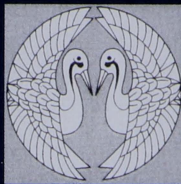


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Front cover:

“Portrait of a princess”, *Muraqqaʾ* X 3 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Fabergé collection, fol. 31a, 9.5 × 16.5 cm. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.

Back cover:

Decorative composition from elements of the double frontispiece of a Qurʾānic manuscript, the same album, fol. 29a, dimensions within the outer border 18.0 × 21.0 cm. Presumably Tebriz, 1540s—1560s. Mounted in India, mid-18th century.

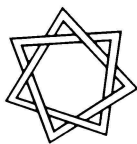
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Hiroshi Kumamoto

SINO-HVATANICA PETERSBURGENSIA (PART I)

The manuscript fragments we deal here with are the following: Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дх 18928; Дх 18916; Дх 18927; Дх 18930; Дх 18931; Дх 1461. They all belong to the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), but no transcription or interpretation of them was given in *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg Collections* (1993) by R. E. EMMERICK and M. I. VOROB'EVA-DES'ATOVSKAYA and *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg Collections* (1995) by the same authors. The reason these manuscripts first escaped the close attention of the editors of the above-mentioned volumes seems to be that all fragments contain Chinese text, with few portions of Khotanese added. In fact, they are more Chinese than Khotanese documents. For this reason, the fragments were put aside to be included in a future publication of Chinese documents from Central Asia. Although the manuscripts bear call numbers with signature Дх to indicate their Dunhuang origin, and are classified among Chinese Dunhuang documents, the Chinese texts, as well as the Khotanese ones, clearly show that the manuscripts come from the Gaysāta area (in the Domoko oasis north-east of Khotan); they can be dated to the second half of the eighth century.

Camel sale contract (Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дх 18928)

It is immediately clear that the larger two pieces (Дх 18926 and Дх 18928) form the greater part of a single document (see *fig. 1*). Dr. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya has kindly confirmed for me that the small piece of SI P 93.22, published earlier in *Saka Documents VII*, plate 67c and *Saka Documents Text Volume III*, p. 94, No. 112, neatly fits the upper left corner of the right-hand piece (Дх 18926). On the other hand, the left-hand edge of combined Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 and the right-hand edge of Дх 18928 do not make a perfect fit. In order to determine what portion of the Chinese text with the accompanying Khotanese translation is lost in the gap it is first necessary to examine the external evidence. *Fig. 2* shows bits of Chinese characters on the right margin of Дх 18928. The upper stroke going downward to the left could be the lower left end of the character *qian* 錢 (cf. the same character in the middle of line 3 and near the bottom of line 4 in

Of these manuscripts with Chinese and Khotanese texts, however, only Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дх 18928 (and probably a small fragment Дх 18930) can be called a bilingual document in the sense that the Khotanese text appears to be an interlinear translation of the Chinese. We find the same method of interlinear translation, with a Chinese text representing an original official document and the Khotanese a gloss to it for the benefit of the non-Chinese local population in Hedīn 24 [1]. This text is unfortunately more fragmentary than ours. There is also a series of bilingual voucher entries (Hedīn 15, 16, Dumaqu C. D), in which the Chinese text appears to be primary, too.

As for our texts, part of Дх 18927 shows that the Khotanese text relates to the preceding Chinese text, whereas in all others (Дх 18916, Дх 18931, Дх 1461 and the remaining part of Дх 18927) the Chinese and Khotanese texts are independent.

We note here that in the present article, the Chinese texts are dealt with only if they have some relation to the Khotanese texts. We leave the proper interpretation of the Chinese texts to specialists in the field.

Дх 18926) making up a whole character together with the remaining traces at the top of line 4 of Дх 18926. Likewise, two small bits in the lower part of *fig. 2* might be the top part of the character 士 in line 4 of Дх 18926 (the top of the vertical stroke of 士 and the beginning of 冫 respectively) [2]. In support of the assumption that only a few characters at the bottom, not the whole line (or lines) in the Chinese text are lost in the gap between the two larger fragments, identical passages from other sale contracts may be adduced. In our document, line 4 of Дх 18926 has 其錢及(駝) "That money (as agreed upon) and the camel" with a few characters missing at the broken bottom, while the first line of Дх 18928 has 交]相分付了 "have changed hands" with the first character lost at the broken top. This can readily be compared with S 5820+5826 [3] (a cow sale contract from Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, the year 803), lines 4—5 其牛及麥即日交相分布了 "That cow and

the wheat changed hands on the very same day”, or S 1475 verso No. 7 [4] (an ox sale contract from Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, the year 822?), line 4 其牛及麥當日交相付了 “the ox and the wheat changed hands on the very

same day” [5]. The first line of Dx 18928 must therefore immediately follow the last line of Dx 18926 with either *jiri* 即日 or *dangri* 當日, both meaning “on the very same day”, which is lost at the bottom of the line.

Text [6]

K1 || ulā sau dasalā

C1 野駝壹頭父拾歲

K2 10 6 mye salye rarūyā māstā 20 1 mye haḍai hamīdaka gaysātaja
braṃ[mūjsai āstamna?

C2 大曆十六年六月廿一日傑謝合川百姓勃[門賀齊

K3 tye / pracai(na) cu kṣīrve mūrā puḍa ya tye pracaina mī vaṇa
ulā parāmdī (nva?)]

C3 等 / (為)役次負稅錢遂將前件駝(買) [与 [?] [?] [?] 斷

K4 ni hīvī x / mi nvaḥi sinā tcinā vīra kṣasi vsārṛu būnā ulā paphvām(d)i]

C4 作駝[價] / (錢)壹拾陸阡文其錢及(駝) [當日

K5 x-i x-yi hä / [] h(ve?) himāt(e) x x ul(ā) / (h)īyq nā<py>e si maṃ hī x-ī]
(break)

C5 交]相分付了後有識認一(仰) [主保知當

K6 x-ī vā yana x

C6 不關買人之事官有政法[人從私契

C7 兩共平章畫指為記

K 7 || braṃ[mū](js)ai (salī) x (60) 5

K 8 || puṅargam salī 30 5

K 9 || (vi)sarrjām salī 60 1

K10 || ma(rs)ākā salī 30 1

K11 || rruhadattā [salī] (20?) 5

K12 pheṃdūkā (salī) 30 1

K13 [vikausā salī] 30 4

C 8 錢主

C 9 駝主百姓勃門賀齊[年六十五

C10 保人勃迹仰年[卅五

C11 保人勿薩睡年[卅一

C12 保人末查年[卅一

C13 保人紇羅捺年[卅?五

C14 保人奴^レ偏年卅一

C15 保人勿苟^レ悉年卅四

Commentary

The document apparently follows a format. The first line names the object of the contract, in this particular case a camel duly specified. The second line begins with the date, followed by the seller's name; in line 3 the reason for the sale and to whom the camel is sold (this part of the text is unfortunately missing) are explained; and in line 4 the sale price is given. The second half of the main text is a confirmation that the exchange has taken place, which is followed by a standard precaution against possible claimants challenging the legitimacy of the owner, and the end contains another standard formula of private contracts. After the main text the names of the buyer (left vacant), the seller and guarantors and their age are given. It is noteworthy that all the names are Khotanese transcribed in Chinese characters.

C1 / K1. The title of the document in Chinese is “One male camel, ten years old” [7]. *yetuo* 野駝, lit. “wild camel”, is probably a particular kind of a camel. This is literally translated in Khotanese, except “male” (*fu* 父). *dasalā*, not found elsewhere, can be explained as a haplogogy of a compound **dasa-sala-* “(of) ten years” rather than *dasa-* “ten” followed by the suffix *-la*.

C2 / K2. The date “Dali 16th year (= Jianzhong 建中 2nd year, i.e. 781), 6th month, 21st day” shows that the change of reign titles (*nianhao*) at the capital is not yet known. The date in Khotanese, at the beginning of the second line, faithfully follows the Chinese dating; the regnal year of a Khotanese king is therefore absent here. The seller is “the commoner (*baixing* 百姓) Braṃmūjsai from Hechuan 合川 in Gaysātal”. For the place-name Jieixie 傑謝 and its identification with the Khotanese Gaysāta, see KUMAMOTO (1996) 37 and n. 29, KUMAMOTO (forthcoming). Hechuan, meaning “confluence, where rivers join”, is probably the name of a subdistrict of Gaysāta. Khotanese *hamīdaka* must mean “all together”: it stands before *gaysātaja* “of Gaysāta” and is unlikely to correspond to the place-name Hechuan [8]. Of the seller's name C2 has only the first character *bo* 勃, but C9 provides the whole name. In Khotanese only the first syllable *braṃ-* can be seen both in K2 and at the top of the name-list in K7. However, the remaining traces in line K7 allow us to suggest the name *Braṃmūjsai*, also found in other documents from the Petrovsky collection (for example, SI P 92.30.6, 98.10, 103.18, 103.19, 103.28, 103.29, 103.36). In the Chinese variant of the seller's name as given in C9, *bomenmaoqi* 勃門賀齊 (<b'uot muən m̄u dz'iei) (the reading of the third character somewhat uncertain), the second character must be an abbreviation or an error

for *lan* 蘭 (<lân). The top of line C3 (in a small fragment SI P 93.22) has 等 (“popular” form for *deng* 等), which, standing after a personal name, would mean “and others” (in Khot. *āstamṇa* “etc.”).

C3/K3. After the seller's name comes the reason for the sale, just as in many other sale or loan contracts in Chinese: (為) 役次負稅錢 “in order to bear (the burden of) the tax money (稅錢) for (= in the place of) official labour (役次)”. In Khotanese — *tṭye/pracai(na) cu kṣirve mūrā puḍa ya* “For the reason that the state money (in plural, i.e. the taxes) was owed”). The meaning of *puḍa* was recently discussed by P. O. SKJÆRVØ, in *Studies III* (1997), 96—100, where he argues against the interpretation by R. E. EMMERICK as “paid” in *Saka Documents Text Volume III*. This passage makes it clear that the *corvée* obligations (*kṣirva kīra* “state work” in Khot.) could be and were bought off with money.

The rest of C3 has 遂將前件駝(買) “thereupon (they) sell/sold [9] the aforementioned camel”, while the rest of K3 is *tṭye pracaina mī vaṇa ulā parāṃdi* “For that reason now they sold (3 pl.!) the camel”. *mī vaṇa* “here now” is the rendering of *suijiang* 遂將 “thereupon, on the spot”. In the Chinese text the missing part at the bottom of line C3 is expected to have had the buyer's name, presumably a Chinese one. The shape of the remaining part of the letter, after *parāṃdi* in K3, looks like *nva* in line K4, which brings to mind the phrase *nva pīha* “at the price of”.

C4/K4. The top of line C4 (in SI P 93.22) can be read as 作駝. After the name of the buyer (unfortunately lost) a phrase 斷作駝價 “The price of the camel was fixed as ...” is expected [10]. In fact, D_x 18926, which immediately joins below, has (錢) 壹拾陸阡文 “sixteen thousand *wen* in (copper) coins”, with the first character *qian* 錢 “coin” half visible. The second half of K4 has likewise *kṣasi ysārru būnā* “sixteen thousand *wen* (< mjuṇ with initial denasalization). The syllables preceding this part hardly make Khotanese words except for the postposition *vīra* “to”. It is likely, though impossible to prove, that a Chinese name of the buyer is hidden behind these syllables [11]. The rest of K4 has *ulā paphvām(di)* “they collected the camel”, which would correspond to (part of) the Chinese phrase “That money and the camel changed hands” mentioned above.

C5–6/K5–6. The Chinese text of this part speaks in a somewhat abbreviated form about the warranty against the challenge to the seller's rightful ownership at the point of transaction. 後有識認一(仰)[主保知當] / 不關買人之事 “If afterwards anyone should recognize (the camel and claim its ownership), the owner (= seller) and the guarantors shall unilaterally deal with such, and it shall be none of the buyer's business”. For 後有識認, see S 5826 + S 5820, lines 5—6 後有人稱是寒盜識認者 “Si, par la suite, quelqu'un prétend qu'il y a eu vol et reconnait [l'animal étant sien]” [12]. Likewise S 1475 verso No. 7, line 5 has 如後牛若有人識認, 稱是寒盜 “If afterwards anyone should recognize the ox and claim that it is stolen”. In our document the word for “theft” (*handao* 寒盜) is dropped. 一(仰)[主保知當] / 不關買人之事 is reconstructed after S 1475 verso No 7, line 6 一仰主保知當, 不忤(=關)賣(=買)人之事.

A very fragmentary Khotanese rendering in this part (over the break between two major fragments) cannot be reconstructed with confidence. *himāte* (3sg. subj. of the verb “to be”) is almost certain, and the preceding syllable may be *hve iva manla* (a faint trace above and a hole below the *aḡsara ha*). The syllable after *nā* is blurred, although the vowel sign *-e* is clearly visible. As a result of the manuscript's restoration a small piece of paper was pasted on a little off as the vowel sign of the following *si* shows (fig. 3). But even if placed correctly, (as in fig. 4), *pye* is illegible here. According to the Chinese text, the phrase *ulā hīvq nāpye* “the camel is recognized as his own” should be expected here. The remaining few syllables in K6 cannot be interpreted. The next two couplets in C6–7 were probably not translated into Khotanese.

C6–7. 官有政法[人從私契] / 兩共平章 畫指為記 “The authorities have the government's laws, (but) people observe private contracts. Both parties agree and have their finger-seals affixed”. For *huazhi* 畫指 “finger-seal”, the traces of which are not visible in the manuscript, see KUMAMOTO, in *Studies II*, 151—4. The first couplet 官有政法, 人從私契 is found also in a Hoernle document (*JASB LXX/1*, Extra number 1, Pl. IV), and in a number of Stein documents: S 1475 verso, No. 7, S 3877 verso, No. 6 and S 3877 verso, No. 3 (where we find *ciqi* 此契 “this contract”; instead of *siqi* 私契 “private contract”). The second couplet 兩共平章, 畫指為記 is also found in S 5867, S 5871, Otani 1505, S 1475 verso, No. 7 and the Hoernle document mentioned above.

C8. *qianzhu* 錢主 “owner of the money”, i.e. the buyer. The place for a name is left blank.

K7/C9. All personal names of the seller and guarantors are familiar from the Petrovsky and Hoernle documents from Gaysāta. For the name of the owner of the camel (*tuozhu* 駝主), i.e. the seller, “the commoner Brammūjsai, 65 years old”, and the Chinese form of his name, see above (C2 / K2). Between the traces of the word *salī* “year” and of the numeral “60” another trace of a letter (possibly the numeral “20”) can be seen.

K8/C10. Here begins the list of guarantors' names. The shape of the second character in the Chinese equivalent of *Puṅargam* [13] is somewhat unusual. The closest in form would be 迺, an alternative form of *er* 邈 (<nīē), thus *boeryang* 勃迺仰 (<b'uat nīē ngiang).

K9/C11. *Viśarjām* [14], together with the Chinese form *wusazhong* 勿薩踵 (<miuət sāt t'šī^ong), occurs in Hedin 15.1.

K10/C12. Elsewhere, *Marṣākā* [15] is written more often as *Marṣa 'kā*. Its Chinese form is *mocha* 末查 (<muāt dʒ'a) here; cf. Hedin 16.23 *Marṣi'* with *moshi* 末士 (<muāt dʒ'i) in Chinese.

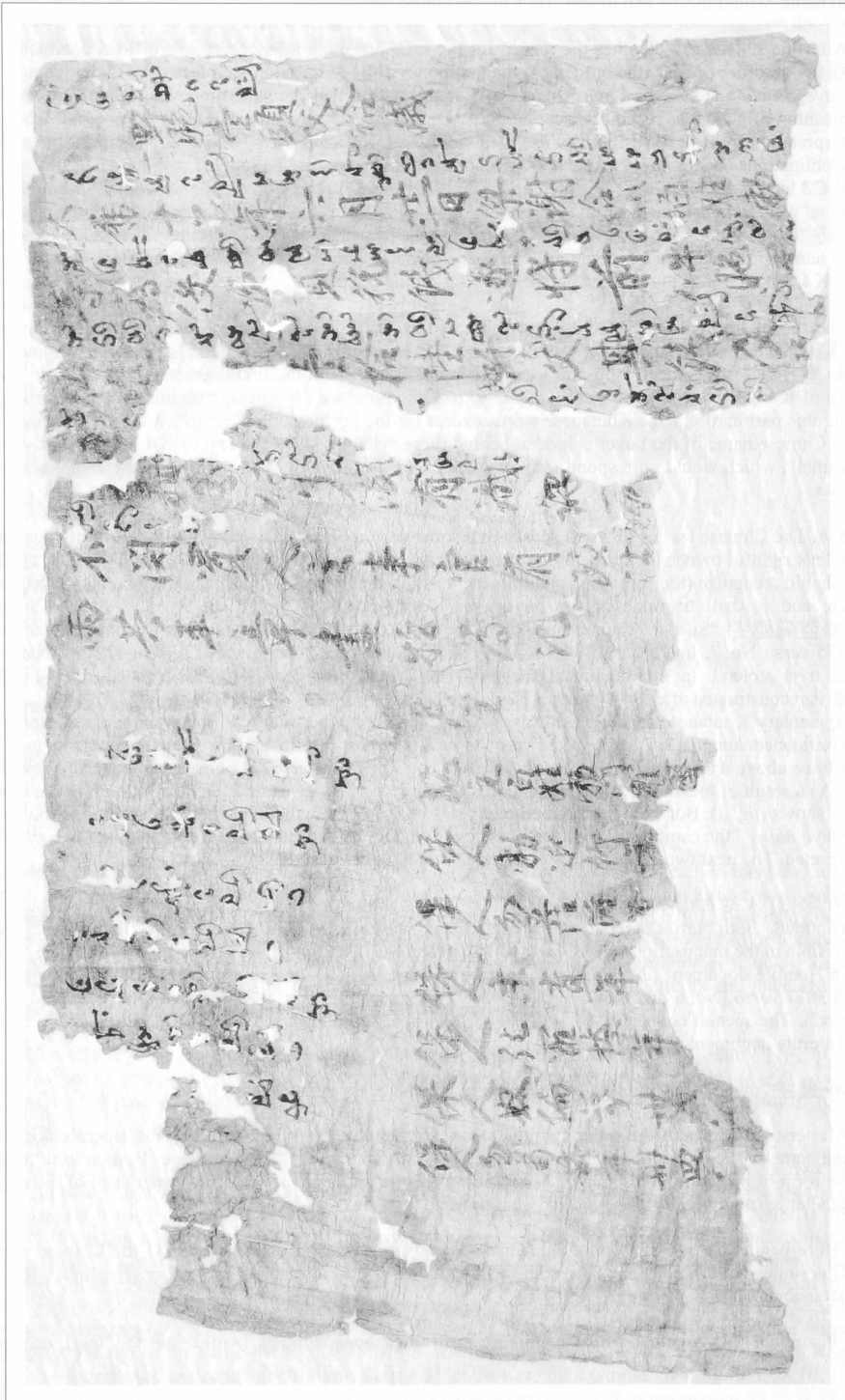


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

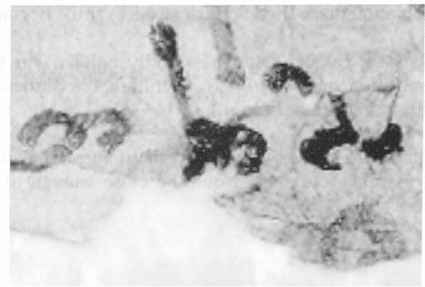


Fig. 3



Fig. 4

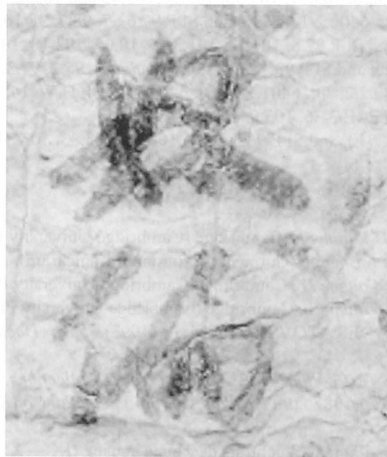


Fig. 5

K11/C13. The next name, *Rruhadattā* [16], has a difficult Chinese form, which occurs again in D_x 18927 (in Part 2) as 傑謝百姓紇羅捺 “commoner Rruhadattā of Gaysāta”. I tentatively follow Yutaka Yoshida’s suggestion that the first character of *heluona* 紇羅捺 (<ɣuət lâ nāt) represents some kind of onset to the non-Chinese r-sound (heavy trill?). The punctuation mark (two vertical strokes) at the beginning of **K11** has a flourish as in **K1**.

K12/C14. Takata Tokio has kindly pointed out to me that the stroke between *nu* 奴 and *pian* 偏 on the right is the transposition sign (see *fig. 5*). Therefore, the Chinese name of *Phemdūkā* [17] is written as *piannu* 偏奴 (<p’jān nu; the latter with initial denasalisation).

K13/C15. The Khotanese variant of the last name is completely lost. The remaining Chinese, if read as *wugouxi* 勿苟悉 (<mjuət kəu sjet), would be close enough to *Vikausā* [18], which is another common name among the Gaysāta documents.

Notes

1. Published in facsimile in *Saka Documents I*. See *KT IV* for the first attempt at interpretation. Recently its date of 798 is proposed by ZHANG Guangda and RONG Xinjiang (1997).

2. Although in line 1 of D_x 18926 the 𠄎 element of the character *yi* 壹 appears to be written in one continuous stroke, it would normally be in two strokes; cf. the top left of three occurrences of the character *bo* 勃.

3. Translated in GERNET (1957) 349–353. This and other Chinese documents are most conveniently seen in facsimile and transcription in YAMAMOTO and IKEDA (1987).

4. Translated in HANSEN (1995), 54 f.

5. On this phrase see GERNET (1957) 351. A similar expression is found, for example, in 64TAM 35:21, lines 3–4 (camel sale contract, the year 673), TAM 509, lines 3–4 (horse sale contract, the year 733), MS with no number at the Museum of Calligraphy, Tokyo, lines 3–4 (cow sale contract, the year 741; see GERNET (1957) 358), S 1475 verso No. 6, lines 8–9 (land sale contract, the year 827?), S 3877 verso No. 4, lines 7–8 (house sale contract, the year 897), S 3877 verso No. 2, lines 8–9 (house sale contract, the year 897), S 3877 verso No. 7, line 7 (land sale contract, the year 909), P 3573 pièce 1, line 4 (slave sale contract, the year 923), S 1285, lines 7–8 (house sale contract, the year 936), P 4083, line 4 (cow sale contract, the year 957?; see GERNET (1957) 354).

6. Here, as in other texts, [] indicates editor’s reconstruction of the lost part, () — partly visible letter(s), { } — editor’s deletion from the MS, <> — editor’s emendation to the MS, and x — an illegible letter. Uncertain Chinese characters are shown in a box □, while a slash (/) in lines from **K3** to **K5** marks where S I P 93.22 joins D_x 18926.

7. In comparison to extant camel lease contracts (see GERNET (1966)), only a small number of sale contracts has survived.

8. For the usual order of district name — subdistrict — personal name, see KUMAMOTO (1996) 45.

9. *mai* 買 “buy” is written for *mai* 賣 “sell”. Similar confusion is found e.g. in S 1475 verso, No. 7 mentioned above, where, in line 3, *chumai* 出買 is written for *chumai* 出賣 “sell” and, in line 6, *mairēn* 賣人 “seller” is written for *mairēn* 買人 “buyer”.

10. In GERNET (1957) 361 — “On a fixé le prix à...”.

11. The syllable represented by *nvahi* would be unusual for a surname. Somewhat close to it would *benou* 鞞 (hardly a surname) which occurs as *nog* in transcriptions in Tibetan script from Dunhuang. On the other hand, there are a number of possibilities for *sinā* and *tcinā*.

12. GERNET (1957) 349, 332.

13. Also found in Or. 6395.1, Or. 6400.2.2, Or. 6401.2.1 and Or. H Z in the Hoernle collection (published in *KT V*) and S I P 95.8, 95.14, 96.1, 101.1, 103.4, 103.5, 103.18, 103.28, 103.31, 103.33, 103.36, 103.43 and 103.49 in the Petrovsky collection.

14. Also found in Domoko F (*KT II*), Or. 6400.2.1 (*KT V*), and S I P 97.6+7, 98.7, 98.10, 103.16, 103.36.

15. Also found in Or. H W (in *KT V*), and S I P 97.8, 101.14, 101.31.9, 103.5, 103.18, 103.28, 103.36, 103.49, 103.53.

16. Also found in Or. 6401.1.2 (in *KT V*), and S I P 93.14, 94.23 (*vrahadattā*), 95.2, 97.3, 103.53.

17. Also found in Or. 6398.8, Or. 6400.2.2, Or. 6401.1.2, Or. 6401.1.4, Or. H W 14, Balawaste 0159 (in *KT V*), and S I P 92.28, 94.10, 95.14, 96.1, 96.8, 96.10, 96.15, 101.7.2, 103.36, 103.0, 103.53.

18. Found in Or. 6395.1, Kha. ii.3 (in *KT V*), and S I P 96.3, 98.7, 103.11, 103.33, 103.34, S I M 50.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1. A single document consisting of three fragments (left to right Δx 18928+ SI P 93.22 + Δx 18926).

Fig. 2. Bits of Chinese characters on the right margin of Δx 18928.

Fig. 3. A fragment of the Δx 18926 left margin, with a small piece a little off as a result of the document's restoration.

Fig. 4. The same, with the small piece placed correctly.

Fig. 5. The transposition sign to the right of characters *nu* 奴 and *pian* 偏 in **K12/C14** (Δx 18928).

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI. II. AVADĀNAS AND JĀTAKAS (PART 2)

This article continues the publication of a Sanskrit manuscript on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali, presenting a section with several *avadāna* and *jātaka* stories [1].

In point of fact, we do not know the Sanskrit texts of the *Sūtra-piṭaka*, *Vinaya-piṭaka* and *Abhidharma-piṭaka* of the Sarvāstivāda school, although the Sarvāstivāda canon contained all of these sections, as is clear from the Chinese translations of these texts [2]. Scholars, however, have long known Sanskrit collections of *avadānas* which they believe to go back to the Sarvāstivāda canon: these are the *Avadānaśataka* (100 *avadānas*) and *Divyāvadāna* (38 *avadānas*).

Some sense of the structure of the Sarvāstivādins Sanskrit *Vinaya* is provided by the compilative work included in the Bairam-Ali manuscript; we have already published it in preceding issues of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, beginning with vol. 5, No. 2 (1999). A better understanding of the Sarvāstivādins *Vinaya* can be obtained by examining the Sanskrit text of another Buddhist school, that of the Mūlasarvāstivādins: it was found among the Gilgit manuscripts and published in transliteration [3]. It is a colossal text, copied on 523+11 extant folios of birch bark, each 66.0×12.0 cm with 10 lines of text on each side [4].

Raniero Gnoli dates the formation of the Sanskrit text of this *Vinaya* to the time of Kaniṣka the Great and links it to the Buddhist assembly he allegedly held in Kashmir [5]. The *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins was translated in full into Tibetan and Chinese; the Tibetan translation is exact and thorough, while the Chinese contains certain additions and independent interpretations [6].

There are two views on the canons of the two early Buddhist schools, the Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins, which took shape in close chronological proximity. E. Frauwallner believes that the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon is based on that of Mathurā, which is linked with the Buddhist assembly in Vaiśālī [7]. É. Lamotte holds otherwise. He argues that Mathurā was not the centre for the codification of the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon, that the canon itself took shape no earlier than the fourth — fifth century A.D., and that it was based on the canon of the Sarvāstivādins. Unlike Lamotte, A. Bareau sees in the Mūlasarvāstivāda canon a multitude of archaic features and considers it one of the most ancient canons, earlier than that of the Sarvāstivādins [9].

In a word, the relation between the canons of the Mūlasarvāstivādins and Sarvāstivādins remains far from clear.

The competing points of view were introduced here with the sole aim, that is to underscore that the language and palaeography of the Bairam-Ali manuscript indicate that it was set down in written form in Kashmir. The language of the texts was greatly influenced by the North-Western Prakrits of the *Gandhārī* variety. The scribe evidently followed traditions developed in Kashmir. The writing material — birch-bark — also points to Kashmir.

On the other hand, a comparison of the text preserved in our manuscript with the text of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya* shows that the latter underwent significant literary adjustment, incorporating many *jātakas* and *avadānas* in an order that points to a link with certain parts of the *Vinaya*. The Sarvāstivāda canon has not preserved an edited text. As concerns the number of *jātakas* and *avadānas* in it, it appears to be no fewer than what has come down to us in a conspectus form.

A comparison with the *Saṅghabhedavastu* allows us to make some additions to what was published by us in vol. 6, No. 4 of *Manuscripta Orientalia*. For one, we can identify the story on fol. 4a—b about the elephant Dhanapālaka, which follows the Buddha, dies of grief, and is reborn in the heaven of the four great kings. Part of the *gāthā* is from this story: “*parigamyā ca dakṣiṇam jītārim suralokabhimukho divaṃ jagāma*” (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 189—91). On fol. 4b, a new story begins: “The story of the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his faithful captain Pūrṇamukha...” (it concerns a previous incarnation of Ānanda, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 192—4). This story is absent in our text. The new story, which begins on fol. 4b, concerns a leader of the monkeys, but differs from that included under the same title in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, p. 202.

Further, the text on fol. 5b under the title *Sākṣiti* appears to have a parallel in the story of how the king Ajātaśatru repented of the murder of his father and was converted to Buddhism by Buddha himself (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 251—4; see also the Buddha’s sermon on the unreality of the Self, *ibid.*, pt. I, pp. 158—9). Finally, the story under the name *Pampha*, which remains unidentified, is reflected in two stories in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*: “The five *bhikṣus* and “The name of Ājñatakaunḍinya” (pt. I, pp. 133—6). The comparison with the *Saṅghabhedavastu* allows us to make some addition to Part I of my work published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI/4. Now we can identify the story on fol. 4a—b. It is a story of how the elephant Dhana-

pālaka obediently follows the Buddha, then dies of grief and is born again in the heaven of the four great kings. Part of a *gāthā* from the story is: *parigamya ca dakṣiṇam jītarim suralokabhimukho divaṃ jagāma* (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 189—91). Then, on fol. 4b a new story goes, that is “The story of the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and his faithful captain Pūrṇamukha, etc.” (concerning previous birth of Ānanda, *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 192—4). The story is absent in our text, a new story, which begins on fol. 4b, is devoted to the leader of the monkeys. However, it differs from the story included under the same title in *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, p. 202.

The text on fol. 5b entitled *Sākṣīti* seems to be similar to what we find in a story of how king Ajātaśatru repented of the murder of his father and finally was converted by Buddha (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 251—4). See also the Buddha's sermon on the unreality of Self (*Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 158—9).

The story under the title *Pampha* — this name remains unidentified — found a reflection in two stories of *Saṅghabhedavastu* — “The five *bhikṣus*” and “The name of Ājñatakaunḍinya” (pt. I, pp. 133—6).

The following is the publication of the next five folios of the manuscript from Bairam-Ali.

FOL. [6a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *aj[a]karo jīvitād vyaparopitaḥ yena vanijā pariv[e]ṣṭ[ī]tā āsī¹ ||*
dvimukhāyaka śarīra [vi]-
2. *stareṇa yathā vinayo lokahito ca alokahito ca || ṭīṭivā devadattasya*
yadā bhagavatā
3. *śilā-kṣiptā upaśāntaśa karya²-pathena ca janam toṣayati pūrvva-*
yogaṃ ṭīṭiva sākaṃ-
4. *m-anubhāṣati śanair-uddharate pādāmidam ca ābhāṣase tuvaṃ*
niṣevase sā-sakaṃ karma na[?]e³
5. *jñāta vi[stare]ṇaḥ || śuka iti devadattasya akṛtjñikam kṛtvā pūrvva-*
yogo rāja-śuko rāja [

TRANSLATION

1. it was entrusted [to him] to eliminate [hunger, thirst, and illness] among living things^[1]. Thanks to this, the merchants received help. On the body with two faces in de-
2. tail^[2]. As [it is said] in the *Vinaya*, and holds for this world, and for that world. [The story of] “Ṭīṭivā”^[3]. How Bhagavan
3. hurled away the cliff [that was brought down upon him] by Devadatta, and [how] Upaśānta, fulfilling [his] duty, brought joy to people. In a previous birth, with Ṭīṭivā he
4. spoke. Such relations were eventually established [between them]: “You order — you carry out.” Her *karma* was [thus] determined,
5. [thus was it] in the details. [The story] of “The parrot”^[4]. Devadatta displayed ingratitude. In a previous birth, the parrot of the *rāja*...

