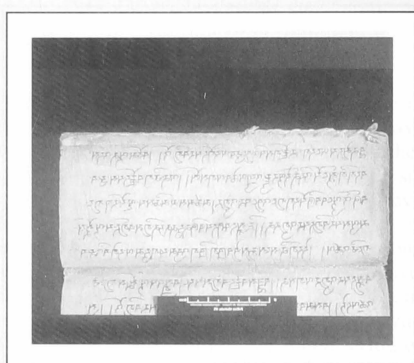


Fig. 22

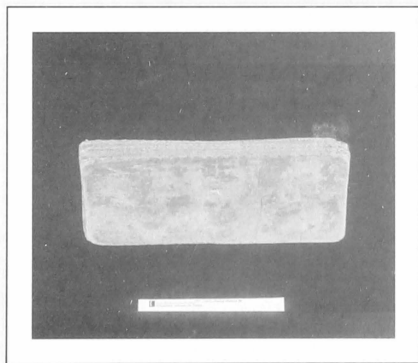


Fig. 23

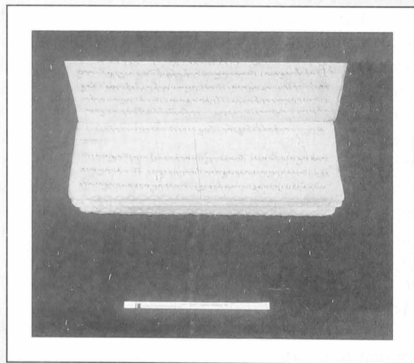


Fig. 24

Most of the leaves have an ochre-yellow silk strip which covers part of the front side of the left margins (see *fig. 10*), so that the initial characters are hidden in some points under this silk strip. Originally, the strip was intended to go throughout the whole manuscript but in places it became unglued in the course of time, and some fragments were therefore lost. Only slight traces of the original paste can be seen now. The purpose of these silk strips is not quite clear. It might have been a sort of decoration device to strengthen the leaves or it served to emphasize the beginning of the lines. No other examples are found in the Pelliot collection while silk strips used to consolidate the pleats can be found in other manuscripts.

A small piece of such silk along one pleat has survived in our manuscript.

The silk strip was added after completing the text; it was fixed to the cover, above the blue silk cover. This strip of 10 mm wide is pasted on the cover in such a way that it overlaps the cover edges and continues on the last leaves of the manuscript. This silk follows exactly the round shape of the corners as if the leaves and the silk had been cut together. Therefore, one can assume that after completing the text and placing this strip, all the leaves, including those which are part of the cover, were cut together, taking their final shape. After that the cover was put on and finally affixed to the manuscript.

EARLY RESTORATIONS

As was noted above, the accordion manuscript pleats are the part most subject to deterioration; they are the most fragile element in such books, particularly if they are in abundant use as is the case with Pelliot Tibetain 45. The traces of early restorations can be found in the book, mainly pleat restorations. We can see stitching in various threads and of various types, as well as various kinds of paper strengthenings, made as the book was deteriorating.

We can identify different methods of restoration employed successively, starting with the earliest ones. They could be detected thanks to the superimposing of many restorations which our manuscript demonstrates. It should be noted, first, that an examination of the paper and threads used during these old restorations was made in the laboratory of the Bibliothèque nationale de France [10]. As the investigation showed, the paper used is from mulberry pulp while the threads are all of silk. The early restoration devices were as follows:

1. Overcast stitching in very thin silk red or buff threads performed in small tight stitches, made at very regular intervals (see *figs. 11, 12, 16*) close to the leaves' edges. They were used throughout all the leaves but also as partial restoration here and there.

2. Guard strips of paper, thinner and lighter in colour than the manuscript paper, skilfully pasted without hiding the text, on the front side of and astride the leaves to be fastened. These guards over the stitching (see *figs. 12 and 16*) described above are stuck to replace the old ones, which had probably deteriorated; they are found also on pleats in good condition (see *fig. 13*). One can assume that during a restoration of some damaged pleats, when the pleats with lost stitching were repaired, those still in good condition were strengthened also as a preventive measure.

