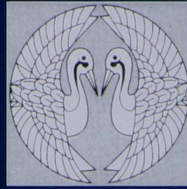


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Front cover:

“Guanyin. Moon in Water”, scroll on silk (fragment), call number X 2439, Khara Khoto, 12th century, the State Hermitage Museum. Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Portrait of Nawwāb Mīr Qamar al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 4b, 15.1 × 24.0 cm. Inner frame dimensions: 15.1 × 24.0 cm; outer frame dimensions: 22.0 × 30.5 cm

Plate 2. Portrait of Nawwāb Mīr Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Jang, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. The same Album, fol. 3b, 11.5 × 21.3 cm. Inner frame dimensions: 11.5 × 21.3 cm; outer frame dimensions: 21.0 × 31.2 cm.

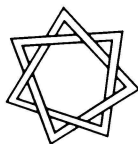
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EDITORIAL BOARD

Recent months, and even days, have brought sad tidings. At the very end of November, Prof. Anas Khalidov died in Kazan. In late August, we received news of the death of Prof. Ronald Emmerick, and a month earlier Prof. Vladimir Kushev passed away. We thus bid farewell to great Orientalists, our colleagues, friends, and teachers, who represent a generation to which we owe the most important accomplishments of Oriental studies in the twentieth century, the generation that shaped this discipline.

Prof. Anas Bakievich Khalidov, an outstanding scholar of medieval Arab-Muslim book culture, died in his birthplace, to which he returned several years ago to become one of the founders of the Institute of Oriental Studies at Kazan State University. During those years he continued his creative cooperation with his colleagues at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, where he arrived after his student days and for many years headed the Near Eastern Department.

Prof. Khalidov authored dozens of marvelous scholarly works. Three of them were especially dear to him: the two-volume catalogue *Arabic Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies*, for which he headed the editorial committee, the monograph *Arabic Manuscripts and the Arab Manuscript Tradition*, and a translation of the *Qur'ān* into Tatar. In the last months of his life, despite a serious illness, Prof. Khalidov managed to finish work on the Arabic translation of the above-mentioned monograph (is to publish in Dubai) and nearly finished a translation of the *Qur'ān*, the publication of which promises to be a notable event not only in scholarly circles but in the social and political life of Tatarstan.

Prof. Khalidov's numerous students, who today live not only in the republics of the former USSR, but in Arab lands and even far-off Vietnam, will never forget their strict mentor, ever generous with his knowledge. He embodied the best aspects of the scholarly spirit both in the West and the Muslim East.

Prof. Dr. Ronald E. Emmerick, F. B. A., Head of the Seminar für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients, Arbeitbereich Iranistik, at Hamburger Universität, dedicated the last years of his life to the memory of his teacher, Sir H. W. Bailey, who died in 1996. He made order among the unfinished works that his teacher left behind, drew up a full bibliography of his works, and wrote a biographical essay. So assiduously did he work at this that he failed to shepherd a number of his own works into print. The third volume of *Saka Documents* of the St. Petersburg Collections remains unpublished; it contains the index and glossary to the two published volumes. For the same reason, he did not manage to move ahead with the facsimile edition of *Khotanese Manuscript E: the Book of Zambasta*. An English translation of this important, large-scale Khotanese text in 1968 began the scholar's career after he arrived in England from Australia to which he retained his tie, fondly recalling his youth amid the orange groves and even fearsome sharks of the warm sea.

The scholar's *Chrestomathie*, a collection of texts and grammatical exercises for the study of the Khotanese language remained unpublished. One hopes that one of his pupils — who today live and work in the US, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany — will carry the work to completion.

A Sanskrit specialist and broad-based expert in Iranian studies, Prof. Emmerick was a scholar of immense knowledge rested on the firm foundation of the original texts he researched and translated. A scholar of worldwide renown, the member of many European Academies of Sciences, and a noble and modest man, he was always ready to help others.

Vladimir Vasilyevich Kushev, Doctor of philology, an accomplished Russian specialist on Iran and Afghanistan, worked for more than 40 years at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. His extensive scholarly activity encompassed research on the numerous languages of the Iranian group: Persian, Dari, Tajik, Pashto, and others. He worked on manuscripts and drew up catalogs, focusing on the literary legacy, history, religion, and culture of the Middle Eastern peoples. He was a unique linguist and a marvelous translator who gave Russian readers the opportunity to read a number of works from the classical and modern prose of Iran and Afghanistan.

V. V. Kushev penned the first study of the Pashto manuscript book in Russian; in it, he revealed the genesis of Pashto literature, the emergence and development of its literary forms. He was the author of A Description of Manuscripts in the Pashto Language at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. Several of his monographs on the history of the Pashto language are currently being printed.

In the late 1980s, V. V. Kushev collaborated with A. L. Grunberg and several foreign colleagues on a unique project, an academic grammar of the Afghan language. Unfortunately, the project, which could be completed only by such a group of scholars, remained unfinished because of Prof. Grunberg's untimely death and political events in Afghanistan.

For many years, V. V. Kushev headed the Afghan Seminar in St. Petersburg held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It brought together specialists on Afghanistan and Iran from the institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the St. Petersburg State University who treasure this land at Russia's southern border and its proud, beleaguered people.

Classical Oriental studies is a modest discipline. Its outstanding practitioners do not receive Nobel Prizes, nor does it produce new scientific instruments, medicines, or means of transportation. It is undoubtedly not a science of breakthroughs. True enthusiasts and romantics labour for decades to acquire knowledge through painstaking, exhausting work, gradually introducing into scholarly circulation new sources that require ever greater investments of time and energy. But if we compare our field in 2001 with the situation in 1901, we see that great progress has been made in understanding the basic laws of historical and cultural development. This field has reintroduced to the world vanished civilizations and states, outstanding examples of religious thought, and great literary works. It has preserved for eternity the endangered traditions and customs that make up our universal cultural heritage. Classical Oriental studies is one of the few disciplines that allow humankind to see the totality of its own achievement. If the fruits of its labours are not always of use to society, this in no way reduces their value, for this is the discipline that today creates a basis for the only dialogue that is capable of saving the world.

*The people of whom we write here lived in a difficult century, and yet they fashioned lives of dignity and honest accomplishment, leaving behind inspiring books and grateful students who continue their life's work. It is to their memory that the editors of **Manuscripta Orientalia** dedicate this final issue of 2001.*

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

A. G. Sazykin

THE MESSAGE OF THE THREE SACRED MONGOL LAMAS

The genre of messages, which has a long history in Buddhist literature [1], was most popular among Mongolian Buddhists. The large number of manuscripts containing injunctions has survived in both foreign and Mongolian collections of manuscripts and xylographs [2]. Rich material for the study of this genre of Mongolian literature is found in the collection of manuscripts and xylographs at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies; at present, it holds some 200 items that contain no fewer than 50 different “orders” (*jarliy*), “bequests” (*geriyes*), “royal messages” (*lingden*), “edifications” (*suryal*) and “prophecies” (*esii*). In content, they can be divided into two main categories: prophetic messages and sermon messages. The majority of epistles identified in the collection contain prophecies by celestial beings or the upper echelons of the Buddhist Church in Tibet and Mongolia; they “usually foretell the coming of a difficult time and give instructions on deeds that please the gods” [3]. Prophetic messages contain either an exposition of the general requirements of Buddhist morality or a condemnation of specific inclinations unacceptable to the Buddhist Church such as unbridled drunkenness [4], smoking [5], games of chance, etc.

Among the sermon messages in the collection, a sermon entirely devoted to criticism of Mongolian shamanist beliefs is of special interest. It exists in two redactions. The earlier redaction of the sermon is attested in the collection in two manuscripts (C 237, Q 743) and in a Buryat xylograph edition from the early nineteenth century (Q 2088) [6]. A transcription and translation of the early redaction of this anti-shamanist sermon based on the Buryat xylograph has already appeared in print [7]. The later redaction has been attested thus far in a single manuscript which served as the basis for the present publication [8]. The manuscript entered the collection of the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) in 1838 as part of the second collection of P. L. Schilling von Canstadt (1786—1837), which was acquired from the scholar's relatives after his death. The scholar of wide interests, Schilling von Canstadt had purchased the collection from A. V. Igumnov (1761—1834) during his scientific expedition to Eastern Siberia in 1830—1832 [9].

The right side of the first folio of the manuscript contains the heading “Order of Mergen-paṇḍita, Keüken Khutuktu and Dalai Khutuktu” [10]. These holy *lamas* are mentioned at the end of the text in all copies of the sermon. In attempting to correlate the titles mentioned in the heading with actual Mongolian holy *lamas*, we encountered unexpected difficulties. The greatest were associated with Dalai Khutuktu [11]. I failed to find in the lists of Mongolian *khutuktus* a holy *lama* with such a title [12]. Entirely different problems attended the identification of the second author, Mergen-paṇḍita, as two *khutuktus* in Northern Mongolia held exactly this title [13]. It does not seem possible at present to ascertain which of these two Khalkha *lamas* fulminated against shamanist beliefs.

We know much more about the third author, Keüken Khutuktu, whose full title was *mergen qambo Keüken qutu-yu-yin qubilyan* [14]. One of the *qubiljans* (reincarnations) was observed by A. M. Pozdnev in North-Western Khalkha in the Setsen Khan *ayimag* near Tengelig-Buridu during the latter's journey through Mongolia in 1893 [15]. By all accounts, this was a much respected *khutuktu* who occupied a position of some authority in the Buddhist hierarchy of Khalkha. The Mongols date his appearance to the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, when Keüken Khutuktu first appeared in the guise of one of the Buddha's disciples [16]. After a long series of reincarnations in India and Tibet, Keüken Khutuktu, beginning with the eleventh *qubilyan*, began to be reincarnated only in Khalkha, in the Setsen Khan *ayimag*. His monastery, Rinchen-tegcin-gling, was founded there; by the end of the nineteenth century, up to a thousand *lamas* resided there [17]. The monastery had large landholdings and many *šabinars* (serfs), whose numbers swelled to thousands of *yurts* [18].

Upon the first reincarnations of the Urga Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, better known as Öndör-gegen (1635—1723), the *ayimag* (monastic community) of Keüken Khutuktu was founded in 1651 at his headquarters in Yeke Kuriyen [19].

In his diaries, Pozdnev provides several other curious facts about these Mongolian *khutuktus*. The first is that a “characteristic of the Keüken Khutuktus is that they do not shave the hair on their head and wear a long brace over their shoulders; they make daily offerings to Padmasaṃ-

bhava [20] and especially venerate Marva [21]. This, of course, should indicate that the Keüken Khutuktus belong by teaching either to the ancient sect of Ning-ma-va [22], the doctrines of which are full of Tantrism and all manner of sorcery, or to its latest permutation, the sect of Dkar-gyud-pa [23], which has a preference for the hermit's life, reflection and all manner of asceticism" [24]. Pozdnev tells also of seeing the "gegen khukhen khutuktu, who is still very young, no older than 17 or 18 years, but already walks with hair flowing over his shoulders and is distinguished by his ferocity" [25]. The *khutuktu's* frightening appearance was meant to indicate, of course, that he was a reincarnation of the fearsome deity Yamantäka, one of the eight guardians of the Buddha's teaching [26].

The *qubilyan khukhen khutuktu*, our third author whose description we find in Pozdnev, is also known as the author of a "proclamation against the Chinese and foreigners from the time of the Boxer Rebellion" [27], which critiques the decline in morals in the Ch'in empire [28]. Yet another curious circumstance is that the Keüken Khutuktu, in Pozdnev's account, enjoyed the "special favour of the Qori Buryats", who considered him the "age-old (*uridanai blam-a*) of the Buryat" [29]. As proof, Pozdnev cites a legend on the origins of the Qori Buryat and their relations with the Keüken Khutuktus [30]. Keüken Khutuktu is also mentioned in Qori-Buryat chronicles as the spiritual leader Bübci-beyile, the progenitor of 11 Qori Buryat lineages [31]. The Buryats, of course, visited this *khutuktu* [32] and he was apprised of Buryat events, so he knew the problems that beset Buddhist preachers as they tried to spread the Buddha's teaching in this part of the Mongolian world. In an attempt to aid the *lamas* in their struggle with Buryat Shamanism, Keüken Khutuktu preached a sermon that "led away from the cunning throng of *ongyons* of darkness". That this anti-shamanist sermon, which we know through Buryat manuscripts from the first third of the nineteenth century, was drawn up for the Buryats is suggested by the fact that by that time Shamanism as a phenomenon had been virtually eradicated in Mongolia. The decisive measures taken by Buddhist missionaries in the late sixteenth — early seventeenth century to crush and extirpate shamanist beliefs among the Mongols led to the complete triumph of the Buddha's teaching [33].

A different picture emerged in Buryatia, where the prostelytizers of Buddhism were unable to supplant the local shamans. The ancient beliefs of the Mongol peoples retained their strength in the Baikal region not only in the early nineteenth century, but much later as well [34]. Consequently, anti-shamanist propaganda was nowhere as necessary as in this distant corner of the Mongolian-speaking world. The word of a *lama* who enjoyed such authority among the Buryat as Keüken Khutuktu would have been a powerful argument in the anti-shamanist campaign among the Buryat *uluses*. As a result of this, the composite text of the missive injunction that has come down to us was based on the sermons of Keüken Khutuktu and two other *lamas*.

We also know the name of the author-compiler who drew up this anti-shamanist philippic. The colophon of an early redaction states that at the request of the novice Gončok, "the Šakya *gelüing* [35] *yögajari* Yamantäki Sumadi-hiya [36], having sprinkled his head with ash from the feet of the virtuous *lama*, chose the spoken injunctions of three supreme *lamas* and drew up [this injunction]" [37]. We find another colophon in a later redaction. It states that "Sumadi-hiya, having prayed to his *lama*, drew up [the injunction] after repeated requests from the novice Lubsang-Prinlai" [38]. Thus, as the colophons list the names of two different persons who commissioned the manuscript, Sumadi-hiya worked twice on the text, and we have here two authorial redactions of the work.

The changes that made their way into the second redaction do not concern the entire original text, but only the concluding part, which makes up perhaps a third of the message. Primarily, this consists of added references to three canonical *sūtras* that contain warnings of the sad fate that awaits the followers of Shamanism. This is followed by the significantly expanded and reworked concluding section of the original redaction, expounded for the most part in poetic form.

This unique manuscript, which contains one of the redactions of this lone anti-shamanist sermon, the only one of its kind in the Mongolian language, seems to us a worthy example of Mongolian literature in the genre of messages.

TRANSLITERATION

(1a) *Mergen bandida Keüken qutuy-tu Dalai qutuy-tuyin jarliy*

(1b) *Blam-a-luḡ-a ilḡal ügei yidam Yamandaga-dur-ıyan mörgümü: sayin-ıyan orkiḡ sarayul-ača tögerekü böged mayuban abuḡad mun[ḡ]qay qaran[ḡ]yuyin dotor-a tögereḡci orčilang-un jim-a yosu-yi üküen tedüi ögüley-e: čidayci-vin šajin-i nara metü mandaju bayıquyin čay-tur qara jüg-ün on[ḡ]yod-i yaḡun-ıd šitü 'ne-e bui ta: misvanis-i daruyad: ilete toyuluḡsan burqan-un kücün-eče qara jüg-ün kücün yeke kemen yayaču sanana-a bui ta: ajına-a mungqay-ud minu: ačitu burqad-un ayıladyḡsan nom-ud-un dotor-a: qarayın ayımaḡ-yi buu šitü kemegsen-i ülü itegekü bögetele: qarın iletü jergevin nökor-eče bi qara-yi šitü kü buyu: bayıqu buyu kemen asaḡuqu böged: orkibası ülü bolam kemen ögülegsed-i itegeḡ=ci kümün: üker-luḡ-a ilḡal ügei: qarın üker cü: qarayın ayımaḡ ese šitü 'gsen-ıl tulada adayusun-u töröl jobalang-yi arıyamı: onḡod-i šitü 'gci kümün tere ber ene nasun-dur-ıyan eldü 'b [=eldeb] jüil-ün jobalang-ıyar nerbegdeged ecü 's qoyitu töröl-dür-ıyen ḡurban maḡu jayaḡan-dur unaquyin tula üker-eče door-a onḡyod-i tülküi-dür qorıḡu todaqarlayci kümün üküged Erlig-ün ḡajar ocıḡsan-u [=odıḡsan-u] qoyına-a (2a) eldü 'b [=eldeb] jüil-ün ıretü mes barıḡsan erlig-üd čabčıqu qadququyin bayıdal-ıyar qara jüg-ün on[ḡ]yod-i orkiyad: burqan-u šašin-i šitü 'y-e kemegsen kümün-tür todqar kıḡsen kümün ci mön buyu kemen erleg-üd eldeb jüil-ün jobalang üjügülküi čay(-tur) yaḡu keley-e genem bui ta: qara jüg-ün auy-a kücün yeke: burqan-luḡ-a šidar kemen ögülegci kümün tere öber-ıyen qara jüg-ün buruḡu nom-un kümün mön-ü tula: tegünü üges-i itegekü bayıtu=ḡai buyan-dur duralaju burqan-i šitü 'y-e kemen küsegcin: onḡyod-i maḡtayci tere kümün-eče ödter türgene-e jayılaqu yeke kereg-tei bayına-a bešüi: qara jüg-ün ayımaḡ-yi burqan metü šitü 'gcin boḡda-nar-un ayıladyḡsan nom-ud-un dotor-a: qara jüg-ün ayımaḡ-yi talqadun tegermedümü kemegsen nom-i unḡıqu čay-tayan yaḡu sanaju unḡsına-a bui ta:*

ebedčün-iyer enelgüi-ber jobaqui čay-tayan ongyod-nuyud-i jirü 'ken-degen šitü 'ged mörgün mörgün jalbaribaču ese tusa boluyad qarın nerbegdejü amaraşadun-ıvan aldan aldajısayar bayıbaču ülü medegči mungqay-ud: jula-[n]u genel-dür durlayad tüligdejü ükügči erbekei-luy-a ilyal ügei: erten-ü üile bay-a kigsen-ü qubi ber **(2b)** öber-iyen edegeküi čay-iyar dayarildırulju: bögener idıyud-i abču ireged tegün-ıyer arılıyayulaju edegebe kemegči endegürel-iyer yeke mun[g]qarayşan mön-ü tula: ergičegül-ün bodoyad erte-eče jayılaltai bayına-a beşii: eldü 'b [=eldeb] jüil-ün temü 'r-i beyen-degen emü 'sügsen: öber-ün bey-e-ben nököge maryadan ebekü üküü-yi oyo medekü ügei bögetele busud-un ebekü üküü-yi qadal-iyar töröl ügei toyalaju bi edegen čıdanam kemeged: amitan-u tusa-yi qaval ügei imayta olja-[n]u qoyına-a-ača: ene nasun-u ami nere-ben orkiyad qoyitu sünesü-ben orkiyči bögener idıyud-nuyud noyitan miqačın-i ideküi küsejü: degere-ni bayışan-iyar ni 'y aldaju ükügči batayana-a metü qarın batayana-a amiban qoorlabachu: qoyitu sünesün-degen todqar ese kegsen-ü tula: bögener idıyud-ača batayana-a degere: ükügsen-ü qoyına-a ayula sakıju birid-ün jobalang-yi edleged tegünče tonıl=basu vačır-tu tamu-dur unamui: teyimü-yin tulada bögener idu 'yud ene yabudal-ača ödter türgen-e jayılaju yeke kereg-tei bayına-a beşii: ongyod-i burqan metü **(3a)** šitü 'jü ger-iyer dügürgeged: burqan-u jergemji-eče degere uyayad čing süsüjü barıgči sangvar-tan-ud-i todorqayılan ögülebesü olan-dur yeke jıgşür-ıyer tulada: ese ögülebe teyimü tulada sangvar-tan-yud öber öber-iyen bodoyu qarayın jüil-i šitü 'küi-ben tebcikü masi yeke kereg-tei bayına-a beşii

Bgangıur-ača qarayşan qara čayan üilevin üre-i ilyaqu kemegči neretü sudur-un dotor amitan-i alayad ongyod-i takıgči süke-ber kemkelegči tamu-dur unaqui kiged temür ayuur-tur nidü 'gülüg=či tamu unaqu kemen nomlayşan bülüge :: ::

Kalvarisun modun kemegči neretü sudur-un dotor qarayın ayımay-yi šitü 'gči: un[g]yasun-u dotor-a oroşşan qara qoroqai-luy-a ilyal ügei: ungyaşun dotor-a oroşşan qara qoroqai qarqui sanayabar türgene-e ködülgüşen-iyer qarın čingy a-a orıyaydaju tegü 'n dotor-a üküdüy: tere-luy-a ilyal ügei qara šitü 'gcin ebekčün jobalang bolqu čay-tur jirü 'ken-degen: on[g]=yod-i ulam šitü 'ged qarın nerbegdejü üküümü: kemen nomlayşan bülüge:

Nayıman gegen-ü jirü 'ken tar 'ni-yi ögüleksen-ü tedü 'iken-iyer: qara **(3b)** jüg-ün ayımay-un tolojoı-yi doloşan anggi qayarqu kemegsen tarnı-yi unğşına-a buyu ta ügei buyu ta: kerbe unğşıqu bögesü: šitü 'gen boluy=şan ongyod-yuyan tarkı-yi qayalu=yad yayu šitü 'y-e genem bui ta: kerbe ülü unğşıqu bögesü boyda-nar-un ayıladuşşan nom-i yambar-ni tusa[a]jı kemen sanaşu unğşına-a bui ta: yambar-ni kereg-tei kemen sanaşu ülü unğşına-a bui ta:

aşına-a sekege ügei mungqay-ud minu: qarayın ayımay-yi šitü 'besü sayın kemegsen sudur: ta nadur üjegülbesü: bi tan-u nidün-ü emü 'n-e gem-yuşan namančılaj-a: kerbe bui šitü kemegsen bögesü: urida šitü 'gsen gem-iyen arıyaju kiged: qoyına-a šitü 'küi-ben amin-dur tulbaču bui šitü 'y-e kemen tan[g]yayı=laquı-yi kečiyekü kereg-tei bayına-a beşii: jarım-ud inu öber-ün ger-teki ongyod-i tülükü-degen ayuqu imiyeküi seşij ügei bögetele: ayılayın on[g]yod kiged amidui bögener idıyud-ača ayuycı kümü 'n asuru yeke mungq[a]rayşan-u tulada aşıflan bodoyad: ger-ün on[g]yod ayılayın ongyod amidui bögener idıyud ene yurban ilyal ügei kemen medekü kereg-tei bayına beşii

Ken kümün kereg ügei qarayın ayımay-yi šitü 'küi-ben tebcıged:

(4a) Ketü 'rkei burqan-u qutuı-yi olqu bolıyayı

Alıba kümün adqay-tu qarayın ayımay-yi šitü 'küi-ben tebcıged:

Alus qoyitu töröl-dür arılışşan burqan-u qutuı-yi olqu bolıyayı:

Alıba amitan abqu orkiyuın ilyal-i medeged:

Arhan qara nigü 'l-i tebcı=ged:

Arılışşan burqan-u qutuı-tur kürkü bolıyayı:

Amitan-u nigülesüycı Abadaşın dergede

Amıyulang-tu Sukavadi-yin oron-dur sečeg-eče qubılju

Alıba amitan arıyın bodı-sadıyın bey-e olqu bolıyayı:

Bi ene bey-e-[n]ü sayın-iyar qarayın ündü 'sün-i tasulqu busu:

Ačıtı boyda bayşı blam-a-yin jarlıy-tur šitüjü tasul=muı

Ilaju tegüş nöğčıgsen tegüncilen iregsen šıg[e]müni burqan

Erte terigülesi ügei čay-tur eke bolıyşan

Jırıyşan jüil qamıyamitan-u tusaşın tulada

Naiman tümen dörben mingyan nisvanis-un daruly-a yöründeg bolşan:

Naiman tümen dörben mingyan nom-un čoyças-i

Nomla=quı čay-tayan qarayın ayımay-yi bui šitü kemegsen-i üjekü bögesü:

Olan amitan-a ene ba qoyıtuyın tusa jıryalang-ni hütüy=sen-eče busu:

Olan amitan-i jobayaqı sanayabar ayıladuşşan ügei bui j-a: kemen sanaltai bayına beşii:

Egü 'n-dür engdegürel gem kedüi činegen bui bolbasu

Yeke nigülesüycı boyda blam-a merged minu küličen soyurq-a:

Erdem-i suruyad ene qoyıtuyın ilyal-i medeged ögüleki minu busu:

Omoş-un erke ba dayarıqu **(4b)** manyaqu čü busu:

Olan amitan-a uqayulun sanayulqu arı-a ene bolbuu kemen sanaşu ögülebe:

Uqayatu merged minu:

Ayur kiling-ün düri-yi barıl ügei

Uralan jasıyad udal ügei:

Udurid-un tarq-a=yaqı-yi ayıladqamui:

Surču sudulıyşan erdem ügei boluyad

Uqayan mungqay töröl ücügüken aday-yi-yin mayu bi:

Aman juy-a-bar demei donyodıyşan egüni

Ačıtı merged minu arılışşan jasıquı-yin ayıladqamui:

jig-tü qarayın ayımaḡ-aça jigšileküi jim-a yosun egüni süsü'g beširel-luy-a tegü'sü'ysen šabi Lubsang-prenlai darui ber aḡitan-u tusayın tulada ene metü nigen kereg kemen dakin dakin duradıḡsan-u urmas-tur ačitu baḡsi blam-a-dur-ıyan jalbarıju Su'madi-hiy-a ber nayıraḡulbai.

TRANSLATION

(1a) Message of Mergen-paḡḡita, Keüken Khutuktu and Dalai Khutuktu

(1b) We venerate equally the *lama* and our patron Yamantäka^[1]. Let us speak somewhat of the customs of *orčilang*^[2], where, having rejected what is good, they abandon what is light, and, having mastered what is evil, wander in the darkness of ignorance.