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] We could not find the proper name Ajakara in Buddhist texts. Judging by the content of the excerpt, the reference is to Ajatakarṇa, a pupil of the Buddha mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*, I, 76, 1, although the details differ. In the *Mahāvastu*, after the Buddha's death Kāśyapa orders Ajatakarṇa to go out into the world and eliminate hunger, thirst and illness among people: “*kṣudhāṃ pipāsāṃ vyādhiṃ ca manusyānām nivartaya*”. Merchants are not mentioned in this regard. We were unable to find this tale in the Pāli canon.

^[2] *Dvimukhāyaka* literally means “two-faced”. We were unable to find the story of the body with two faces in the Pāli *Vinaya*. The story of the two birds Dharma and Adharma (concerning a previous birth of the Buddha and of Devadatta) is part of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, see pt. 2, pp. 177—8. The story of the pheasant with two heads has been preserved in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, see *bKa'-gyur*, Nartan edition, section ‘*dul-ba*, vol. *na*, fols. 232—3. The story of the bird with two heads, one of which swallows *amṛta*, and the other poison, is widespread in ancient Indian literature. See, for example, *Pañcatantra*, also *Muṇḍaka-upaniṣada* [10].

Another interpretation of this image is, however, possible. In all likelihood, this story spread beyond India and was popular not only in Tibet, but also in China and the Tangut state of Xi Xia. In his diaries, Xuan Zang records a story about two paupers, followers of the Buddha's teaching, who simultaneously had a dream in which they were ordered to prepare a sculpture of the Buddha. They were so poor that they could not engage two sculptors, so they ordered a single statue together. The Buddha, in an act of mercy, made the statue bear two heads. The parable is confirmed by an exhibit at the State

¹ Instead of *āsīd*.

² Instead of *kārya*-.

³ Instead of *tena*? Possibly a slip of the pen.

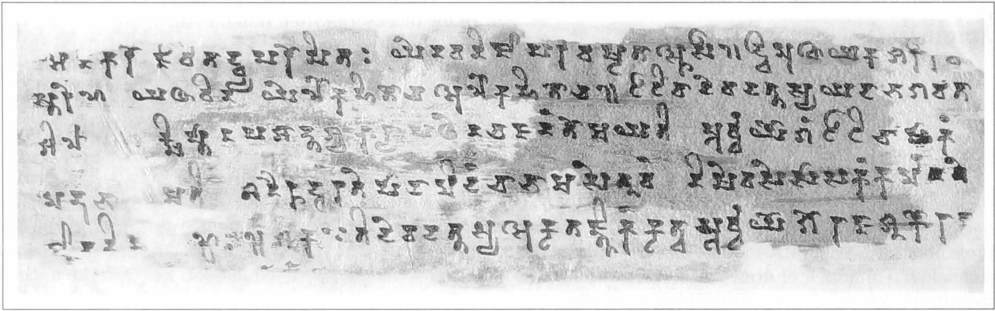


Fig. 1

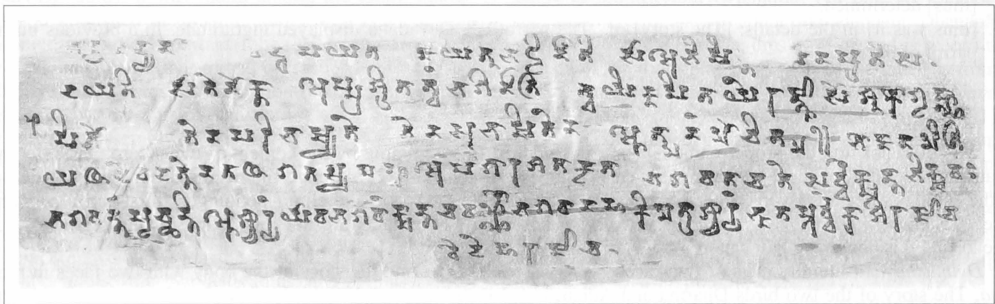


Fig. 2

Hermitage: a small (62 cm in height) clay statue of the Buddha with a single body and two heads. Archaeologists date it to the thirteenth century A.D. It was found by the Russian scholar P. K. Kozlov in Khara Khoto [11].

[3] As far as we know, the proper name *Ṭītivā* (fem.) is not attested in Buddhist texts. Judging by its phonetic form, it is not Sanskrit, but a borrowing. The story mentions two facts that are known in the Buddhist canon: 1) Devadatta's attempt to kill the Buddha on the mountain of *Ghṛdrakūṭa*, where two cliffs fell on the Buddha but did not cause him serious harm (see *Apadāna*, I, p. 300); 2) when *Upasānta*, a pupil of the Buddha, fed the Buddha and the community for seven days together with his friend *Śanta*; see *Mahāvastu*, III, 237, 11 ff.: “*Buddhavaṃsa Commentary*”, 179 ff.

[4] In all likelihood, this refers to a story incorporated into *jātaka* No. 546 about the *rājā*'s wise parrot named *Mathurā*, which was sent to the court of the *rājā* *Vedeha* to learn from the court's *mayna* bird the *rājā*'s thoughts when he announced the engagement of his daughter. The parrot, who became the husband of the *mayna* for a time, learned from her all the secrets of the court and prevented his master from committing an error.

FOL. 6b

TRANSLITERATION

1. ... X [u]dyānaṃ ... [bu]ddh[o]payāta jayatu bhāṭṭinīti
sā abhiṣi[k]tā ca na pratisa[mo]-
2. dayati sā tenoktā appraśritā tvam bhaginīti tvayi kupi-
tāye⁴ rājñā so śuko grhṇā-
3. pito⁵ tena paribhāṣyate tena subhāṣitena ātmānaṃ mo-
citam || *bhojanamīti*
4. yathā devadattena tathāgatasya bahu-apaḡāra-śatā kr-
tā bhagavatā ca te sarvve kṣantā bhikṣavaḥ
5. bhagavantam pṛccganti āścāryaṃ yāva bhagavāṃ kṣanta
ca varṇṇo bhagavān āha kim-atra-āścāryaṃ bhūtapūrvvam
kāśi-rājā ca
6. vaideha-rājā ca

TRANSLATION

1. ...and the Buddha came to the park of *Udyāna* and said: “May [you have] success, lady”. She was watering [the flowers] and did not respond to
2. the greeting. He said to her: “You are not polite, lady. Because of your anger, the *rājā* issued an order to seize ^[1]
3. the parrot”. [This is how] he explained it, and thus were the good [words] he pronounced. Thanks to them, [she] was freed [from rebirths]. [The story] “**Hosting**”.
4. How *Devadatta* inflicted many hundreds of insults on *tathāgata*, and the *Bhagavan* forgave them all. The monks asked
5. the *Bhagavan*: “[Is it not] wonderful that the *Bhagavan* forgave [*Devadatta*]? How glorious he is!” *Bhagavan* said: “What here [seems] wonderful [is explained by the relations] between the *rājā* of *Benares*
6. and the *rājā* of *Videha* in a previous life ^[2].

Commentary

[1] The form *grhṇāpita* is used in the text; it is not attested in Buddhist Sanskrit. It appears to have been used in place of the Skt. *grāhayita* (“ordered to seize”), the past passive participle of the causative form of the root *grah*.

[2] The reference is to *jātaka* No. 51 (*Mahāsīlava-jātaka*), about relations between the *rājā* of *Benares* and the *rājā* of *Koshala*. The *rājā* of *Benares* displayed kindness and patience, putting up no resistance to the forces of the enemy when his country was attacked. He was able to regain his kingdom and glory through kindness and a lack of malice.

We find a similar story in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 195—6: the story of *Karadaṇḍī*, the *Sahasrayodha*, an early rebirth of *Ānanda*. There is a *gāthā*: “*Karadaṇḍī sahasrayodho gāthām bhāṣate: tyajanti sarvamitrāni cirasamstutikāni te | mītram te karadaṇḍī tu tvam eko na prahāsyati || itī*”.

FOL. [7a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. [anya]manya prativiruddhā bahhūvatuḥ te abhikṣṇaṃ anyoṃanaṃ
karonti yāva kāśirājñā caturamga
2. balakāya-sannāhetvā abhiniryāsi yūthāya amātyāḥ kathayanti
āgato rājā sa

⁴ Instead of *kopitāyām*? Loc. Sg. Fem. Agrees with *tvayi*.

⁵ Instead of *grāhayito*.

3. *kathayati visrabdham praviṣatu sa 'pi ca rājā bhakte⁶ upaviṣṭaḥ
kāśi rājā praviṣṭaḥ vaide-*
4. *ha rājā kathayati ehi rājam imaṃ bhojanaṃ imaṃ vastra yugam
yaśvedamarthe kalaho*
5. *varṭatīti tataḥ sa rājā pratyāgataḥ sva-viṣayam gataḥ so 'pi rājā
pravrajitaḥ || kaccha[paḥ] iti*

TRANSLATION

1. They both fought with each other. There was ever strife among them. How the *rājā* of Benares armed a host
2. that consisted of four types of soldiers. “Undertake a campaign with the army”, said [his] advisors. The *rājā* came. He
3. said: “This is right, let those forces set out [in a campaign]!” And the *rājā* himself took part [in the campaign] and set up his camp [by Videha]. [When] the *rājā* of Benares came [to Videha].
4. the *rājā* of Videha said: “Come, *rājā*! Here is fare, here is [the best] clothing, here are [rich] harnesses [for horses], [everything] over which
5. strife has [usually] arisen”. Then that *rājā* [of Videha] met the [*rājā* of Benares] and abandoned his realm. That very *rājā* accepted the rite of *pravrajā*. [Story by the title of] “The tortoise”^[1].

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] In all likelihood, the reference is to a story entitled “The story of the tortoise” concerning a previous birth of Kauṇḍinya. See *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 16—8.

FOL. 7b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *vistareṇa mahāsamudre vaṇijair-hato te ca hastinā tatraiva
anaya-vyasanam-āpādītā⁷*
2. *senā iti devadattena bhagavataḥ cūrṇayogaḥ kṛtaḥ sa bhagavato
vadhāya muktaḥ tataḥ*
3. *prati vātena devadattaśarīre nipatitaḥ sa bhagavatā maitrāya
mocitaḥ anukampī-*
4. *taśca pūrvvayogaṃ seno amātyo babhūva rājño dṛḍha-nemī dvā
amātyā dvitīyo senam-upa-*
5. *dravati sa dvitīyo amātyo pūrvvaṃ rājānaṃ saṃśṛtaṃ tena tataḥ
āśviṣa⁸-karaṇḍaḥ*

TRANSLATION

1. [Tell] in detail. [A tortoise] in the ocean was killed by merchants [because of its wealth]. And those [merchants] were brought there to misfortune by an elephant for [their] injustice.
2. [Story] about Sena^[1]. The Bhagavan was transformed into a fragrant powder by Devadatta. Thanks to the demise of the Bhagavan he was saved.
3. Then, in contrast to this, because of the Bhagavan's mercy, the same powder was drawn on the body of Devadatta by the wind.
4. and [the Bhagavan] showed [him] compassion. In an earlier birth, [Bhagavan] was an advisor to [a *rājā*] by the name of Sena. The *rājā* had two reliable court advisors. The second [advisor] oppres-
5. sed Sena. The second advisor had served the *rājā* earlier. So a basket with a poisonous snake to them

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] This story seems to bring together two plots. We were unable to find the text about the transformation of the Bhagavan into fragrant powder, but in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 93—4, we encounter the following story: “The sickness of the Buddha. The Buddha heals Devadatta”. Jīvaka is here the healer. This is evidently the introduction to a story composed of two *jātakas*: Nos. 546 and 401. In *jātaka* No. 546, Senaka is the wise advisor to the *rājā* of the city of Mithilā, called Videha, and he has a rival, another advisor. In *jātaka* No. 401 (*Dasaṅṅaka-jātaka*), Senaka is an advisor to a *rājā* called Maddava. The plot of this *jātaka* is only remotely similar to that found in the manuscript. Death, in the form of

⁶ Instead of *bhakta*?

⁷ Cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 2, p. 17, line 2: “vyasanam āpāditam”.

⁸ Instead of *āśrviṣa*.

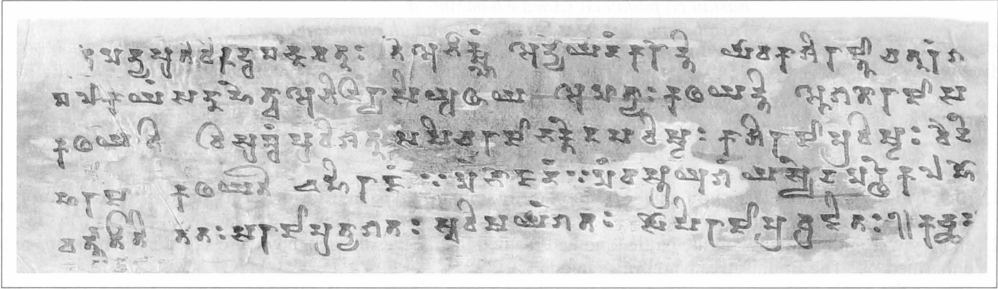


Fig. 3

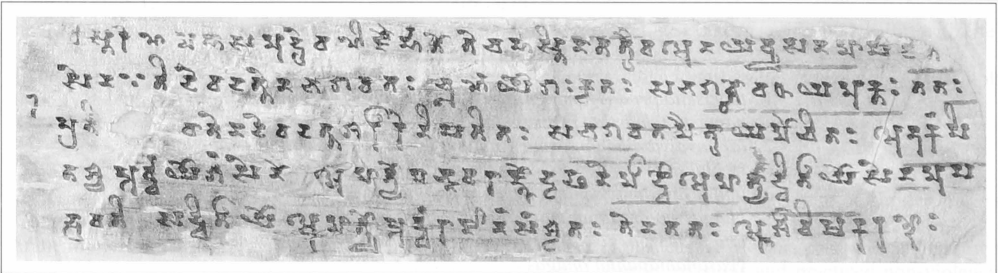


Fig. 4

a poisonous snake in a basket of food, threatens an old *brāhmaṇa* who has been sent by his cunning young wife to gather alms. Senaka spies the danger and saves the *brāhmaṇa*. The continuation of this story, found on fol. 6a, does not coincide with any of the *jātakas* indicated.

FOL. [8a]

TRANSLITERATION

1.] X X *taḥ tena caturamga-bala-kāya[m] prat[i]gupta sthāp[i]ta na te āśīviṣa⁹ vijñātā y[ā]-*
2. *va veta¹⁰ yudh[e]na andhikṛtā te senena mocitā vārtī kṛtvā || susārtho bodhisatvaḥ rāksase*
3. *na X X X yudhyate yāva rāksaso gāthāṃ bhāṣati śīrṣaṃ hastau ca pāḍau ca śāstra-bhāṇḍaṃ ca*
4. *yāvad-ālagnaṃ¹¹ mama gātreṣu kiṃtu bhūyam-alagnaṃ śīrṣa[m] hastau ca pāḍau ca śāstra-bhāṇḍaṃ*
5. *ca yāvadaṃ¹² lagnaṃ gātreṣu cittaṃ mama na sajyate yāvad-āvyāhataṃ¹³ vākyaṃ mama saṃmya¹⁴ bhaviṣ[ya]-*

TRANSLATION

1. [that had been prepared] by him and secretly placed [among provisions] for the army of four types of troops. They did not know about the snake. Wh-
2. en they were intoxicated with the battle [and had readied themselves to eat], they were saved by Sena [and] remained unharmed^[1]. "The Bodhisattva who brings good"^[2].
3. During the battle with *rāksas* ... When *rāksas* spoke the *gāthā*^[3]: "Since [I do] not have a head, arms, legs, weapons,
4. in my body^[4] there is no life^[5]. But [even if I had] a head, arms, legs, and weapons,
5. there is no consciousness in my body. If I have speech, [it will still] turn out well.

Commentary

[1] *vārtī kṛtvā* — lit. "having remained in sound health", *kṛtvā* — absolutive of the root *kr*: "to do".

[2] The subject of the story is not developed. We suppose there is a variant of the story: how the *yakṣa* Kumbhīra sacrifices his life saving him from a stone thrown out of a catapult called by Devadatta in order to kill the Buddha. Kumbhīra lost his life and was born again on the heaven of thirty three gods. The *gāthā* of this story is absent (see *Sanghabhedavastu*, pt. II, p. 168). The *gāthā* of our manuscript is repeated with slight variations in the story entitled *Jaḍiloma itī*, which tells of the conquest of *yakṣa* Ātāvaka.

[3] In the text *rāksase*, Loc. Sg.

[4] In the text *mama gātreṣu*, Loc. Plr.

[5] *bhūya* — lit. "existence".

FOL. 8b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *ta vasena pradāsyāma gātraṃ bhoktuṃ sacetanaṃ mahāvira namastu te nāsti te prati-pudga-*
2. *laḥ tavaivam anubhāvena svasti na āyāntu vāñijā || pauraśāda itī bhikṣavo*
3. *bhagavantaṃ pṛcchanti paśya bhagavaṃ yāvaceṇaṃ yena bhāgavato dṛṣṭānumataṃ āpa-*
4. *nnā te svarga mokṣa-parāyaṇā ye anya-tīrthikānāṃ te anyaya vyaśanamāpannā bhaga-*
5. *[vānā]ha na bhikṣavo etarahiṃ bhūtapūrvvaṃ bhikṣavo dvau sārthavāhau ādhvāna¹⁵ mārḡa-pratipannā¹⁶ ta-*
6. *traikaḥ pauraśādēna.*

⁹ See n. 8.

¹⁰ Possibly a slip of the pen (in place of *te*?).

¹¹ Instead of *alagnaṃ*.

¹² Instead of *yāvadaṃ*.

¹³ Instead of *avyāhataṃ*.

¹⁴ Instead of *saṃmya*.

¹⁵ Instead of *adhvānā*.

¹⁶ Instead of *pratipanna*.

TRANSLATION

1. With the ability to speak we will give the body [the possibility] of sating itself [and we will preserve] the capacity to think. Glory unto Mahāvīra! You have no equals!
2. It is thanks to your ability to penetrate [to the heart of things] that [everything turns out] well! May the merchants not come". [Story] about what people can eat. The monks
3. asked the Bhagavan: "Look, Bhagavan! How is this possible in accordance with what the Bhagavan saw? They reached
4. heaven, [they] strive for freedom from rebirths; [at the same time] these other *ūrthikas* have encountered misfortune because [they] lack [a sense] of moderation". The Bhaga-
5. [van] said: "No, monks, at this time, in a previous birth, monks, two merchants once set out on a journey. There [on the way]
6. one [of them], [having partaken] of that which is [entirely] edible for people,

C o m m e n t a r y

[¹¹] The occasion for the telling of the parable, and the parable itself, go back to the Pāli *jātaka* No. 255 (*Suka-jātaka*), which tells of a parrot that gorged itself on mangos and perished in the waves of the ocean over which it was flying. The Buddha told the *jātaka* to the monks after he learned of a monk who had died from overeating.

FOL. [9a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *pāñīyena pralabhavi*[tvā] *anavayyasanamāpāditaḥ dviṭīyo*
na śakīta iti. || pravrajyā
2. *iti yāva mahā-śrāvakehi pratikṣiptaḥ bhagavatā pravrajītaḥ*¹⁷
bhikṣavaḥ pṛccha-
3. *nti kiṃ karma yāva śākyaminisya*¹⁸ *pravacane sinha-bhaye namo-*
kṛta iti || ara-
4. *nemi dāru vaṃkānāṃ dārūka śāyānāṃ evaṃ kāya vaṃśānāṃ*
kāyaka śāyānāṃiti ||
5. *dharmapālasya-āpadāne*¹⁹ *ythāpi tu nāvaddhyamānasya na dūṣi-*
taṃ cittam aranemī bodhisatvō

TRANSLATION

1. [and] drunk [¹¹] [overmuch], fell into misfortune because [he] lacked a [sense] of moderation. The second [merchant] could not help [him]", as is known. **[Story] of the pravrajyā ritual of initiation.**
2. How [someone] was rejected by the great *śrāvakas* [and] initiated by the Bhagavan. The monks ask-
3. ed: "What [was his] *karma*?" How he venerated the name of Śākyamuni in fear before a lion, such [is the story]. [Story] about Ara-
4. nemi [¹²]. Everything that they have [¹³] lies on the ground by the broken trees. Likewise, if a body's [tie with life] has been severed, all parts of the body [¹⁴] fall [without support] [¹⁵], thus it is said [¹⁶].
5. [About] how the Bodhisattva Aranemī, as a defender of *dharmā* and without even [interrupting] contemplation entirely [¹⁷] with [his] consciousness undimmed

C o m m e n t a r y

[¹¹] *pāñīyena*, Instr. Sg., "with a thing which is fit to be drunk". The story that follows appears to be similar to the story about Upālīn (how he was ordained). See *Saṅgahedavastu*, pt. I, pp. 204—7.

[¹²] Aranemī — Aranemī in other Buddhist texts — is the name of a religious teacher of years past who taught how to be born as a Brahmaloaka. He had many disciples. Aranemī was free of all earthly passions and practiced non-violence and compassion. As a result, he himself was reincarnated as a Brahmaloaka and continued his preaching. See *Āṅguttaranikāya*, III, 371; IV, 135. *Jātaka* No. 169 (*Araka-jātaka*) is about him; he goes by the name bodhisattva Araka in it. The parable is lacking in the manuscript; only the *gāthā* is given. The Pāli *jātaka* lacks this *gāthā*. The story about Aranemī is also present in the Tibetan *Braiṣajyavastu*, see Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāsivāda-Vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund des Tibetischen Übersetzung*, p. 49.

[¹³] *dārūka* — lit. "relating to trees".

[¹⁴] *kāyaka* — lit. "relating to the body".

¹⁷ Instead of *pravrajītaḥ*.

¹⁸ Instead of *śākyamuneḥ*.

¹⁹ Instead of *-āpadāne*.



Fig. 5

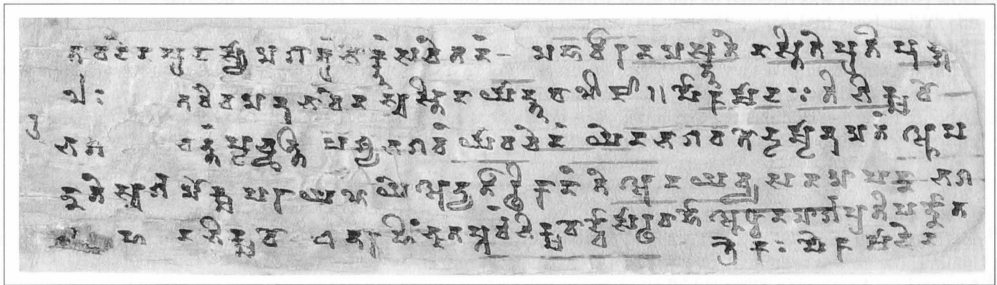


Fig. 6

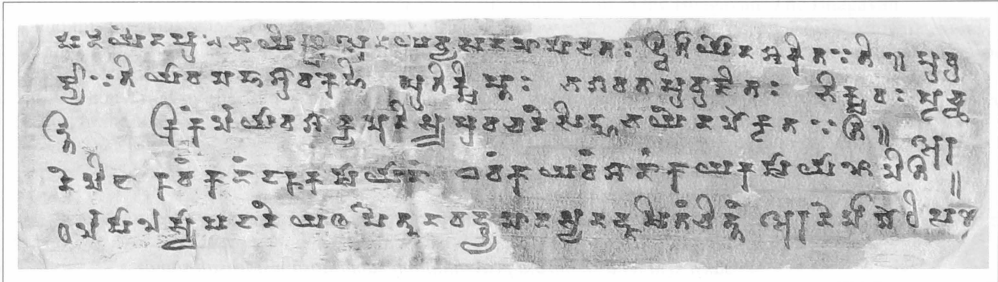


Fig. 7

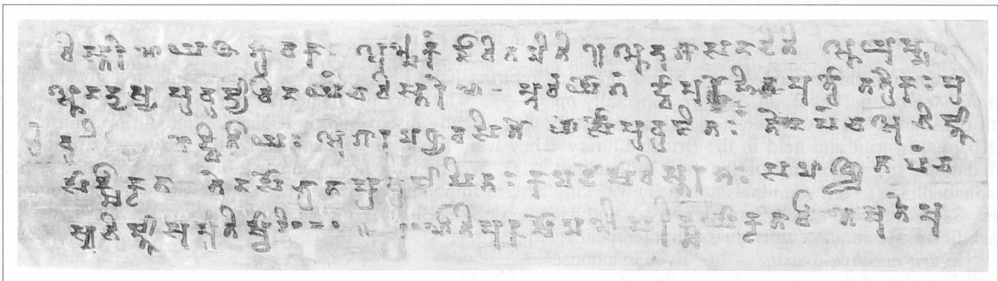


Fig. 8

^{15]} *gāthā* with a parallel textual structure: *vaṃka* “bent, broken” and *sāya* “lying” are repeated in the first and second lines. The context of the second line does not allow for a literal translation of *sāya*.

^{16]} the *gāthā* can be understood on the basis of a juxtaposition with an analogous Pāli text from *Dīghanikaya*, I, 46: “*Seyyathā pi, bhikkhave amba-piṇḍiyā vantacchinnāya yāni kānici ambāni vaṅṅupanibandhanāni, sabbāni tāni tad-anvayāyāni bhavanti — evam eva kho, bhikkhave, ucchinna-nettiko tathāgatassa kāyo tiṭṭhati. Yāv’assa kāyo ṭhassati tāva nam dakkhinti deva-manussā*” (“In this fashion, monks, as soon as the trunk [on which] the mango branch [grows] was cut down, all of the mango fruits on this trunk went [down] with it. Likewise, monks, the body of *tathāgata* stands [before us], but [in fact] it has been cut down. His body stands only in as much as it is seen by people and gods”), that is, *tathāgata* cut the thread that tied him to rebirths, and his final body is only a visible shell that will vanish as soon as his life is at an end.

^{17]} *na-avaddhyamanasya* [*apadana*] — lit. “not (in the position) of one who contemplates”, where *-avaddhyamana* Bud. Skt. *vadhyamana*, part. atm., *ava* + *V dhī*, “to contemplate”, see *BHSD*, p. 72. In the *Araka-jātaka*, it is explained that the bodhisattva Araka “was born in the heaven of Brahmā without breaking his mystical trance”.

FOL. 9b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *vistareṇa yathā śrāvaka alpakaṃ jīvitamiti || ānuśāsanādīti āyuṣmāto*
2. *ānandasya pravrajyā vinayaṃca vistareṇa pūrvayogaṃ dvā purohitaputrau tatraikāḥ pra-*
3. *vrajito dviṭiyāḥ agāra-madhya-āvasito yo so pravrajitāḥ tena paṃca abhijñā*
4. *sākṣi kṛtā tena so bhrātā pravrajāpitāḥ kāma-doṣā vistaraśāḥ samā-khyātā paṃca-*
5. *svabhijñāsu pratiṣṭhāpitāḥ || manīti puruṣo maṇi-parikṣayā kṛtā vīteṣu teṣu*

TRANSLATION

1. did not live for long as a *śrāvaka* [among people], tell in detail. [The story] entitled “According to the teaching”. About the rit-
2. ual of the *pravrajyā* initiation of Ānanda [tell] in detail [in accordance] with the *Vinaya* ^[11]. In an earlier birth, a [certain] priest had two sons. There one [of them]
3. underwent the ritual of *pravrajyā*. The second lived as the master of a house ^[12]. The one who became a monk, five forms of transcendent knowledge
4. did master in full. [The second] brother of theirs, was [also] converted by him. Passions and delusions were explained [to him] in full. In the five
5. forms of transcendent knowledge [the brothers] became strong. [Story] of the precious stone ^[13]. A [certain] person lost a precious stone. To no purpose in those

C o m m e n t a r y

^[11] Ānanda's address and stories of his previous rebirths have been preserved in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, see *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 56—67, especially pp. 64—7, “The story of Bhānumān and Bhānumantaḥ: about a previous birth of Ānanda”. It is of interest that this very story was recently discovered by Richard Salomon in manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī script and held in the British Library. They were found in Afghanistan on the territory of former Gandhāra and date to the beginning of the first millennium A.D. We find the following text there (in Salomon's translation): “Gadhabadhaga (= Skt. Gandhabandhaka?) was king here in Jumbudvīpa. He had two sons, [who were his] regional governors: Sabrudīrigo (= Skt. Samvṛtendriya) and Bhano (= Skt. Bhānu) (cf. Bhānumān above!). Subrudīrigo became a mendicant. He attained individual enlightenment” [12].

^[12] *agāra-madhyā-āvasito* — lit. “lived in a house”.

^[13] The plot of the story is close to that of *jātaka* No. 92 (*Mahāsāra-jātaka*). A monkey plays the role of the thief in the *jātaka*, and the honour of discovering the true abductor belongs to the bodhisattva, one of the early rebirths of Ānanda. The same plot see in the “Story of a hunter and an ungrateful man”, *Sanḅhabhedavastu*, vol. 2, pp. 151—3.

FOL. [10a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *nagareṣu anvāh[i]ṇḍamāno a[vaṃ] maṇirjñāyatāmīti apaṭṭa-*
*nam*²⁰ *udghoṣay[i]ṣyam[i]*

²⁰ Instead of *apattanam*.

2. *yāva śrāvastimanuprāptah sa [rā]jñā prasenajitā bhagavat-sakāśaṃ nūtaḥ bhagavatā*
3. *sa mañir-vijñātaḥ ayaṃ mañir-vajra sāgare magara²¹-mūrdhne prādurbhūta iti anā-*
4. *rghe²² yaṃ ananta-guṇaḥ tataḥ sa puruṣo vismitaḥ bhagavantaṃ pravrajyāṃ yāca-*
5. *ti bhagavata²³ pravrajītaḥ²⁴ śaṣtu ca abhijñāsu pratiṣṭhāpitah [tataḥ] sa mañir-bhagavato*

TRANSLATION

1. cities did he wander, saying: "This treasure must be found! I will pronounce [this] city dishonourable!"^[1].
2. How [he finally] arrived in Śrāvastī. The *rājā* Prasenajit brought him to the Bhagavan. The Bhagavan
3. found this precious stone. This diamond-stone was in the maw of a *makara* in the ocean. This is known.
4. This [stone] is invaluable, your [achievement] is endless!" [this person said to the Bhagavan]. Then this person became ecstatic [and] asked the Bhagavan to initiate [him].
5. He was converted by the Bhagavan and became strong in six forms of transcendent knowledge. Later this precious [thing] to the Bhagavan

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] The phrase *pattanam-udghoṣayisyami* ("I will pronounce the city dishonourable") is attested in the Buddhist literature, see *Divyāvadāna*, 276, 14: "apattanam ghoṣayitva". Also *ibid.*, p. 276, 16; p. 277, 13.

FOL. 10b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *dattaḥ gandhakuṭih[i] sthāpitaḥ ratrau cāvabhāsate dīpa-kṛtyaṃ karoti pūrvayogaḥ ṛṣi[ka]*
2. *tenaiva bhagavatā eṣaiva patra parikṣayā nighṛtaḥ hiraṇyaśivo nāma vṛkṣaḥ*
3. *yasyaitam patramiti sa pravrajītaḥ pañca abhijñā sākṣī kṛtā || vidura iti vi-*
4. *stareṇa kauśampīya²⁵ purohita ṛṣyālūna-kasyaci gr̥he praveśam deti tasya bhāryā*
5. *ayaṃ putra kaccid²⁶-dākṣiṇeya mānayasveti yāva purohito ṣaṭchāstāro vimṛṣati*

TRANSLATION

1. was given, and [they] also built a cell for the Buddha^[1], and that [precious stone] shone at night [in the cell] and served in place of a light. In an earlier birth [this precious stone] belonged to a *ṛṣi*.
2. The same [person] found this very [precious stone] as a leaf with the help of the Bhagavan. To a tree called *hiraṇyaśiva*^[2]
3. belonged this leaf. That [person] accepted the ritual of initiation — *pravrajyā* — [and] mastered entirely five forms of transcendent kno-
4. wledge. [Story] about Vidura^[3] with details. The priest *purohita* from Kauśambī came to the home of a certain Ṛṣyālūna (?). His wife

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] *gandhakuṭa* is the name of a cell in a monastery. Originally, this term meant "the Buddha's cell".