3. Stitching on the strips of thin paper (see *fig. 14*), pasted on the pleats, or over separate paper strips protecting the edges of every pair of leaves to be fastened. The state of preservation does not allow us to indicate with precision what kind of stitching took place. These guards or strips are pasted on only slightly, so that it seems that they are maintained thanks to a thin line of paste layer close to the edge, as if intended to fasten them when stitching. Besides, stitching is found in the middle of the strips, which is not always the case with the stitching in the older protection devices employed in our manuscript. These paper strips, aimed to protect the sheets from tearing, were put on when stitching.

4. Wider guards (see *fig. 15*) of the same colour and of approximately the same thickness that the manuscript paper were also put atop the adjacent leaves, covering the leaves' edges partially or fully. After that the corners and right margins of several leaves were strengthened. Because the guard hides some characters or part of them here and there, the text was rewritten in ink (see *fig. 16*). To paste on the guard, an ochre-yellow paste [11] put in more or less thin layers or, at times, in thicker mass was used.

5. A very thin violet thread was used for overcast stitching in partially or fully repaired pleats first restored or strengthened by means of guards. This very thread was used in the partial stitching which can be seen on the silk strip mentioned above (see *figs. 10 and 17*). It is also used in the repairing of the leaves' centre, representing a sort of darning stitching (see *fig. 18*).

6. a) Overcast stitching done in pink, buff, and green threads of cord type, which are thicker than those used in the first stitchings. All are done in the same regular way, with longer stitches than those employed before them (see *fig. 19*).

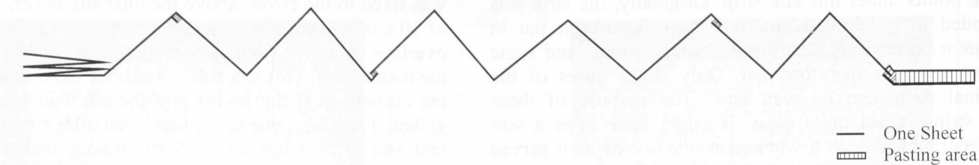
- b) In this set, a different kind of stitching [12], without pitching the sheets, can be seen, which provides its full opening. The stitching seems looser and in effect is less strong than the others. Such stitching was used only twice and might have been a trial (see *fig. 20* and *scheme 3*).

7. Overcast stitching done in large regular stitches using thick white organzine silk thread. This final stitching was, probably, done by the same person, since the method of stitching is the same, particularly in stopping the thread (see *figs. 21 and 22*). This stitching was made at the last stage of restorations. Under this stitching we can find previous restorations.