Why should it be that at a time when the religion of the powerful [Buddha] is rising like a sun, you place your hopes in *ongyons*^[3] of the dark side?^[4] Why do you think that to crush vice the strength of the dark side is more powerful than the strength of the Buddha who Fully attained^[5] [understanding]? Unhappy fools!

No different than a beast is he who, not trusting the fact that it is written in the sacred books of the venerable Buddhas: "Do not believe in the throng of shamanist [*ongyons*]", asks of various acquaintances: "Should I believe in Shamanism or not?" and believes when they reply that one should not discard [the *ongyons*]. For even cattle, in recompense for not believing in the swarm of shamanist [idols], are free from the sufferings of [new] incarnations in [the form of] animals. For a man who venerates the *ongyons* is lower than a beast. In this life he shall undergo all manner of torments, and in a future incarnation he shall fall to the three types of evil fate^[6].

When a man who has hindered the burning of *ongyons* expires and arrives in the land of Erlig^[7], (2a) the *erlig*s who hold various types of sharp swords and are ready to slash and stab with them, will ask, "Are you not the man who prevented people from discarding the *ongyons* of the dark side and placing their faith in the religion of the Buddha?" What will you reply, when the *erlig*s begin to torment you?

A man who asserts that the power of the dark side is great and equal [to the power of] the Buddha is a man who follows the false teaching of the dark side. For this reason, every virtuous person who strives to place his faith in the Buddha must not only take no heed of such words, but must quickly turn away from anyone who praises the *ongyons*.

[You,] who venerate the throng [of *ongyons*] of the dark side are equals of Buddha! In the sacred books taught by the saints, it is said: "Crush into dust the swarm [of *ongyons*] of the dark side". Of what do you think when you read the sacred text? You do not know that in the hour of suffering from ailment, relying in your heart on the *ongyons*, though you begin to pray, again and again prostrating yourself before them, it shall do no good. The sufferings shall begin again and [you] will lose one who is close to you. In your stupidity [you] resemble moths that strive for the light and perish in the fire.

In the throes of a great delusion, you feel that you have been healed thanks to the intercession of shamans and female shamans. [In fact,] this merely coincided with the fact that [you] recovered on your own thanks to your previous humble [good] deeds (2b). Having thought this over, you should turn away from [your] previous [delusions].

Even the flies that alight on raw meat, desiring to taste it, and stick to it and perish [there], harming themselves, do not, however, cause damage to their future incarnations. [This is why] they are better than the shamans and female shamans, who, wearing all manner of metal trinkets and knowing not whether they themselves will die or grow ill the next day, falsely foretell to others illnesses and death, saying, "We can heal you". Because they care not for living things, but only for their own profit, [they], taking leave of the body in this life, in the next [reincarnations] will lose their souls. After death they will experience the sufferings of the *pretas* that guard the mountain. If they avoid these [torments], they shall descend to "Eternal Hell". For this reason the shamans and female shamans must by all means turn away from such deeds.

(3a) If one is to speak in detail of those who, firm in their belief and oaths, [still] venerate the *ongyons* as though they were equal to the Buddha and fill their dwellings with them and hang them higher than [depictions of] the Buddha, many will find this disgusting. This is why I do not say this. It is extremely important that all who have taken the oaths themselves think this over and turn away from their belief in Shamanism.

In the *Kanjur*^[8] there is a *sūtra*^[9] called "Distinguishing between the Consequences of Good and Evil Deeds"^[10]. It states that he who has killed living things and venerated the *ongyons* shall fall into the "Hell of those who cut with axes" and the "Hell of those who crush [you] in an iron mortar".

In the "*Sūtra* called the 'Tree of Kalbaravas'"^[11], it is said that those who venerate the throng of shamanist [*ongyons*] are akin to those black worms that end up in the fur [of animals]. [These] black worms that find themselves in fur may crawl quickly, hoping to get out, but find themselves ever more entwined in it and perish. Akin to them are the followers of Shamanism, for though they place their faith in time of illness and suffering in the *ongyons*, they perish for this reason in torment.

Do you or do you not read the sacred *tarni*^[12] from [the *sūtra*] "Eight Types of Light"^[13], which one must only pronounce (3b) for the heads of the swarm [of *ongyons*] of the dark side to split into seven parts? If you read it, then what will you then venerate after you have smashed the brains of your [once] esteemed *ongyons*? If you do not read it, then what sacred books taught by the saints will you read, finding them beneficial, and what of the indispensable [literature] will you not read?

Unhappy, unreasoning fools! If you show me the *sūtra* where it is said that it is correct to believe in a swarm of shamanist [idols], I will repent before your eyes of my wrongfulness. But if it is said, "Do not believe [in Shamanism]!" then [you] must cleanse the sin of your previous veneration and in the future strive to swear an oath not to place your faith [in Shamanism], though your life be in danger.

Though some people, free from doubt and fear, have burned the *ongyons* in their homes, [they] still fear the mountain *ongyons* and living shamans. And since this stems from their great ignorance, they should stop to think and realize that there is no difference between these domestic *ongyons*, mountain *ongyons*, and living shamans.

May all people who have given up their faith in the unworthy swarm of shamanist [idols] (4b) acquire the highest sanctity of the Buddha!

May each person who has entirely turned away from faith in the throng of shamanist [*ongyons*] find in future reincarnations the supreme enlightenment of the Buddha!

May each living thing, having grasped the difference between that which one should accept and that which one should reject, avoid the ten black sins^[14] and attain the supreme enlightenment of the Buddha!

May each living thing, born anew from a flower in the tranquil land of *Sukavadi*:^[15] by the most merciful Abida, acquire the body of an enlightened *bodhisattva*:^[16]

I raze the foundations of Shamanism not because I myself am so virtuous, but because I rely on the injunctions of the merciful, sacred *lama*-teacher.

When the Conqueror, he who has attained complete *nirvāna*, he who thus gone^[17], the Buddha Śākyamuni, in those long-gone times, for the benefit of the six types of all living things^[18], to counteract the eighty-four thousand vices, preached a mound of eighty-four thousand sacred books, he enjoined not to believe in the swarm of shamanist [*ongyons*].

One should remember that this was preached not so that many living things should suffer, but to bring benefits and grace to many living things in this and future lives.

If there are here any errors and omissions, then please forgive them, my most merciful sacred *lama*-teachers.

I have recounted this not because I have learned great wisdom and understood the difference between the present and future.

[I] am not shod by pride, contradict no one (4b) and dispute no one.

I have told [all of this] in the hope that [my words] will become a means of bringing reason and reminding many living things [of the path of salvation].

My wise men, [filled] with reason!

Avoiding anger and rage, without delay having remedied [all] artfully, please distribute [this] guide.

I am an uneducated [person], foolish and of low birth.

[For this reason], my venerable wise men, please correct that which I have [here] spoken without thought for good sport.

I drew up [this teaching] because the adept Lubsang-Prinlai, filled with pioussness, repeatedly noted the necessity of this guide to turning away from the cunning swarm of shamanist [*ongyons*] that living things may benefit. Sumadi-hiya, having prayed for strength to my merciful *lama*-teacher.

Commentary

^[1] Yamantāka (Yamandaga, Skt. Yamāntaka) — Buddhist divinity of menacing appearance, one of the eight *dharmapālas* (defenders of the Teaching), implacable extirpaters of Buddhism's enemies.

^[2] *Orčilang* — the material world populated by the six types of animated beings.

^[3] *Ongyon* — a shamanist idol, keeper of ancestor-spirits. The main object of worship in Shamanism.

^[4] Dark side (*qara jüg*) — in accordance with ancient Turkic and Mongol beliefs in Central Asia, black corresponded to the north side of the world.

^[5] Who Fully attained understanding — an epithet of the Buddha.

^[6] Three types of ill fate (*yurhan maṃu javayan*) — birth among animals, *pretas* (beings constantly tormented by hunger and thirst) and the dwellers of hell.

^[7] Land of Erlig (*Erlig-ün yaḃar*) — Buddhist hell. Erlig (or Erlik Nomun Khan) is the lord of hell, judge of the dead and guardian of the Buddhist teaching. He is aided by numerous *erligs* with the heads of various animals.

^[8] *Kanjur* — a collection of Buddhist canonical texts ascribed to the Buddha.

^[9] *Sūtra* (*sudur*, Skt. *sūtra*) — a sacred text that contains a sermon by the Buddha.

^[10] The Mongolian version of the *Kanjur* lacks a *sūtra* with the title *Qara čayan üleyin üre-i ilyaqu kemegči neretü sudur*. The reference is likely to the work *Qutuy-tu sayin maṃu üile-yin siltayan kiged aci ür-e-yi uqaḃulqui neretü yeke kölgen sudur*, found in the *Kanjur* in the section *Eldeb*. See L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé* (Budapest, 1942), i, No. 1118.

^[11] “*Sūtra* called ‘The Tree of Kalbaravas’” — we know of a *śāstra* with this title in vol. 181 of the Peking xylograph edition of the *Tanjur* in Mongolian.

^[12] Sacred *tarni* — magic formulas, incantations.

^[13] “Eight Types of Light” (*Nayiman gegen*) — the canonical work *Qutuy-tu oytarḃui yaḃar-un naiman gegen neretü yeke kölgen sudur* in the *Dandr-a* section of the *Kanjur*. See Ligeti, *op. cit.*, No. 709.

^[14] Ten black sins — they include sins of the body (murder, theft, adultery), sins of speech (lying, cursing, slander, idle chatter), sins of thought (rapacity, anger, untoward views).

^[15] *Sukavadi* (Skt. *Sukhāvati* “land of purity”) — one of the Buddhist paradises, where the buddha Amitābha (Abida) resides in the company of the righteous.

^[16] *Bodhisattvas* (*bodisadu-a* Skt. *bodhisattva*) — in Lamaism, beings that have reached the Buddha-state but declined to leave the vortex of life so that they can help and save living things. According to *Dharmasaṃgraha*, the *Mahāyāna* pantheon includes eight main *bodhisattvas*: Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Kṣiṃgarbha, Sarvanirvarāṇa, Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Ākāṣagarbha. Especially venerated by the northern Buddhists were Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

¹⁷¹“The Conqueror” (Skt. *Jina*), “he who attained complete *nirvāṇa*”, “he who thus gone” (Skt. *tathāgata*) — epithets of the Buddha.

¹⁸¹Six types of living things (*jurjuyan jūil qamuy amitan*) — *tengrin*, *asuri* (bellicose heavenly demons), people, animals, *pretas*, dwellers of hell. According to Buddhist teaching, each living thing can after death be reborn in any of these six forms; the first three are considered reincarnations of propitious fate, or higher incarnations, while the latter three are reincarnations of evil or unpropitious fate.

Notes

1. Among the earliest examples of this genre are such works as the “Message to a Friend” by Nāgārjuna, “Message to a pupil” by Candragomin and “Message to the *mahārāja* Kaniṣka” by Maṭṭceta. Translations of these writings found their way into the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the *Tanjur*.

2. A. Sarkozi, “A preclassical Mongolian prophetic book”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, XXIV (1971), pp. 41—9; *idem*, *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in 17—20th Centuries* (Budapest, 1992).

3. “Spisok materialam Ts. Zhamtsaranova i B. Baradiina: 1903—1904” (“List of materials by Ts. Zhamtsaranov and B. Baradiyn: 1903—1904”), *Izvestiia Imperatorskoĭ Akademii nauk*, XXII/3 (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 56.

4. D. Ėndon, A. G. Sazykin, “Tibeto-mongol'skaia didakticheskaia literatura o vrede p'iansva” (“Tibetan-Mongolian didactic literature on the perniciousness of drunkenness”), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 3 (1984), pp. 45—55.

5. A. G. Sazykin, “Iz istorii tibeto-mongol'skoĭ didaktiki” (“On the history of Tibetan-Mongolian didactic literature”), *ibid.*, 5 (1988), pp. 98—104; *idem*, “Pouchenie-nakaz Dalaĭ-lamy liudiam, kuriashchim tabak. Pis'mo sviatogo Dzhebtszun-damby” (“Injunction of the Dalai Lama to tobacco smokers. Letter by the holy Jebtsundamba”), *Buddizm Rossii*, Nos. 29—30, Spring-Fall 1998 (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 25—7; *idem*, “Prophetic messages of holy lamas about the sinfulness and perniciousness of smoking tobacco”, trans. into English by György Kara, in *Mongolian Studies. Journal of Mongolian Studies*, XXI (Bloomington, 1998), pp. 49—69; *idem*, “Dalai-lama preduprezhdaet” (“The Dalai Lama warns”), *Altaica* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 150—9.

6. *Idem*, “Rannepchatnye buriatskie ksilografirovannye izdaniia v sobraniikh mongol'skogo fonda Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR” (“Early-print Buryat xylographs in the collections of the Mongolian fond of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Istoriografiia i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki*, fasc. X (Leningrad, 1987), p. 146, No. 12.

7. *Idem*, “Antishamanskaia propoved' trĕkh buddiĭskikh sviatykh” (“An anti-shamanistic sermon of the three Buddhist saints”), *Istoriografiia i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki*, fasc. XI (Leningrad, 1988), pp. 154—72.

8. Manuscript No. 11, inv. No. 2298; 4 fols. (42.0 × 11.0 cm), text dimensions: 35.5 × 8.0 cm; 32 lines per page, Russian blue paper, early 19th century, ink, pen.

9. L. S. Puchkovskii, “Sobranie mongol'skikh rukopiseĭ i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR” (“Collection of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs at the USSR Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, IX (Moscow—Leningrad, 1954), p. 96.

10. The same heading is found in a manuscript from the collection of O.M. Kovalevskiy held in Vilnius, see Y. Rintchen, “Manuscripts mongols de la collection du Professeur J. Kowalewski à Vilnius”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIX/1—2 (1975), pp. 109—10, No. 29.

11. In a manuscript legend found on the face page of the Buryat xylograph, the Dalai Lama is indicated erroneously in place of the Dalai Khutuktu.

12. We know that in ordinary speech Mongolian *khutuktus* were frequently referred to by names that had little to do with their official titles. This may be the case here.

13. A. M. Pozdnev, *Ocherki byta buddiĭskikh monastyrei i buddiĭskogo dukhovenstva v Mongolii v sviazi s otnosheniem sego poslednego k narodu* (Essays on the Daily Life of Buddhist Monasteries and the Buddhist Clergy in Mongolia in Connection with the Latta's Attitude Toward the People) (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 240, No. 20, p. 241, No. 26.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 248, No. 43.

15. *Mongolia i mongoly. Rezul'taty poezdki v Mongoliiu, ispolnennoi v 1892—1893 gg. A. Pozdnevym* (Mongolia and the Mongols. Results of a Journey to Mongolia by A. Pozdnev in 1892—1893). Vol. 2: Diary and route, 1893 (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 472—5.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 481.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 474.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

19. S. Purebjab, *Qubsyalan omnoq iq qurce* (Ulan Bator, 1961), pp. 29—30.

20. Padmasambhava (Padma Sambhava) — Indian proselytiser of Buddhism in Tibet in the second half of the eighth century.

21. Marva (Marpa), see below, n. 23.

22. Ning-ma-va (Ningmapa) was a sect of Tantric Buddhism founded in Tibet in the eighth century during the Padmasambhava's time there. It was characterized primarily by the predominance of mystical practice and conjuring was the main path to salvation from suffering.

23. Dkar-gyud-pa (Kajudpa) — a sect founded in the eleventh century by a Tibetan teacher named Marpa (1012—1097). Along with Tantric practice, the teaching of the Kajudpa sect concentrated on asceticism as an effective means of salvation.

24. Pozdnev, *Mongolia i mongoly*, p. 474.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Confirmation of the fact that the Keüken Khutuktus were venerated as earthly incarnations of Yamantäka can be found, for example, in another well-known work by one of the *khubilgans* of this holy *lama*, *maṅtal* (hymn) in honour of the fearsome deity Mahäkäla. At the beginning of the text and in the colophon, the *khutuktu* is referred to as none other than — “His Majesty Šinje Yamantäka, the dear Keüken Khutuktu” (*erkim Singvi* (Tib. Gšin-rje — A. S.) *Yamandaga Erdeni Keüken qutuy-tu*). The work is kept in the Mongolian collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number Q184. For a translation of the short redaction of the *maṅtal*, which consists of 12 strophes, see *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury mongol'skikh plemĕn* (Examples of Folk Literature of the Mongol

Tribes). Fasc. I: *Narodnye pesni mongolov* (Folk Songs of the Mongols). Collected and published with notes on the nature of the folk song poetry of the Mongol peoples, literary poems and Mongolian poetic devices by A. Pozdnev (St. Petersburg, 1880), pp. 213—6. It is worth noting that the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection contains 9 Buryat manuscripts with the text of this *maytal*. It is also included in five collections (also Buryat) of hymns and good wishes. This manuscripts for the most part contain the full version of the *maytal* replete with 16 quatrains (see, for example, manuscript Q 308 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

27. “Spisok materialam sobrannym Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano v 1910 godu vo vremia ego putesthestviia po Iuzhnoi Mongolii” (“List of materials collected by Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano in 1910 during his journey to Southern Mongolia”). The work is kept in the archive of Orientalists at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, collection 62, inv. 1, No. 18, p. 579.

28. A. G. Sazykin, “Order of the Mongolian Keüken Khutuktu”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, L1/1—2 (1998), pp. 179—84; *idem*, “Proklamatsiia Khukhun-gegeña” (“Khukhun gegen's proclamation”), *Altaica III* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 82—7.

29. Pozdnev, *Mongolia i mongoly*, p. 472.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 472—4.

31. Rinchen, “Ob odnoi khori-buriatskoï rodoslovnoi” (“On one Qori Buryat genealogy”), *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, XVIII/1—2 (1965), pp. 223—4; G. O. Tudenov, “Legenda o Bal'zhin-khatun, odin iz pervykh pamiatnikov dorevolutsionnoi khudozhestvennoi buriatskoï literatury” (“The legend of Balzhin Khatun, one of the first texts of pre-revolutionary Buryat prose”), *Buriatskaia literatura* (Ulan-Ude, 1972). — Works of the Buryat Institute of Social Science, issue 16, philology series.

32. Pozdnev came upon one of these “Russian Buryats of the Qori jurisdiction, who had come to worship at the monastery of Keüken Khutuktu”, when he visited this sacred Mongolian *lama* (Pozdnev, *Mongolia i mongoly*, p. 472).

33. One of the most fervent proponents of the Buddha's teaching among the Western Mongols (Oirats) in the seventeenth century was Zaya-paṅḍita Namkhai-Jamco (1599—1662), whose biography tells us that he issued the order that runs: “anyone who sees someone making an offering to the *ongyons*, let him burn [those] *ongyons* and take [from the offender] a horse and a sheep. Let he who invites a shaman or female shaman to go into occultation have a horse confiscated. May the shaman and female shaman be covered in dog faeces” (Radnabhadra, *Lunnyi svet. Istoriia rabdzham Zaia-pandity* (Moonlight. The Story of Rabjam Zaya-paṅḍita), manuscript facsimile, translation from the Oirat by G. N. Rumiantsev and A. G. Sazykin. Transliteration of the text, foreword, commentary, indices and notes by A. G. Sazykin (St. Petersburg, 1999), p. 67. — Pamiatniki kul'tury Vostoka. St. Petersburg scholarly series, VII).

At the same time, another equally famed Buddhist missionary was spreading the Buddhist faith in Khalkha — Neyiji-toyin (1557—1653), also renowned for his uncompromising struggle against Shamanism, which he put into practice primarily by burning the above-mentioned hapless *ongyons*. See W. Heissig, “A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of Shamanism in the 17th century”, *Anthropos*, 48 (Wien, 1953), pp. 1—29, 493—536.

34. N. N. Poppe, “Opisanie mongol'skikh ‘shamanskikh’ rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia” (“Description of Mongolian ‘shamanist’ manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, 1 (Leningrad, 1932), p. 152.

35. *Gelüng* (*dgeslōng*) — a *lama* who has taken the full spiritual oath and is obliged to reside permanently in a monastery.

36. *Hiya* (*hiy-a*) — a person who accompanies noble religious and secular figures, a bodyguard. Over time this position “became a title bestowed as the distinction of several *lamas*” (Pozdnev, *Ocherki byta*, p. 168).

37. Sazykin, “Antishamanskaia propoved'”, p. 169.

38. The same colophon is found in a Buryat manuscript of a message from the Kovalevsky collection, see Rintchen, “Manuscripts mongols”, pp. 109—10, No. 29.

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI.
II. AVADĀNA AND JĀTAKA (PART 5)

It is impossible to identify a general theme in the stories presented in this article. They include versions of some *avadānas*, *jātakas*, and tales of Māra, who seduced the Buddha. This time the Buddha appears in one of his earlier incarnations as a *ṛṣi*. One should note the plot, common to many Indian myths about the gods: the leader of the gods, Indra, fears that an excessively dedicated *ṛṣi* will displace the head god through his pious feats and chastity. A number of

god through his pious feats and chastity. A number of stories describe the path various people took to the Buddha's teaching, including a Brahman and a simple shepherd. The Buddha gradually leads them through several reincarnations, each time bringing them closer to accepting the teaching.

The plot specifics of the stories are detailed in the commentaries.

FOL. [16a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *kārikah kāśvapeya gandhakuṭīya¹ muktāhāro baddhaḥ || sumana it[i]*
2. *āyusmatā ānuruddhasya sumano śramaṇoddeśo tena sapta varṣa kenaiva arhatvaṃ prāptaṃ*
3. *sadaOsiva māno sūcīpade² aṣṭa vimokā³ samāpadyate ca vyūttihate⁴ ca pāde pā-*
4. *de tathaiva yāva bhagavatā samvarṇitaḥ pūrvvayogaṃ vipaśyisyā⁵ sammyaksambuddhe (')ddhaṣaṣṭi⁶*
5. *satasahasra parivārasya sūcīpradānaṃ dattaṃ kāśyape ca brahmācariyaṃ cīrṇaṃ || demahyamiti*

TRANSLATION

1. took part in constructing a square around the temple. Adorned^[1] the cell of the Buddha Kāśyapa with a necklace of jewels. **About Sumana**^[2].

2. [A pupil] of the noble Āniruddha Sumana [became] *śramaṇoddeśa*^[3]. Within seven years [he] attained [the state of] *arhat*.

3. It was here that with each stitch of the needle he attained "eight liberations" and returned [through his sewing] step by step^[4].

4. And also [tell of how] the Bhagavān praised [him]. In an earlier incarnation in the time of the fully enlightened Vipāśyin'a, five and a half

5. million^[5] families were given [by him] gifts in good [faith]. In the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa [he] led a virtuous way of life. **[Story] entitled "We will give!"**^[6]

C o m m e n t a r y

[1] "Square by the temple" — *maṅḍalavāto* — remained on fol. 15b(5). *Baddhaḥ* = *bandhaḥ*, lit. "attached".

[2] *Sumana* (*Šumanā*) — hero of the *avadāna* *Šumanā itī*, see *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 67—71. The tale is a summary of the *avadāna*. Some lines are repeated exactly (see below). The *uddāna* on fol. 13a(2) contains the same title.

¹ A Prakritism, in place of *kāśyapīya gandhakuṭeḥ*.

² See the commentary below: *Avadānaśataka*, n. 4.

³ Instead of *vimokṣā*.

⁴ A Prakritism, cf. *Avadānaśataka*, n. 4: *vyūttīṣṭhate*.

⁵ Instead of *vipaśyinaḥ*, cf. n. 4.

⁶ Prakritism, in place of *ardhaṣaṣṭi*.

^[3] *Śramaṇuddeśa* (= *śramaṇoddeśa*), a special monastic title given to a monk who failed to undergo the *pravrajyā* ritual. According to Buddhist tradition, *Sumana* is credited with the introduction of this title: he was the first to receive the title *śramaṇoddeśa*, since as a child he was made a pupil of Āniruddha and spent many years with him. See *BHSD*, p. 534.

^[4] The text of line 3 is the same (with variant readings) as the text of the *avadāna* and contains metaphors common in Buddhist texts. See *Avadānaśataka*, II, p. 69, 1—2: “...*ekaikasmin sūcīpradeśe aṣṭau vimokṣānsamāpadyate ca vyuttiṣṭhate ca*” (“With each stitch of the needle he attained by way of meditation ‘eight liberations’ and returned [from them] [through his sewing]”). cf. *BHSD*, p. 519.

^[5] *Adhāṣaṣṭīśatasahasra* — instead of *ardha-ṣaṣṭī-śata-sahasra*, lit. “with a half (there will be) sixty hundreds of thousands”, i. e. “five and half million”.

^[6] The verbal form *demahyam* is not attested in Sanskrit. In the *uddāna* on fol. 13a(2) this tale is called “*demahi*”. The content of the story suggests that we find in the heading an incorrect form of the imperat. 1 plr. ātm. from the verb *dā* “give”, in place of the Skt. *dadāmahai* “let us give!”, “let’s give!”, as it is with the non-thematic classes, but *ā* is replaced by *e* in the root of the present tense.

FOL. 16b

TRANSLITERATION

1. + + + + + (mo)d[a](kakāra)k[ā] dadāti bravīhi na me kāryaṃ mo-dakeneti yadi va tu se dāsyam
2. tena uktaṃ na me kāryaṃ modakeneti yāva bhagavatā sa modako dattaḥ yāva bhagavatā
3. anāthapiṇḍada uktaḥ yāvataḥ varovācaṃ bhāṣati na me kāryaṃ tāvatā karṣapaṇā⁷
4. dehīti tena tathāiva kṛtaṃ yāva bhagavān āha eṣaiva eva hetur bhaviṣyati ni-
5. r[va]nasyeti⁸ || **abhaya itī** bhagavāṃ rājagṛhe viharati abhayaṣya vistaraṇa

TRANSLATION

1. [for money] the maker of sweets gives [them] ^[1]. [Bhagavān said]: “You say: ‘I should not do this with sweets’, if you even think about [really] selling them”.
2. He said: “I should not do this with sweets”. How Bhagavān gave these sweets (back). How Bhagavān
3. said to Anāthapiṇḍada: “However many times he has said those good words, ‘I should not do this with sweets’, that is how many *kārṣapaṇī*
4. you should give [to him]”. He did as the Bhagavān told him. “For this reason he will in the future attain *nirvāṇa*”.
5. **Abhaya** ^[2]. Bhagavān was in Rājagṛha. [And now] in detail Abhaya.