^[2] The name of the tree, *hiraṇyaśiva*, literally means "gold Śiva"; we could not find it in the dictionaries available to us.

^[3] The reference is apparently to Vidhūra, minister of the *rājā* Koravya, the hero of *jātaka* No. 495 (*Dasa-brāhmaṇa-jātaka*) or Vidhūra-pañḍita, priest and advisor to the *rājā* Dhanañjaya (*Dhūmakāri-jātaka*, No. 413). The plots in both

²¹ Instead of *makara*-.

²² Instead of *anarghe*.

²³ Instead of *bhagavatā*.

²⁴ Instead of *pravrajītaḥ*.

²⁵ Instead of *kauśambīya*.

²⁶ Instead of *kaccid*-.

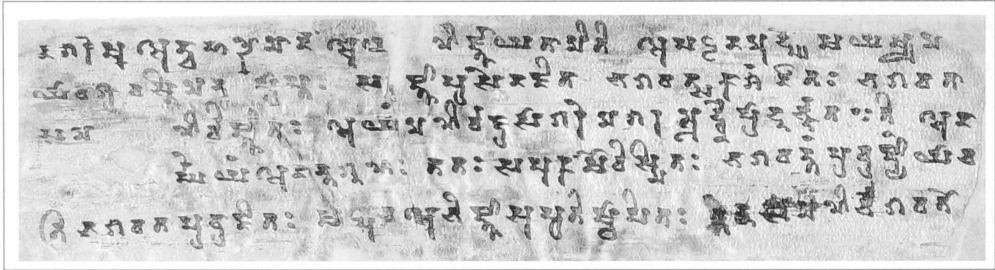


Fig. 9

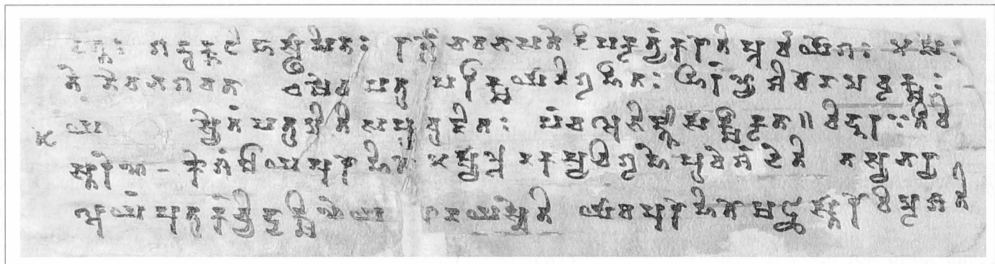


Fig. 10

jātakas are very close. Later in our manuscript, fol. 142a(3), we find: “*bodhisatvo viduro nāma amatyo*” (“The bodhisattva [was] a minister by the name of Vidura”). This confirms the possible identifying Vidura as the minister Vidhūra. The story in the manuscript is much more complete than the Pāli *jātakas* and describes a number of events not mentioned in the *jātakas*.

Notes

1. For the beginning, see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI/3 (2000), pp. 23—32.
2. A. C. Banerjee, *Sarvāstivāda Literature* (Calcutta, 1957); Ch. P. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine: les traducteurs et les traductions*, in 2 vols. (Paris, 1927—1938).
3. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksa Dutt, vol. III: pt. 1 (s. a.); pt. 2 (1942); pt. 3 (1943); pt. 4 (1950). *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, being the 17th and Last Section of the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, ed. R. Gnoli, pt. 1—2 (Roma, 1977—1978). — Serie Orientale Roma, XLIX, 1, 2; also *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, ed. R. Gnoli (Roma, 1978). — Serie Orientale Roma, L. The Tibetan translations of the stories from the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins see in Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund des Tibetischen Übersetzung* (Tokyo, 1981).
4. *Saṅghabhedavastu*, vol. 1. General Introduction, p. XIII.
5. *Ibid.*, p. XIX.
6. *Ibid.*, p. XXIII.
7. E. Frauwalner, *The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginning of Buddhist Literature* (Rome, 1956), p. 25. — Serie Orientale Roma, VIII.
8. É. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śāka* (Louvain, 1958), pp. 191—2.
9. A. Barea, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule* (Saïgon, 1955), p. 154.
10. M. Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, *JRAS* (1890), p. 42.
11. See *Lost Empire of the Silk Road. Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto (X—XIIIth Century)*, exhibition catalogue (Milano, 1993), pp. 104—5.
12. See R. Salomon, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra* (Seattle, 1999), p. 39.

Illustrations

- Fig. 1.** Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 6a, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 2.** The same manuscript, fol. 6b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 3.** The same manuscript, fol. 7a, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 4.** The same manuscript, fol. 7b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 5.** The same manuscript, fol. 8a, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 6.** The same manuscript, fol. 8b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 7.** The same manuscript, fol. 9a, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 8.** The same manuscript, fol. 9b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 9.** The same manuscript, fol. 10a, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
- Fig. 10.** The same manuscript, fol. 10b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.

A BRIEF REMARK ON KOREAN BOOKS RESEARCH

In a paper recently published in *Manuscripta Orientalia* by Park Songgu, Ch'oe Töksu, Chōng Ubong and Hō Sunch'ōl on Korean manuscripts, block-prints, and old-print books in the collection of Russia [1], I drew the authors' attention to the absence of a list of characters in it [2]. In my view, such a list is indispensable in such an article devoted to manuscripts and books. Following is a list of characters to

complement the paper of our Korean colleagues. We publish it here, together with a transliteration, in the hope that it will ease the task of scholars in the discipline of Korean studies whose interests lead them to the valuable materials found in Russian collections, and in particular in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies and of St. Petersburg State University.

List of characters

Asudong changso

Chappo see: *Choson sinbo*
Chin Daebang chyon (MS B 2*)
Ch'oe ch'yung chyon (MS B 2*)
Ch'ongumdan see: *Choson sinbo*
Ch'onja mun (MS C 49*)
Chonun okp'yon (MS Kor. 14**) *Choson chiji* (MS Kor. 4**) *Choson mungyon nok* (MS B 17*) *Choson sinbo* (MS B 9*) *Choson yoksa* (MS Kor. 3**) *Chosonguk wangnaeso* *Chunggan nogoldae* (MS D 29*) *Chungsu munwon nok onhae* (MS Kor. 11**) *Ch'unhyang chyon* (MS B 2*) *Ch'unyang* *Chyang P'ungun chyon* (MS B 2*) *Chyanghwa Hongnyon chyon* (MS B 2*) *Chyok Syonui chyo* (MS B 2*)

Ha Chin nyangmun nok (MS D 14*)
Hanch'on maeil sangchang see: *Choson sinbo*
Hano hunmong (MS C 66*)
Hoibon Choson chongbol ki (MS B 13*)
Hoibon Choson kungi (MS B 10*)
Hungbu chyon (MS B 2*)
Hwa Chong syonhaeng nok (MS C 36*)

阿須頓藏書

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朝鮮新報
朝鮮歷史
朝鮮國王來書
重刊老傑大
增修無冤錄諺解
춘향전
춘양
장풍운전
장화홍년전
적성의전

河陣兩門錄
韓 天每日相장
韓語訓蒙
繪本朝鮮征伐記
繪本朝鮮軍記
홍부전
和靜善行錄

* One asterisk is used to indicate manuscripts kept in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

** Two asterisks are used to indicate manuscripts kept in the collection of St. Petersburg State University.

<i>Hungmong chahoe</i> (MS B 31*)	訓蒙字會
<i>Hwangsae kyolsong</i> see: <i>Samsyol kui</i>	황식결송
<i>Hwao yuch 'o</i> (MS C 7*)	華語類抄
<i>Hwaum kyemong</i> (MS D 25*)	華音啓蒙
<i>Kaeguk obaeksa nyon p'ahwol sabyon pogosyo</i> (MS Kor. 12**)	기국오백소년팔월스변보고서
<i>Kaehwa</i> see: <i>Choson sinbo</i>	開化
<i>Kamun p'yon</i> (MS Kor. 10**)	感應篇
<i>Kandok chongyo</i> (MS C 38*)	簡牘精要
<i>Kapsin chongbyon</i>	갑신 정변
<i>Kiso</i> see: <i>Choson sinbon</i>	寄書
<i>Ku un mong</i> (MS B 2*)	九雲夢
<i>Kukcho chongt'o rok</i> (MS C 20*)	國朝征討錄
<i>Kukmin sohak tokbon</i> (MS Kor. 2**)	國民小學讀本
<i>Kum pangul chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	금방울전
<i>Kundae naemusyo mokch'a</i> (MS Kor. 7**)	군디니무 서목차
<i>Kyongdo sorim</i>	京都書林
<i>Kyorin suji</i> (MS C 16*)	交隣須知
<i>Maengja onhae</i> (MS Kor. 6**)	孟夫子諺언解의
<i>Mongok Ssyanghong yon</i> (MS Kor. 19**)	夢玉雙鳳演
<i>Myongui rok</i> (MS D 27*)	明義錄
<i>Naksonjae</i>	樂善齋
<i>Nok ch'osa yonhoe</i> see: <i>Samsyol kui</i>	녹쳐소연회
<i>Noch'yonyo ka</i> see: <i>Samsyol kui</i>	노쳐녀가
<i>Nosyom syangjiwa kui</i> see: <i>Samsyol kui</i>	노섬상좌괴
<i>Okchyu Hoyon</i> (MS B 2*)	玉珠好緣
<i>Ongan tok</i> (MS B 2*)	언간독
<i>Oryun haengsil</i> (MS Kor. 9**)	五倫行實
<i>Paekhak syon chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	백학선전
<i>Pak Yonghyo</i>	박영효
<i>Poun kiu rok</i> (MS C 17*)	報恩記偶錄
<i>P'yomin taehwa</i> (MS C 67*)	漂民對話
<i>Samja wonjong ki</i> see: <i>Samsyol kui</i>	삼조원종기
<i>Samguk chi</i> (MS B 2*)	삼국지
<i>Samguk sagi</i> (MS D 1*)	三國史記
<i>Samsyol kui</i> (MS B 2*)	삼설기
<i>Samun hwi</i> (MS D 15*)	三韻彙
<i>Sim Ch'yon chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	심천전
<i>Sinmi rok</i> (MS B 2*)	신미록
<i>sonbon</i>	選本
<i>Ssyang ch'yon kuibong</i> (MS C 2*)	雙鉤奇逢
<i>Swisa yumun</i> (MS C 15*)	隋史遺文
<i>Syo Taesyong chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	쇼티성전
<i>Syoch'yo P'aewang ki</i> see: <i>Samsyol kui</i>	서초패왕기
<i>Syol In'gwi chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	설인귀전
<i>Syugyong nangja chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	숙영낭주전
<i>Syukhyang chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	숙향전
<i>Tang t'aejong chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	당덕종전

<i>T'o saeng chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	토성전
<i>T'yo ung chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	도웅전
<i>Yang P'ung chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	양풍전
<i>Yang Sanbaek chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	양산백전
<i>Yilhan sonnin t'ongo</i> (MS B 16*)	日韓善隣通語
<i>Yim changgun chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	임장군전
<i>Yimjin nok</i> (MS B 2*)	임진록
<i>Yimjin oiran</i>	임진 외란
<i>Yokka p'ilbi</i> (MS C 56*)	譯家必備
<i>Yong mun chyon</i> (MS B 2*)	용문전
<i>Yongsagwan noksa</i> see: <i>Choson sinbo</i>	領事館錄事
<i>Yu hap</i> (MS C 50*)	類合
<i>Wolbong kui</i>	月峯記

Notes

1. See Park Songgu, Ch'oe Töksu, Chōng Ubong and Hō Sunch'ōl, "Collections of Korean manuscripts, block-prints, and old-print books in Russia", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI/2 (2000), pp. 39—45.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 44, n. 1.

ON THE LITERARY FATE OF WORKS BY SULTAN VELED

Shaykh Mehmed Bahaeddin Sultan Veled (1226—1312), the son of the famous Süfi and poet, Jelaleddin Rumi [1], was the author of works in Persian, Anatolian Turkic, and Greek, and one of the first Asia Minor poets who wrote his verses in Turkic. Thanks to the latter, he is considered the “patriarch of Turkish literature” [2]. The first European Orientalist to research Sultan Veled's literary legacy was J. von Hammer (1774—1856), whose verdict was that there was no demand for works by this poet and, consequently, they lacked popularity. Hammer wrote that “the *Mathnawī* of Sultan Veled, by virtue of its poetic insignificance, remained as unknown in the lands of the East as the *Mathnawī* of Jelaleddin Rumi was famed” [3]. The basis for this comment was the small number of copies of Sultan Veled's works known to Hammer at the time and their rarity in European repositories, which lead to the Austrian Orientalist's final judgment: “The rarity of manuscripts by Sultan Veled must be explained by a lack of demand for them” [4]. Both of these conclusions — that Sultan Veled's works were unpopular and that they lack aesthetic or artistic value — were applied by Hammer to both the Persian and Turkic works of the poet from Konya.

Since Hammer's time the question of whether there was demand for works by Sultan Veled, in other words, the question of how popular his Persian and Turkic poetry was in medieval Turkey, has not been treated by Orientalists. In effect, Hammer's opinion was not refuted and — in essence — accepted. The bulk of researchers joined Hammer in his negative evaluation of the literary worth of Sultan Veled's works and his Turkish verses in particular. Among Western scholars, M. Wickerhauser stressed that these “verses are of philological, but not poetic, value” [5]; among Russian scholars, A. E. Krymsky held that Sultan Veled “only had enough ability for a bit more than 150 distichs” [6], while among Turkish scholars Ahmed Kabaklı called the poet a “limited didact” [7] and M. Mansuroğlu stated that Sultan Veled's Turkic verses “lack artistic value” [8].

Among these conclusions E. Gibb's seems to be more objective and accurate. In his “History of Ottoman Poetry”, he wrote that in Turkic verses by Veled there is “no attempt at literary grace of any kind. They are written in correct enough meter in the Turkish fashion, and the lines rhyme with sufficient accuracy, and that is all” [9]. More recent W. Björkman's view is more constructive: “Although the Turkic verses of Sultan Veled are not highly poetic, they are perfect”. “His art created a school”, he adds [10].

Thus, Hammer's evaluation has not been shaken to this day. Obscurity, insufficient demand, and a lack of popularity must indicate that this literary work did not play any sort of noticeable role in the literary process, which stems from the above-mentioned assertions and the description of his legacy as “poetically void”. But a closer glance at the poet's legacy in the Persian and Turkic languages shows that such judgments should be reconsidered.

The present article attempts to reconstruct in general terms the literary fate of Sultan Veled's works and the particular features of their reception by readers in medieval Turkey. Our aim is to determine how popular and widely distributed Sultan Veled's poetry was in the Muslim East and to examine the attitude of medieval readers toward his work. This task also led us to consider certain methodological questions.

Readers' attitudes toward a literary work in the medieval Muslim East are revealed in a number of factors. Taken together, they provide fairly objective criteria for evaluating the popularity of a work — how intensively it functioned at the time in the given social and literary setting to which it was addressed. The most important of these factors is the distribution of copies of the work. As the great expert in Muslim manuscripts remarks: “The extent of a work's distribution and its interaction with readers are related phenomena: the number of copies depends directly on how readers assessed the work's significance and virtues” [11]. But when interpreting this factor, two instances need to be distinguished. The first is when an indisputably significant number of copies (dozens or more) is attested within broad chronological borders, which is sufficient to make a firm conclusion. But if one finds isolated copies, additional information and more cautious conclusions are needed. For example, the poem *Kutadğu bilig* (“Beneficial Knowledge”) by Yusuf Balasağuni (11th century) has come down to us in only three copies. Nonetheless, we have every reason to believe that this masterpiece of Turkic poetry, which “reflected in a clear and highly artistic form those universal ideas, ideals, and thoughts that have concerned all peoples at all times” [12], was very popular in its time. Evidence of this is both the existence of these three copies in three different places in the Muslim world (Herat, Cairo, Namangan) and the continuation of the traditions of “Beneficial Knowledge” by subsequent Turkic authors [13].

Further, one must take into account that the popularity and broad distribution reflected by a large number of copies

and true value and literary significance are not the same thing. We know of works of time-tested value that exist only in a few copies. This includes the above-mentioned "Beneficial Knowledge", the *Dīwān lūghat al-tūrki* ("Dictionary of Turkic Languages" [14]) by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī (11th century), which has come down to us in a single copy, and "The Lay of Igor's Host", an outstanding text of ancient Russian literature also known in a single copy that later vanished.

The rarity of medieval manuscripts cannot serve as proof that the works contained in them were little known and unpopular, or that they were of little artistic worth or "poetically void". For this reason, the conclusions reached by Hammer, who possessed virtually the only copy of Sultan Veled's works and based his observations on this fact, are methodologically inaccurate. They are also factually inaccurate, as an analysis of all written sources on the life and work of Sultan Veled clearly shows. These sources, if properly interpreted, give reason to correct earlier views and allow us to clarify the role of Sultan Veled's Turkic-language verses in the development of Turkish literature.

To begin with, a strikingly great number of manuscripts containing Sultan Veled's works has survived. We were able to identify 105 copies of works by the poet. Of this number, 82 copies form individual manuscripts, 23 copies are collections of works by various authors. The number of copies of individual works by Sultan Veled breaks down as follows: *Dīwān* — 21, *Ibtidā'-nāma* — 26, *Rubāb-*

nāma — 30, *Intihā'-nāma* — 14, *Ma'ārif* — 23, *Ishq-nāma* — 9. Turkic verses by Sultan Veled have been reliably [15] attested in 48 manuscripts, but if one takes into account extant full copies of his *Dīwān* and *Mathnawī*, as well as certain sections of the latter, this number can be doubled. The number of copies with reliably attested fragments in Turkic in various works breaks down as follows: *Dīwān* — 9, *Ibtidā'-nāma* — 18, *Rubāb-nāma* — 24.

To determine whether this is a lot or a little, we turn to the same indicators for the work of other medieval Muslim poets. Let us examine Persian poets of the eleventh — fourteenth centuries whose fame and popularity is beyond doubt and whose mastery and significance were recognized both by contemporaries and later generations. We find valuable information on the distribution of manuscripts with works by the afore-mentioned poets in a study by the Iranian philologist and paleographer, A. Munzawī, "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts", a concise compendium of facts about catalogued Persian manuscripts. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that Munzawī's information on manuscripts is unfortunately incomplete. For example, in contrast to our data about the copies of Sultan Veled's *Ibtidā'-nāma*, Munzawī lists only three manuscripts [16], for the *Intihā'-nāma*, one manuscript [17], and for *Ma'ārif* seven manuscripts [18]. We give below a table that enables us to make a comparative analysis of the number of some surviving copies of popular poetry as provided in Munzawī's catalogue.

Table

Nos.	Name and dates of poet	Number of extant copies		
		<i>Kulliyāt</i>	<i>Mathnawī</i> , prose	<i>Dīwān</i>
1	Abū-l-Qāsim Firdawsī (ca. 934 — ca. 1020)	—	<i>Shāhnāma</i> , 525 [19]	—
2	Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 1192)	—	—	[20]
3	Ẓahīr al-Dīn Fāryābī (ca. 1156 — ca. 1202)	—	—	[21]
4	'Aṭṭār Nīshāpūrī (ca. 1142—1229)	36 [22]	—	—
5	Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl (ca. 1173—1237)	—	—	[23]
6	Jelaleddin Rumi (Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī)	—	<i>Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī</i> , 373 [24]	[25]
7	Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (1213—1289)	1 [26]	—	[7]
8	Sa'dī Shīrāzī (ca. 1213—1292)	144 [28]	<i>Būstān</i> , 138 [29] <i>Gulistān</i> , 323 [30]	[31]
9	Awḥadī Marāghā'i (ca. 1271—1324)	3 [32]	—	[33]
10	Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī (1253—1324)	5 [34]	—	—
11	Ḥāfiẓ (ca. 1320 — ca. 1389)	—	—	387 [35]

The numerical data in the *Table* can provide a relative criterion expressed in the extreme numbers for copies of works by Firdawsī, Jelaledin Rumi, Sa'dī, and Ḥāfīz, all poets of matchless mastery and truly universal significance. The indicators for less outstanding poets such as, for example, Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq or Awḥadī Marāghā'i approximate those for Sultan Veled. One should note that the works of Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq were lauded by his younger contemporaries, and the literary scholars Muḥammad 'Awfi and Shams-i Qays [36]. As for Awḥadī, some compared him to Ḥāfīz in the *ghuzal* genre [37]. The *Table* also shows that for some poets, even significant poets, the number of copies (total or by genre) is only a few dozen or simply a few. Hence, the number of copies of works by Sultan Veled mentioned above can be considered large enough to describe his works as well-known and widely distributed within a certain cultural setting.

An important factor for determining the subsequent fate of a book in time and across generations is the breadth of its geographical and chronological distribution, which reflects its dynamic interaction with readers and the level of interest shown by society [38]. The examination of manuscripts of works by Sultan Veled demonstrates that they were copied and preserved throughout the Muslim world, in Turkey (Bursa, Konya, Istanbul), Syria (Aleppo), Egypt (Cairo), India (Calcutta), the Iranian cities of Tebriz and Tehran, Saudi Arabia (Medina). One should stress that these manuscripts contain only works by Sultan Veled, which testifies to special interest to his poetry of those who owned or ordered the manuscripts. In contrast to the outdated assertion of Hammer, later supported by other scholars, the repositories of many European cities such as Berlin, Budapest, Vienna, Gotha, Leningrad (St. Petersburg), London, Munich, Oxford, and Paris keep works by Sultan Veled.

Chronologically, the copies in question encompass the period from 1294—1894. But what is more important, each century is represented by at least several manuscripts, which breaks down as follows [39]: 13th — 5 manuscripts; 14th — 35; 15th — 9; 16th — 16; 17th — 14; 18th — 5; 19th — 10 (with 11 undated copies). This allows us to speak of a fairly active literary existence for works by Sultan Veled over time and indicates that for centuries there was continuing interest within society in the poet's works, including those in Turkic (for more detail, see below). This is of fundamental significance for an objective evaluation of his work.

Reliable, if indirect, information about how readers assessed the significance and virtues of literary works can be obtained by analyzing manuscript collections of poetry, anthologies, which were drawn up in the Muslim East primarily in strict accordance with the accepted traditions for creating manuscript books. These traditions go back to the medieval Arabic manuscript book [40]. Books were usually made to order, created from beginning to end in a single workshop, and emerged as fully formed examples of the book-maker's art, marvelous reflections of their creators' world-outlook and embodiments of their need for beauty. That manuscript books were deeply venerated by their creators and readers is well known [41]. Moreover, special significance was accorded to the correspondence and compatibility of authors within a hierarchy as seen by readers. Authors' names and their works had to harmonize with each other, being of approximately the same signifi-

cance and popularity in the eyes of the compiler. Judging by the names of surrounding authors in anthologies, Sultan Veled was highly esteemed by readers, as his poetry was considered worthy of accompanying the most outstanding and widely known Persian poets. One example is a manuscript-collection held in Istanbul at the Süleymaniye Umumi library under the call number "Halet, Ilave, 238" [42]. The manuscript was copied in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, soon after Sultan Veled's death (1312), and reflects the evaluation of the poet by his contemporaries. The following is the list of the names of the authors represented in the collection together with brief evaluation of their work. The names are given in the order in which they appear:

1) Thanā'i (11th—12th centuries), a "significant" and "famed" poet whose mastery was described in glowing tones by other poets [43];

2) Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (12th—13th centuries), a "great poet and thinker of the Ṣūfīs, an incomparably better storyteller than Thanā'i" [44];

3) Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī (13th century), a well-known representative of the current within Ṣūfism that includes such names as Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī [45];

4) Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (13th century), a "great medieval poet whose work was extremely popular" [46];

5) Sultan Veled (Sultān Walad; 13th—14th centuries), a description is omitted, since he is, mathematically speaking, the unknown quantity;

6) Sa'dī Shirāzī (13th century), is "among the most original and attractive figures of Iranian culture", his grave in Shiraz became a place of pilgrimage [47];

7) Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (13th century), the author of the "luxurious" 'Ushshāq-nāma ("Book of Lovers") [48];

8) Humām al-Dīn Tabrīzī (13th—14th centuries), "artfully imitated Sa'dī in the *ghuzal* genre" [49];

9) Abū Ḥanīfa b. Abū Bakr (8th century), the first of the four rightly guided *imāms*, founder of a well-known school of law, influenced early Arab poetry [50];

10) Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'īl (12th—13th centuries), an outstanding master of the classical Persian *qaṣīda*, his grave is venerated as a holy place [51];

11) Awḥad al-Dīn Anwarī (12th century), "both a scholar and a poet, and brilliant in both cases". Jāmī speaks of his *qaṣīda* as "almost a miracle" [52];

12) Maḥsaṭī Dabīra (11th century), "a beautiful and witty poetess from Ganja", known for her free lifestyle, master of popular quatrains [53].

The appearance of Sultan Veled in this company of authors could not have been accidental; undoubtedly, it reflects his fame and readers' appreciation of his poetry.

The same picture emerges from an examination of two other manuscripts, the first from the Bodleian library [54] and the second from Gotha [55]. We provide here a list of authors included in these two collections: (1) Maḥmūd Shabistārī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, 'Alīshīr Nawā'i, 'Ayn al-Quḍāt Hamadānī, Sultan Veled, Ni'matallāh Walī, Jelaledin Rumi, Jāmī, Salmān Sāwajī, Ḥāfīz; (2) 'Aṭṭār, Sultan Veled, Sa'dī, Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Maḥmūd Shabistārī, Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī, Thanā'i, Rawshanī, Jāmī, Ḥāfīz, 'Abdallāh Anṣārī.

Another important fact testifies to a popularity enjoyed by Sultan Veled: unique collections of the *dīvāns* of Jelaleddin Rumi and his son, Sultan Veled, began to appear at an early date in Anatolia. They consisted of verses either in order or intermingled. Moreover, as is demonstrated by a manuscript copied in the fourteenth century and held in the Asari Atika Müzesi library in Konya [56], such collections also included the Turkic verses of Sultan Veled, which is especially important for us. Consequently, our conclusion about the fame of Sultan Veled's Persian poetry can be also extended to his Turkic verses. Further confirmation of this is the newly discovered St. Petersburg copy containing the poet's verses. Manuscript B 1810 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [57] contains five Turkic *ghazals* by the poet (fols. 211a and 330b) [58]. In the manuscript, dated to 1006/1597, Persian and Turkic verses by Sultan Veled stand among works by such outstanding poets as Jāmī, Jelaleddin Rumi (Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī), 'Aṭṭār, Nasīmī, Fuḍūlī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw, Anṣārī. This row of poets indicates that for the reader or the owner of the manuscript, all of these verses belonged to a single group in terms of significance and popularity. It is also important that in the manuscript Turkic verses by Sultan Veled stand absolutely alone, so to speak, being surrounded by Persian verses, which means that they were not written down at random, together with the Persian verses of Sultan Veled. It is evident that they were specially selected. This leads us to conclude that Sultan Veled's Turkic verses were known and liked by the reader. "Unofficial", "family" character of the collection represented by this St. Petersburg manuscript, which contains, as other collections of this sort, only poetry that corresponded to the tastes and aesthetic preferences of the owner, confirms the conclusion.

An examination of another group of sources, works by medieval Eastern authors, buttresses the observation concerning popularity of Sultan Veled. One can name 7 basic works that provide information on the life and work of Sultan Veled. While all of them include a large amount of biographical information, unfortunately, they contain no direct descriptions or assessments of Sultan Veled's poetry. To understand readers' attitude to his works, only indirect evidence can be drawn on. For several centuries, the authors of *tadhkira* and other works — Farīdūn Sipahsālār, Aḥmed Aflākī, 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, Dārā Shukōh, Ḥajjī Khalīfa, Muṣṭafā Sakīb Dede — included the name of Sultan Veled in their works, indicating his renown in the Muslim East.

As 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns* ("Breaths of Friendship") shows, 160 years after the death of Sultan Veled, he remained an especially respected Ṣūfī figure even outside of Asia Minor. This is proved by a simple juxtaposition: usually Jāmī allots a few lines to those included in his *Nafahāt al-uns*, allowing more than ten only for a few, and a small number of figures he considered exceptional are treated over several pages. Jāmī includes Sultan Veled in the latter category [59]. *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* ("Anthology of Poets") by Dawlatshāh gives reason to assert that as time passed, the traditionally high esteem for Sultan Veled's role in spreading Ṣūfī teaching did not change. Dawlatshāh stresses that the Mevlevi (Mawlawī) order flourished thanks to the efforts of Sultan Veled [60]. The order's heyday should be linked with its attracting the Turkic population of Anatolia, which made religious texts created by

Sultan Veled in Turkic especially popular, leading to their active circulation.

The numerous histories of the Mevlevi order, written in various centuries to glorify and popularise the order rather than to be scholarly studies [61], indicate that a stable interest in Ṣūfī ideas and the Mevlevi order in particular existed in Turkey for centuries. This contributed to the spread of Turkic works by Sultan Veled, who was in fact the founder and main commentator on his father's Ṣūfī teaching, Jelaleddin Rumi. Surely, even taking into account Sultan Veled's high status in the Ṣūfī movement, his fame as the Mevlevi *shaykh* and the founder of a renowned order, as well as his direct relation to the outstanding personage of Jelaleddin Rumi, one should not overestimate the influence of these factors on the literary fate of works by Sultan Veled. Nor should one consider them to be the basis for the distribution and relative popularity of his Turkic verses. As many researches show, medieval Muslim people paid little attention to the personality of the author, and it had little effect on the actual circulation over time of his compositions. The author's name was traditionally given in the work [62], and there was, of course, a connection between the person of the author and the reader's perception of his work — the case of Sultan Veled proves it. The broad circulation (judging by the number of copies) of his work in the fourteenth century shows that Sultan Veled was best known among his contemporaries and their nearest descendants, who were aware of the *shaykh's* prominence as the founder of the famed and popular Mevlevi order. But the influence of an author's person on the fate of his literary work in medieval Muslim literature was limited, as readers evaluated a work mostly on the basis of its virtues or shortcomings. The fame or neglect of a work depended primarily on its quality, not the person of its author [63]. Hence, the wide circulation of works by Sultan Veled should not in any way be seen as a result of his Ṣūfī fame and reputation, although this was of some significance, but an indication that his both Persian and Turkic verses were recognized by readers and corresponded to their tastes.

We must, then, adjust earlier views. Written sources give us all reason to believe that the Turkic poetry of Sultan Veled was well-known and fairly popular in a specific socio-cultural milieu in medieval Anatolia. The role of his Turkic verses in the further emergence and development of Turkish poetry cannot be denied.

The positive evaluation and recognition of Sultan Veled's works, his Turkic verses in particular, as a literary phenomenon in a fairly broad socio-cultural milieu, their integration into the tastes and aesthetic expectations of the medieval reader, contradict the judgment of "poetically worthless" and "lacking artistic value" expressed by Hammer, Wickerhauser, Mansuroğlu, and others. It should be noted that somewhat arbitrary evaluations of Sultan Veled's Turkic poetry can be attributed to methodological errors. As concerns one of them, it would be appropriate to cite here the remark of the expert in Persian literature, E. E. Berthels, who said that it was necessary to take into account the differences between the literary canons of East and West [64]. Another factor, also often ignored, is the difference between the aesthetic and artistic conceptions of the Middle Ages and those of our time. In evaluating a medieval literary work, one must avoid "modernizing" aesthetic notions dominant in Muslim East. The great authority on medieval literature, D. S. Likhachev, stresses

that one of the tasks of literary analysis is to gain insight into all the aesthetic systems of past, "to seek aesthetic value in the form in which it was esteemed by contemporaries" [65].