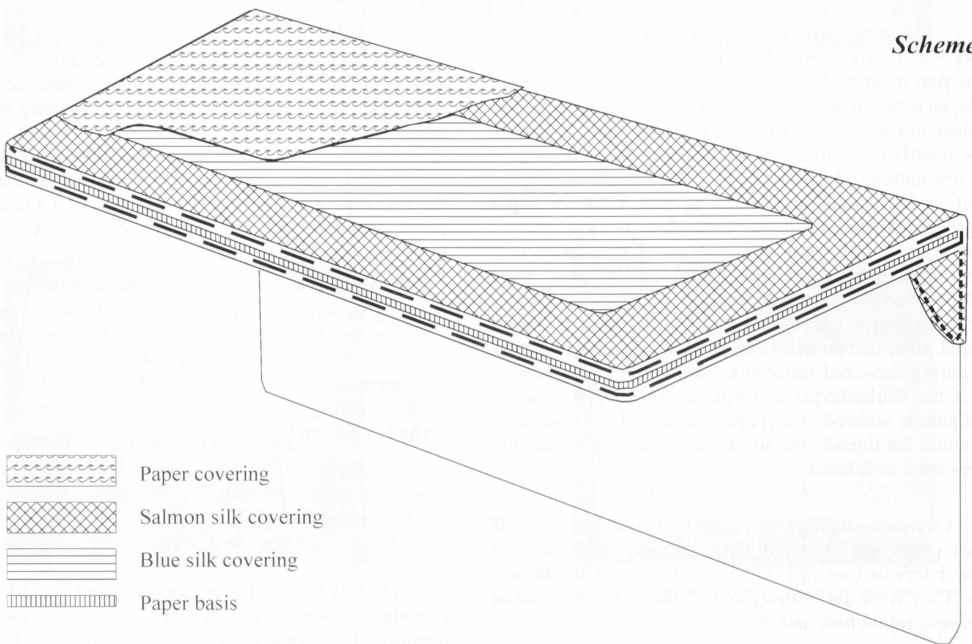
8. The consolidation stitching of the cover at the hinge level is done with large overcast stitches using white thread. Currently, the cover is detached but we can see that the thread originally passed through the four layers under the brown leaf found below. This last leaf seems to have been placed after consolidation as a new cover, over the early silk covers.

In short, the early restoration did not stand the test of time, although this restoration has not been completely lost; it was covered up or completed by another person. Anyway, at least three covers are extant which were affixed one after

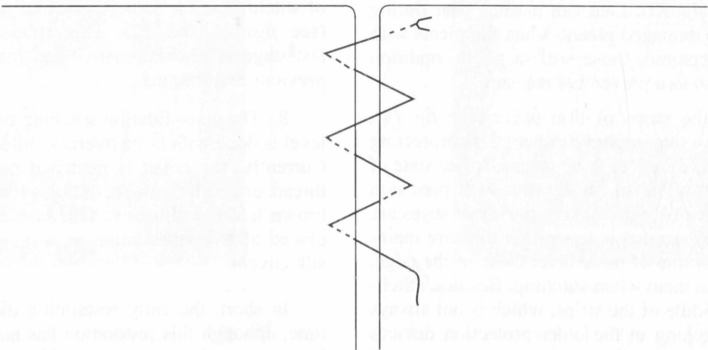
Scheme 1



Scheme 2



Scheme 3



another — one of blue silk, one of pink silk and one of decorated brown paper. We can notice that, with a few slight differences, two methods used to restore the pleats imply overcast stitching with silk threads or paper strengthenings (one case is not silk strengthening with paper but with silk). Both methods alternate. In the course of the restorations, the paper strengthenings provided a solid basis for stitching. Evidently, the combination of both methods took place at one time in the restoration of the pleats with stitching done through the guards.

The manuscript under consideration bears traces of successive restoration in layers or side by side and demonstrates successive restoration periods. Each subsequent restoration was of growing importance, since it had to replace (or to cover) the previous one and also to strengthen it, for which extra backings were added and thicker thread was used performing fewer passages through the paper, which was getting more and more fragile.

The stitchings our manuscript demonstrates are undoubtedly restorations, as they are found only in some places, in particular on this or that part of the pleat. In contrast, manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 98 (see *figs. 23* and *24*) is an interesting variant. It is of a fairly large format and in good condition. Its leaves, which are of thick buff laid

paper, have half-rounded corners and clean edges as is the case with palm-leaf manuscripts. If there were no joints in the paper, one could think that originally this was a book in bundles turned into an accordion. Its leaves are fastened with the help of a stitching done with regular cross stitches using very twisted and thick thread along all pleats except two of the volume. The stitching was done at one time, and certainly by one person. At some points, this stitching is repaired with coloured silk-like brilliant threads. As for the manuscript's total repairing or transformation into accordion form, it should be noted that such stitching was regarded as a sort of mounting. However, no examples are available where stitchings would be a real mounting: all accordion books are made using paper folding.