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] The tale is evidently addressed to a maker of sweets who sold his wares to monks. The Buddha indicated that this is not good and returned the sweets that were served him. For a similar story, see *Mahāvastu*, III, 113.

^[2] In the *uddāna* on fol. 13a(3) this story has the same title. The manuscript contains a summary of the *avadāna sārthavāha* Abhaya, on “the merchant Abhaya” from Rājagṛha (the text notes the place). Abhaya is known in the Buddhist literature for his statement that he does not believe in the consequences of any deeds, neither good nor bad, nor in the existence of the “other world” (in other words, in *karma* and reincarnation). Abhaya espoused his teaching until he was convinced otherwise by the Bhagavān and became his follower. See *Mahāvastu*, II, 2, 7—17. The same story is told about Kālīṅgi Abhaya (see *ibid.*, I, pp. 178—80), but the manuscript refers only to the first Abhaya, since the tale takes place in Rājagṛha.

FOL. [17a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. + + da[m] yathā nigranthaīḥ samutsahitaḥ vāde cāropitaḥ phala cānena kr[a]pta + + [i]-
2. ndrīyāṇāṃ agro nirdiṣṭaḥ karmaṃ kāśyape saṃmyaksambuddhe upāsako abhūṣi praṇi-
3. dhānaṃ kṛtvā || □ || catvāro rathasaṃyuktā kṛṣṇavarṇā ca kāśyapa suvarṇavarṇā⁹ ghoṣā
4. ca vayasya dhanarata r̥kṣa athālokumcīkena eru || □ || catvaro rathasaṃyuktā itī
5. brāhmaṇena bhagavāṃ adhvāne rathenopanmantritaḥ prasādo ca jātaḥ sa bhagavatā ratha-

⁷ Instead of *kārṣapaṇā*.

⁸ Instead of *nirvanasyatīti*.

⁹ Instead of *suvarṇavarṇā*.

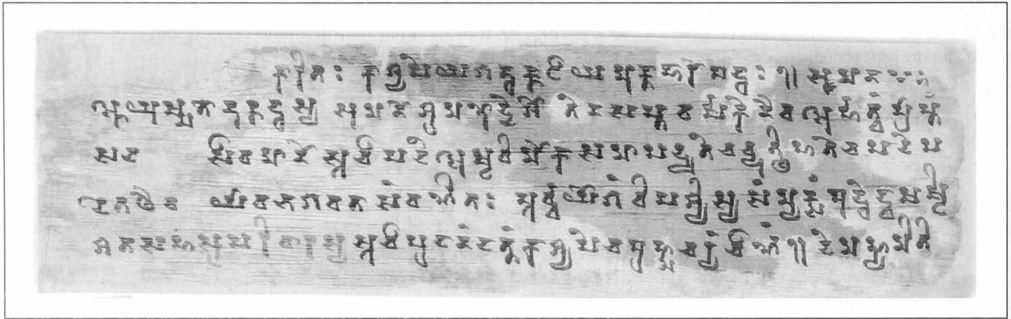


Fig. 1

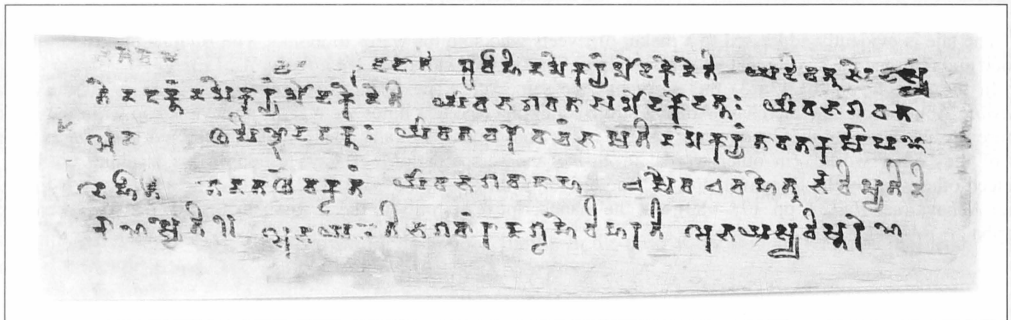


Fig. 2

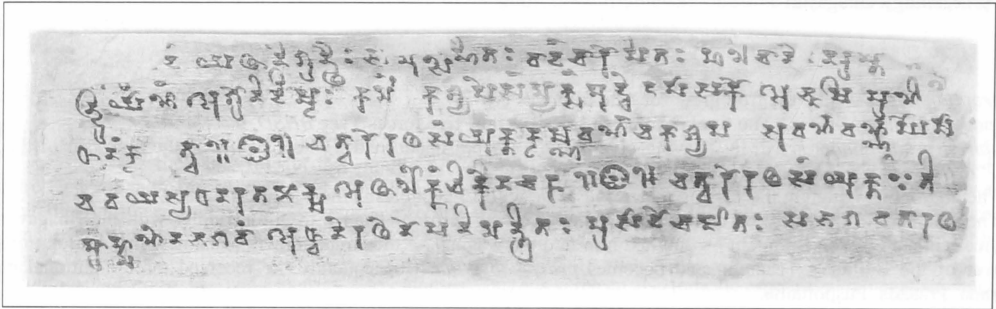


Fig. 3

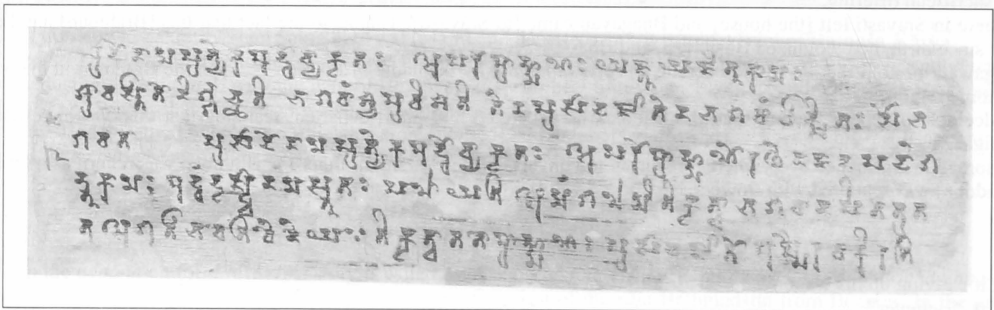


Fig. 4

TRANSLATION

1. ...How he was induced to argue by the Jain monks and [how] he reaped^[1] the fruits [of this], and [how], aggrieved for this reason.
2. he received instruction on the [five] forces^[2]. In accordance with the *karma*, in the time of the fully enlightened [Buddha] Kāśyapa he was *upāsaka* and made a vow
3. not to wear adornments^[3]. [*Uddāna*]^[4]: “Four [incarnations] connected with the wagon”^[5], “Kṛṣṇavarṇā” and “Kāśyapa”. “Suvārṇavarṇā”, “Ghoṣā”.
4. “Girl-friends”, “Dhanarata”, “the bear” and later with “Lukumcika”, “Eru”. “Four [incarnations] connected with the wagon”.
5. A Brahman along the way invited Bhagavān into the wagon, [and the next time] he was born a believer [in the Buddha's Teaching]. Bhagavān

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] *avopitaḥ phala* — lit. “the fruit grew” or “the fruit was grown”.

^[2] [*pañcamī*] *indriyāni* — “[The five] psychic abilities” or the “five forces”, see *BHSD*, p. 115.

^[3] *abhūṣi prañidhānaṃ kṛtvā*, lit. “having given a vow [to be] unadorned”, where *abhūṣi* is the nom. sg. of the stem *abhūṣin* “unadorned”, and *kṛtvā* is the absolutive of the root *kṛ*.

^[4] The *uddāna* is written in the 11-stop meter *anuṣṭubh*, with 13 syllables in the last line.

^[5] The title should evidently be understood in the following fashion. Thanks to an encounter with the Bhagavān and the service rendered by the Brahman — “invited him into the wagon” — the Brahman with each new incarnation turns into a follower of the Buddha's Teaching and becomes *pratyekabuddha*. Consequently, he received three additional names: Ratnaprada. Prasāda. Puṣpottama.

FOL. 17b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *prado nāma pratyekabuddho vyākṛtaḥ aparo brāhmaṇaḥ yajña vajitu[m] kāmāḥ*
2. *śrāvastīto nirgacchati bhagavānś ca praviśati tena prasāda jātena bhagavān vīkṣitaḥ so bha-*
3. *gavatā(O) prasādo nāma pratyekabuddho vyākṛtaḥ aparo brāhmaṇo rathena janapadāṃ ga-*
4. *ntu kāmāḥ buddhaṃ dr̥ṣṭvā namastutaḥ palāyati amamgalam iti kṛtvā bhagavān api tatra ta-*
5. *tra ag[r]a atibhavati¹⁰ vaineya iti kṛtvā tato brāhmaṇaḥ prasāda jāto puṣpair avakirati*

TRANSLATION

1. foretold that he would become a *pratyekabuddha* by the name of Ratnaprada^[1]. After this, the Brahman, wishing to make a sacrificial offering.
2. here in Śrāvasti left [the house] and Bhagavān came [to Śrāvasti]. Thanks to the fact that this [Brahman] had been a believer since birth, he recognized Bhagavān, and Bha-
3. gawan foretold that he would become a *pratyekabuddha* by the name of Prasāda^[2]. Then the Brahman in his wagon [to his home region]
4. decided to depart. Having seen the Buddha, he venerated him [and] departed, realizing that this was disrespectful. The Bhagavān
5. spread his influence everywhere, preparing to convert^[3] [the Brahman]. Later the Brahman was reborn as a Prasāda. The [Buddha] was scattered with flowers.

C o m m e n t a r y

^[1] Lit. “giving up his wagon”.

^[2] Lit. “Believer”.

^[3] *vaineya iti kṛtvā* — “having [so] acted that he would wait for conversion”.

FOL. [18a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. + *bhagavatā puṣpottamo pratyekabuddho vyākṛtaḥ || kṛṣṇavarṇa iti bodhisatvaḥ duṣkaraca-*
2. *ryān carantaḥ kṛṣṇavarṇaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ māro utya¹¹ paribhāṣati yādṛṣa ste varṇaḥ bhaga-*

¹⁰ Instead of *agra atibhavati*.

¹¹ Instead of *uta*.

3. *vāṃ mai Otrayā*¹² *kathayate vyavalokaya me cittam iti pūrvayogaḥ ṛṣī ugraṃ tape*¹³
4. (*bhaga*)*vāṃ tato śakkraḥ devānām indraḥ bhītaḥ mā me ayaṃ ṛṣīsthānā cāvayīṣyatīti*

TRANSLATION

1. Bhagavān foretold that he would become a *pratyekabuddha* by the name of Puṣpottama^[1]. (**Tale**) of **Kṛṣṇavarṇa**^[2].
2. Māra, in the form of Kṛṣṇavarṇa, disguised as a *bodhisattva* carrying out difficult tasks, delivered [his] sermons^[3]. Just as well-known was Bhaga-
3. wan [and he] espoused love [for all living things]. [He] said [to Māra]: “Pay attention to my consciousness”. In an earlier incarnation with great ascetic feats did the *ṛṣi*
4. Bhagavān occupied himself. Then Śakra, king of the gods, grew frightened: “Lest he displace me from [my] position as the [head] of the *ṛṣi*”.

C o m m e n t a r y

[1] Puṣpottama — lit. “best of the flowers”.

[2] The story has the same title in the *uddāna* on fol. 17a(3). Kṛṣṇavarṇa means “black in colour”. In the Buddhist literature Kṛṣṇa is the name or epithet of Māra, the subject of this tale (see *BHSD*, p. 191). In plot it is similar to the story “*Ṛṣi*” cited earlier (see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VII/2, p. 18) with the title (fol. 13a2—b4). A similar tale, also with Śakra, is given in the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (see *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. 1, ed. Raniero Gnoli, Roma, 1977, pp. 113—6).

[3] *uta paribhāṣati* — lit. “and espouses, also espouses”, but this verb can also indicate espousal with negative connotations.

FOL. 18b

TRANSLITERATION

1. (*k*)*r*[*ṣ*]*ṇav*[*arṇa*] + + + (*pra*)*vāpatyaḥ kin nirarthakaṃ khedaṃ āpadyase ṛṣicitta pāriśuddhīya*
2. *śakkraṃ (u)ktaṃ*¹⁴ O + *paṇyati tataḥ śakkraḥ prasāda jātaḥ apakrānta iti || romaśakāśya-*
3. *pa i*Oti *bodhisattvaḥ bodhimūle śhītaḥ māreṇa pāpimatā divyāpsarābhiḥ pralobhī-*
4. *yati*¹⁵ *divyena nṛta*¹⁶ *gītavādītena pṛechati śakkraḥ kaccit*¹⁷ *sunṛtaṃ sugītaṃ suvādītam iti*
5. *yena [pra]ṣ[ṇa]ṃ śrutam vāsyād iti tato māro duḥkhiṭaḥ prakkrantaḥ pūrvayogaḥ ṛṣi romakāśya-*

TRANSLATION

1. Kṛṣṇavarṇa [accused Bhagavān]: “In what undesirable inertia do you live? The consciousness of a *ṛṣi* should be pure”.
2. It was said to Śakra ... Then Śakra believed (Māra) and departed, thus it is told. [Tale] of **Romaśa Kāśya-**
3. **pa**^[1]. The Bodhisattva, founder of enlightenment, by Māra with the help of sinful lovely *apsara* [repeatedly] underwent
4. seduction. [This time], with the help of [that woman] who beautifully dances, sings and tells tales. Śakra asked [the Bodhisattva]: “Who is that who is so lovely in dancing, singing and speech?”
5. [the Bodhisattva], who heard [this] question, [replied]: “May [she] get dressed!”^[2]. After this the disappointed Māra departed. In an earlier incarnation the *ṛṣi* Romakāśyapa^[3]

C o m m e n t a r y

[1] In the *uddāna* on fol. 17a(3) this story is called Kāśyapa. The reference is to *jātaka* No. 433 (*Lomasakassapa-jātaka*). The main character is the *ṛṣi* “Hairy Kāśyapa”, the son of a priest of the *rāja* Brāhmadatta from Benares. In the *jātaka* the seduction was set up by Śakra, who feared the *ṛṣi*'s pious feats, with the help of the *rāja* Brāhmadatta, who promised to make his daughter the *ṛṣi*'s wife if the latter agreed to make an impressive sacrifice of animals. Buddhism prohibited the sacrifice of animals. See the story given above, where Māra himself attempts to seduce the Buddha, and note 2 to the story. Śakra's fears over the *ṛṣi*'s accomplishments are repeated.

¹² Instead of *maitrāya*.

¹³ Instead of *ṛṣi ugratape*.

¹⁴ Instead of *śakraṃ uktaṃ*. The word *uktaṃ* was omitted and inserted a bit over the line with small script.

¹⁵ Instead of *pralobhayati*.

¹⁶ Instead of *nṛta*.

¹⁷ Instead of *kāścit*.

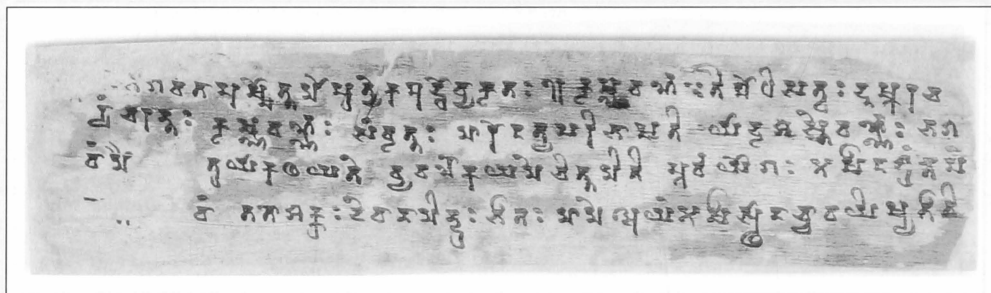


Fig. 5

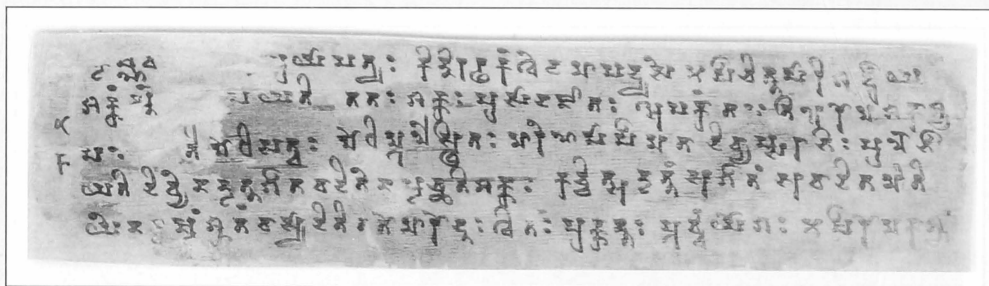


Fig. 6

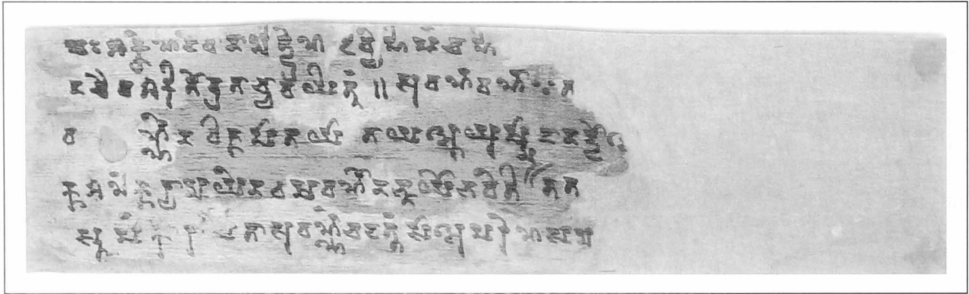


Fig. 7

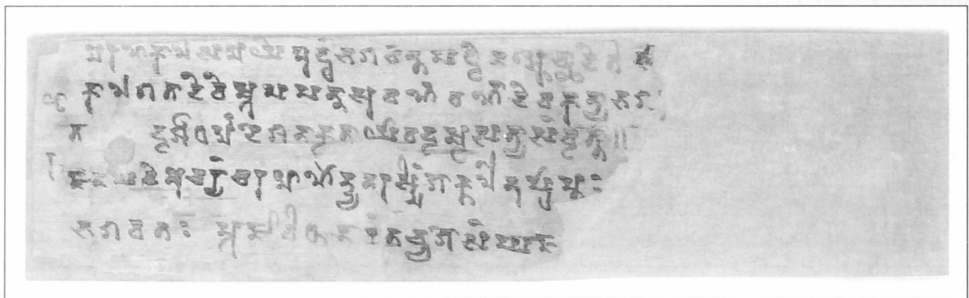


Fig. 8

^[2] The title of the following story is missing because of a lacuna. In the *uddāna* on fol. 17a(3) it is called *Ghoṣā*. Clearly, this is a *meter causa*, instead of *Ghoṣā*.

^[3] *pūjāvidhā* — lit. “type of veneration, form of veneration”.

^[4] The context is unclear, and the story has remained unidentified.

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. [16a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 16b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [17a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. 17b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. [18a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. 18b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 7. The same manuscript, fol. [19a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 8. The same manuscript, fol. 19b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

ARABOSOGDICA: PLACE-NAMES IN TRANSOXIANA AS WRITTEN IN ARABIC SCRIPT*

Among all of the non-Persian Iranian toponyms of Mawarannahr that have come down to us thanks to medieval sources (some 1,000 items [1]), the vast majority (80—90%) are those mentioned in Islamic Arabic, Persian and Turkic sources. This multilingual group is united by certain general characteristics — a single cultural environment, a great deal of mutual influence, and, most important, a single tradition of writing. The transmission of Sogdian glosses through the Arabic script is the topic of the present article.

The Persian and Turkic varieties of writing are far better suited to Sogdian phonetics than their Arabic precursor. The Arabic alphabet with all additional Persian letters (*p*, *č*, *ž*, *g* and *β*, Arabic *f* with three dots — *fā'* 'ajamī, *fā'* muthallath, found in some early New Persian and Turkic texts, Chorasmian glosses) can correctly convey virtually all Sogdian consonants. But the Arabic alphabet itself could have served the needs of Sogdian no worse than could the Buddhist (Sogdian-Aramaic), Christian (Nestorian) or Manichaean writing systems (cf. the various difficulties in conveying Sogdian labials with these writing systems). Moreover, one should bear in mind that Persian texts, especially the early ones that are most important for us, often lack all of the necessary diacritics, making them the functional equivalent of Arabic-alphabet texts. Additionally, some Arab authors — especially al-Sam'ānī (henceforth,

Sam.) — often indicate “special” Persian letters in the headings of their dictionary entries [2].

The preceding comments on the means Arabic script possesses to convey Sogdian sounds would hold if the authors of the sources used here [3] had written coherent Sogdian texts rather than individual glosses in a language they appear not to have known at all [4]. Taking into account the slips of the pen that inevitably creep into manuscripts, many words are difficult to recognize. For example, a village in the land of the Qarluqs on the way to Barskhān (a city on Lake Issyk-Kul), Qudāma (206) calls a village in the land of the Qarluqs on the way to Barskhān (a city on Lake Issyk-Kul), Qudāma (206) calls *كترمتراو* [5], Gardīzī — *كومبركث* and *HA* — *كرميناكث* [6]. Only by juxtaposing all of these forms can we reconstruct the name with reasonable surety as *كرميركث**, Sogdian **krm'yr+knḏh/Karmūr-ka''θ/* ‘Red Town’ [7].

However, in other cases variant spellings reflect not so much errors and carelessness in transcription, but various ways of conveying the sounds [8]. For example, the well-known settlement and palace of the Bukhār-khudāts to the west of Bukhara, usually referred to in the archaeological literature as *Varakhsha*, is given in the most varied forms in Islamic sources: *Afraxšī*, *Abraxša*, *Awraxšā*, *Faraxša* [9]. This allows one to reconstruct the name as Sogd. **(ʔ)βraxšē*. This article treats precisely such means of conveying Sogdian sounds in Arabic script.

1. Consonants [10]

1.1 Back. We know that Sogdian had three back consonant phonemes (*k*, *γ*, *x*) and one allophone (*g* < *k* in the *ng* < *nk* position). Early Sogdian had a *x'* sound, later contracted to *xu*. The Arabic alphabet has letters for the first three sounds, but lacks a letter for the fourth (*g*), so the *ng* group was conveyed in two ways: with *-nj* (cf. Arab. *ṣatranj* < Pers. *ṣatrang*) or (more rarely) with *nk*. The latter spelling was more typical of Persian usage. Cf. the numerous place-names in *-sank'/-sanj*, the majority of which go back to Sogd. *saṅg* ‘stone’; some of them, however, proba-

bly go back to Sogd. Budd. *snk'/sanga/* ‘monastic community’ (<Old Ind. *saṃ-gha-*). Moreover, one should take into account that *x* could be distorted in the copying process to *h* or *j*, *ghayn* to ‘ayn, *k* > *l* (and *vice versa*). We note especially that Sogdian *k* could also be given as an ordinary *k* or emphatic *q*. While *q* was used primarily in Turkic glosses, it is also found in Sogdian names. For example, the name of the Bukharan settlement *Saqmatīn* in Narshakhī (II, XXII, pp. 8, 52) apparently goes back to Sogd. *(')sk('y)+myḏn*, Old Iran. **uska-maiθana-*, ‘Upper Settlement’ [11]; a very

* For the transcription of Sogdian glosses in Arabic script, we use Greek letters *δ*, *χ*, *θ*, *γ*, *β* for the fricatives; emphatic *k* is given as *q*, and with the exception of specially discussed cases we omit regular Arabic endings (*tanwīn*) and give the usual feminine ending (*-at*^m) as *-a*. Where possible, transliteration is accompanied by vowel transcription. The voiced affricative *j* given as *j*. The author is most grateful to Prof. V. A. Livshits, Prof. B. I. Marshak, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences I. M. Steblin-Kamensky and Mr. I. Yakubovich for reading the drafts of this paper and valuable remarks on it. If you are interested in the subject of this paper, you are welcome to contact the author at pavlsvria@mail.ru.

late (15th century) name of a ploughed field near Samarqand, *mazra' a-yi rīmīq* [12], apparently means 'dirty field', where *-rīmīq* is derived from Sogd. *rym* 'dirt', in the same way as 'pyk 'watery' < 'p-. *X'*' was usually given as *x* with a following *u* *harakat*, sometimes (especially before long vowels) as *xw*. For example, the village and region not far from Bukhara (IHq, 486, Išt., 310, Sam., 195v, Yāqūt, II, 427 [13]) — *Xurmīthan* from Sogd. *xwr + mydn* 'Settlement of the Sun' [14]; the old name of Kokand — *Xwākand* (*passim*, Išt. — *Xākand*, late medieval *Xūkand*), probably from Sogd. **xwāk* ('trade' [15] + *knōh* 'town'). In one instance we find a confusion of *x/γ* [16] in the name of the village *Yaynī* near Nakhshab (Sam., 601r — 601v, Yāqūt, III, 1022, Sam. D., 11, 86), which goes back to Sogd. Man. *γxnyy* 'food set aside' (lit. 'icy', 'frozen'), cf. *Yaynāb*, not attested in available [17] Arabic-script sources (while 'ice' in *Yaynobi* is actually *ixn*). Cf. also the confusion of *q/γ* in clusters: *Xarqān-rūd* (Išt., 309—10), but *Xarqān-rūd* in *Narshakhī* (II, Frye, No. 7, cons.).