In sum, an objective artistic evaluation of the artistic merits of literary works which came down to us from the

medieval East remains a difficult problem [66]. A great amount of information drawn from extant written sources and new approaches are needed to be employed to solve it. Our aim was much more easier, that is to show merely in what degree Sultan Veled's poetry was appreciated by the reader.

Notes

1. In conveying Turkish proper names, we follow here the practice of contemporary Turkological editions, which corresponds to the Turkish spelling and pronunciation of the names. Other Muslim names are given in accordance with traditional transcription.

2. A. E. Krymskii, *Istoriia Turtsii i ee literatury. T. 1: Ot vozniknoveniia do nachala rastsiveta* (The History of Turkey and Its Literature. Vol. 1: Emergence to Flourishing) (Moscow, 1916), p. 262; J. H. Kramers, "Sultan Walad", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (Leyde—Paris, 1934), iv, p. 572.

3. J. Hammer, "Auskunft aus ein (...) merkwürdiges persisches (...) Manuskript", *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 46 (1829), p. 2.

4. *Ibid.*

5. M. Wickerhauser, "Seldschukische Verse", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 20 (1886), p. 575.

6. Krymskii, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

7. A. Kabaklı, *Türk edebiyatı* (İstanbul, 1966), ii, p. 120.

8. M. Mansuroğlu, *Sultan Veled'in Türkçe manzumeleri* (İstanbul, 1958), p. 1.

9. E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1900), i, p. 153.

10. W. Björkman, "Die altosmanische Literatur", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (Wiesbaden, 1964), ii, p. 407.

11. T. I. Sultanov, "Rukopisnaia istoricheskaia kniga i ee chitateli v stranakh srednevekovogo musul'manskogo Vostoka" ("The historical book in manuscripts and its readers in the medieval Muslim East"), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 2 (1984), pp. 72—3.

12. "Poema Iusufa Balasagunskogo 'Blagodatnoe znanie'" ("Yüsuf Balasaghuni's poem 'Beneficial Knowledge'"), introduction by A. N. Kononov to *Iusuf Balasagunskii. Blagodatnoe znanie*, ed. by S. N. Ivanov (Moscow, 1983), pp. 496, 510, 517.

13. V. V. Bartol'd, "Dvenadtsat' lektsii po istorii turetskikh narodov Srednei Azii'" ("Twelve lectures on the history of the Turkic peoples of Central Asia"), in *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1968), v, p. 115; A. A. Valitova, *Iusuf Balasagunskii i ego Kutadgu-bilik* (Yüsuf Balasaghuni and His *Kutadgu-bilig*), abstract from PhD dissertation (Moscow, 1951), p. 12.

14. This traditional translation of the title best describes the essence of Maḥmūd's work, but the translation proposed by A. B. Khalidov is more accurate: "Compendium of Turkic Words". See A. B. Khalidov, "Slovari Iskhaka al-Farabi i Makhmuda al-Kashgari (iz istorii leksikografii v Srednei Azii X—XI vv.)" ("The dictionaries of Ishāq al-Fārābī and Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī: on the history of lexicography in Central Asia, 10th—11th centuries"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka*, fasc. 21, pt. 4 (Moscow, 1987), p. 18.

15. That is, attested in the appropriate scholarly editions. We note that a significant number of manuscripts by the poet have not yet received study in this area.

16. A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭ-i fārsī* (Tehran, 1348—1354/1969—1975), ii, pt. 1, Nos. 9335—9337.

17. *Ibid.*, No. 9652.

18. *Ibid.*, Nos. 13326—13332.

19. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 2935—56.

20. Z. N. Vorozheikina, *Isfahanskaia shkola poetov i literaturnaia zhizn' Irana v predmongol'skoe vremia. XII — nachalo XIII v.* (The Isfahan School of Poets and Literary Life in Iran before the Mongols: 12th— early 13th Centuries) (Moscow, 1984), p. 25, n. 5.

21. Munzawī, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 2421—25.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 1883—6.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 2494—501.

24. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 3144—64.

25. *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 2551—5.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 1847.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 2242.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 1861—70.

29. *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 2663—8.

30. *Ibid.*, v, pp. 3602—16.

31. *Ibid.*, iii, pp. 2349—54.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 1847.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 2242.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 1856.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 2276—91; the number of copies indicated by Munzawī (333) should be augmented by 54 copies he failed to consider from the collection of the SPIOS. See O. F. Akimushkin, et al., *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the USSR AS Institute of the Peoples of Asia. Brief Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. 1 (Moscow, 1964), index.

36. Vorozheikina, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

37. [Ia. Ripka], *Istoriia persidskoĭ i tadzhikskoĭ literatury* (The History of Persian and Tajik Literature), Russian translation from the Czech (Moscow, 1970), p. 245.

38. Sultanov, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

39. When dating manuscripts approximately (within two centuries), the lower date boundary was selected for assigning a manuscript to a particular century.

40. For more on types of Arabic poetic anthologies, see A. B. Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura" (Book Culture), in *Ocherki istorii arabskoĭ kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1982), pp. 227—8.

41. O. V. Vasil'eva, "Spiski sochineniĭ Alishera Navoi XV—XVI vv. v ORiRK GPB" ("Copies of works by 'Alīshir Nawā'i from the 15th—16th centuries in the Manuscript and Rare Books Department of the National Library of Russia"), *Issledovaniia pamiatnikov pis'mennoi kul'tury v sobraniakh i arkhivakh Otdela rukopiseĭ i redkikh knig* (Leningrad, 1985), p. 25; G. I. Kostygova, "Iz istorii sredneaziatskoĭ i iranskoĭ rukopisnoi knigi XIV—XVI vv." ("On the history of the Central Asian and Iranian manuscript book in the 14th — 16th centuries"), *Knigi. Arkhivy. Avtografi (Obzory, soobshcheniia, publikatsii)* (Moscow, 1973), p. 193; Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura", pp. 252—3.
42. H. Ritter, "Philologika 11. Maulana Ġalaladdin Rumi und sein Kreis", *Der Islam*, Bd. 26, H. 3 (1942), p. 243.
43. E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriia persidsko-tadzhikskoi literatury* (The History of Persian-Tajik Literature), *Izbrannye trudy* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 402, 415.
44. [Ripka], *op. cit.*, p. 230.
45. H. Ritter, "Philologika 7. Arabische und persische Schriften über die profane und die mystische Liebe", *Der Islam*, Bd. 21, H. 1 (1933), p. 90; *idem*, "Philologika 9. Die vier Suhrawardi", *Der Islam*, Bd. 25, H. 1 (1938), p. 60.
46. E. D. Dzhavelidze, *U istokov turetskoĭ literatury. I. Dzhelal'-eddin Rumi (voprosy mirovozzreniia)* (Sources of Turkish Literature. I. Jelaeddin Rumi (questions of his world-view)) (Tbilisi, 1979), p. 5.
47. [Ripka], *op. cit.*, p. 240.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 138; Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura", p. 238.
51. Vorozheĭkina, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 31.
52. [Ripka], *op. cit.*, pp. 195—6.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 196—7.
54. Ed. Sachau, H. Ethc, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustan and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1889), i, p. 750, No. 1237.
55. W. Pertsch, *Die persischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Wien, 1859), p. 10, No. 5, p. 2.
56. Ritter, "Philologika 11", pp. 154—5, No. 2156.
57. Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, p. 382, No. 2934.
58. I am grateful to Professor O. F. Akimushkin for referring me to this manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
59. Mawlana Noor al-din Abd al-Rahman Jami, *The Nafahot al-Ons min Hadharat al-qods, or the Lives of the Soofis*, ed. by Abd al-Hamid and Kabir al-din Ahmad (Calcutta, 1859), No. 494.
60. Dawlatshah bin 'Ala'u d-Dawla Bakhtishah al-Ghazi of Samarqand. The Tadhkiratu 'sh-Shu'ara ("Memoirs of the Poets"), ed. by E. G. Browne (London—Leide, 1901), p. 200.
61. Ritter, "Philologika 11", pp. 127—40.
62. Sultanov, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
64. E. E. Bertel's, *Šufizm i Šufiiskaia literatura* (Selected Works. Šūfism and Šūfī Literature), *Izbrannye trudy* (Moscow, 1965), p. 377.
65. D. S. Likhachev, *Poĕtika drevnerusskoĭ literatury* (The Poetics of Ancient Russian Literature) (Leningrad, 1967), p. 142.
66. By way of comparison, we note that the great work of Turkic poetry, worthy of inclusion among the highest achievements of world medieval literature. Yūsuf Balasaghuni's poem *Kutadgu bilig*, a work of universally accepted artistic merit, as S. N. Ivanov puts it in his introduction to the Russian translation of the work (see pp. 526, 530 of the Ivanov edition), was not so long ago described by the most outstanding scholars as a text "of extremely dull and repetitious content" (see S. E. Malov, *Pamiatniki drevneturkskoĭ pis'mennosti. Teksty i issledovaniia* (Texts of Ancient Turkic Literature. Texts and Research), Moscow—Leningrad, 1951, p. 240), or only "dry edification" and the presentation of characters who are "merely lifeless allegorical figures" (see Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 115).

ON THE HISTORY OF BOOK IN THE JŪCHID KHĀNATES*

The following record has been preserved under the year 1549 in the Patriarchal, or Niconian, chronicle and the so-called "Royal Book": "On the 25th of that month of March, news came to the Grand Prince, the Tsar, that in Kazan the Tsar of Kazan, Şafā-Girēy had died, perishing in his chambers. The nobility of Kazan and the Crimea, acting in concert, set his son, the two-year-old Tsarevich Utemish-Girēy, on the throne and sent to the Crimea many ambassadors to ask for help and a [middle-aged] regent for the Tsar. And the Cossacks of the Grand Prince, the Tsar, Urachko and his fellows, struck those ambassadors down and seized their *yarlighs* and sent them to the sovereign, and let no one reach the Crimea" [1]. The Kazan messengers were headed by Yanbars and Salkish. They were bringing to the Crimea 4 *yarlighs*, or letters, and a book as a "gift", which, as a result of the incident, made their way to Moscow on May 1, 1549. A record of this event and a Russian translation of one of the *yarlighs* has come down to us in four copies. The first (defective, apparently the earliest) is in the collection of I. E. Zabelin (today at the State Historical Museum in Moscow, No. 419, fols. 94—95b); the second is present in the compilation of the Synodal assembly (*ibid.*, No. 272, fols. 404b—406) which is Patriarch Nicon's contribution to a Jerusalem monastery; the third copy is part of the collection of A. N. Popov (the State Library of Russia, fund 236, call number 59, fols. 135—136b), and the fourth is contained in a seventeenth-century collection from Moscow State Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents, fund 181, inv. 1, item 591, fols. 787—789) [2].

The record runs: "And they sent to the Crimean Tsar with those of their ambassadors a book as a gift. That book is written in the Persian language and is called *laziab ekh malukkat*, in Russian 'The Wisdom of the Entire World' according to their Mohammedan heresy". The document is not dated, but according to the above-mentioned chronicle, the seizure of the Kazan's ambassadors "in the field" and the interception of the *yarlighs* they carried, without indicating their contents, are recorded under 1549. M. N. Tikhomirov erroneously gives the year as 1547 in his edition of the letter's text [3], while J. Pelensky, in his work devoted to the relations between Muscovy and the Kazan khānate, argues that the letters were dispatched from Kazan to the Ottoman empire [4]. He seems to base his assumption on the fact that Dawlat-Girēy, who was requested to

come as a regent to Kazan, was in Turkey at the time. But contrary to this assumption, on page 42 of his work, Pelensky asserts that Utemysh-Girēy's embassy was headed for the Crimea [5].

It was N. P. Likhachev who, at the close of the nineteenth century, drew attention to a note present in an order (dated June 6, 1565) to the Muscovite ambassador to the Noghay Horde, Mikhail Subulov: "And if Tinehmat the Prince say: 'I have written to the Tsar, Grand Prince, about the book *Azia ibu imalukat*, and the ruler did not send me the book', Mikhail should say: 'Our sovereign ordered that the book be sought among their holdings, but it could not be found'" [6]. The report of this request by the Noghay bey Dīn Aḥmad (Tinehmat, as he was termed in Russian documents) also drew the attention of A. I. Sobolevsky, who identified the book as Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. But he did not know of the chronicle record for 1549, mentioned above; by this reason, he believed that the manuscript entered the Tsar's archive after the death of the Kazan khān, Şafā-Girēy, as in August, 1551, his widow Suyun-bike and his son, the under-aged Tsarevich Utemish (Utiaymsh of the document), were sent to Moscow together with the treasury [7].

The text that mentions *yarlighs* and a Persian book and was seized from the Kazan ambassadors also drew the attention of A. D. Sedelnikov, who devoted a few remarks to it [8]. It was he who juxtaposed the information in the order Mikhail Subulov received in 1565 and the 1549 record in the chronicle, and suggested that both documents discuss the same manuscript containing a work by the Arab scholar Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī — *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* ("The Wonders of Nature") [9]. Unfortunately, this manuscript has not yet been discovered in Moscow's archival collections [10]. Zakariyā' b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī's (1203—1283) cosmographic work was written in Arabic and dedicated to the Baghdad governor under the Mongols, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik b. Bahā al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Juwaynī. The work was one of the most popular cosmographies of the Muslim East, and its manuscripts were frequently adorned with miniatures [11].

As far as I know, since Sobolevsky, and later Sedelnikov, identified the manuscript under question as Qazwīnī's work, its authorship, time of creation, and previous and subsequent fate, have only been discussed once in the scholarly literature [12]. In his work on Arab geo-

* The Russian version of the paper was published in *Vostochnyi Arkhiv*, 4—5 (2000), pp. 77—82.

graphical literature, I. Krachkovsky, who was familiar with the 1549 record [13], also tended to identify the book termed as *laziab ekh malukkat* in the chronicle as Qazwīnī's cosmography. He wrote that the title of the work which is mentioned in the Niconian chronicle is a "distortion of a common title for al-Qazwīnī's work, about which there can be little doubt" [14]. Krachkovsky, however, was at a loss about determining which version of the work — the original Arabic text or one of the Persian translations that appeared at virtually the same time — was seized by the Muscovite Cossacks [15]. But the point is that al-Qazwīnī's work is not the only one to bear the title. Between 1165—1173, a work by the title of '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* [*wa-lgharā'ib al-maṣnū'āt* ("Wonders of Creation and Rarities of That Which Exists") was created in Persian for the Iraqi Seljuk Ṭoḡhrul II (r. 1177—1194). Its author is considered to be Najīb Hamadānī, although it was believed earlier that the work was written by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣalmānī al-Ṭūsī [16]. Krachkovsky rejects the possibility that the Kazan book was Hamadānī's (or Ṭūsī's) work. He writes in this connection that it can hardly be "some other work with the same title, for example, Aḥmad Ṭūsī's" [17].

I must confess that I do not share Krachkovsky's skepticism in this regard. First of all, the officials in the Moscow *prikaz* (board) who recorded the events of 1549 were unlikely to have erred in determining the language of the book. Be that as it may, either a Persian translation of al-Qazwīnī's work or the Persian original of Hamadānī's work was brought to Moscow. It should be noted that the second assumption seems not to be too extraordinary. Hamadānī's '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* was translated into Central Asian Turkic by Kamāl al-Dīn Shīr-'Alī Harawī (or Hirawī) (ca. 1453—1512), a well-known court poet, scholar, theologian, historian and musician of Sheybānī-khān. Harawī was known by the *takhalluṣ* Binā'ī. Binā'ī made the translation in Samarqand at the request of Sheybānī-khān himself; in his introduction to the translation of Hamadānī's work, Binā'ī writes that he was responding to an offer from Sheybānī-khān to translate the composition into Turkic [18]. Sheybānī-khān enjoyed close ties with the Kazan khānate. For example, according to Bābur, Sheybānī-khān sent to the Kazan khān, Muḥammad Emīn, his court singer and poet, Ghulām Shādī, the presumed author of the poem *Faṭḥ-nāma*, dedicated to Sheybānī-khān himself [19]. The proximity of Shādī and Binā'ī to the courts of Sheybānī-khān and Muḥammad Emīn makes likely the appearance of Hamadānī's work in the Kazan khānate. One can add that '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* by Hamadānī could also have been known in Kazan because the work provides an abridged version of Ibn Faḍlān's account of his journey to the Volga [20], which would have interested men of learning in Kazan. As M. G. Khudiakov, a specialist in the history of the Kazan khānate, points out, "the Kazan khānate's cultural ties with Turkestan, Persia, Turkey and Arabia were not interrupted. Books were brought to Kazan from Persia, devout pilgrims travelled to Mecca, merchants and diplomats journeyed to Astrakhan, Bakhchisarai, and Constantinople" [21].

It should be noted that the dispatch to the Crimea of a "gift" book from the "Kazan realm of Mamāy, the sovereign of the *ulāns*, the *mūllās*, *hāfiṣ*z, and subject princes, and all people", as the title of the Kazan *khān* was given in old-Russian official documents, was not an unusual practice. Book-purchasing contacts, if indirect, between the

Crimea and Kazan existed before 1549. To cite an example, at the beginning of 1526, the Crimean *khān* Sa'ādat-Girēy sent to Moscow his messenger Tamach with documents addressed to the Grand Prince Vasily. One of them, dated January, 1526, runs as follows: "On this occasion, I appointed my servant *sayyid* Ḥuseyn to my servant Tamach, to inquire of the health of Tsar Ṣafā-Girēy, the Tsar of Kazan and my son, and [also] to ask you, my brother, to give your permission to him to go across your land, so that if you should let him go through your land with a sealed letter, and [one of] your men appointed to him, as far as the Kazan border and back, there should be no oppression or attack from your people. **And I send him to Kazan for books. There are four books there, and I am sending him to ask for those books.** My request is the following: let him go freely through [your lands], there and back, without detaining him, and let him come back to us together with the ambassador" [22]. A *kalgha* of Sa'ādat-Girēy, Ṣāhib-Girēy wrote more laconically of this mission: Sa'ādat sent "his theologian, Ḥuseyn-'aziz", to inquire about the health of the Kazan *khān*, Ṣafā-Girēy, "and we sent our theologian, Aqchura-'aziz, to learn the royal health of Ṣafā-Girēy" [23]. These messages arrived in Moscow in April, but the Grand Prince was evidently reluctant to let the messenger travel on to Kazan. Moscow was extremely suspicious about Crimean-Kazan contacts and strove to limit them as much as possible. In conditions of openly hostile relations with Ṣafā-Girēy, Vasily seems to have decided to foil *sayyid* Ḥuseyn's visit to Kazan.

At the beginning of December, Moscow received a new portion of official letters from the Crimean *khān*. In one of them, written in July of 1526, Sa'ādat rebukes Vasily: "[It would have been good] if I had [already] received the books from Kazan with my messenger Tomach. I have sent *sayyid* Ḥuseyn [already for this purpose]. And you have not yet allowed him to proceed on to Kazan. You understand us correctly if you allow him to travel to Kazan" [24]. Unfortunately, the result of this diplomatic correspondence is unknown. *Sayyid* Ḥuseyn is not mentioned in known sources either before or after 1526: we do not find him among those who, together with Sa'ādat-Girēy, swore the *shert* (oath — *I. Z.*) to Tsar Ivan IV in 1524 before his messenger, O. Andreev. Nor is he among the *sayyids* who swore to Ivan around 1531—1532 at the court of the Crimean *khān*, Islām-Girēy. The Niconian chronicle, however, mentions a certain Usein-Seit (i.e. *sayyid* Ḥuseyn — *I. Z.*). In February 1554, he came to Kazan waywodes with a petition [25], but it is unlikely that he was the same person. It is possible that the two documents of Sa'ādat from 1526 are the only ones that contain the name of *sayyid* Ḥuseyn, but this is probably not the case. It may be that "*sayyid* Ḥuseyn" is another person — seyid Shauseyn (*sayyid* Shākh-Ḥuseyn?), first mentioned in Russian chronicles in 1512 as Muḥammad Emīn's ambassador to Moscow. In 1516, he once again carried out the duties of the Kazan *khān*'s ambassador in Moscow. In 1523, we find him in the Crimea, where he married [26]. He was sent by Ṣāhib-Girēy from Kazan to the Crimea as an ambassador. In his letter to Moscow of March, 1524, the Muscovite ambassador in the Crimea I. Kolychev reports to his ruler: "two weeks... before Christmas, the ambassador Shauseyn seit (our Shākh-Ḥuseyn — *I. Z.*) came to Tsar Sa'ādat-Girēy in Perekop from Ṣā[h]ib-Girēy in Kazan. And he brought... from Tsar Ṣā[h]ib-Girēy to Tsar Sa'ādat-Girēy eighteen

gifts and nine from himself. And among these ... [were] silver vessels, and clothing, and horses. And seit (*sayyid*), from Tsar Şā[h]ib-Girēy to Tsar Sa'ādat-Girēy, said: now the Grand Prince of Moscow has founded a city on the river Sura, beside my realm of Kazan. You should send me cannons, and arquebuses, and Janisseries, or I will be unable to stand against the Muscovite waywodes" [27].

Thus, Shauseyn arrived in the Crimea at the beginning of December, 1523 (two weeks before Christmas). In 1523, Moscow demanded that he be handed over as a traitor to the oath to accept Shaykh 'Alī in Kazan after the death of Muḥammad Emīn [28]. The Muscovite ambassadors in the Crimea, O. Andreev and I. Kolychev, even received special orders which indicated what they were to say to Shauseyn if they should happen to meet him. If he repented, they were to say that the Grand Prince had put off his fall from grace and would forgive the *sayyid* and "all the Kazan land" [29]. From a report of the Muscovite envoy to the Crimea, T. Gubin, in 1524, it is clear that the *sayyid* "is not to be back in Kazan" [30]. It is likely that the intentional delay of *sayyid* Ḥuseyn in Moscow in 1526 was directly linked with Moscow's attempts in 1523 to gain from the Crimea his surrender for treason. Ḥuseyn's mission is likely to have ended in failure. It is also possible that the dispatch of a book from Kazan to the Crimea in 1549 was in some way linked to the episode in 1526, when Sa'ādat-Girēy intended to receive four books from Kazan.

It is not by chance that the Noghay biy, Dīn Aḥmad, also tells about the manuscript of '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' in 1565. The Noghay biys were apparently no strangers to books, just like the *khāns* of Kazan, Astrakhan, and the Crimea. Otherwise, there would hardly have been reason for the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān to refer in a 1547 letter to Ismā'il (Dīn Aḥmad's father) to certain Muslim works apparently known to the addressee. The Muscovite envoy to the Noghay Horde, P. Turgenev, conveyed the text of the letter: "...in our, that is, Mohammedan books it is written that the time has come, the time of the Russian Tsar Ivan has come, when his hand is held high over the Mohammedans..." [31]. It is also interesting that the Noghay leaders appealed to the authority of Muslim learned men in conducting foreign-policy correspondence with non-Muslim rulers, too. In 1538, *mīrzā* Urāq wrote in his letter to Tsar Ivan IV: "and if only the Honorable (*aq*) Prince had wished, there would have been no obstacle to Him till His second destiny — our learned men say" [32].

It is interesting, the Noghay learned men apparently studied not only Muslim writings, they also knew the Gospels. In a 1550 letter, *mīrzā* Yūsuf writes to Tsar Ivan: "One comes into this captivating world and one leaves it. Our learned men say that no one can escape death. It is written in our Qur'ān. And in your Gospel it is also. Your learned men see in the Gospels that all that lives in this world must die" [33].

The authority of some of those "learned men" was so high that the Noghay rulers sought to get held of them as court literary figures. In the summer of 1549, the above-mentioned *mīrzā* Yūsuf wrote to the Tsar in Moscow: "I ask you to send us a translator (*tolmach*) called Magmed Yar (Muḥammad Yār) who has come [to you] from Kazan". The reference is certainly to the outstanding Kazan poet of the time, Muḥammad Yār. But we learn from Ivan IV's reply that "our people killed Muḥammad Yār, the Kazan translator, in Muroḥ" [34].

People were sent from the Noghay Horde to other Muslim lands to study, for example, to the Crimea. In a 1550 letter from Yūsuf to Ivan IV, there is mention of an *imeldesh* (foster brother) of *mīrzā* Idlibāy, "who left our land for the Crimea to learn writing and is said to have reached that place" [35].

Let us turn again to the incident of 1549. The Noghay *mīrzās* were well familiar with the seizure of the Kazan embassy by Muscovite Cossacks that year. In the summer of 1549, Yūsuf wrote to Tsar Ivan: "And when Şafā-Girēy had died, those mercenaries who live in Kazan sent thirty of their men led by Yanbār Sarasov and Danil, son of Muḥammad, to Crimea, with a petition to the sovereign. And your people took those thirty men, and those who escaped fell into the hands of our people. And after them, other people went to the Crimea to petition the sovereign and his son" [36]. The reference is undoubtedly to the embassy with which we are familiar. It is possible that the remnants of the embassy, intercepted by Yūsuf's people, were the source of information about the book '*Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*' in the Noghay Horde. The name of one of the embassy's participants is given erroneously as Yanbar Sarasov while one should read this name as Yanbārs Rasov. No doubt, it is the very "Yenbars-murza, son of Rast" whose name we encounter among the envoys sent by the Kazanians to Moscow in July 1551 to conduct peace talks [37].

It seems that books were not only read, but also produced in the Noghay Horde. In a 1538 letter to Ivan IV, the Noghay biy Sayyid Aḥmad asked the Muscovite Tsar for "six different colours, a *batman* [38] of saffron, a thousand sheets of paper" [39].

It seems that due to the close ties between the "Great Horde" and Central Asia, Afghanistan, and Ottoman Turkey the *khāns* of the so-called "Great Horde" and the Astrakhan *khāns* possessed some sort of book collection. In the *Bābur-nāma*, in the account of the Tīmūrid Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā, (r. in Herat from 1469 to 1506), we read that "during his Cossack days" he gave his sister Badī' al-Jamāl Badke-bikim in marriage to Aḥmad, *khān* of Haji-Tarkhan [40]. Badke-bikim was older than Ḥusayn Mīrzā, who was born in 1438. She could have become Aḥmad's wife in the 1450s. Aḥmad had two sons with Ḥuseyn Mīrzā's sister, who "after arriving in Herat ... served Mīrzā for a long time", meaning that they served his uncle [41]. 'Alī-Shīr Nawā'ī wrote the so-called *Sāqī-nāma* ("Book of the Cup-Bearer") for one of them, Bahādur-sulṭān [42]. In *Ḥabīb al-Siyar* by Ḥwand-Amīr (the work was finished around 1524), we learn that in time (probably after the husband's death in 1481) Badke-bikim returned to her brother in Herat with her two sons and daughter [43].

Close ties linked Aḥmad's descendants also with North Azerbaijan. One of Aḥmad's sons, Sayyid Muḥammad, was married to a daughter of *shīrwānshāh* [44] This *shīrwānshāh* was most likely Farrukh Yasār [45].

The manuscript repository of the Topkapı Sarayı in Istanbul has preserved a unique manuscript (No. 2937) [46] copied in the late fifteenth — early sixteenth century in Mawarannahr or Khorasan. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the manuscript belong to Aḥmad's grandson Qāsim, the son of Sayyid Aḥmad, who ruled in Astrakhan (1502—1532). It is the only extant manuscript of the *Shu'ab-i panjgāna*, the third volume of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Tāj al-tawārīkh*, compiled between 1306/7—1310/11. The

work treats the genealogy of the ruling dynasties of the "five peoples": Turks and Mongols, Muslims (Arabs), Jews, Franks and Chinese. A. Z. V. Togan made the suggestion that the manuscript may have been given to Qāsim by his friend, *khān* Muḥammad Sheybānī, after the latter's conquest of Bukhara and Samarqand at the very beginning of the sixteenth century [47]. Ties of Muḥammad Sheybānī-khān with Astrakhan were apparently very close; possibly this can be explained by the events of the late 1460s when young Sheybānī and his brother concealed themselves at Qāsim and his Mangyt *beglerbeg* Tīmūr in Astrakhan. The amicable attitude of Sheybānī to the Astrakhan rulers seems to be also the reason of his friendly relationships with the Kazan *khān* Muḥammad Emīn [48].

It is possible that Sharīf Ḥājītarkhānī wrote his work *Ẓafar-nāma-i wilāyat-i Qazān* in Astrakhan, of which the poet was a native; it treats the unsuccessful Russian campaign against Kazan in 1550. In 1550, the author sent his *Ẓafar-nāma* to the Ottoman Sultan Suleymān Qānūnī. The text of the composition was discovered in 1965 by Zaki Validi Togan in the collection of the Zeytinogulları ilçe Tavshanlı library in the Kütahya region of the Turkey. The work is on folios 60a–64b of a composite manuscript (No. 2348). The text was published by Z. V. Togan in 1965 without translation or commentary [49]. In the opinion of M. I. Akhmetzianov, which was shared by D. Iskhakov, Sharīf Ḥājītarkhānī and Qūl-Sharīf — poet, author of the poem *Qışsa Hubb-i Khwāja, millā and sayyid*, a well-known political figure in the Kazan khānate killed during the seizure of the city in 1552 — are one and the same [50], while the author of the poem *Ẓafar-nāma-i wilāyat-i Qazān* — Sharīf with the *nisba* Ḥājītarkhānī — is, in my view, none other than Mawlānā Sharīf al-Dīn Ḥusayn Sharīfī, known as the author of the *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* ("Broad Way of Those in Love"). This work was based on the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn* ("Key for Those Who Seek the Truth") by Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Shaykh ‘Alī b. ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ghijduwānī, which was written around 950/1543; the former may be a reworking of the latter [51]. The *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* is a life of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusayn, who died on 8 Sha‘bān 958/21 August 1551. In the view of H. Ethe, this was Shaykh Ḥusayn Khwārazmī, who died in 1549 [52]. Sharīfī was at the deathbed of his *pīr*, Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn, in Aleppo many years after al-Gijduvānī's work had been written, and knew his *murshid's* affairs well.

Sharīfī's work consists of an introductory section, 14 chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction, Sharīfī writes about the *silsila* of Quṭb al-Dīn. The 14 chapters are devoted to the circumstances of the *murshid's* life, his movements and events connected with them in Mawarannahr, Khorezm, Iran, Asia Minor, Mecca, Medina, Astrakhan, and other places. In the conclusion, Sharīfī explains why the *Jāddat al-‘āshiqīn* was written and the sources used in the work [53]. Manuscripts of the work have been preserved in the collection of Eastern manuscripts at the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences and in the library of the India Office in Great Britain [54].

At the court of the Astrakhan *khāns* there were scribes (*bakhshī*) who were in charge of writing official documents and foreign correspondence, and, probably, of copying books. One of them is mentioned in Russian chronicles; he is *khān* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān's scribe-*bakhshī* who, together with "prince Yan Magmet" (Yān Muḥammad), took part in the khan's embassy to Moscow in the autumn of 1540 [55].

Also, the Turkish traveller, Evliya Çelebi, who visited Astrakhan in the autumn of 1666, wrote about experts in Muslim law (*qāfī*) from among the Astrakhan *khesheks* that "many of them translate into the Muscovite language the books '*Imād al-Islām, Bazzāziya, Qāfī-khān, Tātār-khāniya, Muḥammadiya*, books on law and liturgical books..." [56]. The composition titled '*Imād al-Islām*' ("Pillar of Islam") is most likely the Turkish translation of a Persian work '*Umdat al-Islām*' by Mawlānā ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Abū Ṭāhir Fārīsī, elucidating the five pillars of Islam. The translation into Turkish was made by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yūsuf al-Aqsarāyī in 950/1543 [57]; fairly numerous copies of the translation are held in the repositories of Turkey [58].

Among the works mentioned by Evliya Çelebi, the three titles represent collections of *fatwās*. For example, *Qāfī-khān* contains the so-called *Qāfī-khān fatwās* compiled by Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Maḥmūd al-Uzjandī al-Farghānī (d. 1196), while *Bazzāziya* is another title of the work *Jānī’ al-wajīz* ("Collection of Extracts [from Books on *Fiqh*]") by Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Shihāb ibn al-Bazzāzī al-Kārdārī (or Kūrdūrī). The son of a cloth merchant, whence his name — ibn al-Bazzāzī — derives, al-Kārdārī lived in the Volga region (he was possibly a native of this land), then in the Crimea and Asia Minor, where he died in Ramaḍān 827 / August 1424. He completed his *al-Bazzāziya*, known also under the titles *al-Fatāwā al-Bazzāziya* or *al-Fatāwā al-Kārdārīya*, in 812/1409. Kārdārī was also the author of another work, the biography of the famed *faqīh* Abū Ḥanīfa [59]. *Tātārkhāniya* is a collection of *fatwās* compiled by *imām* ‘Alim b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥanaḥafī in the fourteenth century [60].