To conclude, our manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 45 is skillfully executed despite the fact that it was quite an ordinary book. However, it appears as a copy of a "pocket book" type and format binding, abundantly used and therefore carefully repaired as often as necessary. It is clear that most such bindings employed in ordinary books, with their fragile constitution, could not have survived in large number. Accordion-form books, therefore, were bound to disappear over the course of time despite their convenience.

Notes

1. Pictures were taken by Patrick Bramoullé of the Photographic Department at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
2. J.-P. Drège, "Les accordéons de Dunhuang", *Contributions aux études de Touen-Houang*, vol. III (Paris, 1984), pp. 195–204. Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, CXXXV.
3. Chinese accordion books are vertical (the pleats go along the leaves length), while in the Tibetan ones the pleats are horizontal, in "Indian style".
4. M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits de Touen-Houang conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale*. (Fonds Pelliot tibétain) (Paris, 1939), p. 15.
5. According to the colour standards established by the Bibliothèque nationale, this colour is referenced as 7.5/4 in M. Oyama and H. Takehara, *Revised Standard Soil Color Charts* (1967).
6. The analysis was carried out by Nathalie Pingaud from the Richelieu laboratory of analysis of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
7. Figures have been performed by Cécile Sarrion, conservator at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
8. My colleagues from the Richelieu laboratories of analysis of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Marne-La-Vallée technical Centre are studying some samples and will produce final results later. However, they have been able to indicate that this paste is a mixture of substances which are not all identified with certainty, but in which starch is a main component.
9. Cf. n. 4.
10. Cf. n. 4.
11. Cf. n. 6.
12. Cf. n. 5.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** Manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 45.
Fig. 2. Leaves with colour horizontal lines between the written lines.
Fig. 3. A sample of deliberately rounded leaves.
Fig. 4. A sample of manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 46.
Fig. 5. A sample of manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 261.
Fig. 6. The back cover of manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 45 made of paper and silk.
Fig. 7. The cover with silk glued on it.
Fig. 8. The two last leaves of the manuscript with silks glued on along the last pleat.
Fig. 9. The inner side of the back cover, made of paper, with the Vajra design.
Fig. 10. An ochre-yellow silk strip covering part of the front side of the left margins.
Fig. 11. A sample of overcast stitching serving as a guard.
Fig. 12. A sample of overcast stitching and guard strips of paper.
Fig. 13. Guard strips of paper placed on the pleats in good condition.
Fig. 14. Stitching on the strips of thin paper.

- Fig. 15.** Wider guards of paper put astride the adjacent leaves, covering the leaves' edges partially or fully.
Fig. 16. A sample of overcast stitching and guard strips of paper; the text rewritten in ink can be seen.
Fig. 17. The partial stitching in a very thin thread over the silk strip.
Fig. 18. A sample of employing a thin thread in the repairing of the leaves' centre, forming a sort of darn stitching.
Fig. 19. A sample of an overcast stitching.
Fig. 20. A sample of a stitching.
Fig. 21. A sample of the final stitching.
Fig. 22. A sample of a stitching.
Fig. 23. Manuscript Pelliot Tibetain 98, variant of restoration.
Fig. 24. A variant of restoration.

Scheme 1. The mounting of sheets viewed in profile.

Scheme 2. The cover viewed in cross-section.

Scheme 3. A scheme of stitching.

BOOK REVIEWS

Munazzah Haji Zakaria. *Katalog Manuskrip Melayu di Afrika Selatan*. Kuala Lumpur: 1998, 91pp, Illus. — Pusat Manuskrip Melayu, Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia Siri bibliografi manuskrip, No. 16.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, South Africa's doors were flung open to the world in order to promote trade links, diplomatic ties, educational bonds and cultural contacts. In the cultural arena, South Africa's immigrant communities such as the Chinese, Indians and (Cape) Malays were eager to forge links with their parents' or grandparents' homelands. In 1993, a seminar was held at the Universities of the Western Cape and Cape Town which explored the issue of 'Malay' identities in South Africa and Southeast Asia, of which H. Hamdani wrote a "Report of the seminar on Malay culture in Cape Town, South Africa"; it appeared in *Malay Literature* 6(1), 1993, pp. 226—7. One of the major results of this seminar was ongoing cultural and academic links.