1.2. Sogdian had one affricate — *č* with a variant as *j* (in *ŋ*). Moreover, N. Sims-Williams reconstructs the sound *c* (*ts*) [18] on the basis of *ts* given as *c* (*č*) in Sogdian Christian texts. Arabic has only the affricate *j*, which did not convey Sogd. *č* in all cases. In conveying well-known names [19], *č* was transcribed with *š* (*Šayāniyān*, Pers. *Šayāniyān*, Sogd. attributive *cy'ny*). This was typical also of Arabic spellings of loans from Persian and other languages (*šaidana* < Ind. *čandan* 'sandal'; *širāj* < NPers., Sogd. *čarāy*, etc.). Another possible variant was the writing of *č* with *š*, cf. *Šās* < *Čāč*. The same phenomenon is observed in other parts of Iran, for example, the Arabic name of the Caspian Sea town *Čālūs* as *Šālūs*. Finally, *j* was used for *č* in the names of small objects found only in isolated passages in geographical works. We have, for example, *Jinanj(a)kaθ* for *Čīnanjkaθ*, the name of two cities, one (smaller) in Čāč, the other (bigger) in Chinese Turkestan. The latter is mentioned in a Sogdian sale-contract (*cynncknd-*) [20]. V. Minorsky was the first to translate this name as "Chinese town" [21]. We also note that we lack credible examples of place-names with *c* (*ts*) (including those on the territory of Northern Bactria and Khorezm).

1.3 It would appear that Arabic script has all the means to convey Sogdian dental phonemes — *t*, *θ*, *δ* and the allophone *d*. But it would be naïve to expect that copyists did not confuse *t* and *θ* or *d* and *δ*, which differ from each other by a single dot. This makes it impossible to establish the crucial distribution of the forms *-kat/-kaθ*; some early sources use one of the two forms, while other copies use various forms. Sometimes *t* was voiced to *d* (*δ*). One recalls the nickname of the Arab governor of Central Asia, Sa'īd 'Abd al-'Azīz, a lover of luxury — *Khudhayna* 'Lady, empress' (Sogd. *xwt(γ)ynh /xutēna/*). In some cases this spelling may have been the result of processes occurring in Sogdian itself [22], but in other cases stems from Persian influence on Arabic spelling [23]. *T* in Sogdian names was usually given as ordinary *t*, although in some cases emphatic *t* was used, sometimes under the influence of popular etymology. For example, Yāqūt and Sam. (III, 538) [24] call one village near Bukhara *Ṭayāmī*, deriving the name from the Arabic *Ṭayām* 'lower elements, the mob', although in actuality it comes from Sogd. *ty'm(+k)* 'fording place' [25]. By the same token, Sogdian *s* could be given with emphatic *š*, but we found no cases of *z* or *d* used for Sogdian *z* or *d*(*δ*) [26].

1.4. Arabic is least effective for conveying the labials. Sogdian had the following labial phonemes: *p*, *f*, *β* [27], *w* [28] and the allophone *b* (in *mb < np*, *zb < zp*). Arabic writing has signs only for *w*, *f* and *b*; the remaining Sogdian sounds in this group were variously conveyed, and only a juxtaposition of spellings can confirm a certain reading. *B* or *f* were used to convey *p*. For example, the region on the lower Syr-Darya and its tributary, Arys, was variously called *Bārāb*, *Fārāb* and *Fāryāb*. The original form of the name can be reconstructed as *Pār'āp*, which appears to mean 'irrigated lands' (Pers. *fāryābī* — *idem*) or 'opposite bank of the river' (Avest. *pāra-*, Shugn. *por*, etc. 'opposite bank' [29]) + Sogd. 'p [30]. *β* was conveyed with *w*, *b* and *f* (with equal frequency, apparently). The latter usage is explained by the presence of a letter *β* (*jā* 'ajamī, jā' muthallath) in early Persian, Turkic and Khorezmian texts (see above the numerous variants of Sogdian (Ξ)braxšē — *Varakhsha*). Only by juxtaposing variants can we succeed in reconstructing a place-name; otherwise, we must rely on intuition. The sound *w* could sometimes become *u* (and vice versa). Thus, the formant derived from the Sogd. *w'δ(č)k* 'place' gives either *-wad* or *-ūd*. Cf. *yaδāwad* (IHq, 493, Išt., 316, Yāqūt, III, 776, vowelled *yudāwad* in Sam., 406v) — *maḥalla* (quarter) and gate in Samarqand, which apparently means "Place of thieves" [31], on the one hand, and *Arfūd* (Sam., 206v, Yāqūt, I, 209 — *al-Arfūd*, possible the name with the spelling variant *Arqud*, *Narshahī*, IV, 13) — a village in Central Soyd (the first part of the name is unclear). This was, however, typical not only of Arabic spellings, but of the Sogdian language in general — cf. *Mugh kšwt*, but *'jm wt* — modern *Kištut* and *Falmowut*.

1.5. The sibilants *s*, *š*, *z* had parallels in the Arabic alphabet, unlike the sound *z̄*. There were no difficulties in conveying *s* and *z*; in most cases, the sound *š* was given as *š*, sometimes as *s* or *š*. This is the case with the place-name *Šāyarj* (IHq, 500, Sam., 285v, Yāqūt, II, 11, the last two authors indicate the possibility of an *s/š* alternation in the name), which N. Sims-Williams [32] sees as going back to Sogd. *š'wγrc-* 'relating to the Black Mountain' or the name of the canal *Šāfarī-kām* in Išt., 310, which corresponds to *Šāfur-kām*, *Šāpur-kām* in most other sources. This phenomenon occurs with the names of other large centres: *Kiš/Kay*, *Naxšab/Naxšaf*. Cf. the same within the Iranian plateau — Arab. *Naišābur* for the Pers. *Nēsābūr*, MPers. *Nēw-šāhbuh*. Examples of place-names with *z̄* (all of minimal credibility) show that this sound was given with *z* (the village *Zāz* near Ishtikhān in Sam., 266v — from the Pers. *zāz* 'nettles' (?); a well-known canal and region near Bukhara — *Farāvī'āz* — from the Sogd. *pr'wγz/parāvēz̄* 'flow, irrigate' (?)) or with *j* (*Tajdawān* for modern *Tīzduwān*); cf. also *Nūzābād/Nūjābād* (Sam., Yāqūt, s.v.) — both forms indicate Persian *nōz-ābād* 'Pine-tree-place' [33].

1.6. The sound *r* was almost always given as *r*, but in Ferghana, Chach and Ustrushana place-names, sometimes as *l*. This notable circumstance, however, is likely less a consequence of Arabic writing than Sogdian dialect particularities; as such, it deserves independent discussion.

1.7. The sonorous *γ* has an Arabic equivalent. Like the half-vowel *w*, *γ* could be inserted before a corresponding vowel or when an etymological *γ* was lost, changing the vowel. One of the cities in Ispijāb, which IHq (510, 516) and Išt. (337) give as *Buḍaxkaθ*, is found in Muq. (263) as

Īdaxkaθ) and in Yāqūt (IV, 1014) and Sam. (598v) as *Yādaxkaθ*) (possibly as the result of a copyist's error).

1.8. Finally, the nasal consonants *n* and *m*. The Arabic alphabet has letters for both, and little variation is encountered here. We do not dwell here on the distribution of the forms *kaθ/kand*, which requires additional study. In one (dubious) case, we find an *m/b* alternation. One of the large centres to the west of Samarqand, (*Arabinjan* (*passim*), is

called *Ramījan* [34] in a fifteenth-century Samarqand land document (Sam. D., 10, 33—5).

1.9. Correspondences between consonant phonemes in Sogdian and the Arabic alphabet are given in the *Scheme* at the end of the present article. To the right are listed Sogdian consonants; to the left, Arabic letters. A solid line indicates an ordinary correspondence; a dotted line, rarer variants. Sogdian allophones are given in brackets.

2. Vowels

Overall, Arabic writing has the same resources for conveying vowels as the three main types of Sogdian writing. Moreover, Arabic has a comparatively strict system of diacritical vowel symbols (*ḥarakāt*), which allows one to indicate short vowels. But for foreign glosses, vowel length (obligatory only for quotes from the Qur'ān) is chaotic [35], often incorrect [36], and lacks special symbols for the "majhūl" vowels *ē*, *ō* and *schwa* (ə), which are not found in Arabic. Among the general features of Arabic vocalism we also note the comparative "stinginess" of the *matres lectionis*; spellings such as (')*y* for a single vowel *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē* (typical of Sogdian) are unthinkable. Finally, one should bear in mind that the classical Arabic and medieval Arabic linguistic tradition did not tolerate double consonants at the beginning of a word, two consonants after a long vowel, or three consonants in a row.

2.1. Long *ā* is given as *alif*. In final position, this could be written as *yā'* (*alif maqṣūra*), cf. the frequent spelling of *Buxārā* as *Buxārī* (read as *Buxārā* in the nominative). In initial position, the double *alif* (Ā) is a rarity found only occasionally in Sam, and Yāqūt (*Āfiran* (Sam., 15r, Yāqūt, I, 64), a village one *farsakh* away from Nakhshab < 'p+βr'n 'Bringing water'(?)), in *HA* (4a, No. 3.32; 9b, No. 6.23) — *Awāza-i Paikand* for the modern Lake Qaraqul to the south-west of Bukhara, from Sogd. 'w'z'h 'lake' and in later texts.

2.2. *Ā* is always given as *y* (')*y* in initial position).

2.3. *Ē* is usually given as *ī*. At the end of a word, *ē* (from **-a-ka*) is usually transcribed as *h* (*-a*, cf. Yağn. *-a* from Sogd. *-ē*), more rarely *ā* or *ī*, possibly *-iya*, sometimes the final *k* reappears. We note that for the numerous names in *-dīza*, the Arabic adjective (*nisba*) was *-dīzakī*, where a *k* reappears. The nature of the final sound is unclear for the Arabic spelling *-iya* or *ī* (*Dabūsiya/Dabūst*, *Kušāniya/Kušānī*, *Karmīniya/Karmīna* [37] — all three are large centres between Samarqand and Bukhara). Medial *ē* was sometimes vowelised with a *fatha*: it should be read as the diphthong *ai*. Cf., for example, the Bukharan canal *Baikān* (Narshahī, XIII, tr. Frye, 32) [38] — possibly from *βēk+ān* 'Outer'. Moreover, long *ē* could be given as *alif* (the so-called *imāla*). See 1.5 above for the example *Farawī'āz*, also *Isbārī/Isbirī* in Sam. (290v) and Yāqūt (III, 36). In some cases such variants could indicate an *ā*. For example, the village *Farruxšād* in Ṭab. (II, 1540, 112) corresponds to *Farruxšād*, one of the gates of Samarqand (IHq, 493, Išt., 316) [39], and should possibly be understood as the MPers. *Farrux'-šād* 'joy of Farrukh' [40].

2.4. *Ū* (like the case with *ī*) was given in initial position as 'w, and in medial position as w.

2.5. *Ō* was conveyed like *ū*. We found no variants in our sources (unlike the case with *ē*).

2.6. Short vowels (*a*, *i* and *u*) were conveyed with *alif* at the beginning of a word and with *Ø* in medial position. The case with the majority of final vowels in Sogdian is not entirely clear. In some place-names we find a confusion between *w/Ø* and *y/Ø*. This, for example, is the case with the name of a district to the north of Samarqand — *Būzmājan* (*passim*) and *Buzmājan*, a district in Kesh (IHq, 502), *Šī'irbadūn* (Bukh. D., I, 441), a lake near Bukhara. One should also note that the metathesis *CuCC > C(u)CuC*, typical of Sogdian, has not Arabic equivalent. The name for Sogdiana — *S'/Šuyd* (only read as *Šuyud* after Timūr), a small city near Kesh *Xušmīnjkabθ* (Sam., Yāqūt) — in honour of the Sogdian deity *xšwm*; cf. n. 14 above. Vowels could be labialised after labial consonants. Cf. the numerous cities with the name *Bunjīkaθ* [41]. Meanwhile, the best-known of them was called *pnčyknō(h)* in Sogdian; also Arab. *Buttam(ān)* for Sogd. *pytm'n* [42] — a mountainous land to the south of Zarafshan. It is possible that the numerous place-names in *-ūn* go back to the formant *-ān*, widespread in the Iranian world, with the *ān > ūn* shift common to many Iranian languages. We are not aware of a single reliable Sogdian name in *-ū* [43].

2.7. There are numerous examples of vanishing initial *alif* (vowelised *a*- or *i*-), meant to convey Sogdian reduced *ə*-. Cf., for example, (*A*)*bārkaθ*, a village to the north of Samarqand, the capital of the above-mentioned district of *Būzmājan* (a form with the *a*- *passim*, with *bār*- Ṭab., III, 82—3, Išt., 332, Sam., 59r, Yāqūt, I, 464). This name may be derived from the OIran. **upari* 'Upper' or (more likely) the OIran. **pāri* 'opposite side of the river' [44], as the settlement was located directly to the north of Zarafshan on a passage from Samarqand that lies on the south bank of the river.

2.8. There is some variation in the indication of diphthongs (long and short). For example, Sogd. *š'w* 'black' is almost always given as *šāw*- [45] (we have five toponyms in *šāw*-). Otherwise, we find Sogdian *z'y* 'land' (i) as *zā* (cf. *Zāmīn*, a well-known city in Ustrushana, *passim*, modern *Zamin*); Abdunabiev (*Ura-Tiube*, 7) proposed for this name the etymology 'earthen (z'y) + suburb (Yağn. *men(a)*, *main*); a plot of land near Tashkent (Sam. D., 12, 53) *šīrzā* 'good (šyr) land'; (ii) as *za* (cf. *Fārīza* — a castle and *maḥalla* in Bukhara in Sam., 415v, and Yāqūt, III, 855; numerous etymologies are possible for the first part); (iii) as *zī*, cf. the village, long absent in the sources (before the nineteenth century?). It appears, for example, in the memoirs of Sadriddin Ayni and on Russian maps, but apparently of ancient origin, *Wayānzī*, to the northeast of Bukhara — from the Sogd. *βy'n+z'y* 'land of the gods(?)'; (iv) finally, as *-ziya*, cf. *Wāyziya*, one of the three regions of Ferghana in Muq. (262), possibly from *β'y+z'y* 'land of gardens'.

3. Persian mediation

3.1. As was noted above (see n. 2), the majority of our authors did not know Sogdian. But they all knew Persian to some degree; hence, many names and elements that in Sogdian form differed little from Persian, were redone in Persian fashion.

3.2. Sogdian *šāw* 'black' was always given correctly (cf. above, 2.8). The Persian correlative *siyāh* is quite different. But Sogdian (ə)spēt 'white' is clearly similar to Pers. *safīp/bēd/δ* (note final voiced). As a result, nearly all names with this element were conveyed in Persianized form: *Sabīdmāša* (Išt., 309, IḤq, 484) near Bukhara, *Sabīdyūk(ī)* (Sam., 290r, Yāqūt, III, 36), in the same region in the second part, Sogd. *γwk*, Pers. *γōk* 'frog(?)' [46], *Saba/īdmūn* (Sam., 284v, Yāqūt, III, 31 (*Sabaḍyūn*), Bukh. D., 1, 244). The same voicing took place with Sogd. *rw* 'river', which in place-names became the Persianized form *rōd*, *rōd*. Cf. *Rūdāk* (Sam., 262r, Yāqūt, II, 833; Rūdāk's native land), *Jādrūd*, the old name of Magyan-darya to the east of Penjikent (Sam. D., 10, 207), possibly came from *c'ḍr+rw* 'lower river', *Asrūd* (IḤq, 501, Išt., 324), a river in Kesh, etc. [47] A well-known section of Samarqand is called by Sam., 489r [48] *Māwūt* (the second part apparently from the Sogd. *ryt* 'face'). But later (until quite recently, in fact) [49], it was called *Māwūt* with a voiced

final consonant, yet another possible example of phonetic Persianization.

3.3. In a number of cases, we find translations (not transcriptions) of names. The well-known crossing between Termez and Kesh is called by all sources the "Iron gates": Arab authors — *Bāb al-ḥadīd*; Persian *Dar(b)-i Aḥanīn*, Turkic *Temir qapıy*; the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* [50] also calls it the "Iron gates". In the Sogdian original, this name was apparently **ʿIspnēnē-ōβar!*. In the same fashion, the gate and surrounding area of Samarqand, known to the Arabs as *Ra's al-Qantara*, Pers. *Sar-i pul*, Uzbek. *Köprik-boši*, could once have been called **Yitk-sar-*. Ya'qūbī (294) calls one of the cities of Ustrushana *Ḥiṣṣnak* [51]; this is apparently the well-known city of *Dizak* (*passim*, today *Jizzax*), literally 'small fort'. The author translated the root of the name (Pers. *dī/ē/iz*, Sogd. *ōz* 'fort' = Arab. *Ḥiṣṣn*), but left the suffix unchanged. Among such names, the most notable are *al-Qariya al-ḥadītha* [52]/*Deh-i naw* [53]/*Yanikānt* [54], a small town in the Syr-Darya delta, where all names translate as 'new town'. But Muq. (263) gives the form *Deh Nūjkat* for this town. It is easy to see in this name contamination between the Pers. *Deh-i Naw* and Sogd. */Nawč+ka'θ/* 'new city' [55], which was apparently the original name.

Research in all areas of onomastics is of crucial importance when sources of other linguistic material are limited. One can cite as an example the extensive research on Old Iranian personal names, which have substantially enriched our knowledge of ancient Iranian vocabulary, allowing us, for example, to identify the Median language, throw light on the road taken by the Iranians to the Iranian plateau, etc. M. Mayrhofer, a leading specialist on Old Iranian onomastics, in the subtitle to one of his articles noted the "central" role of onomastics in ancient Iranian linguistics [56]. We remind readers that the overwhelming majority of ancient Iranian personal names are attested in other languages — Elamic, Akkadian, Greek, Aramaic, etc. In other words, the majority of ancient *Nomina Propria* are at the same time *Nebenüberlieferungen*, where the names are often heavily distorted.

We encounter the same phenomenon in the place-names of medieval Transoxiana. Autochthonous sources [57] list some 100 place-names, roughly as many as are found in Chinese sources; several dozen geographic names can be found in Old, Middle Persian, Parthian, and Armenian works. But the 1,000 place-names that have come down to us in Arabic-script sources far outweigh all of the above-mentioned groups. This is why we consider it indispensable to investigate how these place-names were conveyed in Arabic writing. As we have seen above, in many cases Sogdian toponyms from Mawarannahr are not merely conveyed through a different language, but are, so to speak, *Doppelnebenüberlieferungen* — filtered through two languages with Persian as an intermediary.

Index *

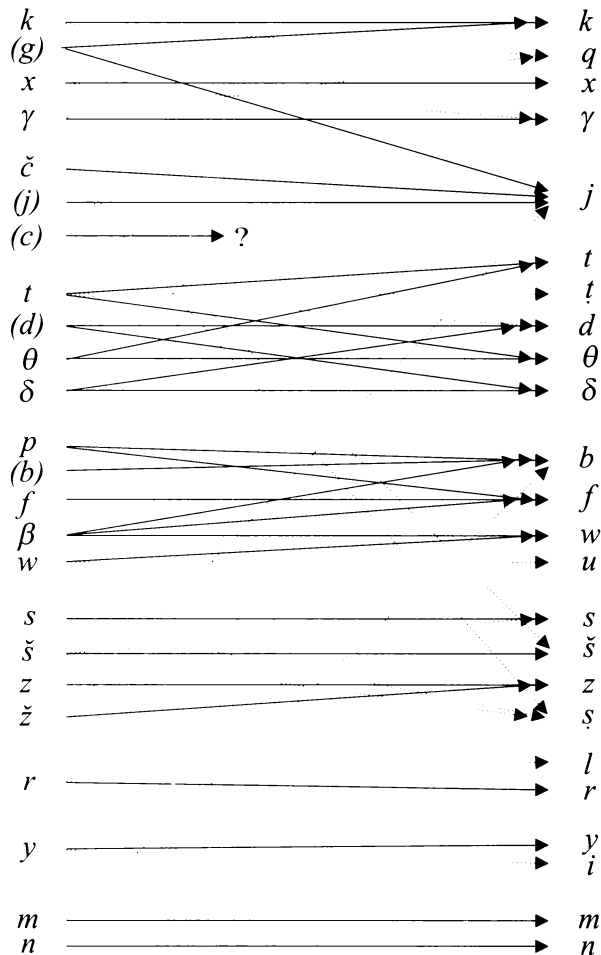
'fr'n	'sbryy	bx' r'	dr(b) 'hny'n	gd'y	kš'ny(h)
'w'zh' pyknd	'srwd	bx' ry	dr'y m	gd'yčh	kštwt
'b'rkθ	'wrxs'	byk'n	dr'y m	γjdw'n	kwmbrrkθ
'brxšh	b'b 'l-hdyd	bzm'jn	dzk	j' drwd	kwprk b'šy
'δxkθ	b'r'b	č'č	f'r'b	j'n	m'rb
'frxsy	b'rkθ	č'lws	f'ry'b	j'n	m'ryd
'fīm'wt	bōxkθ	čy'ny'n	f'r'zh	j'ynnjkθ	m'ryt
'l-gryh 'l-hdyθh	bdy'n'	čy'ny	f'r'w'z	j'zx	m'rb
'rbnjn	(jwyb'r)bk'r	čynncknd-	f'r'wyz	kBrmBr'w	nsf
'rfwd	bmjkθ	dbwšy(h)	f'rxš'δ	krmyn(y)h	mwj'b'δ
'rqwd	bnjvkθ	dh byd	f'rxšh	*krmvrkθ	nwjko
'rmw	btm'n	dh nw	f'rxšyδ	kš	nwkθ
'sb'ry	bwzm'jn	dh mwjkt	γδ'wδ	kš	mwjykθ

* Note that it is not an index of all places mentioned in this paper, but an index to linguistically analyzed toponyms. E.g. Samarkand is mentioned in the paper several times but never it is a subject of research. All the place-names are given in unvoiced transliteration. The ones found in Sogdian script are given in bold.

<i>nwykt</i>	<i>rbnjn</i>	<i>sbydm 'sh</i>	<i>š š</i>	<i>x'knd</i>	<i>yyn'b(?)</i>
<i>nwz 'b 'δ</i>	<i>rmyjn</i>	<i>sbyðmwñ</i>	<i>š'wyr</i>	<i>xry 'nrwð</i>	<i>yyny</i>
<i>nxšb</i>		<i>sbyry</i>	<i>šrbdwñ</i>	<i>xrq 'nrwd</i>	<i>yngyknt</i>
<i>nyy 'bwr</i>	<i>rwðk</i>	<i>šy 'ny 'n</i>	<i>šwy</i>	<i>xrmk</i>	<i>z 'z</i>
<i>nyš 'bwr</i>	<i>(mzr 'h-y)</i>	<i>šyd</i>	<i>šyrbdwñ</i>	<i>xrmydyzh</i>	<i>z 'myn</i>
<i>pdv 'nh</i>	<i>rymyq</i>	<i>šyd</i>	<i>šy'z'</i>	<i>xrmyθn</i>	<i>zrnjry</i>
<i>pncykñdh</i>	<i>s 'jryk 'm</i>	<i>sqmtyn</i>	<i>t'y 'my</i>	<i>xšmñjkθ</i>	<i>zrnkry</i>
<i>pyttm 'n</i>	<i>s 'ryj</i>	<i>sr' pl</i>	<i>tmyr q 'py</i>	<i>xw'knd</i>	
<i>r 'mtyñ</i>	<i>sb 'ry</i>	<i>š 'jrk 'm</i>	<i>vsp š 't xwsrw</i>	<i>xwknd</i>	
<i>r 'myθn</i>	<i>sbdmwñ</i>	<i>š 'pwrk 'm</i>	<i>wy 'ñzy</i>	<i>xžw 'n (*xžð 'n)</i>	
<i>r 's 'l-qñrh</i>	<i>sbyðywk(y)</i>	<i>š 'lws</i>	<i>w 'yzyh</i>	<i>yðxkθ</i>	

Scheme

Correspondences between consonant phonemes in Sogdian and the Arabic alphabet



Abbreviations

Abdunabiev, *Ura-Tiube* — A. Abdunabiev, *Lingvističeskii analiz toponimii regiona Ura-Tiube* (A Linguistic Analysis of the Ura-Tiube Region Toponymics), avtoreferat kandidatskoj dissertatsii (author's summary of the PhD dissertation) (Dushanbe, 1992).
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- Sam. D. — *Samarkandskie dokumenty XV—XVI vv.* (Samarqand Documents of the 15th — 16th Centuries), a critical edition with facsimile, translation, and commentary by O. D. Chekhovich (Moscow, 1974).
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Notes

1. This includes toponyms fully or partially intelligible on the basis of the Sogdian, Bactrian and Khorezmian languages, Turkic-Sogdian composites (with the exception of oikonyms in *-kand/qant*), as well as geographic names from the region that are not entirely clear, but obviously Iranian in origin.
2. For example, *Padyāna* (Sam., 69r = Yāqūt, I, 527 — *Badyānā*) with a symbol for *p* that is lacking in Arabic conveyed the Sogd. */pa'dyānēl/*, lit. 'of the foot, podal' (> 'lower'), a settlement near Bukhara. Cf. also *Xizwān* (Sam., 198r = Yāqūt, II, 440 — *Xizwān*). Read **Xizdān* and cf. Sogd. γδδ'n 'Grave?'
3. These are primarily Arab geographical works published by De Goeje in BGA (we note that the Kramers edition was used for Ibn Ḥawqal), dictionaries by Sam. and Yāqūt, the Persian anonymous geography *Hudūd al-Ālam*, historical sources beginning with Ṭabarī, later land documents from Samarqand and Bukhara, and other sources.
4. In addition to his native Khorezmian, Arabic, Persian, and rudiments of Syriac and Greek. Bīrūnī probably knew some Sogdian: the anonymous author of HA, for example, indicates that the Bukharan Manichaeans were called *niyōšak*, a correct rendering of the Sogdian *ny'wš'k*, etc. — 'a listener, auditor, the lowest rung in the Manichaean hierarchy'. Two Sogdian (Bukharan) phrases have come down to us in extremely distorted form through Narshakhī (see Rosenberg, Sogdica, pp. 94—6; in seemingly independent fashion, through W. B. Henning *apud* Narshakhī, comm., p. 136). Three (correct!) Sogdian glosses are found in the works of the philosopher al-Fārābī, see Tafazzoli, Three words.