As for the *Muḥammadiya*, it can be identified as a religious *mathnawī* by the Turkish author Mehmed Yazıcıoğlu. It is an exposition and explication of Islam based on the Qur’ān and *ḥadīths*. Of this author little is known. Yazıcıoğlu (or Ibn al-Kātib in Arabic) Mehmed Efendi was born in Malkara, not far from Adrianople; he was a *murīd*, and then *khalīfa*, of *shaykh* Ḥājī Bayrām whose blessing he received in Ankara. Yazıcıoğlu lived in seclusion and died in Gelibolu in 855/1451. His *Muḥammadiya* was finished in 853/1449 [61].

Thus, the works cited are compositions on Ḥanaḥafī *fiqh*, apart from the two books with a popular exposition of Islam. Although information on Evliya Çelebi is relatively late, one can say with certainty that Ḥaji-Tarkhan '*ulamā*' were familiar with these works before Russian rule.

Classical writings on *fiqh* were known in Astrakhan as well. Ḥājītarkhānī's *Ẓafar-nāma-i wilāyat-i Qazān* mentions three such works — *al-Kanz*, *al-Waḥfī*, and *al-Kāfī* — authored by Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Nasafī [62], whose full name was Ḥāfiẓ al-Dīn Abū-l-Barakat ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Nasafī (d. 1310 or 1320). He was the author of several works on *fiqh*, but his main work — *al-Waḥfī fī-l-furū* ("The Complete [Compendium] of Branches [of *Fiqh*]") — with authorial commentaries on his own text, entitled *al-Kāfī sharḥ al-waḥfī fī-l-furū*, which he began to write immediately after compiling *al-Waḥfī*; the commentary was completed on 22 Ramaḍān 684/21 December 1285. There exists also a brief version of this work — *Kanz al-daqa’iq fī-l-furū* ("A Treasure-trove of Subtleties of Basic Principles [of *Fiqh*]"). Al-Nasafī wrote several other works on *fiqh*, the so-called "Poems of Stars" treating

Ḥanafī *fiqh* principles, and other compositions among which we find “A Shining Beacon on the Foundations of *Fiqh*”, commentary on it — “Revelation of Secrets in the Interpretation of ‘The Beacon’”, commentary on al-Madīnī “Useful [Book on] *Fiqh*”, etc. [63].

Astrakhan was probably the origin of a collection containing several writings: *Qinyat al-munya li-tamīm al-ghunya* (“Acquiring a Desirable Complement to what is already Sufficient”) by the Khwārizmī *faqīh* Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazmīnī (d. 1260), a brief treatise on the Khwārizm monetary system, and three small compositions of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-‘Imādī (first half of the 14th century). The first provides an explanation of the works used in al-Ghazmīnī’s work, the second treats questions of property division, and the third deals with epithets applied to scholars. All three works were copied by ‘Alī al-Awḍī from the autograph [64]. It is likely that a copy of “Basic Principles” (an Arabic-Persian dictionary for children in verse) by the thirteenth-century author, Abū Naṣr Farāhī, was also completed in Astrakhan in 1656/57 [65].

There is no doubt that Astrakhan had close cultural ties with Iran, Central Asia, Ottoman Turkey, and the lands of Dasht-i Qypchaq. It seems that the city’s Muslim clergy conducted active missionary work in lands to the East of Astrakhan, spreading and strengthening Islam and Muslim culture among the Kazakhs. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbikhān Iṣfahānī wrote that ‘*ulamā*’ from Haji-Tarkhan (as well as from Turkestan, Khiva, Astrabad, Khorasan, and Iran) journeyed to the Kazakhs to root out heathenism [66]. Unfortunately, we still know little of the city’s cultural life in the first half of the sixteenth century.

All of these facts indicate that books played a significant role in the Kazan, Crimean, and Astrakhan khānates, as well as in the Noghay Horde; their close cultural ties with one another and contacts with Central Asia and the Ottoman empire can be clearly traced. Despite political collapse, the post-Golden Horde states represented a single cultural realm held together by shared traditions and a common language of science, literature, and education.

Notes

1. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (henceforth, *PSRL*). *Patriarshaia ili Nikonovskaia letopis'* (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles. Patriarch, or Niconian Chronicle) (St. Petersburg, 1904), xiii, pp. 157, 459.
2. The copy was published by V. V. Trepavlov, see his “Priklucheniia ‘Chudes tvoreniū’: iz khanskoī biblioteki Kazani v ‘liberiuū’ Ivana Groznogo” (“The adventures of ‘Marvels of That Which is Created’: from the *khān* library in Kazan to the library of Ivan the Terrible”), *Gasırlar Avazı / Ekho vekov*, 3—4 (Kazan, 1999), p. 37.
3. M. N. Tikhomirov, *Rossia v XVI stoletii* (Russia in the 16th Century) (Moscow, 1962), pp. 489—90.
4. J. Pelenski, *Russia and Kazan. Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438—1560s)* (The Hague—Paris, 1974), p. 15.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 42—3.
6. N. P. Likhachëv, *Biblioteka i arkhiv moskovskikh gosudarev v XVI stoletii* (The Library and Archive of Muscovite Sovereigns in the 16th Century) (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 59; also Trepavlov, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
7. A. I. Sobolevskii, *Materialy i issledovaniia v oblasti slavianskoī filologii i arkheologii* (Materials and Investigations on Slavic Philology and Archaeology) (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 219. note; M. G. Khudiakov, *Ocherki po istorii Kazanskogo khanstva* (Essays on the History of the Kazan Khānate) (Moscow, 1991), p. 137.
8. A. D. Sedel'nikov, “Dve zametki po èpokhe Ivana Groznogo” (“Two comments on the era of Ivan the Terrible”), *Sbornik statei k sorokaletiiu uchënoi deiatel'nosti akademika A. S. Orlova* (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 165—7; Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, p. 490.
9. Sedel'nikov, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
10. D. A. Morozov, “Zabytye stranitsy vostokovedeniia” (“Forgotten Oriental documents”), *Kratkii katalog arabskikh rukopisei i dokumentov Rossiiskogo gosudarstvennogo arkhiva drevnikh aktov* (Moscow, 1996), pp. 8—9.
11. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* (Arab Geographical Literature), in *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, pp. 358—63.
12. Not counting a brief mention by K. V. Bazilevich. See K. V. Bazilevich, “Iarlyk Akhmed-khana Ivanu III” (“Aḥmad-khān’s *yarligh* to Ivan III”), *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta* (1948), No. 1, p. 30; see also Trepavlov, *op. cit.*
13. Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, pp. 362—3.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 362.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
16. C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1958), ii, p. 121, No. 181; Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 323; L. V. Dmitrieva, “Rukopis' tiurkskogo perevoda persidskogo sochineniia ‘Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt’ v GPB v Leningrade” (“A manuscript of the Turkic translation of the Persian work ‘Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt’ at the State Public Library in Leningrad”), *Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka: istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik 1973* (Moscow, 1979), pp. 102—3.
17. Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 362.
18. Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
19. *Babur-name. Zapiski Babura (Bābur-nāma. Bābur's Records; henceforth, Bābur-nāma)* (Tashkent, 1958), pp. 211—2; *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV—XVIII vekov* (Materials on the History of the Kazakh Khānates: 15th — 18th Centuries) (Alma-Ata, 1969), pp. 44—5; A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giriş*. Cild 1: *en eski devirlerden 16. asra kadar* (İstanbul, 1946), pp. 371, 478.
20. Dmitrieva, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
21. Khudiakov, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
22. Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Russian State Archive of Ancient Documents; henceforth, *RGADA*), fund 123, inv. 1, item 6, fol. 114b—115.
23. *Ibid.*, fol. 117.
24. *Ibid.*, fol. 128.

25. PSRL (1904), p. 239.
26. See B. I. Dunaev, *Prepodobnyi Maksim Grek i grecheskaia ideia na Rusi v XVI veke* (The Holy Maxim Grek and the Greek Idea in Rus in the 16th Century) (Moscow, 1916), p. 62; Khudiakov, *op. cit.*, p. 69; D. Iskhakov, "Seidy v pozdnezolotoordynskikh tatarskikh gosudarstvakh" ("Sayyids in the post-Golden Horde Tatar states"), *Tatarica: Zvezdnyi chas tatarskoï istorii*, No. 1, winter 1997/1998 (Kazan, 1997), pp. 53—5 (henceforth — Iskhakov, 1997); for details, see also *idem*, *Seidy v pozdnezolotoordynskikh tatarskikh gosudarstvakh Kazan (Sayyids in the Post-Golden Horde Tatar States)* (Kazan, 1997), pp. 25—6 (henceforth — Iskhakov, 1997a).
27. RGADA, fund 123, inv. 1, item 6, fols. 49—49b.
28. *Ibid.*, fols. 21b—22, 32—32b, 34; Iskhakov, 1997, pp. 55—6.
29. RGADA, fund 123, inv. 1, item 6, f. fols. 38b—40b.
30. Iskhakov, 1997, p. 54.
31. RGADA, fund 123, inv. 1, item 4, fol. 39.
32. *Posolskie knigi po sviaziam Rossii s Nogaïskoï Ordoï. 1489—1549* (Embassy Books on Russia's Ties with the Noghay Horde) (Makhachkala, 1995), p. 203.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 306—7, 319.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 296, 299.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 309. For more details on employing books in the Noghay Horde at a later date, see A. Kh. Kurmanseitova, "Bytovanie arabov i mennoi knigi sredi nogaitsev" ("The circulation of Arabic-script books among the Noghay"), *Sovremennyi byt i kultura narodov Karachaev-Cherkessii*, fasc. 3 (Cherkessk, 1990).
36. *Ibid.*, p. 294.
37. PSRL (1904), pp. 166, 469; Khudiakov, *op. cit.*, p. 135. For more detail on the Kazan embassy of 1549 and the Raşov brothers, see I. V. Zaitsev, "Posol'stva iz Kazani v Krym v 1549" ("Embassies from Kazan to the Crimea"), *Orientalistica Iuvenile: Sbornik statei molodykh uchënykh i aspirantov otdela istorii Vostochnoï RAN*, Collection 1 (Moscow, 2000), pp. 84—98.
38. Measure of weight varying in different places (in Kazan — 4 kg).
39. *Posolskie knigi*, p. 200.
40. *Bâbur-nâma*, pp. 189—90.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
42. Togan, *op. cit.*, p. 371; A. S. Levend, *Ali Şir Nevai* (Ankara, 1965), i, p. 217.
43. V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniia* (Works), vol. II, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1964), p. 221.
44. *Sbornik Mukhanova* (Mukhanov Collection) (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 34; *Litovskaia metrika* (Lithuanian Metrics). First section, pt. 1, book of records, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 352. — Russkaia Istoricheskaia Biblioteka, XXVII.
45. S. Ashurbeli, *Gosudarstvo Shirvanshakhov (VI—XVI vv.)* (The Shirvānshāh State: 6th — 16th Centuries) (Baku, 1983), pp. 252—7.
46. In one of his publications, A. Z. V. Togan erroneously gives the manuscript's number as 2932 (see "The composition of the history of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn" *Central Asiatic Journal*, VII/1, 1962, p. 68). A footnote in E. Esin's "Hanlar ulaki (the succession of the kings). On the illustrated genealogy, with Uigur inscriptions, of Mongol and Timūrid dynasties, at the Topkapı Library", *Gedanke und Wirkund. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nicolaus Poppe* (Wiesbaden, 1989), pp. 114—5, shows that the manuscript's call number is in fact A.III 2937.
47. Togan, *Umumi Türk tarihine giris*, pp. 370—1; Togan, "The composition of the history of the Mongols by Rashīd al-Dīn", p. 68; Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura: biobibliograficheskiï obzor*. Ch. 1—2 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 306—8 (Russian translation of C. A. Storey's *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*).
48. H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, section 3, pt. 1, vol. 4 (Utrecht, 1969), p. 167.
49. A. Z. V. Togan, "Kazan Hanlığında İslam Türk Kültürü", *İslam Türkleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, III/3—4 (1965), pp. 194—5. This work by Togan is translated into Tatar by M. I. Akhmetzianov ("Hajitarkhani Şarif Kazan vilayatenen jinuc. Iskermeler", in *Idel*, I (1995). There is also a more recent reprint of this Tatar translation with commentary, see *Kol sherif i kuñel, bu donyadır* (Kazan, 1997). For the Russian translation by F. Khakimzianov, see Kh. Sherif, *Zafer-name-i vilaiet-i Kazan* (Husayn Sharifi, *Zafar-nâma-i wilâyat-i Qazân*), ed. A. Melek Uzyetgin, in *Gasırlar Avazı! Èkho vekov*, May (Kazan, 1995), pp. 83—92.
50. Iskhakov, 1997, p. 59; Iskhakov, 1997a, pp. 34—5.
51. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1975), x, p. 235 (henceforth *Sobranie*, 1975).
52. *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of India Office*, by Herman Ethé (Oxford, 1903), i, No. 1877.
53. *Sobranie*, 1975, p. 235.
54. *Ibid.*; *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* (1903), No. 1877.
55. PSRL, vol. xiii: Patriarch, or Niconian Chronicle, p. 133; vol. XX, pt. 2: Lvov chronicle (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 455.
56. Evliya Çelebi, *Kniga putesthestviia (Izvecheniia iz sochineniia turetskogo putesthestvennika XVIII veka)*. Vypusk 2: *Zemli Severnogo Kavkaza. Povolzh'ia i Podon'ia* (Evliya Çelebi. Book of Travels: Extracts from the Works of the Seventeenth-Century Turkish Traveller). Fasc. 2: The Lands of North Caucasus, the Volga and Don Regions (Moscow, 1979), p. 133.
57. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1964), vii, p. 367, No. 5539.
58. See, for example, *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu*. Antalya-Tekelioğlu. IV.07 (İstanbul, 1984), p. 163, No. 3018.
59. *Sobranie*, 1975, p. 181, No. 6903; *Haji Khalifa Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jelebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalifa celebrato compositum*, tomus secundus (Leipzig, 1837), p. 49.
60. *Haji Khalifa Lexicon Bibliographicum et Encyclopaedicum*, pp. 90—1, No. 2039.
61. See, for example, Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888), p. 168; G. Flügel, *Die Arabischen, Persischen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlich Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, erster Band (Wien, 1865),

pp. 618—9. F. E. Karatay, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu. Vol. II: Filoloji, Edebiyat, Mecmualar (İstanbul, 1961), pp. 95—6, Nos. 2270—2275; Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band XII, 2: Türkische Handschriften. Teil 2, beschrieben von Manfred Götz (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 10—2, Nos. 10—12. The work was published, see Muḥammad Yāzījī-zāda, *Muḥammadīya* (Istanbul, 1881).

62. A. N. Kurat, *IV—XVIII Yüzyillarda Karadeniz Kuzeyindeki Türk Kavimleri ve Devletleri* (Ankara, 1972), p. 368. See also *Kol sherif I kunel, bu donyadir*, p. 88.

63. See, for example, *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1957), iv, p. 260, No. 3164, p. 273, No. 3181, p. 274, No. 3182, p. 277, No. 3183, p. 278, No. 3185.

64. S. A. Volin, “Novyi istochnik dlia izucheniiia khorezmiiskogo iazyka” (“A new source for the study of the Khwārizmian language”), *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR*, fasc. 7 (Moscow—Leningrad, 1939), pp. 79—86.

65. S. I. Baevskii, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii* (Description of Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts at the Institute of Peoples of Asia), fasc. 5 (Moscow, 1968), pp. 15—6, No. 61.

66. *Fazlallah ibn Ruzbikhān Isfahani. Mikhman namei Bukhara (Zapiski bukharskogo gostia)* (Faḍlallāh ibn Rūzbikhān Iṣfahānī. *Mikhmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* (The Records of a Bukhāran Guest)) (Moscow, 1976), p. 106.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

E. A. Rezvan

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL FABERGÉ. I: THE QUR'ĀN

Any specialist who works closely with a collection as rich as the collection of Eastern manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies faces a constant danger. Virtually every visit to the manuscript repository produces a find. One fetches a manuscript from the shelf, opens an unprepossessing folder or box, and it begins: when one pauses to recall the reason for the visit, several hours have passed and the thrill of the hunt carries one farther and farther. Leaping from one theme to another, drawn on by astonishing material, the researcher runs the risk of never writing anything significant.

The author of this paper has confronted this on numerous occasions. While preparing a book on the Qur'ān, for many years I set aside the finds which naturally accompany all work with manuscripts. Still awaiting its time is a letter from the Muscat Sultan to Admiral Bazoche, governor of the Ile de Bourbon and hero of one of Balzac's novels. I found it in a small metal box while going through documents that made their way into the above-mentioned repository from the collection of the famous Russian collector N. P. Likhachev. My desk also holds photocopies of two small fragments of an Arabic manuscript, presumably a work on *fiqh* copied no later than the eleventh century. They were found in 1915 among the Chinese manuscripts gathered by S. F. Oldenburg's expedition to Dunhuang (today in the Gansu province, Northwest Chinese Peoples Republic) on the ancient Silk Road. And there remains the mystery of a gilt noble herald painstakingly drawn on a blank page in a Qur'ānic manuscript and later just as painstakingly pasted over (our restorers worked for several days in order to discover it). I also recall the enigma that surrounds the history of an old Italian-Arabic dictionary [1], of the manuscript with a rich collection of tracings of figures from Persian and Turkish engravings (around 300) bound in old leather, with headings and captions in Italian.

While preparing a database on Qur'ānic manuscripts from the collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, I couldn't help noticing a lovely small-format manuscript obviously copied in Persia. I read the catalogue description with surprise: "From the Fabergé collection". Soon the manuscript was thoroughly described, but the question remained: why had Eastern manuscripts interested "the Jeweller of his Emperor's Majesty and the Jeweller of the Emperor's Hermitage"? I spoke with my

senior colleagues, primarily the head curator of the collection of manuscripts and documents at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Prof. Margarita Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, and Prof. Oleg Akimushkin. The latter has conducted a long-term study of the history of the collection's formation and written a special article on the topic [2]. He generously provided me indispensable help in writing this paper. I very carefully studied the existing catalogues, spent time in the archive. It soon emerged that the miniature Qur'ān was not the only Eastern manuscript to enter the collection thanks to K. Fabergé. The extensive inventory of 1920 reported the transfer of 10 manuscripts and 27 folios with miniatures.

Nine of the ten manuscripts were identified with comparative ease, while one of the two tiny Qur'āns and the folios with miniatures remained a mystery. I recall clearly the sunny spring day when Prof. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya showed me a folder with beautiful Indian miniatures and calligraphy samples kept in the artistic collection. We counted the folios and determined that they numbered 37 according to the pagination (38, in fact, as in one case a bifolio was paginated as a single folio). Only a careful comparison of all extant information showed that these were the same folios mentioned in the inventory. Our collection simply does not contain any other miniatures that could belong to this collection. I then realised that I must one day write about the Eastern manuscripts of the Tsar's jeweller. Some time passed, and the problematic second manuscript of the Qur'ān was also explained. According to the 1920 inventory, it should also have been a miniature. The selection was not large, and when I peeled back a pasted-on call number of the Asiatic Museum on one of the manuscripts, I discovered a note made by a bibliographer in 1920. The note had escaped the notice of those who drew up the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, and the copy had remained unidentified. Nearly a year passed. The book on the Qur'ān went to print, and with great pleasure I undertook my new project.

The present article is the first in a series that describes the Eastern manuscripts of Karl Fabergé from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection.

The famed Fabergé firm was founded by a native of Livland (territory of present north Latvia and south Estonia), the French Protestant jeweller Gustav-Peter, who in 1842 opened a store in St. Petersburg. He was succeeded



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

by his son Karl (*fig. 1*), who had received an outstanding education in Europe. A first-guild merchant and supplier of the Court, Karl Fabergé was the court jeweller of the Russian Emperor, the Kings of Sweden and Norway, the King of England, and the King of Siam. His artistic creations garnered him the Russian orders of Stanislav and St. Anne, a Bulgarian Commander's order, the order of the French Legion of Honour, and gold medals at the all-Russian and World exhibitions. In 1916, Fabergé's firm was transformed into a partnership with several branches (stores and workshops) in Petrograd (name of St. Petersburg between 1914 to 1924), Moscow, Odessa, and London. Despite the war, his business expanded. It was halted by the Revolution.

Among the cultural currents that inspired the family and firm's craftsmen were Empire and Gothic, the Renaissance, eighteenth-century France, and the art of China and Japan, the Arab East, Persia, and India. As Géza von Habsburg writes, "the style of the House of Fabergé was based on a well thought-through assimilation of early 'historical' style enriched by a Russian sensibility, lightness, elegance, and a unique virtuosity of execution. This was 'the Fabergé style', which enjoyed great popularity and inspired delight and slavish imitation, but was never surpassed. This was the secret of Fabergé's success" [3].

As far as I know, no one has devoted special study to the decorative elements in the House of Fabergé's creations from the vantage point of Islamic culture and its influence. Such elements, however, are easily revealed by the most cursory glance at published collections. This is confirmed, for example, by a series of gold cigarette cases adorned with diamonds, sapphires, rubies, and encrusted with enamel (they are held today in the Paris Musée des Arts Décoratifs) [4] (*fig. 2*). This was a gift received by the French intelligence agent Antoine Roger Luzarche d'Azay, who worked in the Near East, and a testimony of the French Princess Cécile Murat's [5] love for him. The series was apparently created in the early twentieth century.

There is no doubt that the Bolsheviks, who came to power in October, 1917, considered Fabergé an extremely odious figure. A court jeweller who created extraordinarily expensive trinkets for the world's aristocratic elite, he symbolised the world they had vowed to combat without mercy. In March, 1918 Karl Fabergé left for Riga. His sons remained in Russia to liquidate the business, sell the most important items, convert their rubles into other currencies, and remove the family's fortune abroad.

Many of the valuables owned by the family and firm were held in their family home on Bolshaya Morskaya, 24, which was the location for a store, workshops, and the apartments of Karl Fabergé and his sons. In March, 1918, after the passage of the Sovnarkom decree on the defence of foreigners' property, Karl Fabergé rented his home to the Swiss mission. The Swiss ambassador took up residence in the house. Fabergé did not set a concrete price, asking only that the ambassador watch over six suitcases with the family's possessions and a travelling-bag of valuables. At the end of October, the ambassador learned of a planned attack on the house, and he ordered that 27 suitcases (among them the six that belonged to the Fabergé family) and the travelling-bag be evacuated to the Norwegian embassy. The embassy was raided the following night, and the suitcases and travelling-bag vanished. Several days after the theft at the Norwegian embassy, the Petrograd Extraordinary Commission conducted a search of the Swiss mission. The

official explanation was a search for weapons. During the search, vases, stone-cut figurines, and bronze Chinese statuettes were confiscated ... In May, 1919 a special safe in an elevator in the house on Bolshaya Morskaya was searched and its contents confiscated. The confiscations continued. Documents and inventories have survived that concern the "confiscations"; they are dated September and December, 1919, and March, 1920 [6].

Soon after the Revolution, the Soviet government issued a number of decrees on the protection of scholarly artefacts, including museums, art collections, academic offices, libraries, and on inventorying and banning the export abroad of art objects and antiques owned by private persons, societies, and institutions. But the need for funds at a time of collapse and war on several fronts drove the Bolsheviks to sell certain objects abroad. An Antique Assessment Commission was created to select from among requisitioned property exhibits for museums and academic collections, as well as luxury items for sale abroad. The Commission was headed by the well-known writer Maxim Gorky.

In the summer of 1920, the situation in Petrograd, as in all Russia, was extremely complex. News from the front was contradictory, and peasant uprisings raged within the country. Major cities suffered from catastrophic shortages. In "My Disillusionment in Russia", Emma Goldman admirably conveys the atmosphere in Petrograd in 1920: "I found Petrograd of 1920 quite a different place. It was almost in ruins, as if a hurricane had swept over it. The houses looked like broken old tombs upon neglected and forgotten cemeteries. The streets were dirty and deserted; all life had gone from them. The population of Petrograd before the war was almost two million; in 1920 it had dwindled to five hundred thousand. The people walked about like living corpses; the shortage of food and fuel was slowly sapping the city; grim death was clutching at its heart. Emaciated and frost-bitten men, women, and children were being whipped by the common lash, the search for a piece of bread or a stick of wood. It was a heart-rending sight by day, an oppressive weight at night. Especially were the nights of the first month in Petrograd dreadful. The utter stillness of the large city was paralysing. It fairly haunted me, this awful oppressive silence broken only by occasional shots. I would lay awake trying to pierce the mystery" [7].

In point of fact, the situation was indeed difficult, but not nearly so clear-cut. Outstanding artists and poets continued to live and work in the city; only the execution of Nikolai Gumilev in 1921 and the death of Alexander Blok brought the intensive literary life of Petrograd in the 1920s to an end. The Upper Directorial Courses prepared future classics of world cinema, Dziga Vertov was shooting in the streets, and Alexander Grin wrote insightful romantic stories filled with faith in a miraculous future. It was in that year that the Petersburg stage saw the debut of the 19-year-old Vladimir Sofronitsky, recognised as one of the twentieth century's most talented pianists. On April 30, 1920 on the day of *'id al-fitr*, which marks the end of the fast month Ramaḍān, regular services began in the majestic Petrograd mosque, finally open after six years of construction... The city's life went on, and one could provide a long list of such events as proof.

Documents from the Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies provide eloquent testimony to the work of the Asiatic Museum in 1920. We find the following in an official letter to the Asiatic Museum: "As one of the persons who receives a ration

through the A[cademy] of S[ciences] is on an extended work-related trip, there is the possibility of temporarily (for March and April) transferring this ration to another person. In this regard, I appeal with a humble request to present as expeditiously as possible candidates to your institute with such an aim. The haste is occasioned by the necessity of ensuring a ration for March, and any delay will result in its loss" [8].

Another official letter to the Asiatic Museum, written on form of the Yaroslavl Province Extraordinary Commission to combat counter-revolution, speculation, and crime, runs [9]: "In response to the communication of this July 28, No. 854, the Gubcheka (abbreviation of the Province Extraordinary Commission) reports that Briadov Dmitry [10], an employee of the Asiatic Museum, was freed from arrest on July 26, 1920" [11].

The minutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences contain the following record: "The director of the Asiatic Museum reported that the Museum has recently received a significant number of books on Oriental studies, mainly from the State Book Foundation and Museum Department. Extremely limited storage space creates very difficult conditions for Museum employees..." [12].

In these conditions, the Museum petitioned for the acquisition of the library and collection of Ethiopian manuscripts of Academician B. A. Turaev, the library of O. M. Lemm, the collection of S. G. Eliscev, etc. Together with the well-known journalist S. N. Syromiatnikov, the Museum fought to save the memoirs and diaries of General V. A. Kosagovsky, who played an important role in Persia in the 1880s—1890s and was later shot by the Bolsheviks [13]. Graciously accepted as gifts were books and articles by P. Kozlov, V. Barthold, I. Krachkovsky, and Th. Stcherbatsky that miraculously continued to appear in print. In the chaos that had engulfed Russia, the Academy of Sciences and its institutions did all they could to save texts and documents of cultural and scientific value. This applies to the acquisition by the Asiatic Museum of Eastern manuscripts from the Fabergé collection. This action prevented the collection from being scattered, preserving it both for specialists on the manuscript legacy of the East and for those with an interest in the creative secrets of the great jeweller's workshop.

The only document that refers to the acquisition of this collection is the above-mentioned folio from an inventory book, where the date "June 9, 1920" is followed by the heading "Manuscripts and miniatures (Fabergé collection) transferred by the Expert Commission of the Com[missariat] of For[eign] Tr[ade]" and 11 lines with a brief description of acquired manuscripts with omissions and mistakes (fig. 3). The latter undoubtedly resulted from the conditions in which scholars were compelled to function.

The study of these documents and manuscripts, as well as help from my colleagues, allowed me to recreate the contents of this collection (see *Table 1*). Headings numbers in *Table 1* indicate successively: 1 — order number; 2 — number in 1920 inventory book; 3 — old call number; 4 — new call number (1929; 1952 for No. 11); 5 — cata-

logue numbers as given in *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSR* (Arabic Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), concise catalogue, ed. A. B. Khalidov (Moscow, 1986), i—ii; one asterisk marks catalogue numbers according to *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), concise alphabetical catalogue, ed. N. D. Miklukho-MacLay (Moscow, 1964), i—ii; 6 — title of work; 7 — number of *'unwāns* (full frontispieces — f; decorative examples of calligraphy — c), miniatures (in parenthesis); 8 — localization [14]; 9 — dating; 10 — genre; 11 — damage or forgery of dating elements; 12 — lacquered, richly decorated binding; 13 — dated owners' notes.

An analysis of the table reveals the following:

- the high artistic quality of the manuscripts (see columns 7 and 12);
- the commercialisation of the manuscript collection (see column 11, damage or forgery of dates in order to "age" a copy and ensure its sale for a higher price);
- the geographical variety of the collection, with parts from Iran (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6—8), Muslim India (Nos. 6—7, 11), Central Asia (No. 5), and Turkey (No. 4). The Indo-Iranian element is predominant;
- the genre diversity of the collection (see column 10);
- the possibility that manuscript A 910 (No. 3) appeared in St. Petersburg no earlier than 1909;
- the absence of elements (owners' seals or notes) that indicate that the manuscripts belonged to a single person in the East.

It seems obvious that in the early 1920s, the famous jeweller took an interest in Muslim artistic culture. This explains Fabergé's purchase of Eastern manuscripts and the creation by his craftsmen of a series with decorative elements that derive from the artistic culture of the Muslim East. In those years, St. Petersburg was home to many collectors of Muslim manuscripts and works of art, among them potential customers of the House of Fabergé. One can name, for example, A. A. Polovtsov [15], the State Secretary of the Russian Empire, whose efforts transformed the Stiglitz Museum in St. Petersburg into one of the richest European collections of decorative-applied art, or I. Nofal [16], a prominent Russian diplomat of Arab descent. Established channels existed for the transfer of Eastern manuscript to the Russian capital; manuscripts were also acquired abroad, most often in Paris.

It seems that the Fabergé manuscript collection that made its way to the Asiatic Museum was the result of several purchases made in the early 1900s. Only a special study by art historians can confirm or refute a connection between Fabergé's "Muslim" creations and his Eastern manuscripts. It is, however, of note that the creation of a series with elements of "Muslim decoration" and the acquisition of manuscripts appear to have taken place at the same time.

I

As was noted above, two Qurʾānic manuscripts were identified among Karl Fabergé's Eastern manuscripts. Moreover, fragments of Qurʾānic manuscripts were used in three folios of an album from the same collection. The present article treats these materials.

Miniature manuscripts of the Qurʾān are relatively common. Fragments of small copies with Qurʾānic texts have been dated to at least the tenth century. We dated one such fragment from the collection [17] — 8 folios (11.0×8.0 cm), *Kūfī* script, on parchment, presumably

Table 1

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	53	Nov. 1512	A 899	21	القرآن الكريم	1f	Shiraz	1187/1773	Qur'ān	+	+	
2	54	Nov. 1481	A 892	87	القرآن الكريم	1f	Shiraz or Tehran	late 18th or early 19th cent.	Qur'ān		+	
3	55	Nov. 1591	A 910	3059*	فرهاد وشيرين تأ كمال الدين الباقى متخلص به وحشى	1+(3)	Shiraz	1184/1770—1	Poetry	+	+	1327/1909
4	56	Nov. 1480	A 891	921	أربعون حديثاً تأ بهاء الدين محمد الأملی	1	Turkey	no later than 1147/1734	Ḥadīth			1147/1734—5 1188/1774—5 1233/1817—8
5	57	Nov. 1590	A 909	3548*	كلستان تأ مشرف الدين سعدى شيرازى	1+(6)	Central Asia	996/1587—8	Fiction	+		
6	58	Nov. 1466	C 1684	4288*	مناقب مرتضوى تأ محمد صالح حسینی ترمذی متخلص به كشفى	1+(3)	Baherz – Herat circle	late 16th cent.	Biography	+		
7	69	Nov. 1468	D 367	1200*	خمسه تأ ابو محمد الیاس بن یوسف نظامی گنجوی	3+(6)	Shiraz ¹	late 16th cent.	Poetry	+		
8	60	Nov. 1486	D 369	193*	انجمن خاقان تأ محمد فاضل خان بلیندری تر کمان متخلص به راوی	2	Tehran or Tebriz	1236/1820—1	Biography		+	
9	61	Nov. 1446	C 1674	1196*	خمسه تأ ابو محمد الیاس بن یوسف نظامی گنجوی	5+(3)	Herat ²	1480—90s	Poetry	+		
10	62	Nov. 1485	B 2316	1454*	دیوان حافظ تأ شمس الدين حافظ	1f	Shiraz	915/1509—10	Poetry	+		
11	63—89	III 142	X 3	—	مرقع	38c+(38)	India and Persia	16th—18th cent.	Album			

¹ The miniatures were executed in India in the late 18th century.