Academics and non-academics from South Africa's Western Cape have been and are still invited to participate in congresses, conferences and exhibitions in Southeast Asia. And in the academic arena, scholars are undertaking studies to learn more about the Cape Malay community. In this field, Ms. Munazzah Haji Zakaria, a librarian at the Centre for Malay Manuscripts at the National Library of Malaysia, was sent to scrutinize extant (Malay) manuscripts¹ in Cape Town and Johannesburg respectively. However, prior to her visit, Muhammed Haron's bibliographical article entitled "Towards a catalogue of Islamic manuscripts in South Africa with special reference to the Cape," formed part of Dr. Wan Ali Wan Mamat's edited volume, namely, *Tradisi Penulisan Manuskrip Melayu*. This work was published under the auspices of the National

Library of Malaysia which organized a conference on the topic in 1995.

Ms. Munazzah Haji Zakaria visited each of those individuals who had collections of MSS in their possession, and she also went to the public and private libraries where a few MSS were housed. As a consequence of her visit, she was able to draw up an inventory of 'Malay' MSS and provide useful descriptions of almost each of them. Her compilation should thus be seen as an invaluable complementary project to the reviewer's above-mentioned article.

Ms. Mariam Kader, the National Library's director, as well as H. E. Maite Mohale, South Africa's High Commissioner to Malaysia, wrote a foreword to the publication. Pages 5 and 15 introduce the work in Malay with a translation into English. In her introduction, the author informs the readers that she was able to identify 55 MSS which contain a total of 74 titles. After acknowledging the persons who in this way or another helped to facilitate the project, Ms. Munazzah Haji Zakaria reproduces (pp. 21—8) colour plates of some of the MSS described. The book ends with a bibliography, a subject index, and a name index.

As a faithful and meticulous compiler, the author provides all relevant technical details of the description, including the number of folios of the manuscripts. In some instances, she also reproduces the introductory remarks (usually in the Arabic script) of the Malay manuscripts. And in most cases, she summarizes the contents with a few personal observations in Bahasa Melayu. Three personal collections, which did not appear in this reviewer's earlier article, are those of Mr. Moegamat Gielmie Hartley (p. 38), Dr. Cassiem D'arcy (pp. 39—44) and Hadjie Muhammad Lutfie Ibrahim (pp. 80—91).

While the author succeeded in putting together a very useful catalogue of MSS, there seems to have been

¹ The term, which is still currently used for these extant manuscripts, is 'Arabic-Afrikaans'. The main reason for this useful working title was that scholars such as Prof. Adrianus van Selms (Holland) came across Afrikaans MSS which were written in the Arabic script. However, as they were searching the field they noted that there were numerous 'Malay' MSS written in the Arabic script too. Here reference may be made to the important contributions of Achmat Davids, the Cape Town social historian, and Hans Kahler, the German scholar.

an absence of internal referencing. For example, the text *Bidāyat al-mubtadī' bi-Fadlallāh al-Mahdī* was part of the collections housed in the South African Library (p. 59) and the South African Cultural History Museum (SACHM 8045, p. 48), as well as the private collection of Muhammad Lutfie Ibrahim (MLI 7, p. 87). The author of the Catalogue does not attempt to link the three, nor does she try to assess whether they are the same or there are certain notable differences between them. Unfortunately, Ms. Munazzah Haji Zakaria also neglects to provide a cross reference of entries, such as, for instance, *Tuhfat al-raqhibīn*, of which numerous extant copies are to be

found in Southeast Asia, with those which appear in other catalogues, compilations and collections.