5. The *hamza* is used for a letter with no dots.
6. See *HA*, comm., p. 92.
7. The distribution of the forms *-kand* and *-kaθ* should be the subject of a separate article.
8. The closely related question of transmitting Middle Persian loan-words in Arabic is perfectly summarized by A. Tafazzoli in *Elr*, I, pp. 231—3.
9. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 115.
10. In reconstructing Sogdian phonetics, we relied mainly on Gershevich, *GMS*, Nos. 82—482.
11. Narshakhī usually gives Sogd. *-mēlan* ('settlement') (*mīlan* to the early Arab geographers) as *matīn*, cf. *Rāmānīn* (Narshahī, II, p. 8 ff.) for *Rām(m)ēthan* 'Settlement (of divinity, day of the month?) Rām' or 'Peaceful settlement' (*passim*). We will discuss the many Sogdian place-names based on the names of divinities in a separate article.
12. Sam. D., doc. 10, p. 32.
13. *Xarmaitān*.
14. Or 'settlement (where they hold a fair on the) 11th day of the month — *xwr(r)w(m)* 'earth, soil' — *myn*, cf. the village of *Xurmak* (Sam. D., doc. 12, 59), *Xarmīdāca* (*ibid.*, doc. 18, 83).
15. Cf. Sogd. *γw(')k(k)r* 'trader', MPers. Man. *wh'g* 'price', Bact. *oawayo* 'idem'.
16. As V. B. Henning noted, this confusion is typical of Sogdian words borrowed into Persian, see Henning, *Loan-words*, p. 97 [=p. 643].
17. *Yaynāb* appears to be mentioned in *Kitāb al-kand fī dhikr 'ulamā' Samarqand* ('Sugar-book about the Scholars of Samarqand') by the 11th-century author al-Nasa'fī, a work not available to me. It was published not long ago in Cairo. A linguistic analysis of the Iranian glosses in this text was undertaken by the late Prof. A. Tafazzoli; V. A. Livshits was able to familiarize himself briefly with the latter's index cards during Tafazzoli's trip to St. Petersburg and told the author about the reference to *Yaynāb* in this work.
18. N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian*, p. 178.
19. We mean here the names of large regions found not only in specialized geographical and historical texts, but in all other literature as well.
20. Yoshida—Moriyasu, *Sale-contract*, pp. 5, 6, 8.
21. V. Minorsky in *HA*, comm., p. 271.
22. See Gershevich, *GMS*, Nos. 268—269, also Sims-Williams, *Sogdian*, p. 179. One should note that this type of voicing in place-names (especially in the form *kad < kaθ*) was most typical of Southern Sogd (Nakhshab and Kesh).
23. For more on this, see the present article, 3.2.
24. This article is missing in the manuscript published by Margoliuth, but it can be found in the recently published *Bāb al-khalq*, Cairo, 1357—1369/1979—1992, 4 vols., which is a conspectus of Sam'ānī's work drawn up by Ibn al-Athīr (*al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*), III, pp. 87—8.
25. We note here another phenomenon: in Sogdian words borrowed into New Persian, *θ* and *δ* are regularly given as *l* (see Henning, *Loan-words*, p. 97 [=l, p. 643]). We were, however, unable to find examples of Sogd. *δ, θ* given as *l* in medieval place-names in Mawarannahr.
26. There is, however, one river in Southern Tokharistan called *Darγām* (not to be confused with *D/Darγam* — a canal and region near Samarqand), but it was south of the border with the region in question.
27. Also transcribed as *v*.
28. Of course, the sound *w* is described in Sogdian phonetics as a half-vowel, but for the description of its spelling with the Arabic script we place it together with the labial consonants.
29. For the latest account, see Steblin-Kamensky, *ESI Ja*, pp. 283—4.
30. Similarly, Eilers, *Demavend*, I, 369, n. 228.
31. Cf. the semantically similar *Gadāyī*, *Gadāyēca*, etc. in Iran, from *gadā* 'indigent, beggar' (see Savina, *Slovar'*, p. 50).
32. Sims-Williams, *Upper Indus*, p. 72.
33. Since all the other place-names with *-ābād* (Old Iran. **ā-pāta-*) are definitely Persian (see Khromov, *Toponimiiia Maverannakhra*, p. 11), it is impossible to seek Sogd. *nt(')wc* 'new' (fem.) in the latter form of the name of this town.
34. In the second part, the word *jan* ('stream, canal'), based on a toponym identified by J. Markwart (Markwart, *Wehrot*, p. 81). As far as we know, this word is not found in Sogdian texts and has not reliable etymology. Markwart (*ibid.*) suggested correcting *jan* to **xan*, a word related to the Persian *xān* 'stream'. I. M. Steblin-Kamensky (Three words, pp. 30—1) corrects (following O. I. Smirnova) *Jan* — the name of the lake where the river Sogd originates (Lake Iskanderkul) — to *Jay* and derives it from the unattested Sogdian *žā/āy < Old Iran. *drāya-* 'sea'. One can object to the two aforementioned etymologies, which concern all hydronyms in *-jan*, that such names are numerous (more than 30) and one cannot correct them all. Of greater interest is A. Abdunabiev's suggestion (see Abdunabiev, *Ura-Tiube*, pp. 7—8) that *jan* (**čān?*, in modern usage — *jan, jin, jon*) should be derived from some Old Iran. form of the root **kan-* 'dig'.
35. Only Sam. and Yāqūt provide it always.
36. Sam. and Yāqūt call one of the villages near Bukhara *Zaranj/kari*, apparently derived from the Sogd. */zirn-karē/* 'jeweler'.
37. The second ends in something akin to Yāqūt. *mēn(a)*, *main* 'quarter, area'.
38. This is apparently the correct form of *Jūybār-Bakār* in IHq (p. 484) and Išt. (p. 307).
39. The city gates usually bore the names of nearby villages.
40. Cf. the numerous names of the form *Visp-sād-xusraw* 'all-joyful Xosrow' which dotted the map of Sassanian Iran.
41. I know of four such toponyms: two in Eastern Turkestan (*HA*, 17a, 12.2, 18a, 15.8), the capital of Ustrushana and Penjikent to the east of Samarqand (*passim*); one should possibly include *Bumijkath*, the settlement in the Bukharan oasis (*passim*).
42. See Smirnova, *Karta*, p. 4.
43. With the possible exception of *Armū* (Sam. D., 17, 69, a settlement in the *tūmān* (district) *Suyud-i kalān* near Samarqand).
44. See above, 1.4 in the present article (about *Pārāb*).

45. Possible exceptions: *šāyarj*, see above, 1.5 in the present article; it is hardly worth deriving *Šawwī*, a city beyond Balāsāgun in Semiryeche, in Muq. (p. 264), from *š* 'w+k' 'black'; more likely, it should be read as **sūy* and compared with the city of *Sūyāb* (Ṭab., II, 1441, 1596) and *Su-je* in Chinese sources, the nowadays site of Ak-Beshim.

46. The Sogdian word is absent in B. Gharib's dictionary (see Gharib, *Dictionary*), but is found in fragment III of "Old letters", see Henning, *Loan-words*, p. 95 [=I, p. 641].

47. A. L. Khromov (see Khromov, *Toponimika Maverannakhra*, pp. 15—6) suggested that toponyms in *rōd* are probably of Persian, rather than Sogdian, origin. Indeed, we failed to find toponyms with this formant with indubitably Sogdian first parts, but the word *rwt* 'river' itself is common to Sogdian.

48. The article heading (*nisba*), apparently written *al-Mātirīnī*, with the voweling gives the utterly fantastic *wa 'ākharuhā yā' manqūta min fauq* (and at the end *yā'*, the last of the letters with the dots on top (sic!)); a correct description; Yāqūt (IV, 373) gives the form *Mātīrab*.

49. Nowadays — *Maturit*, the latter form (with final *t* again) is due to Russian influence (similarly, another modern section in Samarqand is *Dagbit*, doubtless from Persian *Dah bēd* "Ten Willows").

50. See Kamaliddinov, *Istoricheskaia geografiia*, pp. 122—3.

51. *BGA*, VII, 294.

52. IHq, 512. In the commentary to *HA* (p. 371), V. Minorsky also gives *al-Qariya al-Jadīda*, but I did not find this form in the primary sources.

53. *HA*, 26a=26, No. 29.

54. Late Medieval *Yanykent*.

55. Cf. the numerous Sogd. *Naw-kaθ*, *Nōčkaθ*, *Nawīkaθ*, *Nawīčkaθ*.

56. M. Mayrhofer, "Aus der Namenwelt Alt-Irans. Die zentrale Rolle der Namenforschung in der Linguistik des Alt-Iranischen", *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Vortrag 3 (Innsbruck, 1971).

57. Primarily texts from the Mugh mountain, "Old letters", Sogdian inscriptions from the upper Indus valley, etc.

UNKNOWN NUMERICAL AESTHETICS IN THE DESIGN OF TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS

Geometric harmony in Arabic manuscript design has been examined on several occasions by this author in *Manuscripta Orientalia* [1]. Today, this phenomenon is demonstrated using non-Arab material. In presenting to readers of *Manuscripta Orientalia* the Turkish illuminated manuscript C 133 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [2], I. Ye. Petrosyan published a series of reproductions from it. One of them — a photograph of folio 55b (see *fig. 1*) — provides us with a fine object for qualitative analysis, a specific approach demonstrated below. One should first note the complex arrangement of the text on this page of the manuscript [3]. Researchers rarely pay attention to such matters, but exhibitions of manuscripts, appendices of photographs to manuscript catalogues, and art albums provide us with rich material in this regard. In fact, the accumulated material may soon be large enough to permit the independent study of this aspect of the medieval manuscript tradition. The arrangement of text on the page is usually set in general form by the *mistara* [4], although there are surely exceptions. Our Turkish manuscript shows no signs of stencil ruling (*mistara*) [5]. In its place we find a unique pattern of 18 rectangles, 9 of which are filled with text. The entire construction, which encloses the nine text fractions in gold lines, underscores by its very existence that nothing on this page is accidental and that it warrants our attention.

The page indeed draws our attention thanks to this unusual division of the text and some page setting characteristics [6]. It can be viewed in two ways: both as text and collage (the picture formed by texts of varying formats, directions, etc.). The structure of the collage displays a certain order, but one that for several reasons is difficult to formulate. Since the text consists of poetic verses, its natural division into hemistiches was used to transform it from a traditional rectangular block of text into a collage structure. The gap between the hemistiches forms the vertical axis of symmetry in the collage. All constructions on both sides of this axis are in mirror symmetry. The horizontal axis of symmetry goes between hemistiches of the seventh verse. All constructions above and below it are also in mirror symmetry. But classical paired mirror symmetry is marred by the odd number of lines (13) and the choice of an odd number of rectangles to house them (9). This insignificant violation of symmetry enlivens the “dead” symmetry [7], drawing the viewer’s unconscious into an analysis

of the symmetrical and asymmetrical elements. The visual and logical information do not coincide; the disparity that arises from this rests, it seems, on the alternation of even and odd, a device that may be used here intentionally. All of this, however, relates more to the image of the collage and the impression it makes, the depictive component of the illuminator’s work. We propose here to examine only the composition of the collage, that part of the illuminator’s work that without text resembles a drawing (see *fig. 2*). The latter makes a dual impression: the construction is both skilled and careless.

The basis of this construction is a square figure between two rectangles, a figure I analyzed in detail several years ago, using examples from two Arabic manuscripts [8]. As in previous examples, it consists of a 5 : 3 rectangle (see *fig. 3, a*) [9], which is divided into three parts probably using the same device [10] — A, B, and C (see *fig. 3, b, c*). The proportional characteristics of the three newly created figures result from the method of construction; they are the same as those found in the illuminations from the above-mentioned Arabic manuscripts [11]. But all further constructions within the original rectangle are unique and bear no outward resemblance to the examples I have described earlier.

Despite certain inaccuracies in the drawing, visible in places to the naked eye and in other instances unnoticeable without special measurement [12], I was able to derive the ideal model the artist attempted to execute. This model is distinguished by the absolute geometric harmony of all constructions; this harmony is demonstrated below with a series of sketches that show the proportions of all components in the drawing (more than 18 rectangular figures).

In rectangles A and C, which we consider equivalent [13], the area of each is divided into three spaces. The proportional characteristics of two are 4 : 3 (1.333) and the third is 3 : 1 (3.0) (*fig. 4, a*). Merging the two adjacent spaces in these rectangles (*fig. 4, b*) gives yet another proportion — 5 : 3 (1.666), already familiar from *fig. 3, a*.

The breakdown of squares in rectangles is more complex, and significantly more interesting. There are many rectangles, and in order to see all of them, one must “deconstruct” the figures within the square (*fig. 5, a—e*). We do this in a fashion that aims to clarify the matter.

In empty square B, as in *fig. 3, c*, we draw the first vertical line (*fig. 5, a*). It divides the square into two unequal

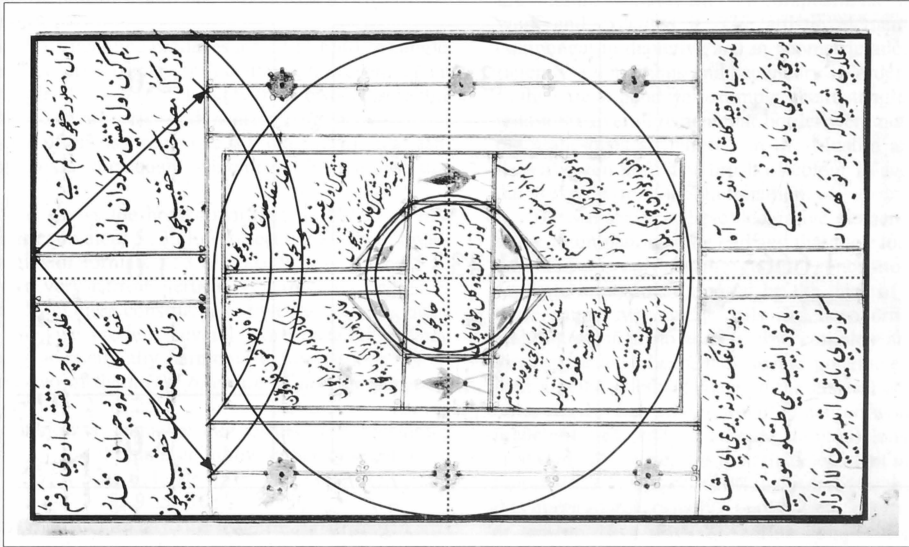


Fig. 2

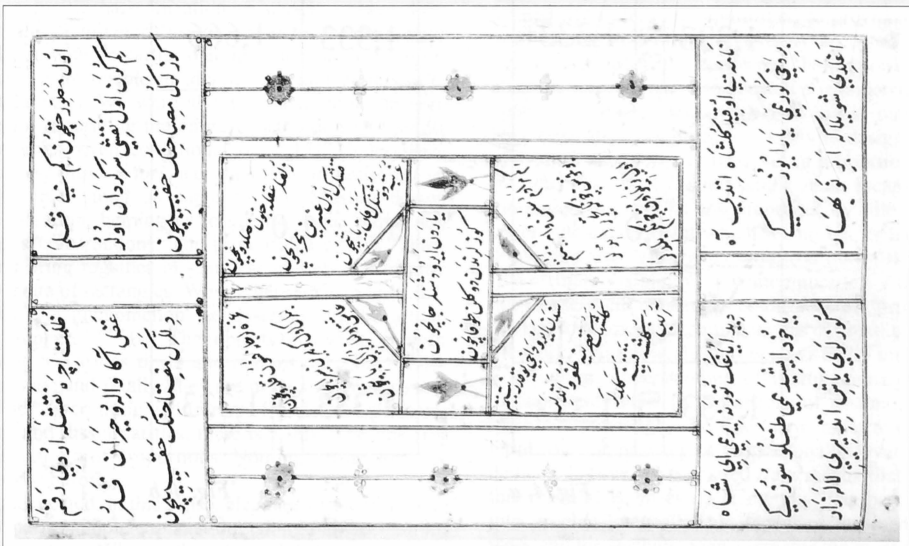
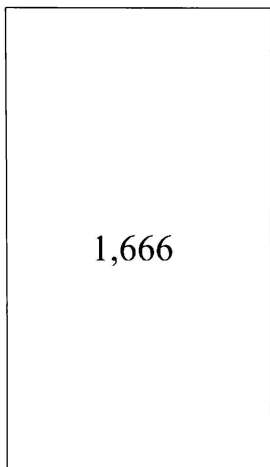
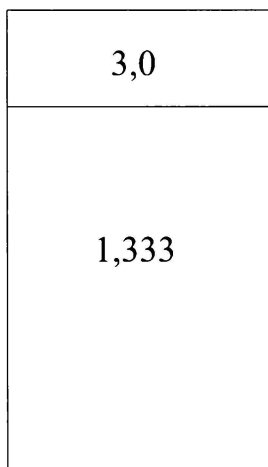
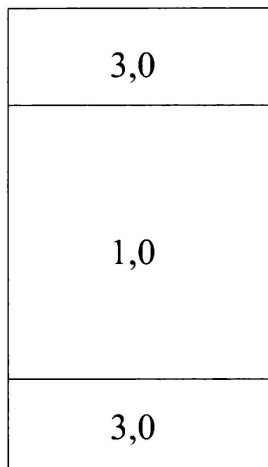
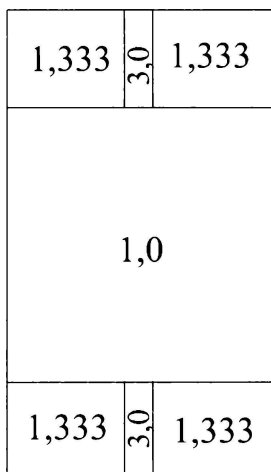
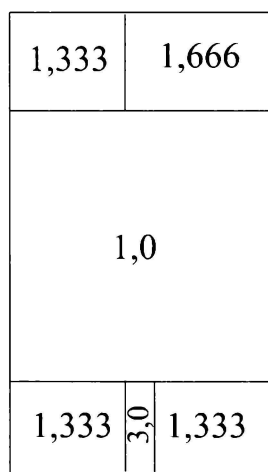


Fig. 1

*Fig. 3, a**Fig. 3, b**Fig. 3, c**Fig. 4, a**Fig. 4, b*

rectangles. The smaller of them is 10 : 1 (10.0), and the larger 10 : 9 (1.111). We add another vertical line symmetrical to the first. Between these two vertical lines a new 5 : 4 (1.25) rectangle emerges (fig. 5, b). The addition of a third vertical line (either to the left or right) produces (fig. 5, c) a 10 : 7 (1.4285714) rectangle; merging the two rectangles adjacent to the left of it into one produces a 5 : 1 (5.0) formation (fig. 5, d).

A fourth vertical line produces a 5 : 3 (1.666) rectangle, the last in this series (fig. 5, e). It contains, however, yet another rectangle, $4^2 : 3^2$ (1.777) and with its own substructure that produces another series of dimensions (fig. 6, a—e).

The area of this last rectangle is broken down in a fashion as complex as the square, which must be demonstrated as well.

Fig. 6, a shows the breakdown that is evident at first glance: four equivalent 5 : 3 (1.666) rectangles; three dividing rectangles of formats 5 : 3 (1.666), 9 : 5 (1.8) and 5 : 3 (1.666); two very narrow vertical 6 : 1 (6.0) rectangles. If we remove from these constructions first one, then the other dividing line, we produce several more rectangles. They also display geometrically harmonized formats (see fig. 6, b—e), and two of them (fig. 6, c) are of new proportions: 7 : 5 (1.4) and $3^2 : 2^2$ (2.25).

We can now systematize our results. The rectangles constructed by the illuminator follow either multiplicative forms (1 : 1, 3 : 1, 5 : 1, 6 : 1, 10 : 1) or the proportions 3 : 2, 4 : 3, 5 : 3, 5 : 4, 7 : 5, 9 : 5, 10 : 7, 10 : 9, $3^2 : 2^2$, $4^2 : 3^2$. These proportions return us to the hypothesis of a certain aesthetic based on the numerals 1 to 10 [14]. All of the proportions revealed in the construction analyzed above conform to this hypothesis. One should also note that the material gathered here is added to the results achieved earlier on the basis of Arabic manuscripts, giving us the first formal basis for discussing numerical aesthetics in Muslim manuscripts.

The geometric harmonization so clearly evident here testifies to the illuminator's use of a ruler for measurements in accordance with an earlier plan and calculations. Unfortunately, we were unable to identify the unit of measurement that he used. We were also unable to come up with a module for describing the entire construction in a single system of units, even conditional ones [15]. Under these circumstances, the *a priori* acceptance of an entire set of proportions understood as canonical for Muslim design saves the situation, helping us to see the logic behind the illuminator's constructions. The proportions of the "Turkish" sketch bring together in seamless numerical harmony a conglomerate of rectangles. We see here repeated in a different form the phenomenon we described in the article "All is numbers?" [16]. The objects analyzed in both cases belong to various times and regions; they have various parameters; and finally, they are in no way reminiscent of each other. Everything is different! But despite all of the differences and dissimilarities, there is a link. The link lies in an identical set of proportions. Nothing of the sort has been observed before.

The unexpected, in this sense, elegance of the illuminator's work defies simple explanation, taking into account its not evident nature. Why or for whom did the artist go to such lengths, if the result cannot be seen and appreciated? We still lack an answer to this question, but our observations of an entire set of design decisions, including those contained here, allow for several assumptions.

What is the nature of the designer's task in the last of the examples known to us? Geometrically, it solves the

problem of dividing the rectangle's area into a series of subordinate figures. We found varied solutions to the same problem in other illuminations. The repetitive nature of this problem and its solution suggests that this was the primary, and likely the decisive, principle for creating geometrically harmonious illuminations. At this early stage, and no later, the illuminator likely hit on a compositional solution for his work and executed it. The artistic element (the second component in depictive art) in geometric adornment is sufficiently autonomous and secondary in order of execution. In the case at hand, for example, the rectangles without text within the overall rectangular border were not filled in with the arabesques so familiar in the Muslim art. They were merely given a modest brush of colour in accordance with the overall style of the illumination.

But we see that these decorative elements were added to the illumination at the end and that their location was determined not only by the general conception, but by the concrete limitations imposed by the lines of the sketch. If these empty rectangular cells had been ornamented with arabesques, then no matter how complex and impressive they might have been, they would nonetheless have occupied a strictly defined place in the general composition. In other words, their role in the illumination would have been predetermined (and, in a sense, limited) long before they appeared. Of course, it is the artistic element in an illumination (the final stage of work) that impresses the viewer. But this impression is usually, if not always, controlled (in more or less intrusive ways) by earlier compositional decisions (and constructions) of the artist [17]. The organizational principle appears at this early stage of work, when the geometric skeleton of the illumination is created.

We are gathering more and more evidence that the problems solved by Muslim manuscript illuminators began with the division of a rectangular space and ended with a finished product that conformed to previously set conditions. These conditions, apparently accepted by all members of the profession, concerned the proportionality of the constructions. Taking into account this understanding of the creative technique, the artist's goal in our manuscript may have been the creation of a non-trivial design with the aid of a small, shared (i.e., trivial) set of proportional decisions. In other words, by successfully and meaningfully surmounting the limitations imposed by the proportional canon, the existence of which we no longer have reason to doubt, the artist apparently endowed his work with a creative element visible to his contemporaries. An understanding of these circumstances could possibly provide us with the key to medieval design, a means of "reading" the plot of the work. Until now, this has been virtually impossible.

Such an understanding of illuminations and approach to their study adds to the history of aesthetics (and other fields of knowledge, of course) new, hitherto unknown material. But the primacy of proportionality over other artistic devices that we have posited here means that geometry in this material is, in essence, merely "numbers transformed into graphic images". This aspect of the medieval artist's work and his aesthetic views remains the most mysterious.