² Miniatures executed later on the basis of Herat models of the first half of the 16th century.

9/11				
		Букварь и манастирская (конечная)		
		Псалтырь (начальная) <u>Букварь</u>		
		Каноническая книга. Букварь. Манастир.		
53	1. А. Копина		32°	1
54	2. А. Копина		32°	1
55	3. П. Пугачев и Манастир (начальная) манастирская		8°	1
56	4. А. Савинин ханжуров 1925 г.		8°	1
57	5. П. Пугачев для ханжуров		4°	1
58	6. П. Пугачев манастир. Пугачевский манастир		8°	1
59	7. П. Пугачев 18 манастир (начальная) для ханжуров	fol		1
60	8. П. Пугачев ханжуров (начальная) для ханжуров	fol		1
61	9. П.	fol		1
62	10. П. Пугачев (16 ханжуров манастирская)	fol		1
55-89	11-37. Пугачев манастирская и ханжуров			
	на ханжуров манастирская			27

Fig. 3

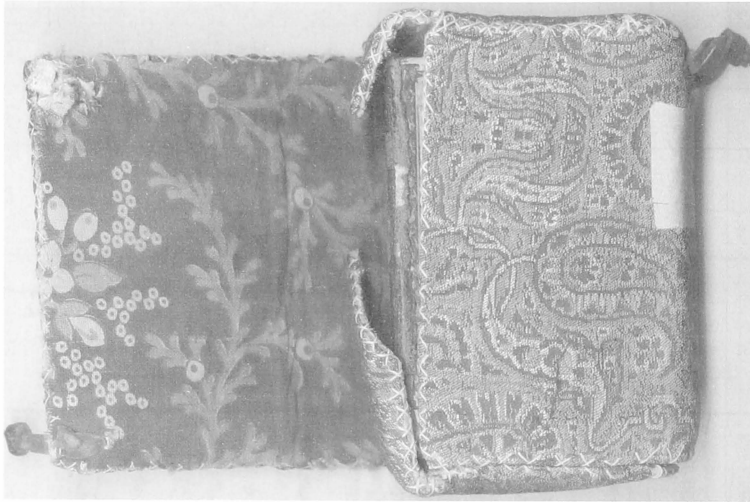


Fig. 5

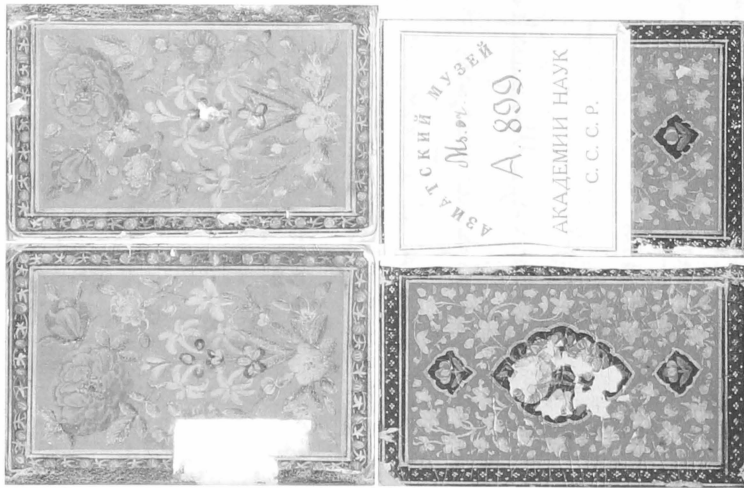


Fig. 4

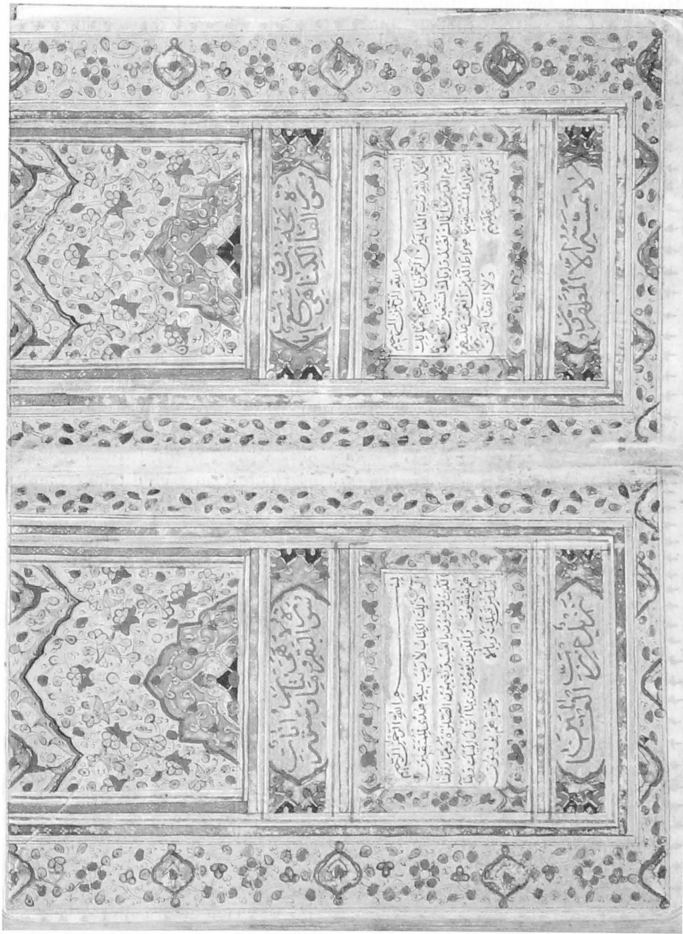


Fig. 6

from either Persia or Iraq — to just this period. It appears to be either a selection of *sūras* used for daily prayer either at home or when travelling, or from a multi-volume Qurʾān. At the same time, the specifics of the writing material and hand made it impossible to create a codex with the full text of the Sacred Book in this format. The thickness of such a book would far surpass its breadth and width. Another fine example of such a manuscript is found in the marvelous collection of the Grand Āyatallāh Marʾashī Najafī Public Library (Qom, Iran). This is the small volume in *Kūfī* script (just two *juz*'s of the Qurʾān) copied in the year of 392/1002 in Baghdad by famous calligrapher of the Buwayhid period Abū-l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Hilāl Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 413/1022), known also under the name of Ibn al-Sitrī (the copy was in the library of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh,

(r. 1848—1896), fourth ruler of the Qājār dynasty of Persia, it bears the seal of his librarian).

The situation changed with the spread of cursive handwriting. Masterpieces of “micrography” served as unusual “attestations” of mastery for court calligraphers. There is an account that Timūr was presented with a Qurʾān that could be placed in a signet-ring [18]. Small-format Qurʾāns were especially widespread beginning in the fifteenth — sixteenth centuries with the triumph of Sūfī teachings and their transformation into “popular Islam”; this led, in particular, to an increased role for “magic” in everyday life [19]. It was at this time that numerous talismanic Qurʾāns appeared; they could easily be carried on one's person, placed in a turban or at the tip of a martial standard. The two Qurʾāns described below belong to this group [20].

Qurʾānic manuscript A 899

This is a codex on high-quality glossed European paper in a lacquered binding of papier-mâché adorned with a colour composition in golden-yellow-brown hues (fig. 4) and in a case of cloth over paste board (fig. 5). We find above bluish silk with embroidered pink “peppers” with yellow and dark blue spots; within, there is crimson-brown cotton fabric with a floral design. The case is sewn with yellow threads and closes with a flap of three elements. The broad inner flap is held with the aid of two leather loops and a wooden clasp (that has not been preserved). The dimensions are 8.5×5.5 cm. The text field is 6.8×3.7 cm. There are 151 folios. The hand of the main text is a sure, minuscule *naskh* in black ink with 23 lines per page.

The copy is richly decorated. Folios 1b—2a present a full-fold frontispiece of a single composition in four vertical sections (fig. 6). The Qurʾānic text (*sūrat al-Fātiha* and the beginning of *al-Baqara*) is framed above and below by two rectangular illuminations with carved cartouches containing texts in *riqa*ʾ hand. Above we find the heading of the *sūra* and information about the number of *āyāt*; below, two traditional inscriptions [21].

To the right: لا يمسه إلا المطهرون (“Only the pure should touch it”); to the left: تنزيل من رب العالمين (“Revelation from the Lord of worlds”).

The main background of the frontispiece is gold. And plant and floral ornament executed in blue, red, and black is applied across it.

Qurʾānic manuscript A 892

A codex on high-quality glossed European paper with a dark-brown leather binding of several paper layers fixed with paste. The folios bear traces of careless *nastaʿlīq* cursive. Only the binding's back cover has been preserved (fig. 8); it is adorned with a three-part embossed floral composition later painted in and an inscription in yellow paint and *riqa*ʾ hand around the perimeter. It is thus far resists attempts at interpretation. The inscription is enclosed in a complex border in brighter paint.

The codex' dimensions are 10.2×6.5 cm; the textual field measures 7.5×3.9 cm with 18 lines per page. 184 folios. The hand of the main text is a minuscule Persian calligraphic *naskh* of fine proportions. Black ink was used for the main text.

The copy was once well decorated. Folios 1b—2a form a full frontispiece of a single composition with four verti-

The main text is located in a broad, gold border that is itself framed in red (from the inside) and black (from the outside). The ends of *āyāt* are marked by a gold dot with a red point in the middle. *Tajwīd* elements in the text are executed in red ink. Red marginal divisions mark *juz*'s and *hizbs* and every fifth *āya*; black markers indicate every tenth *āya*. *Sūra* titles, in red ink and *riqa*ʾ writing larger than *naskh*, are framed in gold. In a number of cases, the concluding words of the preceding *sūra* are placed there as well. The *ḥāfiẓes*, which “guard” the order of pages and consist of the word that opens the next page, are located in the lower left corner of every odd page.

The bulk of fol. 151a contains traditional devotions and inscriptions on a gold background; at that time, they were usually located on the last page of a Qurʾānic manuscript. Such texts line the perimeters of fols. 151a and 150b. Fol. 151a contains the colophon (fig. 7) with the date of copying (Jumādā I, 1187/July 1773) and name of the copyist — *ḥājī* Ismāʿīl son of the departed ʿAlī Shīrāzī. The date of copying was touched up and changed to 1017/1608. This is the date the Institute's catalogue of Arabic manuscripts provides [22].

An analysis of the manuscript's palaeographic characteristics suggests that it was copied in Shiraz. The manuscript is in satisfactory condition (with cracks on the binding in places and losses in the pain layer, especially evident on the inner side of the binding's back cover).

cally arranged sections with elements of floral ornament (fig. 9). The main colours are green, orange, and blue. The frontispiece was heavily damaged, and the quality of its execution does not match that of the calligraphy. The Qurʾānic text (*sūrat al-Fātiha* and the beginning of *al-Baqara*, six lines on each page) is framed above and below by two rectangular illuminations with carved cartouches inside. The text in the cartouches is smudged and illegible.

The main text is located in a complex gold-red frame of six elements. The gold paint has turned green in places, and in places “eaten into” the paper. *Tajwīd* elements in the text are executed in red ink, as are the titles of *sūras* and *juz*' divisions in the margins. The latter two elements are in *riqa*ʾ hand. *Sūra* titles are in a gold frame; the same frame holds, either in the centre or at the edges, a part of

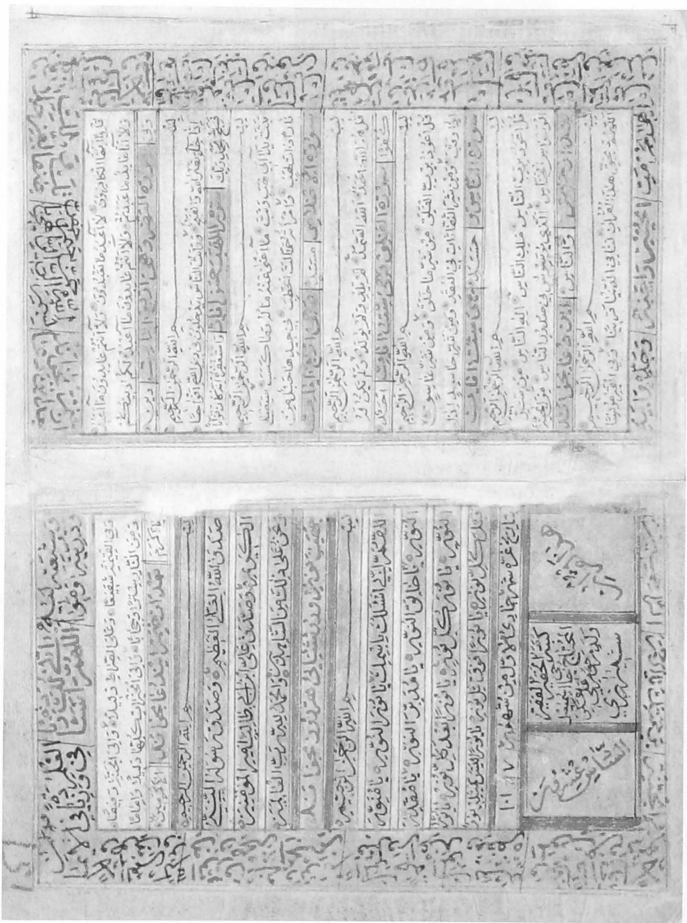


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

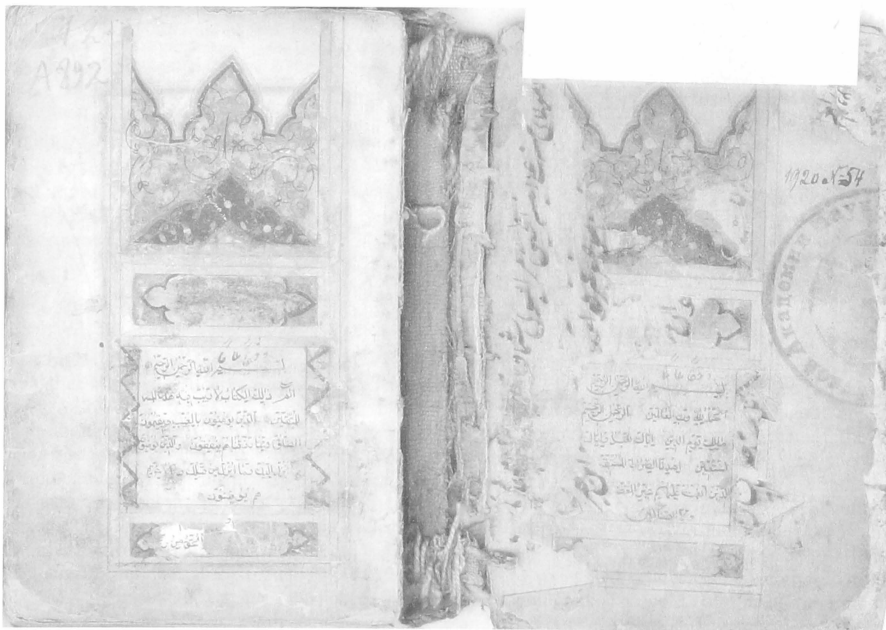


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

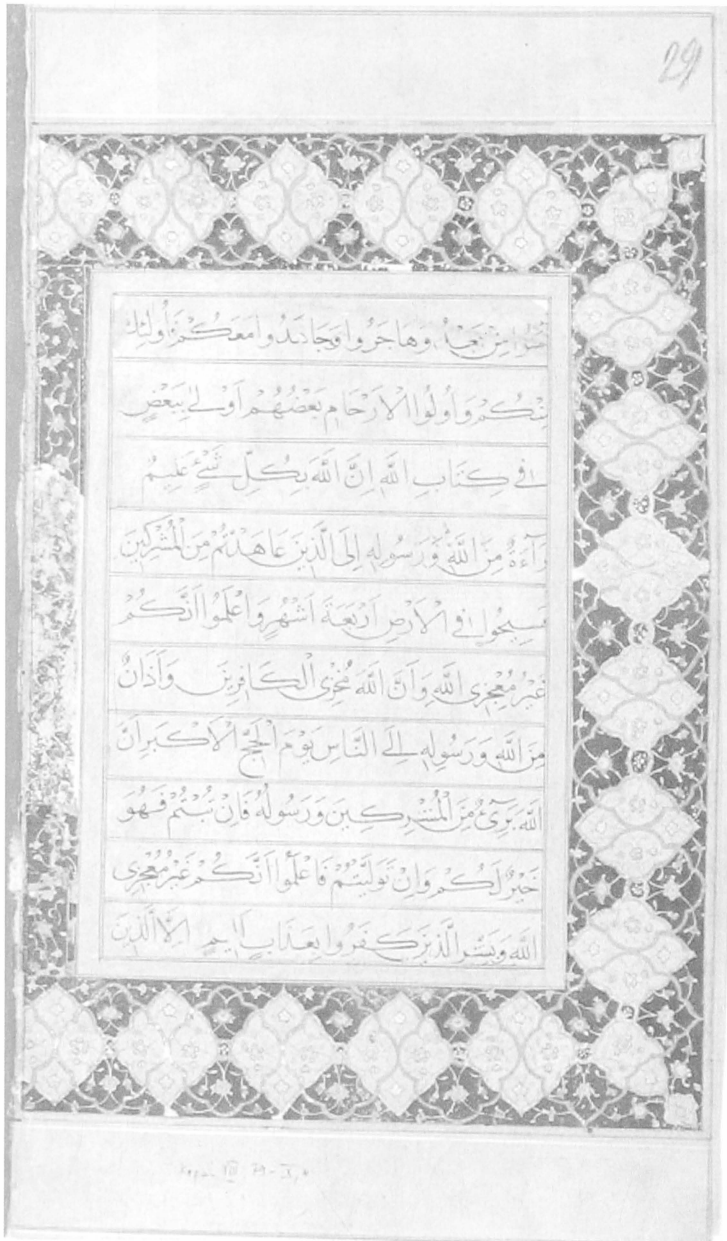


Fig. 11

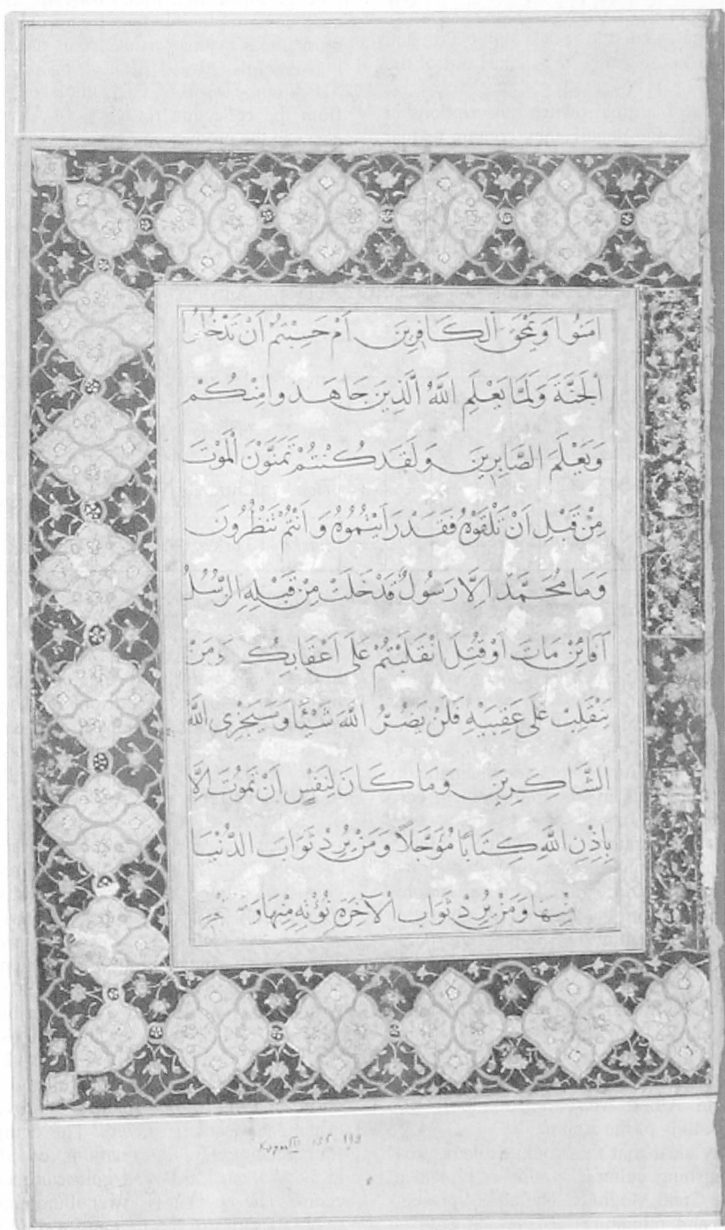


Fig. 12

the final *āya* of the preceding *sūra*. *Hāfiẓes*, which consist of a single word, are located in the lower left corner of each odd page.

On fol. 183a, we find a traditional inscription (*fig. 10*) in place of a colophon: صدق الله العظيم وصدق رسوله الكريم ونحن على هذا الشاكرين والحمد لله رب العالمين ("True is Allah the Great, and true is His noble Prophet, and we are grateful for this, glory be to Allah, Lord of the worlds").

Fols. 38 and 48 have marginal owners' inscriptions in two different hands in ink and pencil; they contain textual corrections.

Headings numbers in *Table 2* indicate successively: 1 — call number; 2 — codex dimensions (in cm); 3 — field dimensions (in cm); 4 — number of folios; 5 — number of lines per page; 6 — double frontispiece (in manuscript A 935, which was not completed, space was left for a double frontispiece); 7 — "rich" binding; 8 — *naskh* as hand for main text; 9 — hand for *sūra* titles and additional elements in margins; 10 — place of copying; 11 — date of copying.

Table 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
A 899	8.5×5.5	6.8×3.7	151	23	+	+	+	<i>riqa'</i>	Isfahan	second half of the eighteenth century
A 892	10.2×6.5	7.5×3.9	184	18	+	+	+	<i>riqa'</i>	Shiraz or Tehran	late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries
A 935	9.5×7.0	7.7×4.8	227	19	+	+	+	<i>naskh</i>	Turkey—Syria	1135/1722—23

Muraqqa' X 3

Muraqqa' is undoubtedly the gem of Fabergé's collection of Eastern manuscripts. An analysis of various groups included in the album of miniatures will form the basis for the concluding articles in this series. But since a number of the album's texts or its miniatures coincide thematically with the genres of manuscripts in the collection, in each article we hope to present one or several of its folios (sing. *lawḥ*). In the course of preparatory work with the album, not only specialists, but also museum curators, were drawn to its fine Indian miniatures and examples of calligraphy. We hope that certain folios from the album will soon be on display at exhibitions at the Institut du Monde Arab (Paris) and the Fuji Museum (Tokyo).

After the death in 1985 of the famed St. Petersburg scholar T. V. Grek, Russia found itself without the great expert in Indian miniatures. I am sincerely grateful to my colleagues Roselyne Hurel (Musée Carnavalet, Paris), Francis Richard (Bibliothèque nationale, Paris), Robert Sceleton (Victoria and Albert Museum, London), who kindly aided me in my study of the album.

Today it is already clear that the album's diverse content reflects the astonishing cultural symbiosis typical of India in the era of the Great Moghuls. The album presents works of calligraphy and miniatures of the sixteenth — eighteenth centuries that originate in various regions of Persia and India. Some of the miniatures betray obvious Ethiopian influence, which struck me when I first saw the album. As it turns out, we have Armenian merchants to thank for this; from the end of the seventeenth century, they maintained active trade ties between the Malabar coast (Southeast India) and the Horn of Africa [23]. One can find

A palaeographic analysis of the manuscript suggests that it was copied in Shiraz (end of the 18th century) or Tehran (early 19th century) (in the latter case, a Shiraz craftsman worked in Tehran). It is in poor condition with the spine of the binding ruined, pages falling out, serious damage to the first folios with the frontispiece, a missing back cover on the binding, minor damage from beetles, and burn traces at the perimeters of pages. There are lacunae between fols. 90–91, 105–106, 175–176.

A comparison of three miniature Qur'ānic manuscripts from the collection reveals several similarities and differences in the production of such copies in the Muslim East in the eighteenth — early nineteenth centuries (see *Table 2*).

in the album portraits of rulers and beautiful women, spiritual mentors and stern warriors. It also presents scenes from private life and illustrations to well-known literary works. A significant part of the miniatures are linked with special poetry collections — *rāghmālā* — that describe various musical tones in personified form.

Fols. 28—29 and 31 contain fragments of two Qur'ānic manuscripts used as calligraphic examples.

Fols. 28—29 form a bifolio; three of the four pages consist of fragments of a magnificent Qur'ānic manuscript (presumably — Tebriz, 1540s—1560s).

Fol. 29b (see back cover of the present issue) contains a decorative composition with elements of a double, and perhaps three-part, frontispiece of a Qur'ānic manuscript pasted onto pasteboard of dimensions standard for the album (39.7×23.0 cm; the dimensions of the composition within the outer frame are 18.0×21.0 cm). The main colours of the frontispiece are gold, blue, and red; the entire margin of cartouches is covered by a delicate ornament of small flowers. The composition consists of four rectangular illuminations of identical dimensions (5.5×17.0 cm); a carved gold cartouche is located in the centre. The upper and lower illuminations contain respectively the titles of the first and second *sūras* of the Qur'ān; the left and right, indications of the number of *āyāt* and the place where the *sūras* were revealed. The inscriptions are executed in ceruse; in *naskh* hand for the first *sūra* (the letters are in a thin, black outline) and *thulth* hand for the second *sūra*.

An example of calligraphy (*qiṭ'a*) (6.0×17.0 cm) in *naskh* hand, in black Indian ink on a yellow background,



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

is located in the centre in a yellow frame with a gold adornment and gold outline around the perimeter:

عاشقان کشتگان معشوق اند
 ("Lovers killed by the beloved") [24].

The reference is to one of the central Šūfī concepts of *'ishq* — "all-encompassing love for God that leads a Šūfī along the mystic path". This entails a conception in which he who strives for the Truth must cleanse his soul (*naḥs*) of all passions and desires of man (*shahawāt*), replacing them with love (*mahabba*). He then hurls himself into the flame of passion (*'ishq*) and burns in it in order to attain the state of union (*wuṣṣla*) with God and, thus "annihilated" (*fanāʾ*), reaches, with the aid of the divine gift of stupefaction (*ḥayra*), the state of "subsistence" in the Divine, or everlasting life in God (*baqāʾ*).

Fol. 29a (*fig. 11*) and 28b (*fig. 12*) — in a frame composed of the remained parts of the double frontispiece — contain two pages from a Qurʾānic manuscript executed in magnificent calligraphic *naskh* with elements of *muhaqqaq* (ten lines per page).

Fol. 29a: text dimensions — 21.3×13.8 cm. Qurʾān 8:75 (without the two initial words) — 9:4 (only the first word) [25]. When the right edge was trimmed, some text was lost (one letter from each line). Between the lines we find a gold line in a black outline. Its appearance was occasioned by the need to mask a cut between the end of the eighth *sūra* and beginning of the ninth, where an illumination with the *sūra* title had originally been located. The ends of the *āyāt* are marked with a gold dot. The text is in a yellow frame with gold ornamentation.

Fol. 28b: text dimensions 20.0×13.5 cm. Qurʾān 3:141 (without the three initial words) — 3:145 (without the final word). Between the lines are gold spots similar to those placed around the margin of the inscription on the reverse side of the folio. The text is placed in a yellow border with a gold ornament.

One notes the absence of *tajwīd* signs in the text, although their inclusion was practically obligatory at the time. There is an attempt to present two pages from one manuscript as pages from various manuscripts.

Fol. 28a (*fig. 13*) contains a calligraphic example (*qitʿa*): two lines in large *nastaʿlīq*:

الهی اگور کار بگفتار است بر سر همه تاجم
 وگور بکردار است به پشه ومور محتاجم

"O God, if [one judges] by words, then I bear a crown on my head before all,

But if by deeds, I cede [my place] to the mosquito and the ant".

Black Indian ink on yellow background with gold dots with pale, paired tree leaves. The example is located in a complex form; its major element is a broad orange-yellow strip with a gold ornament within. The general background is dark blue. The dimensions within the frame are 21.7×9.5 cm.

Fol. 31b (*fig. 15*): text dimensions are 22.0×12.5 cm. A fragment of another Qurʾānic manuscript written in confident *naskh* contains *āyāt* 2:255—258 (part of the *āya* is written in a tiny hand along the left edge of the folio). 2:255 is the famed *āyāt al-kursī*: the "throne verse", which became especially popular as a conduit for magical forces [26]. Between the lines the text is interlaid with gold out-

lined in a thin black contour line with jags (*tarsiʾ wa-tahrīr*). One notices the periodic placement of the *kasra* vertical to the line [27]. *Tajwīd* elements in the text are executed in red ink. The ends of *āyāt* are marked with red circles compressed from the sides. The text is located in a complex frame where the main element is a blue area lined with gold and enclosing a gold floral ornament. Iran, 16th century.

Fol. 31a (see front cover of the present issue) contains the miniature "Portrait of a princess" (Moghūl school, mid-18th century, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper, 9.5×16.5 cm). The young woman wears a gold head-dress adorned with a feather and a pinkish shawl embroidered with gold lines. She has a pendant on her forehead [28]. A gold belt peeks out from beneath the shawl. She wears a thick gold bracelet on her hand and gold earrings. The index finger of the left hand is held by the chin. In her right hand, the woman holds an object with a gold handle, apparently intended to shoo away annoying insects while walking. She stands on a semblance of a lawn. She wears red, sharp-tipped shoes with backs. In the upper part of the miniature we see clouds executed in white and grey pain encircled by a thin gold line. Such work was performed by craftsmen with a brush that consisted of a single hair (the so-called *yek qalam* — one pen — technique). The miniature is uncompleted. The red rectangle above was left blank for an illumination [29].

The miniature is located in a complex frame, where a gold ornament lies against a background of varied blues and yellows; it was pasted onto paper of a protective-green colour.

The woman's static pose is typical of Moghūl miniatures of the time, both individual portraits and multi-figure compositions. The album has two more folios (30b and 36b) where a girl with a flower and beads [30] (*fig. 16*) and a noble youth, son of Abū-l-Khayr Khān (*fig. 14*) are depicted on a green background in similar fashion and poses. The linear resolution of the faces is also characteristic of miniatures of the Moghūl school. A profile line made it easier to convey graphically the individuality of a face in a portrait [31].

Individual depictions of women appear in Moghūl painting in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In the main, such portraits depict not so much individual features as an ideal type corresponding to the standards of the time. A close parallel to our miniature is found in the Berling Museum für Völkerkunde [32] (*fig. 17*).

The placement of an absolutely secular miniature that depicts a woman on the reverse side of a Qurʾānic text, as well as the appearance of Qurʾānic fragments in an album of such varied content, points to the serious changes in norms and rules for treating the Sacred Text that had taken place by the time of the album's creation.

One hopes that the careful study of all manuscripts in the Fabergé collection, each of which I intend to treat in a special publication, will allow us to establish their origins. Of special interest are the worn pages and fragments of text; they will undoubtedly aid in dating and localising the manuscripts, as well as in identifying owners. I plan to contact St. Petersburg's specialists, who possess unique equipment and much experience in restoring such textual losses. The history of the collection will be reconstructed from article to article for readers of *Manuscripta Orientalia*.