Despite these shortcomings, which, however, can be regarded but minor, the Catalogue is no doubt valuable and indispensable to any scholar who studies the social, cultural, religious, and linguistic history of South African 'Malay' Muslims. The work under review here is certainly a welcome contribution to this under-researched and under-studied area.

Muhammed Haron

A. I. Kolesnikov. *Denezhnoe khoziaĭstvo v Irane v VII veke* (The Monetary Economy in the 7th Century Iran). Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura Publishing House, 1998, 416 pp. + 16 pp. inserts.

This monograph deals with the economic history of Iran under the late Sasanids (590—651) and the first Muslim rulers, the proteges and opponents of the Umayyads (second half of the seventh — beginning of the eighth century), in the context of the era's stormy political events and ideological and social factors. Coins served as the main source for this work: late-Sasanian drachmas (more than 10,000 items), Arab-Sasanian drachmas (more than 2,000 items), and copper coins of varied administrative and confessional origin (around 600 items) minted between the end of the sixth century and the mid-eighth century. In order to recreate the conditions in which the monetary economy functioned, the author employs Sasanian epigraphics, Muslim historical chronicles, geographic treatises in Middle Persian, Arabic, and New Persian, and Syriac sources. A significant number of the coins studied by the author were held for many years in the collection of the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences); it was only in 1930—31 that they were transferred to the State Hermitage.

The monograph treats the key problems which surround the structure and nature of the monetary economy in

late-Sasanian and early Islamic Iran. These include a) the total number of active mints (the attribution and localization of centres for minting silver and copper, their actual number, and the length and intensity of their activities at various times); b) the basic production of mints — silver drachmas and copper coins (the evolution of monetary units, rate of emissions under actual conditions, sums of silver minting, and role of religious factors in determining the graphic appearance of coins); c) the central and local authorities which sanctioned the activities of minting centers. The analysis of numismatic material is buttressed by synoptical tables and illustrations.

An appendix includes a catalogue of Arab-Sasanian coins at the State Hermitage (St. Petersburg) illustrated with photographs of rare coins. The catalogue is of independent scholarly interest for medieval historians and numismatics specialists.

A. I. Kolesnikov's work differs from that of his predecessors in its far-ranging approach to the questions at hand, its use of a significantly more diverse group of sources, and the additional numismatic material from the collections of the Hermitage, the State Historical Museum (Moscow), and museums in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The work sums up many years' of research by the author in this field.

E. Rezvan

AUTHORS

Dr. **Igor A. Alimov** — Researcher of the South and South-West Asia Department at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Chinese literature and culture, author of one monograph and a series of articles in the field.

Dr. **Françoise Cuisance** — Member of the Restoration Service at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, specialist in Oriental MSS restoration, author of a number of articles in the field.

Dr. **Muhammed Haron** — Executive Member of the Centre of Contemporary Islam at the University of Cape Town (South Africa), specialist in Islamic studies, author of a number of publications in the field.

Dr. **Valery V. Polosin** — Senior Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the Arabic manuscript tradition, author of one monograph and a number of articles.

Dr. **Efim A. Rezvan** — Deputy Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Arabic and Islamic studies, author of a number of monographs and numerous articles dealing with Russian-Arab relations, history of Islam and Oriental studies computing.

Dr. **Kirill J. Solonin** — Researcher of the Manuscript Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Far-Eastern philosophy, anthropology and culture, author of monographs and a series of articles in these fields.

Dr. **Edward N. Tyomkin** — Senior Researcher of the Manuscript Department at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history of ancient culture and mythology of India, in Central Asia philology, author of a series of monographs and articles.

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

Prof. Dr. **Karen N. Yuzbachian** — Leading Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Armenian literature, history and manuscripts, author of numerous publications.

Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

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

Submissions

Manuscripts should be sent in duplicate to the Editor-in-Chief: Dr. Efim A. Rezvan, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 18 Dvortzovaya nab., 191186, Saint-Petersburg, Russia, E-mail: orient@ieos.spb.su; rezvan@thesa.ru