The specifics and meaning of the case examined here show that the illumination, on the one hand, forms a purely geometric construction with no adornment to accompany or mask its outlines; on the other hand, it is distinguished by a large quantity of interrelated numbers [18] which reveal "Pythagorean" proportions we have already discussed

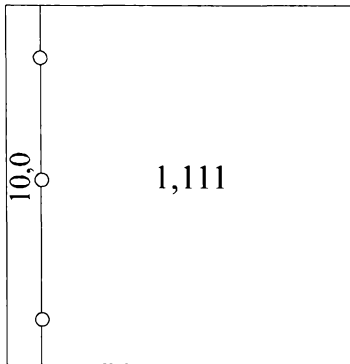


Fig. 5, a

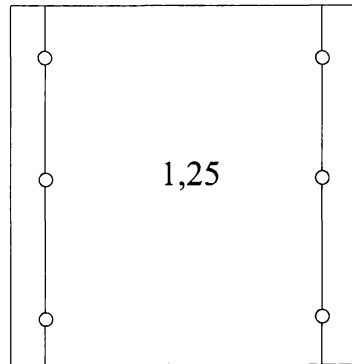


Fig. 5, b

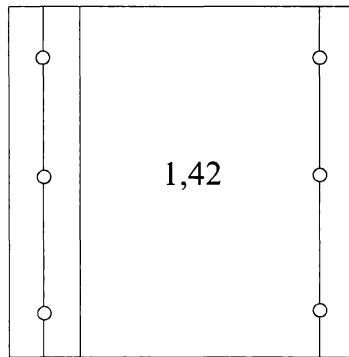


Fig. 5, c

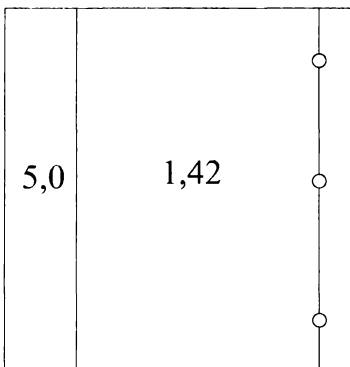


Fig. 5, d

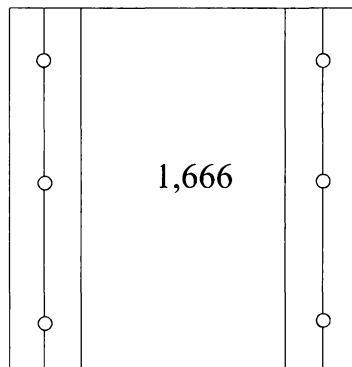


Fig. 5, e

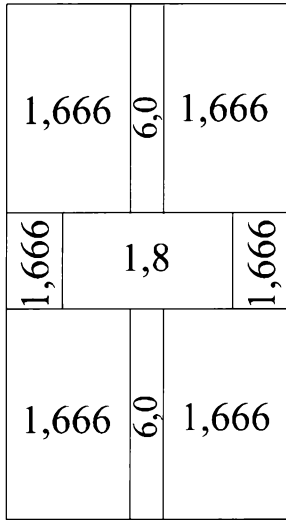


Fig. 6, a

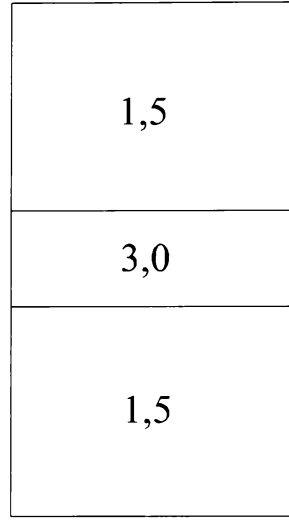


Fig. 6, b

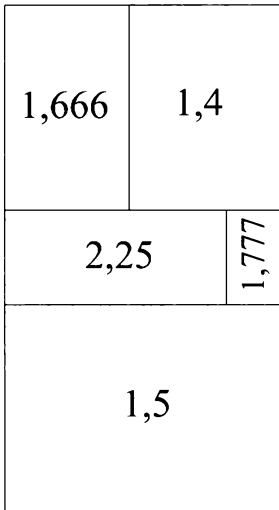


Fig. 6, c

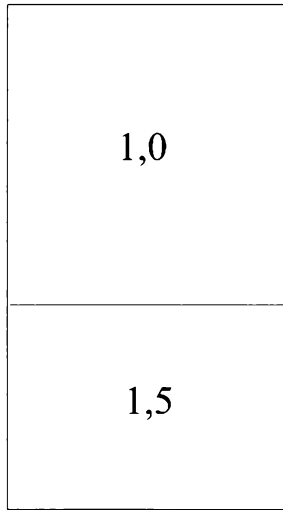


Fig. 6, d

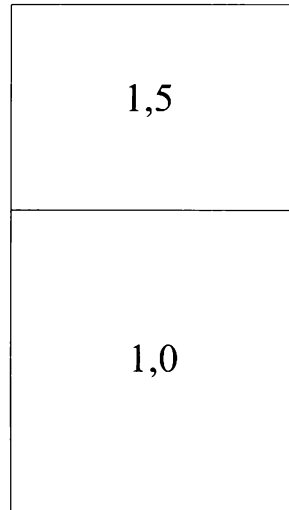


Fig. 6, e

elsewhere as an as yet unknown component of medieval Arabic book design. Clearly evident here, these characteristics are of much use in determining the further course of study in this area. Special attention should be paid to revealing repetitive figures in design and their proportional dimensions. In the future, once there is sufficient confirmation of our hypothesis of a numerical basis for book and

manuscript design, we will be able to test our luck with the methods of historical metrology. As the complex, mutually harmonious constructions of manuscript C 133 can only be created with the use of a ruler (and the corresponding units of measurement), a metrological reading of the illumination promises a deeper understanding of the aesthetic unexpectedly revealed by the analysis of manuscripts employed here.

Notes

1. See Valery V. Polosin, "To the method of describing illuminated Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/2 (1995), pp. 16—21; *idem*, "Frontispieces on scale canvas in Arabic manuscripts", *ibid.*, II/1 (1996), pp. 5—19; *idem*, "Muslim bindings with *al-Khālidiyānī* double borders", *ibid.*, II/2 (1996), pp. 9—12; *idem*, "'All is numbers'? An unknown numerical component in the design of medieval Arabic manuscripts", *ibid.*, V/1 (1999), pp. 7—11.
2. I. Ye. Petrosyan, "An illustrated Turkish manuscript of 'Iskender-nāme' by Aḥmedī", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/2 (1995), pp. 47—61.
3. The page lacks the customary unbroken text field (see *fig. 1*). Instead, the text is broken into nine fractions (three lines each, with one exception of two lines). Each fraction is enclosed in a rectangular border (five horizontal rectangles and four that stand vertically).
4. For more on this, see V. V. Polosin, "Arabskie rukopisi: plotnost' teksta i ÷ konvertiruemost' v kopiiakh sochineniia" ("Arabic manuscripts: text density and its convertibility in copies of a work"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, iss. 5 (1994), pp. 207—10.
5. This does not mean that it did not exist. It may be that not all paper retains traces of embossed ruling over the centuries (an issue that no one has yet studied).
6. There are nine of them: varying sizes of the rectangles (three gradations: large, medium, and small); horizontal or vertical rectangles; large or small handwriting; and horizontal or inclined lines of text.
7. The vertical gap axis between the hemistiches is suddenly interrupted in the middle by text; the horizontal axis is also text, rather than a gap between the constructions above and below it. There are other indications of asymmetry: we find 5 rectangles with horizontal text lines in the collage, and 4 with inclined lines; 4 with large text, and 5 with smaller text; 5 horizontal rectangles and 4 vertical ones.
8. V. V. Polosin, "K opisaniiu arabskikh illiuminovannykh rukopisei" ("The description of illuminated Arabic manuscripts"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, iss. 3 (1993), pp. 153—67, especially pp. 155—63. For the same in English, see *idem*, "To the method of describing", pp. 16—21, especially pp. 17—20.
9. The sides of this rectangle are not quite parallel, as one sees from a measurement of the perimeter performed directly on the manuscript (from left to right): $18.6 + 10.8 + 18.4 + 10.9$ cm.
10. Described in the work referenced in n. 8.
11. In the rectangles the sides stand in a ratio of 3:1, in the square, 1:1 (see *fig. 3, c*).
12. See, for example, n. 9. Some errors in the illuminator's construction are revealed with the aid of additional constructions (see *fig. 2*).
13. In fact, rectangle A is constructed with a slight error: its left short side is longer than the right, and the right, in turn, is somewhat longer than the corresponding sides in rectangle C. This may have been necessary to keep the lower side of rectangle A away from the text.
14. See Polosin, "'All is numbers'?", pp. 7—11.
15. This is the only reason the beginning of the article discusses the reconstruction of a mathematical (ideal) model, and not an illumination, that evidently inspired the illuminator. If the construction contained fewer errors (some of which permit dual interpretations), however, then the unit of length and the model of construction could be established with certainty.
16. See n. 14.
17. For more on this, see V. V. Polosin, "Musul'manskie pereplēty s parnym bordiuram *al-khālidiyānī*" ("Muslim bindings with a paired *al-Khālidiyānī* border"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, iss. 6 (1994), pp. 391—2.
18. We mean here the numbers that describe the dimensions of the sketched constructions in the illumination.

Illustrations

Fig. 1 Aḥmadī, *Iskandar-nāma*, manuscript C 133 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 55b, 25.5×16.0 cm.

Fig. 2 Same manuscript, fol. 55b, with additional constructions to make a graphical analysis.

Fig. 3 Creation of harmonious spaces in initial constructions:

- a* — general border;
- b* — division of the rectangle into two spaces;
- c* — division of the rectangle into three spaces.

Fig. 4 Harmonious divisions of the rectangles A and C:

- a* — constructions within the top and bottom rectangles;
- b* — same construction with one of the upper lines removed.

Fig. 5 Harmonious divisions within square B:

- a, b, c, d, e* — square B shown in the process of gradual filling in with the constructions lines.

Fig. 6 Harmonious divisions within the central rectangle filled in with text in the manuscript:

- a, b, c, d, e* — gradual dismantling of the construction within the central rectangle.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

K. B. Kepping

MI-NIA (TANGUT) SELF-APPELLATION AND SELF-PORTRAITURE IN KHARA KHOTO MATERIALS

Nowadays the terms “Tangut” and “Xia” (“Xi Xia”) [1] are commonly used in scholarly literature to designate both the Tangut state (982—1227) and the people who have founded it. However, it is well known that these terms, foreign to the Tanguts, belong to those who contributed to the fall of the Tangut state and to the scattering of the people: the term “Tangut” was used by the Mongols (in 1227 the Tangut state fell victim to the Mongolian invasion), while “Xia” (“Xi Xia”) — by the Chinese (later, in the last decades of the fourteenth century, when Yuan dynasty was giving its place to Ming, the process of extermination of the Tangut people was seemingly completed; at least such was the situation in Khara Khoto — being destroyed it was abandoned by its inhabitants just at that time) [2]. However, in Tangut texts there do exist Tangut indigenous names for the Tangut state, {1} {3} *phon mbin lhjā ljē* “The Great State of the White and Lofty” [4], and for its people — {2} *mi* and {3} *mi-niauu*. But the tradition of using the foreign designations is so stable that, despite the fact that today these indigenous terms are quite familiar to the scholars, the foreign designations are still preferred [5].

For more than half a century lasted a scholarly polemic on the interpretation (translation) of the name of the Tangut Empire [6]. The translation “The Great State of the White and Lofty (=High)”, suggested by me, was accepted by some scholars, for example, Ruth W. Dunnell [7]. As for Tangut self-appellations [8], two words, {2} *mi* and {3} *mi-niauu*, are generally used in the scholarly literature. However, my study of Tangut self-appellations has shown that there are two more Tangut words with the same meaning, {4} *lhjīwe* and {5} *lhjīwe-ndžei*, which in Tangut poetry written in a specific language (the ritual language, see below) correspond to {2} *mi* and {3} *mi-niauu* respectively.

Quite unexpectedly, the analysis of the Tangut self-appellations from the ritual language has shed new light on the depiction of the people in Tangut paintings, providing indications that some may be identified as representatives of the two Tangut tribes (see below). Accordingly, the first part of this article focuses on the Tangut self-appellations, whereas the second — on the images of the Tanguts in paintings and engravings from Khara Khoto. It is to be noted that in the second part of the article I have made

an attempt to use, instead of foreign designations, one of the Tangut self-appellations, namely, {3} *mi-niauu*. I hope that other scholars will do justice to the Tanguts returning them the name the Tanguts used themselves.

As was said above, there are four words meaning “Tangut” which occur in texts: {2} *mi*, {3} *mi-niauu*, {4} *lhjīwe* and {5} *lhjīwe-ndžei*. The difference between them has not been determined yet. E. I. Kychanov translates {2} *mi* as “Tangut-*mi*” and {4} *lhjīwe* as “Tangut-*lhi*” [9], thus revealing his opinion that these Tangut terms are not identical, standing for different groups of the Tanguts. In the respective commentary to his translation, Kychanov admits that for the time being it is difficult to determine the difference between the two terms. However, he supposes that {2} *mi* may be compared with the Tibetan word *mi* “man”, while {4} *lhjīwe* — with the Tibetan word *lha* “sacred” [10].

My study of the four Tangut self-appellations has shown that the choice of the term depends on the character of the Tangut text: {2} *mi* and {3} *mi-niauu* are used in the texts written in the common language, while {4} *lhjīwe* and {5} *lhjīwe-ndžei* — in the ritual language. Note that the Tangut self-appellations differ in class they belong to: one-syllable self-appellations are adjectives, while two-syllable self-appellations are nouns.

It is important to explain here what I mean by “common language” and “ritual language”. It was Nishida Tatsuo who was the first to discover two different vocabulary layers in Tangut odes {6} *ndžjo*; he named them “vocabulary I” and “vocabulary II” [11]. Ten years later, having found that the grammar of the texts of the odes written in the “vocabulary I” differs from that of the texts written in the “vocabulary II”, I put into scholarly circulation the terms “ritual language” (Nishida’s “vocabulary I”) [12] and “common language” (Nishida’s “vocabulary II”) [13].

The majority of Tangut texts, both indigenous and translations, is written in the common language. These texts may be divided into three groups:

1. **Tangut official texts** which include Tangut Law Code [14], documents, colophons, etc.;

2. **narration**, including the encyclopaedia “The Sea of Meanings Established by the Saints” [15], prefaces and epilogues to various Tangut writings, explanations in Tangut dictionaries, Tangut translations of Buddhist texts and Chinese secular writings [16], as well as narrative passages in Buddhist texts;

3. **Tangut poetry** — {6} *ndzjo* “odes” (only the parts written in the common language), {7} *kjā* “ritual songs”, {8} *ndeu lje* “sayings” (sometimes named as proverbs) [17].

Tangut ritual language is used only in the Tangut odes (so far I have come across only one ritual song which

similarly is written partly in the ritual language). It seems that the Tangut odes are the most ancient layer in Tangut poetry compiled in pre-Buddhist times (one finds here neither Buddha's name nor Buddhist vocabulary). This was the time when the Tanguts had their own religion, the so-called “Root West”. The ideas of this Tangut indigenous religion have been mirrored in the odes [18]. The ancient provenance of the odes is also proved by the lack of such ethnonyms as Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols, Uighurs, attested in the ritual songs. In contrast with the odes, the content of ritual songs is permeated with Buddhist ideas, betraying their far later provenance.

Table 1

Common language		Ritual language	
Official texts	Narration	Poetry	Poetry
Law Code, documents, colophons	Encyclopaedia “The Sea of Meanings Established by the Saints”, prefaces, epilogues, explanations in dictionaries, Tangut translations of Chinese secular writings and narrative passages in Buddhist texts	odes (partly), ritual songs, sayings	odes (partly)

One and the same passage in the odes is first written in the ritual language and then in the common language. A comparison of such passages has shown that: (i) the text in the ritual language is not translated *verbatim* into the common language, it is rather a rendition of certain ideas expressed in the ritual language; (ii) the words with the same meaning (synonyms) in the ritual language and common language *as a rule* are completely different both in their appearance and phonetic value, i.e. neither the graphic nor the reading of a character points to the semantic closeness of the synonyms in the two languages [19]; (iii) one-syllable words in the common language, irrespective of the class they belong to (except verbs), correspond to two-syllable words in the ritual language; (iv) the ritual language lacks grammatical morphemes. There are no postpositions, almost no verbal prefixes, even the interrogation is expressed by the word “to ask”. The relations between the words in a sentence are ruled by the word order.

On the whole, the ritual language gives an impression of an artificial language.

However, the ritual language is of great importance to the Tangut studies, for it represents the only written source where Tangut mythology is encoded. The meticulous labour undertaken by the Tangut scholars is really unbelievable: each character they had invented for a word in the common language was supplied with its correlate (synonym) in the ritual language. At the same time, the Tangut scholars had worked out a complicated system of homophones which could serve as a key for decoding text.

Let us now turn to the terms {2} *mi* and {3} *mi-niatu* used in the common language. Each has its own domain of usage: the word {2} *mi* prevails in all kinds of Tangut texts. No doubt, it is the most common Tangut self-designation and the only one used in official texts (e.g. Tangut Law Code). One can even name it “an universal self-appellation”. Although we find no explanation of the word {2} *mi* in the dictionary “The Sea of Characters”, this word is preserved in the list of Tangut characters compiled by N. A. Nevsky in the 1930s [20]. This list renders {2} *mi* as “Tangut”. But what is more important, it provides its homo-

homophone, {9} *mi* [21], which is the second syllable in both first-person plural pronouns — {10} *nga mi* “we” (inclusive) and {11} *ngiu mi* “we” (exclusive) [22]. For this reason, we have all grounds to suppose that the listeners might perceive {2} *mi* “Tangut” as “we”. Being an adjective, {2} *mi* is mainly used as an attribute (it often stands before such nouns as “state”, “men”, “son”) and, as a rule, without the postposition {12} *in*. To cite some examples: {13} *mi lhjō* “Tangut state” [23], {14} *mi ndzjwo* “Tangut men” [24], {15} *mi iwə ndi* “Tangut script” [25], {16} *mi ljē su* (?) [26] *raī* “Tangut Great *Tripitaka*” [27], {17} *mi ljē xew iwān* “Tangut Great School” [28], {18} *mi ngwu* “Tangut word” (contrasted, for example, with {19} *zā ngwo* “Chinese word”) [29], etc.

The word {2} *mi* occurs in Tangut poetry as well; the inventor of the Tangut script in one of the Tangut ritual songs {7} *kjā* is named {20} *mi ngō no* “Tangut teacher”. It also occurs in odes, e.g. {21} *mi ndzjō* “Tangut rituals”. In the ode “The Monthly Pleasures” [30], it is used as an attribute of the noun {22} *zi* “son” (Chin. *zī*) — {23} *mi zi* “Tangut sons” (= Tangut people).

In all examples cited above the word {2} *mi* is used as an attribute (adjective). But it also may be used as a noun. In this case, it goes usually with other ethnonyms. Such is the usage in official documents (e.g. in Tangut Law Code), as well as in poetry. We read in Tangut Law Code: {24} *ljē tsjū zwon ndzjwo mi zā phə wēi wē ni tsjū ngu zjē lu mbi mbin mjē nda mi* (?) [31] *ta in twu mbi mbin na ndjē mbu vjēi ndzu mi vjēi mjē nda* (?) [32] *lu ngwē ta tsjē mbi mbin ti sei mi ndzjwo ndin khwei* [33] (“When a Tangut, a Chinese, a Tibetan or an Uighur are doing one and the same work but their ranks are not equal, let each be sitting according to his rank. If they do one and the same work and their ranks are equal, do not take the services (merits) of other people into account and let the Tangut be superior” — the translation is mine).

One more example from a ritual song: {25} *phə zā mi sō a ma wē* (“Tibetans, Chinese and Tanguts, [all] three have originated from one and the same place (lit. ‘have one mother-place’)”).

The last two examples clearly show that in conjunction with other ethnonyms the word {2} *mi* stands without the word {26} *ndzjwo* “man” or {22} *zi* “son”, but if alone, the words {26} *ndzjwo* or {22} *zi* are obligatory. This rule is clearly seen in the example from the Law Code {24}: the word {26} *ndzjwo* appears after {2} *mi* only when it is used the second time, i.e. when it stands alone without other ethnonyms. In poetry, where the number of characters in a line is strictly regulated, {2} *mi* may occur without the word {26} *ndzjwo* or {22} *zi* in the meaning “Tangut” [34] or even may have the postposition {12} ‘*in*, when used as an attribute — {27} *mi ‘in ndew lje* “Tangut sayings” [35]. In bilingual Tangut-Chinese texts, the term {2} *mi* is rendered into Chinese as *fan* (e.g. in the title of a preface to the famous Tangut-Chinese dictionary “The Pearl in the Palm”). In the preface itself, the Chinese collocation *fan-han* “Tangut-Chinese” stands for the Tangut {28} *mi-žq* [36].

Let us now turn to another Tangut self-appellation which also belongs to the common language — {3} *mi-niau*. This word is well known to scholars, since the ethnonym *mi-nyag* designates the Tanguts in Tibetan texts. It is to be kept in mind that the first syllable {29} *mi* from the collocation {3} *mi-niau* is **not** homophonous with {2} *mi* [37]. But, importantly, {29} *mi* in {3} *mi-niau* is homophonous with {30} *mi* “mother” in the collocation {31} *ma mi* “mother-ancestor”, the difference between them is only tonal: {29} *mi* in {3} *mi-niau* is read in the second tone, while {30} *mi* in {31} *ma mi* — in the first tone [38]. This, one may suppose, means that this Tangut self-appellation is somehow connected with the Mother. {31} *ma mi*, the ancestor of the Tanguts, mentioned in the ritual song “Tangut Sacred Origins Eulogy” [39].

In contrast with {2} *mi*, {3} *mi-niau* is found neither in official documents nor in narration; it is attested only in poetry. The difference between the usage of the words {2} *mi* and {3} *mi-niau* is clearly visible in the combination of these words with the noun “scholar” {32} *rin ngwu*: in the preface to the Tangut proverbs, i.e. in narration, the word {2} *mi* is used as an attribute to the word “scholar” [40], whereas in a ritual song in place of {2} *mi* we find the word {3} *mi-niau* — {33} *mi rin ngwu* “Tangut scholar” (narration) and {34} *mi-niau rin ngwu* “Tangut scholar” (poetry).

That {3} *mi-niau* is a noun, may be seen in the next sentence from a ritual song:

{35} 'u nja ldu we tshon žje mhju
ni nin vja lhjuo ma phon mbin
mi-niau ndžjo 'in lhiž tha vjei

“The stone cities of the black-headed ones on the banks
of the desert waters,

The paternal burial mounds of the red-faced ones [at
the foot of the mountain] White and Lofty Mother.
Here is to be found the land of the tall *mi-niau*”.

Being an attribute, {3} *mi-niau* does not need the postposition {12} ‘*in*, e.g. {34} *mi-niau rin ngwu* “Tangut scholar”.

I now move to the Tangut self-appellations, namely, {4} *lhjwe* and {5} *lhjwe-ndžei*, used in the ritual language. Out of four known, {4} *lhjwe* is the only one which is explained in the dictionary “The Sea of Characters” (expla-

nations for the other three Tangut self-appellations are missing) [41]: {36} *lhjwe ta lhjwe-ndžei lje mi-niau lje mi ndzjwo ‘in ‘i* [42] (“*lhjwe* means {5} *lhjwe-ndžei*, {3} *mi-niau*, {2} *mi* man”).

In explaining the word {4} *lhjwe*, the dictionary lists three other Tangut self-appellations. It seems that in the eyes of the Tanguts all four Tangut self-appellations had one and the same meaning [43].

In the text of the odes, it was not so easy to distinguish a passage written in the ritual language from a passage written in the common language. Sometimes the text in the ritual language is not rendered into the common language at all, as if it were a well-known quotation which needs no explanation. Only in “The Ode on Monthly Pleasures” the boundary between the description of the lunar months, given first in the ritual language and then in the common language, is clearly set by the titles (the name of the month), since each passage begins with the title given in the respective language. Judging from their usage in the description of the eleventh lunar month in “The Ode on Monthly Pleasures”, {4} *lhjwe* of the ritual language corresponds to {2} *mi* of the common language: the collocation {23} *mi zi* “Tanguts” (lit. “Tangut sons”) is rendered as {37} *lhjwe no* “Tanguts” (lit. “Tangut sons”) in the ritual language.

I believe that {2} *mi* and {4} *lhjwe*, both being adjectives, share one meaning and differ only in that they are used respectively in the common and ritual languages. That the word {4} *lhjwe* (ritual language) corresponds to {2} *mi* (common language) may also be seen in the fact that both ethnonyms occur as an attribute of the noun “state” — {38} *lhjwe lhjwe* (“The Ode on Ritual Verses”(??)) and {13} *mi lhjwe* [44]. Similarly, {4} *lhjwe* is used in texts only as an attribute and does not need the postposition {12} ‘*in*.

The word {4} *lhjwe* is also found in the ritual songs. It may be included into their titles: {39} *lhjwe šje mə ‘on kja* — the song “Tangut Sacred Origins Eulogy” and {40} *lhjwe ndžwi su lhjwe tshja so kja* — the song “Tangut Virtue is Higher than that of the Other States”. Mind that it is {4} *lhjwe* (not {2} *mi*!) included into the songs’ titles. It is also attested in the text of “The Sea of Meanings Established by Saints” ({41} and {42} are given in my translation): {41} *lhjwe ‘iwan ngə thjow* [45] (“There are beautiful mountains in the Tangut (*lhjwe*) land”). The Tangut commentary on this statement runs as follows: {42} *mi lhjwe ngə tsai lje ton* (“There are (lit. ‘grow’) big and small mountains in the Tangut (*mi*) state”). The two citations once more corroborate the idea that both *lhjwe* and *mi* have one meaning — “Tangut” (in the main body of the text of the encyclopaedia the word {2} *lhjwe* is used, whereas in the commentary — the word {4} *mi*).

Finally, let us turn to the second Tangut self-appellation used in the ritual language — {5} *lhjwe-ndžei*. So far I have come across it only in the parts of the odes written in the ritual language. The next example proves it to be a noun: the four-syllable collocation {43} *lhjwe-ndžei mai ndzu* “Tangut horses” (ritual language) is rendered in the common language as {44} *mi zi rja tje* “Tangut sons’ horses”, i.e. in the common language where stands the adjective {2} *mi*, it was necessary to add the noun “son”. The usage of the four Tangut self-appellations in various kinds of Tangut texts is shown in *Table 2*.

Table 2

Common language				Ritual language
Tangut self- appellations	Official texts	Narration	Poetry	Poetry (parts of odes)
<i>mi</i> (adj.)	+	+	+	–
<i>mi-niau</i> (noun)	–	–	+	–
<i>lhjwe</i> (adj.)	–	+	+	+
<i>lhjwe ndžrei</i> (noun)	–	–	–	+

In the preceding pages, I have examined the Tangut self-appellations. In what follows I will touch upon the images of the *mi* people in Tangut paintings, which have been brought to light in connection with their self-appellations. I would like to remind that in this part of the study I use exclusively Tangut self-appellations. For this purpose, I have chosen the self-appellation {3} *mi-niau*, since (i) *mi-niau* is a noun and one does not have to add nouns with the meaning “man”, “son” or “people” as in case of {2} *mi*; (ii) {3} *mi-niau* is very close to the well-known ethnonym *mi-nyag* used in Tibetan texts, thus there will be no bewilderment about the meaning of the term. However, because of the difficulties connected with the rendering of the symbol *u* (sounds like Russian *u*) in the publications, it seems more convenient to drop it and use the Tangut self-appellation in the simplified form *mi-nia*.