I am certain that Fabergé's collection of Eastern manuscripts will be a source of fascinating tales for researchers. One of them deals with the love that found its expression in the Tāj Mahall; it was reflected in astonishing miniatures

and many years later resurfaced in tiny masterworks of applied art that allowed a smitten aristocrat to convey her passion to a French spy.

Notes

1. Another such dictionary, by a "brother Ambrosius, who served in the St. Bonaventure library in Rome", is stored in the collection of the Eastern section of the Scholarly Library at St. Petersburg State University.
2. O. F. Akimushkin, "K istorii formirovaniia fonda musul'manskikh rukopisē Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR" ("The formation of the collection of Muslim manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Ezhegodnik. 1981* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 9—27.
3. Géza von Habsburg, "Istoriia doma Faberzhe" ("History of the House of Fabergé"), in Géza von Habsburg and Marina Lopato, *Karl Faberzhe: pridvornyi iuvelir* (St. Petersburg, 1993), p. 29.
4. Inv. Nos. 38340—38342, 39447—39448, 39451, 39452. See *Karl Faberzhe: pridvornyi iuvelir*, Nos. 282—283, 285—286, 288, 293—294.
5. For more detail, see Constance Bond, "Fabergé's labor of love: a case of *cherchez la femme*", *Smithsonian Magazine* (March, 1996), electronic version: <http://www.smithsonianmag.si.edu/smithsonian/issues96/mar96/faberge.html>.
- The Arabic letters on the cigarette cases are easily combined to form the name Cecile. In this regard, it is difficult to comprehend the interpretation of the inscriptions given in the above-mentioned catalogue of the St. Petersburg exhibition *Karl Fabergé: Court Jeweller*. The authors of the descriptions everywhere translate the inscription as "To His Holiness".
6. Published in the book *Karl Faberzhe: pridvornyi iuvelir*, pp. 68—9.
7. Emma Goldman, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (London, 1925), p. 27. A very similar depiction of Petrograd in 1920 is found Herbert Wells' book *Russia in the Shadows*.
8. Orientalists' Archive, fund 152, inv. 1a, fol. 27 (1920).
9. The new regime's main punitive organ.
10. Warm words about the long-time librarian of the Asiatic Museum, D. A. Briadov (1867—1937), and his photograph are found in I. Krachkovsky's book *Nad arabskimi rukopisiami. Listki vospominanii o knigakh i liudiakh* (Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men), in his *Selected Works* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1945), i, p. 64. English translation by T. Minorsky (published in 1953 in Leiden), French translation by M. Canard (Alger, 1954).
11. Orientalists' Archive, fund 152, inv. 1a, fol. 26 (1920).
12. *Ibid.*, fol. 41 (1920).
13. *Ibid.*, fol. 1 (1920).
14. I am indebted to Prof. O. A. Akimushkin for his kind assistance in dating and localizing the majority of the manuscripts discussed here.
15. In an upcoming issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, the editorial board plans to publish an article on fragments of Qur'ānic manuscripts from his collection. A. A. Polovtsov's son was especially interested in Islamic art. He even wrote an article "Zametki o musul'manskom iskusstve (po proizvedeniam ego v muzee barona Shtiglitsa)" ("Notes on Muslim art as represented by its works in the Baron Stiglitz Museum"), *Starye gody*, III (1913), pp. 3—18.
16. See E. Rezvan, "Yet another "Uthmānic Qur'ān" (on the history of manuscript E 20 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI/1 (2000), p. 49.
17. E 4/3321. See the photo and my short description in *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences. St. Petersburg*, ed. Yu. Petrosyan (Milano, 1995), No. 4 (same in French, German and Italian editions). I am indebted to Dr. S. M. Mar'ashī Najafī for his kind assistance in obtaining information about similar Qur'ānic manuscript from their collection.
18. Timūr did not approve of the work and refused to accept the gift. See Kazi-Ahmad, *Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh. 1596—97. 1005* (Qāḍī Aḥmad, Treatise on Calligraphers and Artists), introduction, translation, and commentary by B.N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1947), p. 115.
19. For more detail, see E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VII. Talisman, shield, and sword", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/3 (1998), pp. 24—34.
20. In addition to the two copies described here, the collection contains another manuscript of interest (A935, 9.5×7.0 cm, 227 fols., dated to 1135/1722—23, from the V. V. Radlov and A. A. Polovtsov collection). See, for example, the oval Qur'ān (5.8×4.8 cm, field diameter 4.2 cm), dated to 1692 (M. Ashraf, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Salang Jung Museum and Library*. Vol. II: The Glorious Qur'ān, its Parts and Fragments, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh, India, 1962, No. 232). Modern polygraphy makes possible the mass production of miniature Qur'āns. A large selection was available, for example, at the Qur'ānic festival in Tehran (December, 2000). One of these Qur'āns could only be read with the aid of a special magnifying glass sold together with the Qur'ān itself.
21. Cf. fols. 1b—2a of Qur'ānic manuscript QUR 231 from the Khalili collection (Shiraz or Qazvin, 16th century). See D. James, *After Timur* (London—Oxford, 1992), No. 46, pp. 192—3. — The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, III.
22. *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Arabic Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), a concise catalogue, ed. A. B. Khalidov (Moscow, 1986), i, p. 39.
23. I thank Dr. Roselyne Hurler for this information. For more detail, see M. J. Seth, *Armenians in India* (Calcutta, 1983).
24. I thank my daughter, Maryam Rezvan, and my colleagues at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies for their help in translating the Persian texts from this album.

25. The lower margin bears an inscription in Cyrillic in black ink; it notes the content of the page (according to Flügel, erroneously: “79” in place of “76”). Such inscriptions are also found on fols. 28b and 31b.

26. See the table in the article Rezvan, “The Qurʾān and its world: VII”.

27. Cf., for example, Qurʾānic manuscript QUR 231 (Shiraz or Qazvin, 16th century) from the Khalili collection. See James, *op. cit.*, pp. 194—5.

28. A parallel is found in a miniature that also depicts a Moghūl princess of Akbar's time, see H. Goetz, “Kostüm und Mode an den Indischen Fürstenhöfen in der Grozmoghul-Zeit (16.—19.Jh.). Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie und Kulturgeschichte der Indischen Miniatur-Malerei”, *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst. 1924* (Leipzig, 1924), i, Tafel 31, Abb. 3.

29. Cf. T. V. Arnold and L. Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls* (Oxford, 1921), pl. XXXII (Fākhir Khān and his son).

30. Cf. “Hindu dancer” (India Office Library, London, J 4597, fol. 2a), mid-18th century, published in M. J. Anand, H. Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen* (Dresden, 1967), Nos. 2 and 24.

31. See T. V. Grek, *Indiiskaia miniatura* (Indian Miniatures) (Moscow, 1971), p. 19.

32. “Portrait of a princess” (Moghūl school, mid-18th century), Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, I C 24342, fol. 38b. Reproduced in Goetz, *op. cit.*, Tafel 36, Abb. 16.

33. For more detail, see Rezvan, “The Qurʾān and its world: VII”.

Illustrations

Front cover:

“Portrait of a princess”, *Muraqqaʿ* X 3 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Fabergé collection, fol. 31a, 9.5×16.5 cm. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper.

Back cover:

Decorative composition from elements of the double frontispiece of a Qurʾānic manuscript, the same album, fol. 29a, dimensions within the outer border 18.0×21.0 cm. Presumably Tebriz, 1540s—1560s. Mounted in India, mid-18th century.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** Karl Fabergé. Photo by Hugo Oiberg (app. 1905).
- Fig. 2.** Tracing of decoration from rectangular gold cigarette case (gold, enamel, ruby, diamond, cotton). 9.7×6.3 cm. Craftsman: Heinrich Wigstrem. Fabergé, St. Petersburg, 1906. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Inv. No. 39452. Luzarche d'Azay collection.
- Fig. 3.** Fragment of a page from the Asiatic Museum's 1920 inventory book.
- Fig. 4.** Binding of Qurʾānic manuscript, 8.5×5.5 cm, lacquer, papier-mâché, Shiraz, 1187/1773. Call number A 899, collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (assemblage).
- Fig. 5.** Case for the same Qurʾānic manuscript, 10.5×7.5 cm, outer flap — 8.0×9.0 cm, silk, cotton, leather.
- Fig. 6.** Extended frontispiece (fols. 1b—2a) of same Qurʾānic manuscript.
- Fig. 7.** Fols. 15a and 150b of same Qurʾānic manuscript.
- Fig. 8.** Back cover of the binding on the Qurʾānic manuscript, 10.2×6.5 cm, leather, Shiraz (late 18th century) or Tehran (early 19th century). Call number A 892, St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
- Fig. 9.** Extended frontispiece (fols. 1b—2a) of same Qurʾānic manuscript.
- Fig. 10.** Fols. 183a and 182b of same Qurʾānic manuscript.
- Fig. 11.** Fol. 29a from *Muraqqaʿ* X 3, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Fabergé collection.
- Fig. 12.** Fol. 28b of same album.
- Fig. 13.** Calligraphic sample (*qitʿa*), fol. 28a of same album.
- Fig. 14.** “Son of Abū-l-Khayr Khān portrait”, fol. 36b of same album. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, 9.0×16.5 cm.
- Fig. 15.** Fol. 31b of same album.
- Fig. 16.** “Girl with flower and beads”, fol. 30b of same album. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, 9.5×16.5 cm.
- Fig. 17.** “Portrait of a princess”. Moghūl school, mid-18th century, Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, I C 24342, fol. 38b. Courtesy of the Museum.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

O. F. Akimushkin

A RARE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HAGIOGRAPHY OF THE NAQSHBANDIYYA-MUJADDIDIYYA SHAYKHS

The full title of the work represented by manuscript C 1529 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is *Ḥasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn* (“Marvelous Deeds of the Righteous under the Leadership of Those Close [to Allah]”) [1]. In the main body of the text, which is an authorial rough draft, the author does not give his name. However, he cites three letters addressed to him by his spiritual teacher (*murshid*), *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad Sa’īd [2], in which the latter addresses the author as *shaykh* Muḥammad Murād [3]. On the margins of an introduction, written **after** the work’s completion, we can also find a note in Arabic revealing the author’s name: “I, incapable one Muḥammad Murād, the son of *muftī* Ṭāhir Kashmīrī...” [4]. This name, before the *basmala* [5] and in a chapter where he writes about himself [6], is given fully as *shaykh* Muḥammad Murād b. *muftī* Ṭāhir Kashmīrī. In addition to the information Muḥammad Murād provides about himself in this work [7], some facts about him are given by his disciple (*murīd*) Muḥammad A’zam in his history of Kashmīr, *Wāqī’āt-i Kashmīr*, compiled in 1160/1747 [8], and by Muḥammad Ghulām Sarwar in the hagiography *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā’*, written in 1281/1864—65. The latter also notes that Muḥammad A’zam dedicated a separate work to his *murshid* which he entitled *Fayḍ-i Murād*, where the life and deeds of his *shaykh* are described [9].

Muḥammad Murād was born in Kashmīr in 1059/1649 into the family of a well-known local theologian and learned man, the *muftī* Muḥammad Ṭāhir, who possessed the right of *khirqā-yi iftā’*, namely, the exclusive right to draw legal conclusions concerning the practical application of certain norms and injunctions of the *sharī’a* or to decide a case on the basis of the latter. Following in his father’s footsteps, Muḥammad Murād early demonstrated a propensity for religious studies and received a solid religious education. In his youth, he independently developed an adherence to mystical practice and, according to Muḥammad A’zam, succeeded in attaining the state of *ḥāl* — spiritual unity with the Only Existing One in an ecstatic state — after two years of asceticism. First a zealous follower of the Kubrawiyya brotherhood doctrine, Muḥammad Murād carefully studied works by the *shaykhs* of the brotherhood, visited their dwellings, journeyed to the *mazārs* where they were buried, and carried out missionary activities. As a re-

sult, he collected a large amount of material and began to compile a genealogy (*shajara*) of all the Kubrawiyya *shaykhs*. He tells that when he was immersed in this work and was about to begin his account of the Herat “favorites of Allah” (*awliyā’*), he had a vision of the founder of the Kubrawiyya-Hamadāniyya branch, *shaykh amir* ‘Alī b. Shihāb al-Dīn Hamadānī (1314—1385) [10]. After this vision, he failed to complete his work; and was not able to write a line over the succeeding 13 years [11].

In Ṣafar 1081/June—July 1670, during Sayf-khān’s governorship in Kashmīr [12], the sons of *shaykh* Muḥammad Sa’īd [13] and the grandsons of Aḥmad Sirhindī, ‘Abd al-Aḥad and Sa’īd al-Dīn Muḥammad [14], arrived in this area, accompanied by 40 *murīds* and a large retinue. Their appearance in Kashmīr, as was the case with other representatives of Aḥmad Sirhindī’s clan at other times, was dictated by purely pragmatic motives: they sought to recruit new adherents to the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya brotherhood and extend its influence to the region, where the influence of the Kubrawiyya-Hamadāniyya branch was traditionally strong. At the end of Rabī’ II 1081/September 1670, the above-mentioned *shaykhs* finished their mission and returned to Sirhind. Among their newly converted *murīds* was Muḥammad Murād, who even accompanied them to their residence. He lived in his native land after returning to Kashmīr, but on 20 Rajab (3 December) of the same year we encounter him once again in Sirhind, where he stayed at the *mazār* of Aḥmad Sirhindī for a year and a half. He returned home as *khalīfa* (deputy) of the *shaykh* with the right of initiating new members of the brotherhood and their guidance. Three years later, he left for Delhi to spend one year as a *murīd* of the Naqshbandiyya *shaykh* Sharafandūz. Later, according to Muḥammad Sarwar’s account, he spent 14 years in one of the mosques of Kashmīr propounding the views of his teacher [15], whose tutorship, as well as the help of *khwāja* Ḥujjatallāh Naqshband, enabled Muḥammad Murād to attain “perfection on the path of mystical knowledge of the Mujaddidiyya brotherhood” [16]. In Kashmīr, according to the *Ḥasanāt al-abrār*, *shaykh* Muḥammad Ridā bestowed on him the *khirqā-yi khilāfat* of such brotherhoods as the Kubrawiyya, Suhrawardiyya, and Chishtiyya [17]. Hence, after 1085/1674—75, Muḥammad Murād held the rank of *khilāfa* in four brotherhoods and was considered a *murīd* of *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Aḥad b. Muḥammad Sa’īd.

By all appearances, Muḥammad Murād was not surprised by his *murshid's* proposal to write a work on the deeds of the *shaykhs* of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and its Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya branch, as he already had experience in the field. He began to write the work, undertaking a number of journeys in Northern India and Kashmir, where *shaykhs* in the branch generally conducted their activities. He also visited the *khānqāhs* they had founded, their burial places, collected and wrote down oral accounts and tales of the miracles (*karāmāt*) they worked. At the same time he conducted an intensive correspondence with members of Aḥmad Sirhindī's large clan. Finally, he made broad use in his work both of the oral clarifications of the *shaykhs* (mainly *shaykh* 'Abd al-Aḥad), who pronounced them "publicly and in personal conversation", and of doctrinal treatises by the branch's founder and his direct successors [18]. On 20 Jumādā I 1093/27 May 1682, Muḥammad Murād completed his major work "in very short order" [19]. We know practically nothing of his later years. We can only state that he returned to Kashmir near the end of his life and died there on 5 Shawwāl 1134/14 July 1722 at the age of 75 [20].

Sources, Structure and Contents

As was noted above, the full title of Muḥammad Murād's work is *Ḥasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn* [25]. An original idea was to compile a thorough biography of all the *shaykhs* in the Khwājagān-Naqshbandiyya brotherhood from the Prophet on down. But the author limited his task in the course of his work, noting that "it is simply impossible to treat all of them". Therefore, he included in his hagiography only those ascetics whose biographies he was able to find in the sources he used and whose activities were conducted in the period between the Prophet and the *shaykhs* of the Mujaddidiyya branch. Moreover, he strove to accord special attention to *shaykhs* from Sirhind, that is, Aḥmad Sirhindī, his successors, sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons, as well as their deputies (*khalīfa*) and followers (*aṣḥāb*) [26]. Muḥammad Murād made broad use both of written sources and notes of his personal discussions with many *shaykhs* among his contemporaries. He employed 27 sources, but a list of the main sources in the introduction, includes only the following works:

- 1) *Nafāḥāt al-uns* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (1414—1492);
- 2) *Rashaḥāt 'ayn al-ḥayat* by Wa'iz Kāshifī (1463—1532);
- 3) *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'* by Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 1220);
- 4) *Kashf al-mahjūb* by al-Khujwīrī (d. ca. 1074);
- 5) *Shawāhid al-mubuwwat* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī;
- 6) *Maqāmāt-i shaykh Naqshband*, which is apparently *Anīs al-ṭālibīn* by Ṣalaḥ b. Mubārak al-Bukhārī (first half of the 15th century);
- 7) *Maqāmāt-i sayyid amīr Kulāl* by Shihāb al-Dīn (d. 1437);
- 8) *Rawḍat al-shuhadā* by Ḥusayn Wa'iz Kāshifī (d. 1504);
- 9) *Faṣl al-khiṭāb* by *khwāja* Muḥammad Pārsa (d. 1420);

A few remarks on Muḥammad Murād's written legacy can be made. In addition to *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* and the uncompleted "Genealogy of the Kubrawiyya *Shaykhs*", Muḥammad Murād also penned a number of treatises and works of an ethical Ṣūfī nature, among which he mentions: (1) *Risāla-yi durar an-naẓm* (Epistle on Threaded Pearls), in which he treats eight well-known provisions of the Khwājagān school as formulated by 'Abd al-Khālīq Ghijduwānī (d. between 1204—1220) [21]; (2) a commentary (untitled) on a *ḥayt* from the *Mathnawī-yi ma'navī* by Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207—1273) [22]; and (3) a collection he compiled of letters-epistles sent to him by his *murshid*, 'Abd al-Aḥad [23]. Moreover, Muḥammad A'zam singles out his work *Tuḥfat al-fuqarā* ("A Gift to Those Who Chose Voluntary Poverty"). Judging by the title, it differs in content from the hagiography *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* [24]. According to a remark by A. Munzawī, in 1124/1712 — after a gap of 31 years — Muḥammad Murād reworked *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* and also modified its title to *Ḥasanāt al-muqarrabīn* ("Marvelous Deeds of Those Close [to Allah]").

10) *Wird al-murīdīn* by *shaykh* Bābā Dawūd Kashmīrī Khākī (d. 1586);

11) *Risāla-yi yawāqūt al-Ḥarāmāyn* by *khwāja* Muḥammad 'Ubaydallāh (1628—1672) [28];

12) *Nasamāt al-quḍs* by Muḥammad Hāshim al-Badakhshānī Kishmī (d. ca. 1643);

13) *Risāla-yi Bahā'īya* by Abū-l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd (first half of the 15th century) [29].

In addition to the Ṣūfī works he employs, Muḥammad Murād frequently refers to four volumes of *maktūbāt* by Aḥmad Sirhindī and three volumes of *maktūbāt* by the third son of the latter *shaykh*, Muḥammad Ma'sūm (1599—1668). But his primary source is *Nasamāt al-quḍs* by Muḥammad-Hāshim Kishmī. The second book (*maqāla*) of this work is almost entirely incorporated into Muḥammad Murād's composition beginning on fol. 115a [30]. The author explains it as follows: "When the author of these lines had already begun to carry out his task, he obtained the book *Nasamāt*, compiled by one of the *murīds* of *shaykh* Muḥammad Bāqībillāh and the *khalīfa* of Aḥmad Fārūqī. The book contained information on the great *shaykhs* [of the Naqshbandiyya] and was expounded in such form as he himself would have wished. Hence, he wrote everything [here] in accordance with the second *maqāla* of *Nasamāt al-quḍs*, borrowing that which he considered necessary and adding that which was missing [and could not be there]" [31]. It should be noted that Muḥammad Murād, when writing of Ṣūfī ascetics, devotees, and *shaykhs*, always cites the source of his information, a rarity among authors of the time.

The work by Muḥammad Murād is divided into numerous chapters, sub-chapters and internal sections that differ in length and content. They are all indicated by the same word — *ḥasana* [32]. The entire work is prefaced by a detailed *fihrist* which contains the names of 122 *shaykhs* whose biographies are included. The *fihrist* was drawn up by one of the owners of the copy who omitted in it the name of *khwāja* Muḥammad Pārsa [33].

کتابت حضرت مولانا در مشاهدات القومین للشيخ محمد باقر الخليل
 الشيخ محمد باقر الخليل
 مدرس آستان قدس

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 وَبِحَسْبِ عَلَمِیْنِ

صدای رحمت معبودی آسمانی که سماع و بویست و شکرش در لیس کسکه شکر و هوای سوسه
 موجودی که کفر کلانند اردو نه زانو و کین را نیز زانو و پنهان است که غایت تقدیر و باکی است
 قل الله احد لم یلد ولم یولد ولم یکن له کفوا احد بعوضا یکن کثیرا الخفیا و اجبت
 ان انا خوف خلقت الخلق بملکة عظام خطاب نموده فرمود و اذ قال ربک علی ان انا یال
 فی الارض خلیفہ آدم را افخ روح فرمود و یو برید عظمتش تا وی و یویت امر
 برضی انی انی که غاوا انجیل پیدا و نغیر اعراب جمده که فاضله معبود بود بملایکه که از فرقی
 باز ماند هر که رغبت سجد نمود و باز ماند هر که رغبت نه نمود از بارگاه محمد کنت ملعون و فرقی
 استکبرت ام کنت را عالمی قال انا خیر منه خلقی من بار و صفته و طای قال فاضح منها فاضح
 و ان عدیک لعین الی اوم الدن در میان حرمت از دست و مخالف از مخالف کنت و کافینه
 امینا بر باشد و صفات و نیمه ظهور کند و از بارگاه کشت و ارسال رسل و انبیا در میان
 علیهم الصلوة والسلام پس از آن در آخر زمان بهیمن اینها و اولیتر از آن محمد مصطفی احمد متین را
 بر کز بر و خلیفه روی بنای نمود و بری به از بر و کاغذی به از احمد در فی الحقیقه نبوت ان
 جسی از حجتش و بود لهذا بر بیان وی بیان فرمود کفت نبیا و آدم یکن الما و الطایح برین است
 بر چه این آدم بر این است و بود صبا که خود فرمود و انا سید ولد آدم و لا اجد ابا
 و در احوست که دار التوارث هم بر شرفاغت و سیارات را انی نخواهد بود صبا که خود و اعدا و انا اول

ازین
 الله القدر
 نفوس

Fig. 1

In evaluating the work as a hagiographic and, in part, historical source, one easily notes that it is clearly divided into two parts of unequal size and significance. The first, which occupies nearly three quarters of the work and treats the biographies of *shaykhs*, including Aḥmad Sirhindī, is compilative and of little interest, as it is based on well-known extant writings. This part contains three of the four sections which make up the work:

I. Fols. 1b—5a. Introduction and author's foreword [34], which provides several spiritual genealogies (*silsila*) of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and its branches. Fols. 7a—131b. Lives of the four Rightly-guided caliphs, 11 Shi'ite *imāms* and 40 well-known Sūfis, ascetics, and devotees from Ma'ruf Karkhī (fol. 58a) to *khwāja* Laṭīf Kandibadamī (d. 1024/1615), pupil of Khwājagi-yi Amkinagī b. Darwīsh-Muḥammad (d. 1008/1599—1600).

II. Fols. 131b—166b. Biographies of *khwāja* Muḥammad Bāqibillāh (d. 25 Jumādā II 1012/30 November 1603), his two sons, 'Ubaydallāh, known as Khwāja Kalān, and 'Abdallāh, known as Khwāja Khurd, *murīds*, *khilāfas* and followers [35].

III. Fols. 166b—314a. Biographies [36] of *shaykh* Aḥmad Fārūqī-yi Sirhindī (1564—1624), his ancestors, and 24 of his *khilāfas* and devotees (fol. 272a) [37].

The second part of the work is of an entirely different nature; it contains tales about the sons and grandsons of Aḥmad Sirhindī. This part constitutes the fourth section. Lives of the six sons of Aḥmad Sirhindī, of whom two, Muḥammad Farrukh and Muḥammad 'Isā, are merely named, as they died in childhood, and 14 grandsons:

IV. Fol. 314a — the eldest son, Muḥammad Šādiq (1000—9 Rabī' I 1025/1591—27 March 1616). Fol. 318a — the second son, Muḥammad Sa'id (Shawwāl 1005—1072/May 1597—1662), known as Khāzin al-raḥmat. The author enumerates eight sons of the latter — Shāh 'Abdallāh, Shāh Luṭfallāh, Farrukh-shāh, Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad, 'Abd al-Aḥad, Muḥammad Khalīlallāh, Miyān Ya'qūb and Miyān Taqī — but gives biographical information for only four of them: fol. 325b — *shaykh* Farrukh-shāh; fol. 330b — Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad; fol. 331b — *shaykh* Muḥammad Khalīlallāh; fol. 333a — *shaykh* 'Abd al-Aḥad, *murshid* and spiritual teacher of the author, who provides extensive details on his views and activities.

Fol. 366a — the third son, *shaykh* Muḥammad Ma'sūm (11 Shawwāl 1007—9 Rabī' I 1079/7 May 1599—17 August 1668), successor of Aḥmad Sirhindī in directing the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya branch. Information on his six sons; fol. 378a — *shaykh* Muḥammad Sibghatallāh (1032—1120/1622—1709); fol. 381a — *shaykh* Hujjat-allāh, known as Muḥammad Naqshband (Dhū-l-Qa'da 1034—9 Muharram 1115/August 1625—25 May 1703); fol. 399a — *shaykh* 'Ubaydallāh, known as Miyan Ḥaḍrat (1 Sha'bān 1037—19 Rabī' I 1083/6 April 1628—15 July 1672); fol. 403a — *shaykh* Muḥammad Ashraf (1048—1117/1638—1706); fol. 403b — *shaykh* Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad (1049—26 Jumādā I 1096/1639—30 April 1685); fol. 405a — *shaykh* Muḥammad Siddīq (1057—5 Jumādā II 1130/1647—6 May 1718).

Fol. 406a — biography of Aḥmad Sirhindī's fourth son, *shaykh* Muḥammad Yahyā, known as Miyan-shāh (b. 1022/1613) [38].

Fol. 407a — autobiographical notes by the compiler of the work, Muḥammad Murād b. *muftī* Ṭāhir Kashmīrī.

Hasanāt al-abrār by Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī, written 56 years after the *Zuhdat al-maqaṁāt* of Muḥammad Hāshim Kishmī [39] and approximately 40 years after the *Ḥaḍarāt al-quds* of Badr al-Dīn Sirhindī [40], is of interest primarily for its originally authored section, which complements earlier hagiographic works.

Beginning of the introduction and author's foreword after the *basma* (fol. 1b):

الحمد لله الذى نور قلوب العارفين بنوره و صلى الله تعالى
على رسوله و حبيبته وآله بعد بشنو و بدان اى طالب
سخنان طريقت مشايخ كه از حال است نه از قال ...

Beginning of the main body of the work after the *basma* (fol. 5b):

خدای برهق معبود بى همتایى كه سميع و بصير است و مثل
ندارد ...

As an analysis of the text shows, the work represents the author's rough draft. The manuscript is undoubtedly of Indian origin. It is undated. Endpaper fol. 01a contains a note by a later owner on the birth of a son, Muḥammad 'Āsim, on the eve of Thursday, 18 Jumādā II 1114/9 October 1702. The manuscript displays numerous additions and corrections on the margins and in the text; the majority of them belong to the author. Some of the pages left blank by the author were later written in by later owners (fols. 5a, 6a, 17a, 29b, 38a—39a, 50b, 55a, 60a, 84a, 86a, 93b, 94a, 106b, 111b, 153a, 170a, 176a, 185a—185b, 222a, 235a, 246a, 251b, 277a, 279a—284b, 290a—290b, 313b, 324b, 325a, 330b, 331a, 359a, 376a, 378b, 381a, 383b, 385a, 398b, 411b).

The manuscript (call number C 1529; old call number Nov. 1125) belongs to a collection gathered in Bukhārā by V. A. Ivanov in 1915. (Fol. 01a: note by V. A. Ivanov: No. 797, Bukhārā, 8/X 1915). The text is written in typical Indian *nasta'liq* on thin, lightly glossed paper of a brownish hue produced in India. The ink is black. Headings of chapters, their sub-divisions and paragraphs are written in red ink, which is also used to overlay phrases in Arabic (verses from the Qur'ān, *ḥadīths*, etc.). 411 fols. + 2 endpapers at the beginning with a *fihris* and one folio at the end of the copy. Folio dimensions are 24.5 × 15.5 cm; text dimensions are 19.5 × 11.0 cm with 18 lines per page. Foliation is both Eastern and European. The Eastern foliation shows that the manuscript originally contained 422 folios (not counting the foreword, which was not foliated). The manuscript is partially sewn (fols. 115—157); folios 306—313 fall out; there are lacunae after fols. 365, 401, 404, 405, 406; there is no ending; the folios are out of order, the correct order is: 1—119, 128—133, 127, 120—126, 134—411. The binding is Eastern, paperboard, *muqawwā*. The edges of the binding and back are of red, finely worked leather. The manuscript was rebound in Central Asia, apparently in Bukhara, no earlier than the beginning of the nineteenth century. The rebinding damaged the marginal text.

Aside from the indubitable significance of Muḥammad Murād Kashmīrī's work for the study of the political and ideological struggle the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood waged to expand its influence within Indian society, the work is

also of interest as a valuable historical source. It provides valuable information on more than 100 years of the brotherhood's activity in India after it established itself on the

subcontinent in the second half of the sixteenth century, creating a new branch of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya brotherhood.

Notes

1. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Peoples of Asia). Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia* (Biographical Works) (Moscow, 1961), pp. 148–50; *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 Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. 1, ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maclay (Moscow, 1964), No. 1046. I was unable to find a work by this name in any reference work. Nonetheless, the well-known Iranian bibliographer, Aḥmad Munzawī in his *Fihrist-i mushtarak-i nuskhahā-yi khatti-yi fārsī-yi Pākistiān* (Karachi, 1369/1990), xi, p. 944, notes a work by *shaykh* Muḥammad Murād Kashmīri Naqshbandī-yi Mujaddidī — *Ḥasanāt al-muqarrabīn* completed in 1124/1712. This information was conveyed to me by Prof. Devin DeWeese (Bloomington, Indiana) to whom I offer my sincere thanks. Judging by the date of completion as indicated by A. Munzawī, the work is either a second, or expanded, redaction of the work found in our copy.

2. The grandson of the founder of an independent branch (later, brotherhood) of the Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddidiyya, *shaykh* Aḥmad Fārūqī Sirhindī (14 Shawwāl 971—28 Ṣafar 1034/26 May 1564—10 December 1624), known as the “renewer of the second millennium” (*mujaddid-i alfi-thānī*). His name is linked with the final formulation of the doctrinal conception of Muslim mysticism, *wahdat al-shuhūd* (unity of witness), in which context he was an intransigent and fervent opponent of the doctrine of *wahdat al-wujūd* (unity of being) developed by Ibn ‘Arabi (1165–1240) and his followers. By his own assertion, the doctrine of the Great Shaykh rests entirely on subjective experience. For this reason, all mystical “states and insights that lead to spiritual ‘union’ with the Divine (*ittiḥād*) are merely delusion. The final goal of mystical perfection, in his view, is to “serve Allah” (*abdiyat*), which is sent down to the mystic after he covers the stages of “unity of being” (*wujūdiyyat*) and “general conception” (*zīlīyyat*). Spiritual revelations from above which lead to knowledge of the secrets of divine being can befall a person only if he strictly observes the norms and injunctions of the *sharī‘a*. Aḥmad Sirhindī expounded his views in numerous epistles (*maktūbāt wa ‘arā‘id*), later gathered into four volumes by his pupils. According to our author (fol. 299a–299b), the first volume contains 20 *arīḍas* and 293 *maktūbs*, the second — 99 epistles, the third — 114, and the fourth — 14. For more detail, see S. A. A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India* (New Delhi, 1983), ii, p. 183.

3. Manuscript C 1529 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 355a.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 5a.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 5b.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 407a (marginal insertion).

7. *Ibid.*, fols. 3a–3b, 5a, 83b, 114b–115a, 116b, 131b, 157b, 331b, 346b, 378b, 381a, 382b, 399a, 400b, 407b–410b.

8. Manuscript B 663 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 163b–171b, 240b–241a, 269a. For more on the manuscript and work, see: N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 3: *Istoricheskie sochineniia* (Works on History) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 379–80, No. 496; also, *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii alfavitnyi katalog)*, No. 4556; Ch. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*. Vol. 1, fasc. 3: *Medieval History of India* (London, 1939), pp. 683–4.

9. *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā* (Kaunpur, 1894), i, pp. 658–9.

10. About him see D. DeWeese, “Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and Kubrawī hagiographical traditions”, in *The Legacy of Mediaeval Persian Sufism*, ed. L. Lewinsohn (London–New York, 1992), pp. 121–58.

11. Manuscript C 1529, fol. 407a–407b.

12. Sayf-khān b. Tarbiyat-khān occupied the post of governor of Kashmīr from 1076 to 1088/1665–1678 with an interruption of two years from 1079–80/1669–70.

13. Aḥmad Sirhindī's second son was born in Shawwāl 1006/May 1597. He gained fame as an extremely erudite expert on Muslim religious law (*fiqh*). He died while returning from Delhi to Sirhind in 1072/1661–62. For more detail, see Rizvi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 242.

14. The sons of *shaykh* Muḥammad Sa‘īd (see n. 13), the fifth and fourth respectively. According to our author, ‘Abd al-Aḥad was born in 1047/1637–38, completed a pilgrimage to the Hijāz together with his father in 1067/1656–57, and wrote a treatise about this *ḥājīj*. Our author's *murshid* and spiritual teacher also acted as a *shaykh* of the Qādiriyya brotherhood and initiated many members into it. See manuscript C 1529, fols. 330b–331b, 333a–363a. Rizvi gives the date of his death as 1142/1729–30 (Rizvi, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 244). According to an anonymous work compiled in Istanbul around 1240/1824–25 on the biographies of Naqshbandiyya and Mujaddidiyya *shaykhs*, ‘Abd al-Aḥad died soon after 1100/1698–99. See Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia*, pp. 156–8, No. 205 (manuscript C 2019 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 25b).

15. *Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā*, p. 658.

16. *Ibid.* Khwāja Hujjatalāh Naqshband (Zū-l-Qa‘da 1034–9 Muḥarram 1115/September 1625–25 May 1703) was the second son of *shaykh* Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūm (11 Shawwāl 1007–9 Rabi‘ I 1079/7 May 1599–17 August 1668), who headed the Mujaddidiyya after the death of Aḥmad Sirhindī.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 659.

18. Our author meant *shaykh* Muḥammad Ma‘ṣūm (see n. 16).

19. The author of an anonymous work (manuscript C 2019, fol. 52b) indicates that the work was dedicated to ‘Abd al-Aḥad.

20. This date is given by Muḥammad A‘zam Kashmīri (*Waqi‘āt*, fol. 241a). It seems preferable to us, as Muḥammad A‘zam was the *murīd* of Muḥammad Murād and, as he himself reports, accompanied the body of his *murshid* to its burial place. Moreover, he provides

two chronograms (*tārīkh*) for the date of his spiritual teacher's death: "*shaykh-i akābir*" and "*muḥarram az khudā way būda*". The sum of the letters' numerical values for each equals 1134. However, Muḥammad Ghulām Sarwar (*Khazīnat al-aṣfiyā*, p. 659) notes that Muḥammad Murād died at the age of 75 on 17 Rajab 1131/5 July 1719.

21. In discussing this treatise, the author expressed the hope of including it at the end of *Ḥasanāt al-abrār* (manuscript C 1529, fol. 83b). The treatise is not found in our copy of the author's rough draft, however.

22. *Ibid.*, fol. 346b.

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 510b.

24. *Waqi'āt*, fol. 269a.

25. The above-mentioned anonymous author made thorough use of the *Ḥasanāt al-abrār*, calling it simply *Maqāmāt-i shaykh Murad Kashmīri* (manuscript C 2019, fols. 25b, 52b, 55a).

26. "Especially about those who at the time he writes these lines are of sound mind and body" (manuscript C 1529, fol. 3b).

27. We have retained the order of the author's list (manuscript C 1529, fol. 3a—b).

28. This treatise, written in Arabic, describes a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina undertaken in 1657—1658. It was translated into Persian in 1071/1660—1661 by a *murīd* of the author, Muḥammad Shākīr b. *shaykh* Badr al-Dīn Aḥmadī and received the title *Ḥasanāt al-Ḥaramayn* ("Beauties of the Two Holy Cities"). A copy of this work is found in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (manuscript B 2145, fols. 169b—203b). The copy is dated 1299/1881—82, but is a copy of another copy which was completed on 12 Jumādā II 1080/8 October 1670. See *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii al-favitnyi katalog)*, No. 1047.

29. See Storey, *op. cit.*, i, pt. 2, pp. 954, 964, 938, 948, 987—90, 1061; Russian translation of the work: Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor*, reworked and augmented by Iu. E. Bregel, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 561—5, 623—7; also V. A. Zhukovskii, *Raskrytie skrytogo za zavesoi* (The Revelation of What Is Veiled) (*Kashf al-mahjūb*) (Leningrad, 1926).

30. This book (*maqāla*) consists of three sections (*maqṣad*) which contain lives of: (a) *shaykh* Muḥammad Zāhid Wakhsī and his followers (fol. 116a); (b) *khwāja* Muḥammad Bāqībillāh Birang and his *murīds* and followers (fol. 131b); (c) the ancestors of Aḥmad Sirhindī, he himself, his direct descendants, *aṣḥāb* and *khalīfas* (fol. 166b). See A. Z. Validov, "Vostochnye rukopisi v Ferganskoĭ oblasti" ("Eastern manuscripts in the Fergana area"), *Zapiski vostochnogo otdela Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva*. XXII, pp. 306—8; A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Vostochnogo otdeleniia Biblioteki LGU* (Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts in the Eastern Section of the State Leningrad University Library). Vol. 1: *Istoriia, biografii, geografii* (Leningrad, 1962), No. 147, pp. 343—51.

31. Manuscript C 1529, fols. 114b—115a.

32. When copying the second book of *Nasamāt al-quds* into the rough draft of his work, Muḥammad Murād retained the names of chapters (*faṣl*) and paragraphs (*nasama*). Upon completing his work, he not only left a note (on the margin of fol. 115a) for the copyist about preparing the final draft ("Remember, that from here on *ḥasana* should be written in place of *nasama*"), but also crossed out the former in all instances, writing the latter in above it.

33. Endpapers fols. 01b—02a. They were pasted in later and have neither Eastern nor Western foliation.

34. The foreword lacks Eastern foliation. Since the author wrote it after the main body of the work had already been completed, the folios were inserted and a title was provided. European foliation was marked in the manuscript when it was acquired by the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

35. Subheading: "*Maqṣad* 2 of the second *maqāla* [*Nasamāt al-quds*]".

36. Subheading with note: "It was this third *maqṣad* of the second *maqāla* that served as the reason for writing this book". In this instance, our author appears to have repeated verbatim his original source, the *Nasamāt*.

37. See the list of their names given in the description of a copy of *Zubdat al-maqāmāt* in the book *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library of Bankipore* (Calcutta, 1925), viii, No. 672, pp. 45—7.

38. Judging by descriptions in catalogues of Persian manuscripts available to us and by the scholarly literature, the author was the first to give a relatively detailed biography of *shaykh* Muḥammad Yahyā. It seems appropriate to cite here a note left by one of the owners of the copy on endpaper 02b: "Sons and descendants of [Muḥammad] Yahyā. The first son was *Ḍiyā* al-Dīn Yūsuf, whose son was Muḥammad Bāqir, whose son was Shāh-Nithār Aḥmad, whose son was Nithār Riḍā. The second son of *shaykh* [Muḥammad] Yahyā was *shaykh* Zayn al-ʿAbidin, whose son was Muḥammad Rawshan, who had two sons: the first was Shāh-Ghulām Aḥmad, whose son was Shāh-Wajh-i Aḥmad, whose son was Wazīr-Aḥmad. The second son of Muḥammad Rawshan was Ḥājī Muḥammadī".

39. Storey, *op. cit.*, i, pt. 2, p. 988; Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia*, No. 188; *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii al-favitnyi katalog)*, No. 2167.

40. Storey, *op. cit.*, i, pt. 2, p. 1002; Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*. Fasc. 2: *Biograficheskie sochineniia*, No. 192; *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR (Kratkii al-favitnyi katalog)*, No. 1050.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Muḥammad Murād Kashmīri, *Ḥasanāt al-abrār min nasamāt al-muqarrabīn*, manuscript C 1529 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, late 17th century, beginning of the main body of the work, fol. 5b.

BOOK REVIEWS

Yang Haiying. *An Introduction to Altan Bičig*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1998, VI, 355 pp. — *Senri Ethnological Reports*, 7.

L. Qurčabayatur Solongyod. *Zum Cinggis-Qayan-Kult*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, 1999, IV, X, 316 pp., II, ills. — *Senri Ethnological Reports*, 11.

Taken together, these two books published by the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka offer a trove of information about the posthumous religious image of Genghis (Činggis) Khan, a figure regarded by many far from Oriental studies as one of the greatest men of the past millennium. The impact of the empire founded by this “world-conqueror” on the destinies of the peoples of Asia and Europe was immense; no lesser place has been occupied by his deified figure in the spiritual life of the Mongols.

This book by Yang Haiying, a native of the *Ordos ayimay* in Inner Mongolia, is a collection of texts forming the *Altan Bičig* (“Golden Book”) — a book that contains instructions for performing the rituals of worship of Genghis Khan's spirit and prayers to him. Two variants of the *Altan Bičig*, prefaced by a detailed introduction in Japanese, are published in the book.

The first, containing a facsimile of the original Mongolian text on pp. 163—207 and its romanisation on pp. 87—100, dates to 1722. However, the text published was copied not long ago: a person of the Darqad clan (hereditary priests who worshiped Genghis Khan) wrote it down, and a personal copy of the text was provided for publication by Mr. Oyonus (b. 1924), a resident of Inner Mongolia. It consists of thirteen smaller texts, prayers recited during the rituals of worshipping Genghis Khan, his wives and banners, as well as regulations concerning their proper performance; the fourteenth text is a short colophon.

The second variant, which provides facsimile of the original Mongolian text (pp. 211—312) and its romanisation (pp. 100—30), is a version of the *Altan Bičig* kept at the Mongolian National Library in Ulan Bator. It consists of twenty-four smaller texts, some of them ritual texts relating to Genghis Khan only indirectly. One of these texts (No. 6) was written by the well-known Buddhist author

Mergen Gegen Blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1717—1766), a native of the Urad *ayimay*. An appendix of personal names (pp. 136—41) found in both texts makes the book easy to use.

Apart from these, the book includes a small peculiar invocation in the “Heavenly language” (*Tngri-yin kele-ü dayulal*). A facsimile of the original Mongolian text on pp. 315—35 and its romanisation on pp. 130—5 are presented as well. Also included is a facsimile of an original Mongolian text (pp. 145—61) on the worship of Genghis Khan. It originates from the Genghis Khan temple in Bars Khota in the former Tüshiyetü Khan *ayimay* in Mongolia. The original was copied in 1926 and is now kept in the Mongolian National Library (Ulan Bator).

The second edition under review is a book by L. Qurčabayatur Solongyod. It presents a comprehensive study of Genghis Khan's cult as a religious, social, anthropological, and political phenomenon. It begins with a very helpful outline of earlier scholarly studies. There follows the author's investigation of various aspects of worshipping Genghis Khan: the social structure of the Darqad hereditary priests; sacred objects used in the ceremonies; the role of the black banner (*qara süilde*); and worship rituals performed at the “Eight White Yurts” (*Naiman cayan ger*). The research by Qurčabayatur is based on a variety of sources, including those obtained during his field work in Inner Mongolia. The analysis and conclusions the author suggests offer new approaches to traditional Mongolian cosmology, shamanistic practices and the development of the worship of Genghis Khan. Qurčabayatur observes different aspects and historical stages of this cult originating directly from the worship of Heaven. It is also shown that the later worship of Genghis Khan evolved from private rituals of the Borjigid clan and the most important state rituals of the Mongol empire to a “non-state national cult”.

In general, both books by these Inner Mongolian authors complement each other, containing at once important sources and new ideas which will undoubtedly stimulate further research both on the worship of Genghis Khan and traditional Mongolian beliefs.

V. Uspensky

I. V. Kul'ganek. *Katalog mongoloiazychnykh fol'k-lornykh materialov Arkhiva vostokovedov pri SPb FIV RAN. Sankt-Peterburg; Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2000, 320 str.* — Arkhiv rossiiskogo vostokovedeniia, V.

I. V. Kulganek. *Catalogue of Mongolian-Language Folklore Materials in the Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences).* St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie Publishing House, 2000, 320 pp. — Russian Oriental Studies Archive, V.

The Catalogue under review is the first catalogue of its type. The idea of it emerged as a result of the author's work on rich Mongolian folklore archival materials kept at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. They were gathered by several generations of Russian scholars, travellers, and folklore collectors. The Academy of Sciences library's first acquisitions date to the mid-eighteenth century and include materials on the folklore of the Selengin Buryats. Those were collected during D. G. Messerschmidt's expedition to Siberia and G. F. Müller (in Russian rendering Miller) and P. S. Pallas' expedition to the Transbaikal. They were later transferred to the Asiatic Museum, which was founded in 1818, and became part of the Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies when it was formed in 1931. A large number of folklore materials collected, for example, by Ts. Zhamtsarano, B. Baradiyn, and N. Ochirov were acquired from the Russian Committee for the Study of Central and East Asia.

Among all these documents those collected by amateurs are of no less importance. The vast range of the materials and their geographical variety are indeed impressive. The author of the Catalogue is known as a scholar wholly captivated by Mongolian folklore studies and as its ardent propagandist. Owing to this exceptional obsession with the subject, the author could produce most valuable reference work indispensable to all interested in Mongolian folk literature. The own studies of the author on Mongolian folklore, as well as her rich experience in personal collecting folklore materials in Mongolia, helped I. V. Kulganek to fulfil a difficult task of identifying numerous documents, which have escaped scholars' notice so far.

The publication was financed by the American IREX foundation. Materials from the electronic version of the Catalogue created with financial support from the RGNF (State Scientific Fund of Russia) were also used. The book makes use of exclusive photographs from the family archives of Orientalists' relatives as well as expedition photographs taken by the Dutch artist Ch. Horn during his 1998 journey to Mongolia.

Until now, there has been no full description of Mongolian folklore materials in the Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, nor even a brief catalogue has been made. Only some of the materials were mentioned or described in special articles by S. F. Oldenburg, S. A. Kozin, T. P. Goreglyad, L. I. Chuguyevsky, L. S. Savitsky, and I. V. Kulganek.

The materials have always evoked great interest, as the Archive's visitors' register shows. It contains the names of many Russian and foreign Mongolists from all over the world. To evaluate the significance of this archival collection, one must remember that the archive contains 3,000

works representing oral poetic and prose genres of Mongolian folklore; among them one can find a real masterpiece of Mongolian folk literature recorded from well-known storytellers in various dialects of the Mongolian language: Mongolian itself (Khalkha, Derbet, Uzumchi, Uriankhai, Zadaga, Ordos, Chakhar), Buryat (Khorin, Agin, Abaga, Kudin, Songol, Kizhingin), and Kalmyk (of the Don and Stavropol Kalmyks).

At present, folklore materials are found in the following funds: Sec. I, inv. 3 "Mongolia and Tibet"; Sec. II, inv. 1, "Buryats and Kalmyks"; Sec. II, inv. 1 "Materials of various individuals", as well as in nine individual archival funds: B. B. Baradiyn, Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, A. M. Pozdneev, O. M. Kovalevsky, K. F. Golstunsky, V. A. Kazakevich, V. D. Yakimov, B. I. Pankratov, and D. A. Klements (a short description of these funds are given in I. V. Kulganek, "Mongolian folklore materials in the Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/4 (1998), pp. 52—4).

The Catalogue opens with the Introduction where the author reviews the history of the Archive's formation; an English translation of the Introduction is also given. A separate chapter on collectors and informants provides biographical information and lists the main scholarly works of authors who gathered the collection. Photographs of collectors are also included. The Russian text of biographies is translated into English. The author gives brief biographies of A. V. Burdukov, T. A. Burdukova, B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, K. F. Golstunsky, Ts. Zhamtsarano, V. A. Kazakevich, D. A. Klements, O. M. Kovalevsky, B. I. Pankratov, A. M. Pozdneev, D. A. Rudnev, Ya. I. Schmidt, and V. D. Yakimov.

The Catalogue itself consists of descriptive articles that follow a format based on recommendations for the scholarly presentation of documentary materials in Russian archives. In all, the Catalogue contains 301 entries. Each entry includes information on language, year of recording, informant, place of recording, form, dimensions, writing instrument, number of pages, lines per page, location in document, document author, document title, call number of a document. An item of description is considered one (or a few) folklore works recorded at the same time, from a single informant, or a group of texts (a collection) that represents a whole. The materials are arranged in the following sections: (i) the epic; (ii) poetry; (iii) prose; (iv) songs; (v) confessional folklore; (vi) aphorisms; (vii) studies; (viii) materials for dictionaries, dictionaries; (ix) registers; (x) notes; (xi) various.

Each time the author indicates what script — academic, Latinised transcription or old-Mongolian script — is employed in the document. Descriptions contain notes which provide additional information on folklore material, informants, and manuscripts.

Several concordances are also present, which makes the Catalogue easy to use: these are concordances of genres and call numbers, collectors, genres and entries' order numbers.

The Catalogue provides specialists in Mongolian studies with information on valuable folklore materials kept in the Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It should be said too that there is much, among them, to interest the specialists. This book amply fulfils all requirements. We can, I hope, look forward to publishing most inter-

esting parts of the folklore collections preserved in the archive. It is for bringing together pieces of folklore kept at the largest academic repositories of Eastern documents in Russia that we have to thank Dr. Kulganek, all the

more so for their presenting in such well-organised and informative form.

I. Petrosyan

Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra. The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments. Richard Salomon with contribution by Raymond Allchin and Mark Bernard. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1999, 271 pp. + 34 pls. + Appendix.

The book under review represents a unique feat. Richard Salomon was brave enough to undertake a detailed description of the British Library's entire collection of manuscripts and ceramic inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī writing. He has taken into account all aspects: dating, place of discovery, means of preparing writing materials, palaeography, orthography, special features of language and style, content of identified works, general conclusions about the culture of Gandhāra, characteristics of the local Buddhist tradition, and novelties introduced by the materials under consideration into the history of Buddhism.

Since 1962, when John Brough released a separate volume of fragments from the *Dharmapāda* manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī script in Gāndhārī prakrit from manuscript collections in St. Petersburg and Paris, such complete and detailed studies have been lacking. In his own words, Salomon's book is merely the first volume of his study; the publication of the texts themselves with translation is anticipated in the near future.

The description of newly discovered birch-bark scrolls formed the basis for his first book, and the discovery itself served as the stimulus for writing it. It occurred that members of the Manuscript Section of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies were among the first to learn of these new manuscripts. In 1994, Mark Bernard, a member of the Preservation and Conservation Department, Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, worked in the repository of Eastern manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It was he who told us of the difficult task of restoring birch-bark manuscripts in lamentable condition recently acquired by the British Library. Since a preliminary inspection showed that the new manuscripts were similar to already published fragments of the *Dharmapāda*, we decided that the middle part of this manuscript, which has still not come to light, had finally been found.

R. Salomon's study demonstrates that we were wrong. The British Library acquired yet another birch-bark manuscript, probably not linked to the first one. It consisted of 29 fragments. It remains unclear whether this is an entire volume in the form of scrolls or whether the scrolls existed independently. Salomon counted 21 original scrolls of individual fragments. The number of separate hands he identified also totals 21.

Since news of the discovery appeared, scholarly interest in the manuscript has grown rapidly. There is reason for this: the manuscript is from ancient Gandhāra and may be unique (debate continues over whether a manuscript of the

Dharmapāda discovered in Khotan was copied in India or Central Asia). Moreover, it is possible that the most ancient of Indian manuscripts has finally appeared. The speculation proved founded: Salomon gathered all possible proof that it was copied between the beginning of the first and second centuries A.D. The most important link in the chain of proof is the mention of historical figures active at the time of the manuscript's creation: *mahākṣatrapa* Jihonika and Āspavarmana. They can be identified as Indo-Scythian rulers of the early first century A.D., judging by their names known through legends on coins and inscriptions.

Salomon successfully integrated the new manuscript into Gandhāra Buddhism, analysing this in chapter 1: "The background: Gandhāra and Gandhāran Buddhism". The book's second chapter provides a detailed description of all Kharoṣṭhī writing materials held at the British Library. They are divided into two groups: birch-bark manuscripts which have only recently joined the collection, and inscriptions on whole ceramic vessels and fragments of inscriptions on ostraca.

The first part of the book — on the manuscript — is the most valuable. Salomon has done immense work, deciphering the manuscript and identifying the texts it contains. It is clear that we deal here with a collection, although not all of its parts have yet been identified.

Salomon notes the following groups of texts identified by their contents:

1) fragments of Hīnayāna *sūtras* with commentaries; they are not numerous (see section 2.2.1). The best preserved is the *Saṅgīti-sūtra* with an unknown commentary (fragment 15). Texts such as this *sūtra* as an important link in the formation of the *Abhidharma-piṭaka* and Buddhist philosophy as an independent branch of knowledge. Fragments 12—14 were identified as a text parallel to the *Aṅguttaranikāya*. Fragments 26 + 29 preserve excerpts from an unidentified *sūtra*.

2) Most numerous in the manuscript are stories which are called *avadāna* or *pūrvayoga* (lit. "past rebirths"). The principle for selecting *avadānas* by content is not clear. Plots that we well know in Sanskrit and Pāli literature are represented by independent versions; in Salomon's view, these are close to stories translated into Chinese as part of the Dharmaguptaka canon. Previously, exact information on the spread of this school in Gandhāra was lacking. Salomon's conclusions are undoubtedly new, but require additional research.

Especially important is the question of which type of collection we encounter here. In many ways, the new manuscript is close to a birch-bark manuscript from Bairam-Ali (Merv oasis, Turkmenia). It is written in Sanskrit, in Brāhmī script, evidently somewhat later (5—7 centuries A.D.). (Excerpts from this manuscript have been published by

Manuscripta Orientalia since 1999). The text of both manuscripts contains quotations from *sūtras*, commentaries on them, and a collection of *avadāna* stories. Both manuscripts present the stories in abbreviated form and with indications that the text should be told in full (*vistareṇa* — “in detail”, with various additional explanations). It seems that a summary of a story's contents — and in the Bairam-Ali manuscript we find sometimes only the names of the heroes — is necessary as a mnemonic device to recall well-known plots. In both manuscripts, quotations from *sūtras* are followed by assurances that the *sūtras* are reliable and authoritative. There are similarities in other sections that we will note later.

There are also several differences. The Bairam-Ali manuscript does not mention historical figures. As concerns the companions of the Buddha Śākyamuni — people who lived in his time — there are no discrepancies: the texts of both manuscripts repeatedly mention Ānanda and Ajñātakaṇḍīya, Ājivaka and Anāthapiṇḍika, telling also of their previous rebirths. The Gandhāra manuscripts lacks only *jātakas*, which make up nearly half of this section in the Bairam-Ali manuscript. There is one other important difference: the Bairam-Ali manuscript contains a selection of rules from the *Vinaya* concluded by a colophon. The colophon enumerates the contents of the Sarvāstivādins *Vinayapīṭaka*, which is in itself an important indication that a canon existed for this school. The Gandhāra manuscript also has a section that is absent in the Bairam-Ali manuscript: “Scholastic Treatises and Commentaries” (section 2.2.2., pp. 26—30).

One is tempted to conclude that these selections of excerpts from texts of various genres, apparently copied by monks for their own use as mnemonics, could also have been used for preaching when the monks set out for new territories outside of India. This type of literature evidently took shape in North-West India and in Gandhāra in the first half of the first millennium, the “golden age” of Buddhism during which the faith actively drew new adherents. Gandhāra appears for the first time in this light; the Bairam-Ali manuscript also contains a collection that is new to scholarship. We discuss the importance of these literary finds below.

3) The third type of work discovered in the Gandhāra manuscript is described in section 2.2.3 — “Verses Texts” (pp. 30—5). Salomon identifies three texts: a) *Anavatapta-gāthā* (“Songs of Lake Anavatapta”). The text has been preserved in part. It is well-known in two Sanskrit versions, a Pāli text, and a Chinese translation; b) part of a poem known in a Pāli version: *Khaggavisāṇa-sutta* (“Rhinoceros Horn *Sūtra*”). The Bairam-Ali manuscript contains a fragment of the Sanskrit version of this poem; c) finally, the Gandhāra manuscript contains verses from the concluding section of the *Dharmapāda* (p. 55).

Among the important questions Salomon touches on in his work is his attempt to link the initial spread of Buddhism in Central Asia with the Dharmaguptaka school and the language of Gandhāra (section 8.2.1, “Hypotheses on the Dharmaguptaka and Gandhāra”). He refers to works by A. Bareau “Les sectes Bouddhique du Petit Véhicule”, Saigon, 1955, pp. 16—9, 29—30, 34, and É. Lamotte “History of Indian Buddhism from the Origin to the Saka Era”, Louvain, 1988, pp. 529—32. The history of the Dharmaguptaka school within India is not clear. Salomon's claim that Buddhism of the Dharmaguptaka school was widespread in the state on the territory of Niya and Krorayna is unfounded. Among Kharoṣṭhī documents dis-

covered on this territory, there is only one Buddhist text, which treats violations of rules dictating monastic life in the local community. It is clear from the texts of the documents themselves that this was a somewhat peculiar brand of Buddhism: he was greatly influenced by local religious beliefs. The monks also played an active role in the economic life of this tiny state and could own property. The question is, of course, complex, as Buddhist texts in Kushan Brāhmī writing are not numerous in Central Asia; large numbers of Brāhmī manuscripts began to appear only in the fifth century A.D. Early translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese show that they were based not on Sanskrit, but on Prakrit texts. But which ones? Scholars reject the Pāli language as an answer. They could possibly have been in Gandhāri, as manuscript in Gandhāri could have been brought from North-West India or Gandhāra.

In this regard, certain doubts arise in connection to chapter VI — “Palaeographic and linguistic features of Gandhāra scrolls”, and especially section 6.1 on the Gandhāri language. Salomon holds that the *avadāna* texts are close to the colloquial Gandhāri spoken in the region. The style and scarcity of grammatical forms suggest that we deal here with tales intended to be spoken aloud (p. 140). But was Gandhāri as attested in manuscripts a spoken language at all? (See G. Fussman, “Gandhāri écrite, Gandhāri parlée”, in *Dialectes dans les littératures Indo-Aryennes* (Paris, 1989), pp. 440, 498—9). It is as difficult to answer this question as the question of whether Pāli was a spoken language. And if both language were in fact spoken, then who spoke them and which texts were read aloud? Speakers could only have been extremely educated monks, which means that both languages would have been “spoken” only by a small group of initiates. In other words, they were languages of the Buddhist elite. In the main, they were written, literary languages. Copyists of Gandhāri texts do not appear to have been paragons of literacy; hence the poverty of their language.

Kaniṣka introduced Kharoṣṭhī writing and the Gandhāri language as the state language on the territory of Bactria not because he felt this was the spoken language of the local populace, but because Kharoṣṭhī writing was the only model for drawing up documents that approximated Aramaic models, the documents that served as the basis for Kaniṣka.

Salomon's claim that the language of documents from Nīa and Krorayna cannot be taken into account because this was the language of a distant region also seems dubious. It was there that we find preserved the sort of language for official documents that took shape in the Kushan empire. This language consists mainly of epistolary formulas. It seems unfounded to consider this language a spoken tongue.

In the case at hand, it appears premature to debate the existence of a special “canon in the Gandhāri language” (chapter 8, section 8.1.1, “The Gandhāri canon issue revisited”). The issue is not whether there was or was not a canon. The importance of the manuscript is that it allows us to answer the question of which Buddhist texts were recorded in written form earlier and when. In other words, what had been codified in writing by the first century A.D. Salomon's analysis of language and style, as well as detailed study of the Bairam-Ali manuscript, show that Buddhist texts continued to circulate in oral form and had only begun to be recorded in writing. The first half of the first millennium in Central Asia was a period in which the written and oral tradition continued to coexist. The latter was necessary to draw the broad masses to the Buddhist teaching; they could

not be immediately introduced to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, recently discovered among Kushan-period manuscripts in Brāhmī writing in Sanskrit (see *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*. Jens Braarvig, editor-in-chief, vol. 1 (Oslo, 2000), pp. 1—52). What we have here are written excerpts from the canon, by all appearances, one of the first attempts to record what had previously circulated in oral form. Work on the written codification of Buddhist texts undoubtedly took place during this period in the monasteries of Northern India.

In chapter 4 (“Origin and character of the collection”), doubts arise in connection with section 4.3, “Archaeological parallels”. It seems saturated with facts unrelated to the Buddhist tradition. The same holds true with regard to other sections where Salomon draws parallels with other cultural realms as links in a chain of proof. Salomon's view on the discovery of manuscripts enclosed in a clay vessel buried, it is assumed, on the grounds of a Buddhist monastery in Gandhāra is that these were worn manuscripts that had been recopied, as is indicated by the note *likhidago* (“[It is] written”) found on many scrolls (pp. 71—6). Salomon holds that this was a special ritual. Salomon is correct in describing the tradition of burying manuscripts, ritual objects, and human remains in clay vessels and reliquaries. But what was the purpose of this? We recall the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* in its early Pāli version; it describes the distribution of the remains from the Buddha's funeral pyre among various regions and cities. It was considered a great boon to receive a handful of ashes or a fragment of scorched cloth, not to speak of a tooth or a half-burned bone. This was a relic to be buried in a place of honour, usually in a mortar, for veneration. As concerns old, worn manuscripts, they were hardly considered “escheated”, although they were no longer used for performing rituals. These were the holiest, most read, most “prayed over” texts, and they had to be interred as sacred objects. The clay vessel in which the Bairam-Ali manuscript was discovered, clearly placed in a mortar, also contained a clay statuette of the Buddha and Sassanian coins of Shāpūr II. This was undoubtedly a sacred relic which sanctified the place where it was buried. This point of view should be borne in mind.

A large Appendix (“Inscribed pots and potsherds in British Library”, pp. 183—247) contains an analysis of 5 full votive inscriptions on whole clay vessels — the large wheel-made vessels coarse red clay, globular in form (pot A, B, C, D, E) and 26 inscriptions on individual fragments. They all contain the same votive formula, more or less complete: a gift “to the universal community” apparently from noble and wealthy women (as is indicated by Salomon's analysis of the proper names on pot B, see pp. 141—55). They ask for their health and the health of their husbands and those close to them. This sometimes includes “all living things”. Variant readings among the inscriptions are minimal: one inscription mentions “a teacher of the Dharmaguptaka school”; another “a teacher of the Sarvāstivāda school”. Hence, there is as yet no cause to speak of a predominance of followers of the Dharmaguptaka school in Gandhāra. The formula itself is well-known thanks to discoveries in Haḍḍa. It was copied by local scribes who appear to have been minimally literate craftsmen; for this reason, they presented certain *akṣaras* — especially ligatures of the *sta*, *kṣva*, *rva*, *rma* and other types — as they saw them. This creates difficulties in determining a single standard for writing these *akṣaras*. At the same time, they were evidently good craftsmen, for they adorned their inscriptions with flourishes: the lower parts of the *akṣaras sa* and *na* are curved downward, while the *akṣaras i* and *e* display flourishes that extend significantly upward. Salomon displays great scholarly acumen in this section, once again proving that he is a leading specialist on the Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī writing.

In addition to the Appendix, the book contains a Glossary (pp. 249—52), Bibliography (References, pp. 253—63), and Index (pp. 265—73).

The book makes an unusual impression: it resembles an encyclopaedia that brings together all that is known about Gāndhārī culture and a host of parallels with the cultures of other regions. The author's professionalism is everywhere evident. We eagerly await the appearance of his second book, a continuation of the present study.

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