There is also one more problem which needs discussing beforehand: it is the problem of the two terms “black-headed” and “red-faced” used in *mi-nia* indigenous texts. These terms, as is widely believed, stand for two groups of *mi-nia* people. But the specific characteristics distinguishing the black-headed from the red-faced have not been defined so far, and the meaning of the terms remains obscure. First, I will recount in brief my observations about these two terms [46].

The terms “black-headed” and “red-faced”, constantly used in *mi-nia* texts, stand for two different groups (=tribes): the black-headed, being descended from the priests of the indigenous religion, Root West, represent the *mi-nia* elite, while the red-faced constitute the *mi-nia* common people. In *mi-nia* mythology, these terms can be traced back to the pair of totem animals {45} *ndžju* “crane” (“black-headed”) and “monkey” (“red-faced”). In the passages written in the ritual language, the word {45} *ndžju* “crane” often stands for the collocation “black-headed”. I suppose that “crane” and “monkey” originally were the names of the two tribes which formed the *mi-nia* people.

In the odes one may pick up some fragments of a *mi-nia* myth explaining the origin of the red-faced. According to this myth, somewhere in an upland dwelt ten thousand people. (Since in the texts the number “ten thousand” is usually associated with the red-faced, contrasted with one thousand of the black-headed, one may suppose that those dwelling in the upland were only the red-faced.) First there was no difference between men and animals (supposedly the monkeys). But in course of time the faces of some had become red and they turned into cross-eyed men, while those with hair on their faces remained animals. (Perhaps this is the reason why in the painting discussed below the faces of the *mi-nia* — the red-faced as well as the black-headed — are clearly shaven.)

I believe that only the red-faced were regarded as the *mi-nia*; in the painting discussed below, the black-headed in their appearance differ from the red-faced, seemingly representing another anthropological type. A passage from “The Ode on Sayings” seems to confirm my assumption. As is usual in the odes, this passage is first rendered in the ritual language ({46}) and then in the common language ({47}): {46} *mi mbi ma so ndžju kaw xwai lhiwe šjwe ndžju ni əməža ngjē lhiwe šjwe tje we tšjəu* (“In an upland [dwelt] ten thousand people. They were cross-eyed. There were two kinds of red-faced (*lhjwe šjwe*): red-faced (*za ngjē*) and red-faced (*lhjwe šjwe*). [The latter] were wise [and could] speak” (ritual language)). {47} *phjo 'jwan mbin khi ndžju ndžje mei ndon ni (?) ži mi ndžju mja ni tha nin šjē šjē ndq* (“In an upland dwelt ten thousand people. [They were] cross-eyed. [Those who had] hair [on their] faces were not men. Men were those whose faces had become red. They were wise and were first to speak” (common language)).

Taken separately the passages are obscure, but since the content of the passage in the ritual language is repeated in the common language and, what is important, not in a word-for-word rendition, we may grasp the idea more adequately. We may conclude that: (i) judging from their number (ten thousand), all the people who dwelt in the upland certainly were the red-faced; (ii) out of the two names for the red-faced which are used in the ritual language — {48} *lhjwe šjwe* and {49} *za ngjē* — only {48} *lhjwe šjwe* stands for the people. Seemingly, {49} *za ngjē* designates a group of men and animals before their differentiation. In turn, the red-faced {48} *lhjwe šjwe* are characterised by (a) red colour of the face, (b) lack of facial hair, and (c) crossed eyes [47].

When I looked in the dictionaries for the homophones for {48} *lhjwe šjwe* “red-faced”, it turned out that the first syllable in this collocation {50} *lhjwe* “face” is homophonous with the *mi-nia* self-appellation used in the ritual language, namely, {4} *lhjwe* [48]. Thus, we may state that the meaning of the term “red-faced” coincides with that of the term *mi-nia*. Such understanding of the term “red-faced” as an equivalent of the term *mi-nia* is supported by another ode, “The Ode on Monthly Pleasures”. In the description of the eleventh lunar moon, we find the same characteristic of the *mi-nia* as “cross-eyed”: {51} *lhjwe no kau xwai* (“*lhjwe* sons (= *mi-nia*) [with] crossed eyes” — in ritual language) and {52} *mi zi mei ndon* (“*mi* sons [with] crossed eyes” — in common language). In this example, {4} *lhjwe* from the ritual language is rendered as *mi* in the common language. Thus, we may conclude that the term *mi-nia* (= *mi*, *lhjwe*, *lhjwe šjwe*) implies only the red-faced, whereas the black-headed, by their origin, did not belong to the *mi-nia*.

Concluding the first part of the article, I would like to add one more observation. The second syllable in the name of the *mi-nia* imperial clan Weiming {53} *ngwe mi* — {54} *mi* — is a homophone of {2} *mi*, which, as was shown above, is the only *mi-nia* self-appellation common to all types of *mi-nia* texts (I name it “an universal self-appellation”). The only difference between the two homophones lies in the tone: {54} *mi* is read in the first tone, whereas {2} *mi* — in the second tone [49]. Obviously, this fact was to demonstrate the indigenous (*mi-nia*) origin of the ruling family, and this means that the Weimings belonged to the red-faced. The same may be said about the Simings {55} *si mi*, who were the conjugal partners of the Weimings: the second syllable in the name {55} *si mi* coincides with that of the name Weiming {53} *ngwe mi*. Thus, the Simings were looked upon as the red-faced as well. It means that the *mi-nia* rulers were regarded as descendants of the red-faced (not black-headed!) by both maternal and paternal lineages.

To support my observation, I would like to draw the reader's attention to one of the paintings on silk from Khara Khoto (now in the State Hermitage Museum). Here, in my view, we find the portraits of the representatives of the *mi-nia* (see the front cover of the present issue). The depiction is in the lowest register of the painting “Guanyin, Moon in Water” [50]. Close to a fresh-dug grave stand four persons dancing and playing musical instruments. To their left are two horses — a dark stallion and a light-coloured mare. We see the faces only of two persons out of four. One of them, dressed in red, is clapping his hands, the other (in green) is playing the harp; both are bareheaded. Two other figures are shown from the back. They are dressed in green, with caps (different in shape) on their heads. One of them is dancing, the other playing the flute [51]. My assumption is that the two persons with visible faces personify the red-faced (the figure dressed in red) and the black-headed (dressed in green).

The assumption is based on the description of the *mi-nia* appearance made by two great travellers, Marco Polo (mid-13th century) and N. M. Przewalski (last decades of the 19th century), since the faces of the two people in the lowest register of the painting “Guanyin, Moon in Water” can serve as an illustration to the description of the *mi-nia* made by both travellers.

According to Marco Polo, Tangut people are “fat, snub-nosed, [their] hair are black; they have neither beard nor moustache” [52]. Przewalski gives a similar, and more detailed, description of the *mi-nia*, stating that in their

appearance the *mi-nia* stand in sharp contrast with both the Chinese and the Mongols: “In general, they are of average height, sometimes even tall, thickset, broad-shouldered. Their hair, eyebrows, moustache and beard without exception are black; they have black eyes, usually large or of medium size, but not narrow-cut as the Mongols have, straight, sometimes (not very seldom) aquiline or snub nose, thick lips, rather often turned outside out. Their cheek-bones are slightly high, but not so sharp as the Mongols' cheek-bones. Their faces on the whole are oblong, but not flat; their skull is round...” [53]. The traveller also mentions that the *mi-nia* always shave their moustache and beard.

In the 1970s, Dr A. P. Terentyev-Katansky singled out two major types of the *mi-nia* on the grounds of descriptions in various sources, including those by Marco Polo and Przewalski: (i) with very broad cheek-bones, blunt, fleshy nose, sometimes turned up, often snub, dark or reddish complexion; (ii) with slightly elongated face and protruding, fairly large nose sometimes hooked, almost aquiline, with a heavy lower part of the face, sometimes puffy, large eyes without the well pronounced Mongolian eye-lids, with full scarlet lips. A characteristic feature of this type is a massive long nose, with a lump, a fleshy tip and large nostrils [54].

The two major types of the *mi-nia* picked out by

Terentyev-Katansky coincide with the red-faced and the black-headed respectively as they are shown in the painting “Guanyin, Moon in Water”. The bareheaded person in red who stands clapping his hands in the middle of the four-people group represents the first type, or the red-faced (see fig. 1). The figure is placed in the centre of the four-people group, which underscores his significance among the depicted. In addition, the man is tall (if we measure the height of his figure and compare it with that of the stallion, we will see that he nearly reaches the stallion's nose-bridge) and broad-shouldered. He has a round skull (=broad cheek-bones) and large eyes; he is snub-nosed, his lips are thick and turned outside out. He is cleanly shaven. Especially significant is his reddish complexion — not only his face, but also his hands are reddish, in contrast with the



Fig. 1

person who stands to his left. All indicates his being a red-faced, that is, a *mi-nia*. His *tufa* hairstyle also confirms his *mi-nia* ethnicity: it is known that by one of his first edicts (1033) the first *mi-nia* Emperor, Yuan-hao, ordered the *mi-nia* to have a special hairdo named *tufa* [55].

In Khara Khoto collection housed in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, there is one more depiction of the red-faced (see fig. 2). One of the scenes in

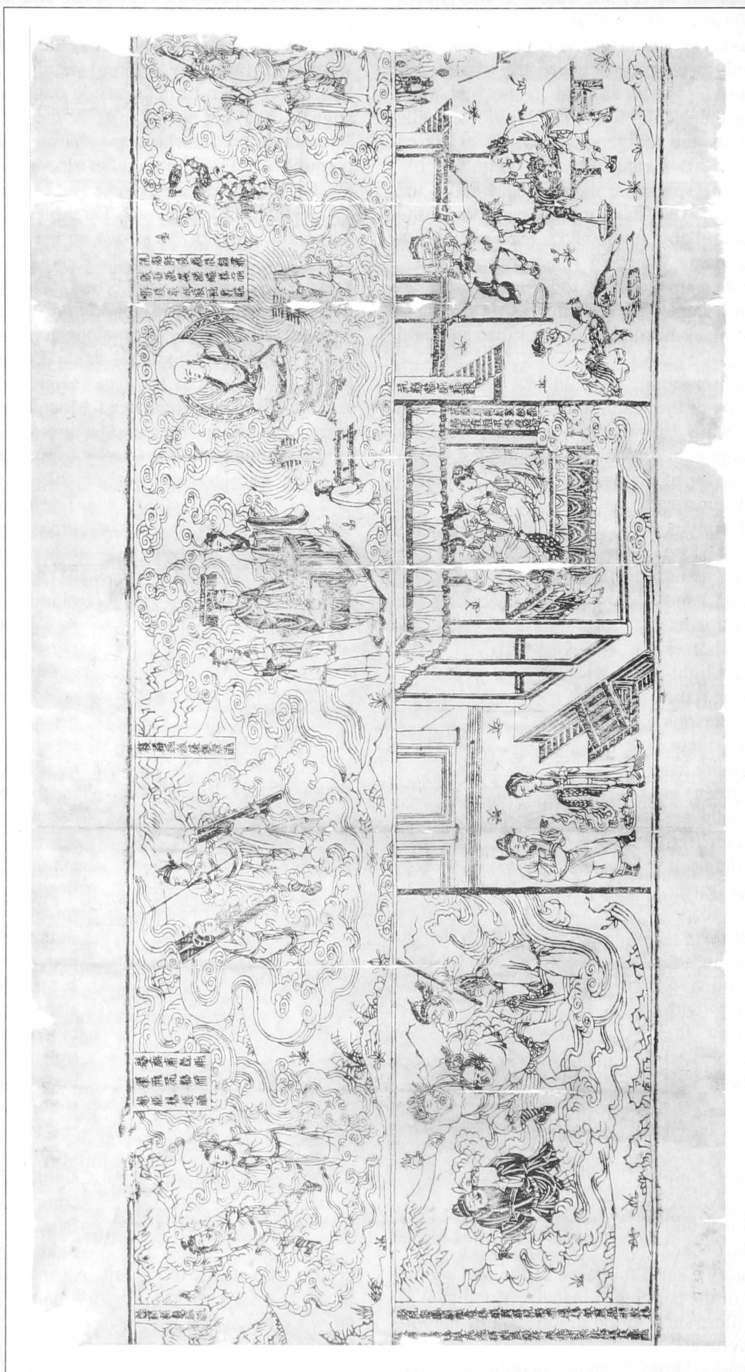


Fig. 2

the engraving, illustrating the preface to the “*Sūtra of the Golden Light*”, shows three people slaughtering animals [56] (see *fig. 3*). An inscription to the depiction, in *mi-nia* script, runs as follows: “[Zhang] Ju-dao slaughters animals” [57]. The appearance of all of the three persons in the engraving coincides with the red-faced type (broad cheek-bones and turned-up noses), betraying their *mi-nia* ethnicity.

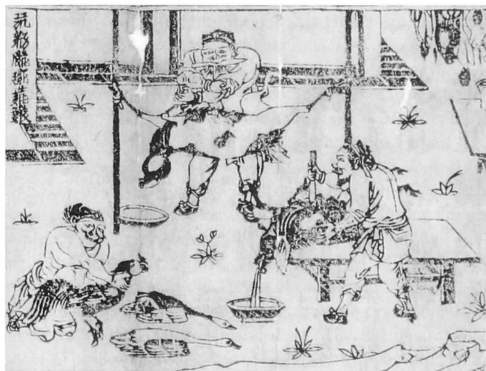


Fig. 3

The embodiment of the second type, or the black-headed, in the painting “*Guanyin, Moon in Water*” is the figure shown in profile, standing in the same group of four (see *fig. 4*). Dressed in green, the man is playing a seven-stringed harp held between his left shoulder and cheek. The frame of the harp almost conceals his face. The man, the fingers of both his hands on the harp strings, is cleanly shaven. He is shown even taller than the one in red and the broadness of his shoulders is especially noticeable. His nose is aquiline, lips are thick, and his low jaw is heavy; however, the skull does not seem round. His lips are scarlet and complexion is pale, in contrast with the reddish complexion of the red-faced figure. One may say that the appearance of the man with the harp is much in keeping with the characteristic features ascribed by Terentyev-Katansky to the second type.

His haircut is seemingly not in the *tufa* style [58]; the lack of a long strand of hair characteristic of *tufa* is significant, but it may be that it is merely not seen being concealed by the frame of the harp. Still, his hairstyle differs from that of the red-faced: on the left side of his head, seen to us, the hair reaches his ear, whereas there is no hair near the left ear of the red-faced. It seems that only the back of his head is shaven.

But the most distinctive feature definitely labelling the character as a black-headed is the harp in his hands. The point needs some explanation. As was said above, in the ritual language the word {45} *ndžju* “crane” often stands for the collocation “black-headed”. The harp held by the person whom I identify as a black-headed, is most likely named {56} *ndžju kja* (lit. “crane harp”). Among *mi-nia* musical instruments listed in the dictionary “*The Pearl in the Palm*” [59], there are two kinds of harps: (i) {62} *tho kja* (Chin. *zheng*), with thirteen or sixteen strings, translated by Nishida Tatsuo as “Chinese harp” and (ii) {56} *ndžju kja* (Chin. *konghou*) translated by Nishida as “kind of harp”. It seems that of these two harps {56} *ndžju kja* more fits to the type of the harp shown in

the picture. It looks as if the painter, to avoid misinterpretation of the figure in green and to show that the man represents a black-headed, depicted him with a crane harp in his hands. Moreover, the harp is drawn in such a manner that it nearly conceals the face of the black-headed, which, I believe, was made intentionally to stress the enigmatic nature (=heavenly origin) of the black-headed [60].

As to the colour of the clothing of the red-faced and black-headed in the painting “*Guanyin, Moon in Water*”, it is also symbolic. If the green colour of the garment of the black-headed figure may point to his nobility [61], the red colour of the dress of the red-faced certainly has a special meaning. As a representative of the common people, he should wear black-coloured clothes [62], but his garment is red, the colour forbidden for the commoners. However, one can notice that the red colour of his dress is not so bright as that of the stallion's harness or *Guanyin's* shawl [63]; it is pink rather than red (during the centuries the colour may have lost its original colour). Be this as it may, the colour of his dress stands in sharp contrast with that of all other people standing near the grave — all of them have green clothes. His position in the centre of the group, the red colour of his dress and that he is the only person seen full-faced and full-length, all indicates that he is the main figure in the group of the four characters.

Thus, I believe that in the picture, near the fresh-dug grave, are depicted representatives of the two tribes which formed the *mi-nia* people — the red-faced and the black-headed. Seemingly, when these two tribes (“monkeys” and “cranes”) had jointly founded “*The Great State of the White and Lofty*”, the self-appellation of the much more numerous tribe, the red-faced, whose special position is



Fig. 4

stressed in the depiction by means of colour and composition [64], was adopted to designate the people of the newly founded state [65].

This study which grew out of the analysis of the *mi-nia* self-appellations proves that the written and artistic parts of *mi-nia* treasure from Khara Khoto, or, as R. Linrothe puts

it, textual and visual evidence [66], should be studied in their unity, since they represent a single source of informa-

tion both on the *mi-nia* people and the exquisitely sophisticated culture created by them.

List of Tangut Characters

- 1. 𗀃 𗀄 𗀅 𗀆 2. 𗀇 3. 𗀈 𗀉 4. 𗀊 5. 𗀋 𗀌
- 6. 𗀍 7. 𗀎 8. 𗀏 𗀐 9. 𗀑 10. 𗀒 𗀓 11. 𗀔 𗀕
- 12. 𗀖 13. 𗀗 𗀘 14. 𗀙 𗀚 15. 𗀛 𗀜 𗀝 16. 𗀞 𗀟
- 𗀠 𗀡 𗀢 17. 𗀣 𗀤 𗀥 𗀦 18. 𗀧 𗀨 19. 𗀩 𗀪 20.
- 𗀫 𗀬 𗀭 21. 𗀮 𗀯 22. 𗀰 23. 𗀱 𗀲 24. 𗀳 𗀴 𗀵
- 𗀶 𗀷 𗀸 𗀹 𗀺 𗀻 𗀼 𗀽 𗀾 𗀿 𗁀 𗁁 𗁂 𗁃 𗁄
- 𗁅 𗁆 𗁇 𗁈 𗁉 𗁊 𗁋 𗁌 𗁍 𗁎 𗁏 𗁐 𗁑 𗁒 𗁓 𗁔 25.
- 𗁕 𗁖 𗁗 𗁘 𗁙 𗁚 𗁛 𗁜 26. 𗁝 27. 𗁞 𗁟 𗁠 𗁡 28.
- 𗁢 𗁣 29. 𗁤 30. 𗁥 31. 𗁦 𗁧 32. 𗁨 𗁩 33. 𗁪 𗁫
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Notes

1. The term “Tangut” is generally used in Russia, whereas “Xi” (“Xi Xia”) — in China and Japan. Scholars in the West use both terms seemingly preferring “Xi” (“Xi Xia”) when the state is concerned and “Tangut” when the people is touched upon. In keeping with Russian tradition in this essay (as in all my works) I use the term “Tangut”.

2. In scholarly literature one comes across a combination of both terms, which looks rather strange — Tangut Xia. This combination is used mainly as an attribute: Tangut Xia Buddhism, Tangut Xia capital, Tangut Xia contexts, Tangut Xia Ushnishavijaya images, as in R. Linrothe, “Xia Renzong and the patronage of Tangut Buddhist art: the stūpa and Ushnishavijayā cult”, *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies*, 28, (1998), pp. 93, 95, 99, 103.

3. The number in { } brackets corresponds to the number in the “List of Tangut Characters” present in this essay.

4. For my interpretation of this name, see K. B. Kepping, “The name of the Tangut Empire”, *T'oung Pao*, LXXX, fasc. 4—5 (1994), pp. 357—76; also *idem*, “The official name of the Tangut Empire as reflected in the native Tangut texts”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/3 (1995), pp. 22—32.

5. My observations show that during the time of existence of the Tangut state, the word {57} *ndžjwe* “summer” (Chin. *xia*) was never used in Tangut texts as the name of the state or the people. See Kepping, “The name of the Tangut Empire”, p. 359. The only example known to me, when the collocation {58} *ndžjwe lhjā* means “Tangut state”, dates to 1312 (see Shi Jinbo, *Xi Xia fojiao shilue* (Tangut Buddhism) (Yinchuan, 1988), p. 317), i. e. nearly a century after the fall of the Tangut state. But the magic of the Chinese word “Xia” in connection with the Tanguts is so strong that even when {57} *ndžjwe* is used in its direct meaning as “summer [season]”, some scholars interpret it as “Tangut”. For example, the sentence {59} *ndžjwe māvjei žjāndza tjei min* — “In summer it is impossible to estimate the enemy” — is translated as “The enemies of the rulers of Xia [state] are innumerable” (*More znachenii, ustanovlennyykh sviatymi* (The Sea of Meanings Established by the Saints), facsimile of the xylograph, publication of the text, introduction, translation from Tangut, commentaries and appendices by E. I. Kychanov (Moscow, 1997), p. 219, Tangut text p. 234, l. 5).

6. For details of the polemic, see Kepping “The name of the Tangut Empire”, pp. 361—4.

7. R. W. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High. Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu, 1996), p. XI.

8. Tangut ethnonyms for other peoples also have not been studied yet. As a result, even the list of these ethnonyms lacks clarity, not to mention their precise definition. Cf., for example, *idem*, *op. cit.*, pp. XIII—XV, and pp. 36, 98, 99, 147, 159; K. B. Kepping, “The famous Liangzhou bilingual stela: a new study”, *T'oung Pao*, LXXXIV (1998), pp. 371—3. However, within the limits of this essay it is impossible to examine all the ethnonyms used in Tangut texts; it is to be done separately. See *idem*, “Ethnonyms in Tangut indigenous texts” (forthcoming).

9. Kychanov, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 179, notes 108 and 107.

11. Nishida Tatsuo, “A study of ‘The Ode on Monthly Pleasures’ in Tangut language” (in Japanese), in *Gengogaku daijiten*, No. 25 (1986), pp. 39—73.

12. Ritual languages are known to exist in other Tibeto-Burman languages as well, for example, in Belhare (personal communication of B. Bickel, St. Petersburg, March 1996). However, Tangut ritual language is really something special, for we have at our disposal *written* form of the ritual language.

13. Kepping, “Tangut ritual language”, paper presented at the XXIX International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, October 10—13, 1996, Leiden, the Netherlands.

14. *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhdenyi kodeks deviza tsarstvovaniia Nebesnoe Prosvetanie (1149—1169)* (The Revised and Newly Endorsed Code for the Designation of the Reign “Celestial Prosperity” (1149—1169)), publication of the text, translation from Tangut, investigations and commentaries in four books, facsimile and notes by E. I. Kychanov (Moscow, 1987—1989), i—iv.

15. Kychanov, *More znachenii*.

16. K. B. Kepping, *Sun zi v tangutskom perevode* (*Sun zi* in the Tangut translation). Facsimile of the xylograph, publication of the text, translation from Tangut, introduction, commentaries, essay on grammar, vocabulary and indices (Moscow, 1979). K. B. Kepping, *Les kategorii — utrachennaia kitaiskaia leishu v tangutskom perevode* (*Lei Lin* — a Lost Chinese *Leishu* in Tangut Translation). Facsimile of the xylograph, publication of the text, introduction, translations from Tangut, commentaries and indices (Moscow, 1983).

17. *Vnov' sobrannye dragotsennye parnye izrecheniia* (The Newly Assembled Precious Dual Maxims), facsimile of the xylograph, publication of the text, translation from Tangut, introduction and commentaries by E. I. Kychanov (Moscow, 1974).

18. Kepping, “Tangut ritual language”, and *idem*, “The ‘black-headed’ and the ‘red-faced’ in Tangut indigenous texts” (forthcoming).

19. For example, common language {60} *mbe* “sun” corresponds to {61} *tie lie* “sun” in the ritual language. However, the only (?) exception seems to be the ethnonyms — graphically some of them are composed by means of identical parts. For details, see Kepping, “Ethnonyms in Tangut indigenous texts”.

20. K. B. Kepping, E. I. Kychanov, V. S. Kolokolov, A. P. Terent'ev-Katanskii, *More pis'men* (The Sea of Characters) (Moscow, 1969), ii, p. 38, No. 3389.

21. *Ibid.*, No. 3390.

22. Description of these two pronouns see in K. B. Kepping, *Tangutskii iazyk. Morfologiya* (Tangut Language. Morphology) (Moscow, 1985), pp. 41—9.

23. *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhdenyi kodeks, passim*.

24. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

25. Li Fanwen, *Tongyin yanjiu* (Yinchuan, 1986), p. 767.

26. M. V. Sofronov, in his *Grammatika tangutskogo iazyka* (Grammar of the Tangut Language) (Moscow, 1968), ii, p. 376, No. 4600, did not supply this character with its reading.
27. *Katalog tangutskikh buddiiskikh pamiatnikov Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* (Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Texts Kept in the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), comp. by E. I. Kychanov, introduction by Nishida Tatsuo. The publication prepared by S. Arakawa (Kyoto, 1999), p. 773.
28. N. A. Nevskii, *Tangutskaja filologija* (Tangut Philology) (Moscow, 1960), ii, p. 133.
29. Kepping, Kychanov, Kolokolov, Terent'ev-Katanskii, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
30. Gong Hwang-chemg and K. B. Kepping, "The Tangut ode 'The Monthly Pleasures'" (forthcoming).
31. Sofronov (*op. cit.*, ii, p. 340, No. 2834) did not supply this character with its reading.
32. See n. 31.
33. *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhennyi kodeks*, iii, p. 124, Tangut text p. 445, ll. 5—7.
34. *Vnov' sobrannye dragotsennye parnye izrecheniia*, Tangut text p. 155, l. 5.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 90, No. 1, Tangut text p. 155, l. 2.
36. Kwanten Luc, *The Timely Pearl. A 12th Century Tangut Chinese Glossary*. Vol. I: *The Chinese Glosses* (Bloomington, 1982), pp. 190—1.
37. According to M. V. Sofronov's reconstruction, the vowels in {2} *mi* and {29} *mi* from {3} *mi-niau* are different. See Sofronov, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 351, No. 3316 and p. 355, No. 3536.
38. Li Fanwen, *op. cit.*, p. 216, 3B26 and 3B28. Professor S. E. Yakhontov (St. Petersburg State University, personal communication, 1984, summer) has discovered semantic affinity between Tangut homophones read in different tones. See Kepping, *Tangutskii iazyk. Morfologija*, p. 334, n. 1.
39. E. I. Kychanov, "Gimn Sviashchennym predkam tangutov" ("Hymn to the sacred Tangut ancestors"), in *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia*, ed. A. P. Terentyev-Katansky, Ju. E. Bregel and V. M. Konstantinov (Moscow, 1970).
40. *Vnov' sobrannye dragotsennye parnye izrecheniia*, p. 125, Tangut text p. 213, l. 6.
41. The word {4} *lhjwe* is pronounced in the first tone, whereas all other Tangut self-appellations — in the second tone. And, as is known, the part of "The Sea of Characters", which includes Tangut characters read in the second tone, is missing.
42. Kepping, Kychanov, Kolokolov, Terent'ev-Katanskii, *op. cit.*, i, p. 452, No. 2787, text p. 594.
43. Mind that in the dictionary only after the word {2} *mi* stands the word {26} *ndzjwo* "man", which seemingly means that {2} *mi*, as I have noted above, is an adjective.
44. *More znachenii*, p. 307, two times.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 114, Tangut text p. 307.
46. For details, see Kepping, "The 'black-headed' and the 'red-faced'".
47. For the time being, I leave aside the definition of the red-faced as "cross-eyed", since I have not got its explanation yet.
48. Li Fanwen, *op. cit.*, p. 440, No. 4813 and No. 4812.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 215, 4B31 and 4B33, see also n. 38.
50. Since here I am interested only in the portraits of the *mi-nia* in the lowest register of the painting, I do not touch upon the content of the painting itself. Its colour reproduction and description see in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road. Buddhist Art from Khara Khoto*, ed. M. Piotrovsky (Milan, 1993), p. 198 and also in K. F. Samosyuk, "The Guanyin icon from Khara-Khoto", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), pp. 53—61 (see also the front cover of the present issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*). Also cf. *idem*, "Eshchē raz ob ikone 'Guan'in' iz Khara-Khoto (tibetskie dokumenty iz Dun'khuauna)" ("More on the Guanyin icon from Khara Khoto (Tibetan documents from Dunhuang)"), in *Ėrmitazhnye chteniia pamiati V. G. Lukonina. 1995—1999* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 130—45; the painting is also discussed in K. B. Kepping with F. Wood, "The Guanyin icon (Chinghis Khan's last campaign)" (forthcoming).
51. These two persons shown from the back are not relevant to this study.
52. *The Book of Marco Polo*, in *Dzhovanni del' Plano Karpini. Istoriia Mongolov. Gil'om de Rubruk. Puteshestvie v vostochnye strany. Kniga Marko Polo* (Moscow, 1997), chapter LXXII, p. 240.
53. N. M. Przhval'skii (Przewalski), *Mongoliia i strana tangutov* (Mongolia and the Tangut Land) (Moscow, 1946), p. 221.
54. A. P. Terentyev-Katansky, "The appearance, clothes and utensils of the Tanguts", in *The Countries and Peoples of the East* (Moscow, 1974), p. 215.
55. The head-shaving decree was, as R. Dunnell puts it (see her *op. cit.*, p. 181), "the most renowned of Wei-ming Yuan-hao's nativistic innovations".
56. The engraving was published in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road*, p. 264, pl. 77.
57. This engraving representing an illustration to the Tangut translation of an apocryphal preface to the "Sūtra of the Golden Light" was originally written in Chinese (the names of the characters in the apocrypha obviously reveal their Chinese origin). However, the *mi-nia* appearance of the people in the engraving is beyond doubt a sound evidence proving the *mi-nia* origin of the engraving.
58. However, Samosyuk in her "Eshchē raz ob ikone 'Guan'in' iz Khara-Khoto", p. 138, thinks that he has a *tufa* hair-style.
59. Nishida Tatsuo, *The Study of the Tangut Language* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1964), i, p. 218.
60. See the list of specific features of the black-headed in Kepping, "The 'black-headed' and the 'red-faced'".
61. *Izmenennyi i zanovo utverzhennyi kodeks*, i, p. 360.
62. *Ibid.*
63. The whole painting see in *Lost Empire of the Silk Road*, p. 199 and Samosyuk, "The Guanyin icon from Khara-Khoto", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), p. 52, plate 1.
64. The correlation between the red-faced and the black-headed, as it was said above, was ten to one.
65. It would be very interesting indeed to find out the origins of the black-headed, the people who in their appearance were so different from the red-faced. Seemingly, fascinating discoveries are still to be awaited.
66. Linrothe, "Xia Renzong and the patronage of Tangut Buddhist art: the stūpa and Ushnishavijayā cult", p. 98.

Illustrations

Front cover:

“Guanyin, Moon in Water”, scroll on silk (fragment), call number X 2439, Khara Khoto, 12th century, in the holdings of the State Hermitage Museum. Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** “Figure of a ‘red-faced’”, fragment of the same scroll on silk.
- Fig. 2.** Illustration to the preface to the *sūtra Jin guang ming zui sheng wang jing (Suvāṇṇaprabhāsottamarajasūtra)*, xylograph, accordion format, 31.2 × 59.5 cm, call number TANG 376, inventory No. 95, Khara Khoto, 12th century, in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
- Fig. 3.** “Zhang Ju-dao slaughtering animals”, fragment of the same illustration.
- Fig. 4.** “Figure of a ‘black-headed’”, fragment of the picture “Guanyin, Moon in Water”.
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PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

E. A. Rezvan

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL FABERGÉ. III: BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND PORTRAITS (PART 1)

Karl Fabergé's collection of Eastern manuscripts contains two biographical works. The folios (sing. *lawḥ*) of the Album (*muraqqa'*) from this collection contain a series of miniatures that depict actual personages: rulers and grandees, religious teachers and warriors, heroes of folklore, classical poetry and the Muslim historical tradition. In a number of cases these are actual portraits of the miniature artists' contemporaries. The present article discusses one of these manuscripts and two folios from the Album with miniature portraits.

Manuscript D 369 has been described by N. D. Miklukho-Maclay [1], which significantly eases our task. It is entitled *Anjuman khaqān* ("Collection of the Ruler") and belongs to Muḥammad Fāḍil Garrūsī (Muḥammad Fāḍil-khān) [2], a Persian court poet (his literary pen-name was *Rāwī*), who lived in the first third of the nineteenth century. Muḥammad Fāḍil Garrūsī (14 Dhū-l-Ḥijja 1198/30 October 1784—1252/1836—37) was born in Garrūsa, not far from Hamadān, into a noble family of the Bayāndur tribe. In 1214/1799—1800, after the death of his father, he left his native city in search of knowledge in a number of centers in Iraq and Persia. He made his way to Tehran, where he became a disciple of the "Lord of Poets" (*malik al-shu'arā'*), Faṭḥ 'Alī-khān Kāshānī, whose *laqab* was *Ṣabā* (d. 1238/1822—23). *Ṣabā* recommended him to Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh Qājār (1211—1250/1797—1834), noting the poet's erudition and remarkable memory. Garrūsī soon became the Shāh's favourite reader of verse.

In 1234/1818—1819, Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh charged Garrūsī with gathering together the biographies of the poets of his rule, a task that had bested several of our authors predecessors. Thus did the present work arise. On fol. 106, the author notes that Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh turned 50 while the work was being composed; consequently, the work must have been written in 1235/1819—1820.

The manuscript is written in Indian ink in a sure *nasta'liq* on thin glossy creamish paper of Eastern provenance. It contains 162 folios [3]. The folio dimensions are: 33.0×22.5 cm; 17 lines per page; text field, enclosed in a border of coloured lines: 25.0×15.5 cm. The headings and many proper names are executed in red ink. Folios 16 and 3b are adorned with large colour *'unwāns* (see *fig. 1*).

A number of folios [4] contains marginal notes in *naskh* and *nasta'liq* in Arabic and Persian. Folio 1a contains two partially destroyed owners' inscriptions. The upper inscription indicates the date of copying — 1236/1820—21. The lower gives a different date: 1245/1829—1830. The proper names are, unfortunately, illegible. It is important to note that our copy was created almost immediately after the work's composition [5]. It was copied in Tehran.

The manuscript is held in a high-quality lacquered binding (Tehran, mid-19th century). The paired outer walls of the binding bear floral composition (large rose-coloured peons, tulips, etc., see *fig. 2*). The paired inner walls of the binding are in darker, brown-red hues. The centre of the composition consists of three carved cartouches, with the largest in the centre (see *fig. 3*).

As was noted above, the manuscript brings together the biographies of poets who lived and worked in Persia under Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh Qājār. The biographies are augmented by examples of their poetry. The author does not list the sources of his work, which is itself an important source for the study of Persian literature in the late eighteenth — early nineteenth century, the eve of a certain "age of enlightenment" indispensable for an appropriate understanding of Persian literary development in the twentieth century.

The work consists of a preface (fol. 1b), 4 chapters (*anjuman*) and a conclusion. Each chapter begins with a list of the poets it treats. Chapter I (fol. 3b) summarizes the history of the Qājār dynasty and the rule of Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh. Chapter II (fol. 15b) gives biographical information on 16 Qājār princes and members of the nobility who were known for their poetry. Chapter III (fol. 23b) contains the biographies of 42 poets collected by Faṭḥ 'Alī-shāh at his court. Chapter IV (fol. 107b) gives the biographies of another 126 poets (in alphabetical order according to their literary pseudonyms). The conclusion (fol. 161a) presents a brief autobiography of the author.

We move now from the biographical work of a court poet to two of the portrait miniatures in the Fabergé Album. The paired folios 3b and 4a of *muraqqa'* contain parade portraits of the founder of the Aṣāfiyya dynasty, Nawwāb Mīr Qamar al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh I (1724—1748), and his successor on the throne, Nawwāb Mīr

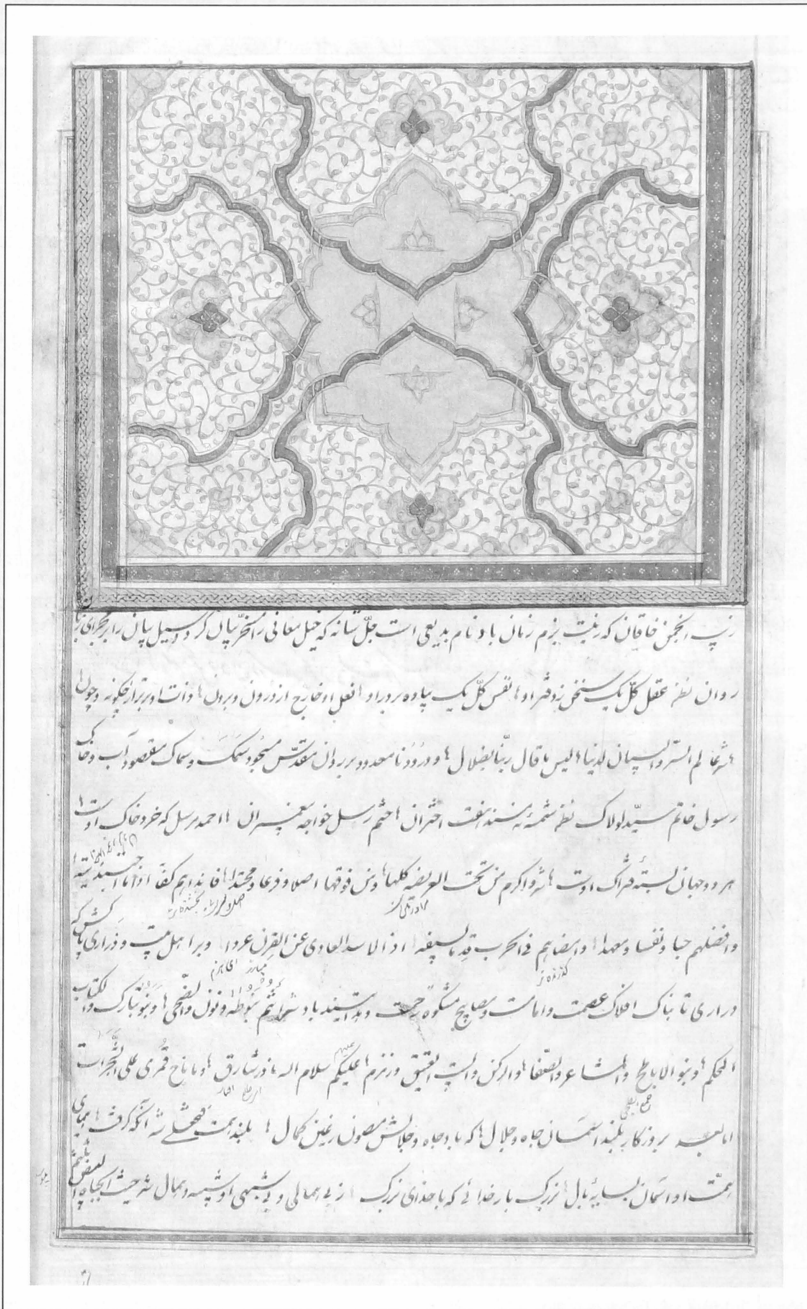


Fig. 1

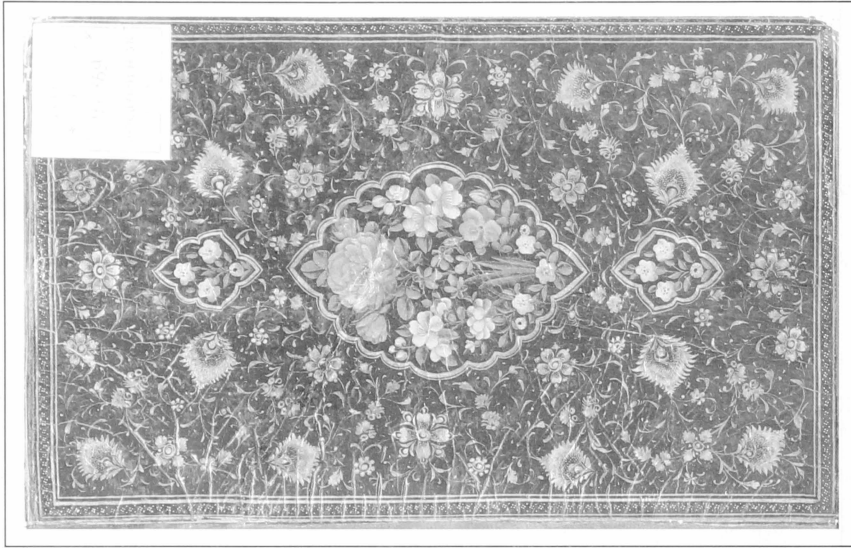


Fig. 3

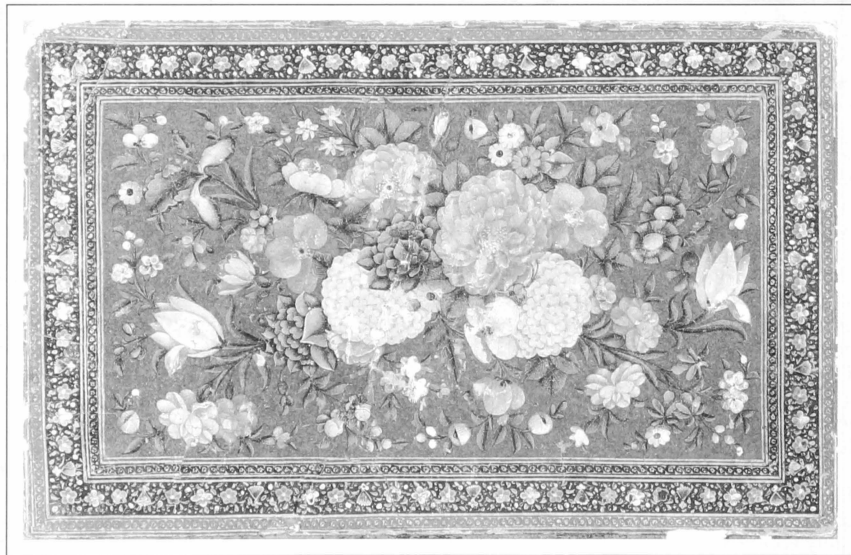


Fig. 2

Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Jang (1748—1750). This is indicated by inscriptions in the upper part of the miniatures. In one case (fol. 4a) we read: *nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh maghfarat panāh* ("the deceased nawwāb Āṣaf Jāh"). In the second (fol. 3b), *nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Bahādur ma'lūm* ("Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, known as Bahādur").

The miniature in our collection (see *Plate 1* on the back cover of the present issue) shows the visage of a venerable courtier, stern, concentrated and remarkably reminiscent of late portraits of the Moghūl emperor Awrangzīb [6]. We see a man who left the post of *vazīr* to the emperor Muḥammad Shāh after losing faith in the hope of restoring order throughout the empire. He returned to his province, the Deccan, where after besting his sworn enemies, the Bārha *sayyids*, in battle at Shakarkheldā (1724), he ruled with an iron fist and founded a dynasty that ruled Hyderabad until 1950 [7].

The second miniature (see *Plate 2* on the back cover of the present issue) depicts Nawwāb Mīr Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Jang, who appears as a young black-bearded man who has just succeeded his predecessor. The flowerbed at his feet distinguishes this miniature somewhat, as does the book in his hands. Āṣaf Jāh leans on a sword; two small birds are depicted in the upper left corner.

The compositional unity of the miniatures symbolizes the succession of power and underscores the new status of the young ruler, likening him to the founder of a dynasty. The deep cherry-red colours, the use of gold ornamentation as a background in the margins, and traced adornments of the parade attire, border and a number of other elements give the miniatures especial dignity and richness. Hyderabad, mid-18th century.

Fol. 4a (see *fig. 4*) contains a calligraphic sample (*qit'a*) in a complex border (10.0×19.0 cm) with Persian verses on a grey background. The lines are enclosed in a thin black line (*tarsi' wa taḥrīr*), while errors in the layout indicate that the person responsible did not know Persian. The calligraphic sample in the centre, against a yellow background with gold dots, contains a four-line Arabic text (large and mid-sized calligraphic *naskh* on a bright-brown background). The Album's compilers felt that the fragment is the autograph of the great Iraqi calligrapher Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī (1221—1298). This is confirmed by an inscription in the upper part of the border: *خط ياقوت*. [8]. The cartouche is surrounded by red margins ornamented with large gold flowers and leaves.

The Arabic text is an incomplete fragment of religious-didactic content (the left edge has been cut off):

كل حزب بما لديهم فرحون وقار
قال أنوشروان حصن البلد بالعدل فهو سور وهو الفتاح
احتمال الأذى وترك المكافات
لا يعرق نار ولا يهدمه لا عرف

"Each party rejoicing in that which was with them" [9] and ash (?)...

Said Anūshirwān [10]: 'The land rests firm on justice', and he was stern, and he was a conqueror.

Endurance of agony and rejection of reward.

Fire does not penetrate, and does not destroy him. There is no virtue..."

A Persian text of Shi'ite-Sūfī content forms the perimeter [11]:

چراغ از بهر تاریکی نگهدار
جوبه گشتی طیب از خود میازار
فتح وظفر از غبار راست فزد
از تیغ تو لمعه بود تندی برق

فتح وظفر از غبار راست فزد
مرد این راه راست نشان دیگر است
بسی نامور کشته شد بدریغ

گردون گردی است گرسباهت خیزد
از تیغ تو لمعه بود تندی برق
مرد این راه راست نشان دیگر است
منزل عشق است مکان دیگر

انکه هستی جهان قایم است
انکه خداوندی او دایم است
جو زاله ببارید باران تیغ

"A lamp guards against darkness

When you recover, the doctor rejoices.

Conquest and victory arise directly from the ashes,

The sparkle of your blade leapt forth with the speed of
lightening.

Conquest and victory arise directly from the ashes.

Man! This straight path — another sign (or: sign of another).
Many became famous without thought of gain.

The firmament is round when [the luminaries] depart on their
journeys

The sparkle of your blade leapt forth with the speed of
lightening.

Man! This straight path — another sign (or sign of another).
A stopping place is love, while a place is another thing.

Qā'im [12] is he who ever rules the world,

Whose eternal dominion passes not.

A rain of blades pours out like tears".

Fol. 3a (see *fig. 5*) contains calligraphic samples (*qit'a*) in *naskh* and large *nasta'liq* written into three cartouches in a common green border adorned with gold ornamentation (19.8×29.8 cm). Small red and yellow flowers and green leaves are traced on a gold background. The text is written in *nasta'liq* on a green background; the words are separated by areas of gold pigment. The margins are a bright-brown background with average-sized flowers in delicate gold.

The Arabic text in the centre consists of maxims apparently ascribed to one of the "Rightly-guided" caliphs:

[...] أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام قال إيمان المرء
يعرف بإيمانه إخفاء الشدة من المروة بكاء المرء
من خشية الله قرعة عينه برك لا تبطله بالمن
تأكيد المودة في الحرمة تواضع المرء يكرمه ثبات
الملك بالعدل ثواب الآخرة خير من نعم الدنيا

"... The commander of the faithful, peace be upon him, said:

'The oaths of a husband

are tested by his faith'. 'Concealment is the end of valour'.

'A man's tears

from fear of God are joy'. 'Having received God's blessing,
dwell not in idleness, [tasting of His] mercy'.

'The confirmation of love lies in sanctity'. 'The modesty of a husband ennobles him'. 'The rewards of the next life are better than the well-being of this life'".

Upper cartouche:

كل هم [] يولايك يا على

"All cares (? ...) by your sanctity, o 'Alī'".

Lower cartouche:

تجده عوناً لك في النوائب

"You find him an aid to yourself in the vicissitudes of fate".

The text of the Arabic-Persian prayer that forms the perimeter:

الحمد لله رب العالمين
الرحمن الرحيم
عفو كين دون همتيهاى مرا
محو كين بى حرمتيهاى مرا

"Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds,
The Merciful, the Compassionate [13].
Have mercy on me, incapable of ardour!
Destroy all that defiles me!"

Not long ago, Prof. Anatoliy Ivanov, head of the State Hermitage's Eastern Section, told me that the Hermitage has in its holdings a number of objects that belonged to Fabergé and came from the East. In particular, these include work in bronze and an enormous Turkmen carpet. Moreover, the Hermitage's archive contains a number of documents that could throw additional light on the origins of the court jeweller's manuscript collection. I am sure that fascinating finds await us, and we shall inform our readers in due course.

Over the past few weeks, a group of my colleagues in various museums and research institutes across the world and I have actively discussed the possibility of holding a major international exhibition with the tentative title of **"Oriental Garden. Cartier, Vever, Fabergé: Manuscripts and**

Jewellery". Each of these artists, today associated with the highest pinnacles of the jeweller's art, owned a collection of manuscripts and miniatures [14]. The profundity and power of the Eastern tradition added to their works the enchanting beauty that so distinguishes the unified creative principle of East and West. Only recently this would have been merely a marvellous exhibition, a unique window into the workshop of these great jewellers. But today, when we see frightening attempts to spark conflict between two great civilizations, we feel that the idea behind this exhibition has acquired a special relevance. We live in a single world, the beauty of which finds expression in its vast diversity. One hopes that it is this beauty that will, in the end, be our salvation.

Notes

1. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaï, *Opisanie tadzhikskikh i persidskikh rukopisei Institutu Narodov Azii* (Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts at the Institute of the Peoples of Asia). Fasc. 2: Biographical works (Moscow, 1961), No. 116, pp. 41—2. Unfortunately, the description of this manuscript contains an inaccuracy. The nineteenth century is cited as the time of its creation, an error that was corrected later in the general catalogue of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection. See *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Institutu vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk USSR* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies). A brief alphabetical catalogue, ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maclay (Moscow, 1964), i, p. 55. The first work notes that the manuscript is held in a *muqawwā* 'pasteboard binding, which is incorrect.

2. For more detail, see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1953), i, pt. 2, No. 1194, pp. 886—7.

3. Fols. 3a, 15a, 22a—23a, 107a were left blank, while 2b and 15b were left incomplete.

4. 1b, 8a, 16a, 24a, 27b, 29a, 37a, 62a, 67b, 72b, 85a, 87—88b, 105a, 105b, 138b, 149a, 154a, 161b.

5. Prof. Oleg Akimushkin, to whom I express my sincere gratitude for his help in the preparation of this article, kindly informed me that the autograph of Garrūsi's work is held in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (see É. Apor, "Sándor Kégl bequest and the Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Collection", *Jubilee Volume on the Oriental Collection. 1951—1976. Papers presented on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, ed. Éva Apor (Budapest, 1978), pp. 35—41). Dr. Éva Apor (Budapest) kindly provided me with additional information: the manuscript (call number Perzsa Fol. 9) is on paper; 159 fols.; 24.0×34.7 cm; written area: 16.0×24.0 cm. The manuscript was copied in 1254/1838—39, if so, our copy is 18 years earlier. The work has not yet been published, although our Hungarian colleagues plan to publish it. For other copies, see *Sobranie rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Manuscript Collection of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences), ed. A. A. Semenov (Tashkent, 1952), i, No. 329; Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1895), No. 120, pp. 85—6.

6. Cf. the portrait of Awrangzib reading the Qur'ān from the Berlin Islamischen Museum (J. 4593, fol. 45a, 20.3×14.4 cm, Mughāl, early 18th century). See Mulk Raj Anand and Herman Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen* (Dresden, 1967), No. 8; also R. Hickmann, V. Enderlin and others, *Indische Albumblätter. Miniaturen und Kalligraphien aus der Zeit der Moghul-Kaiser* (Leipzig—Weimar, 1979), No. 39, p. 158 and two sketches for this miniature (or copies of its fragments) from our Album (fol. 1b); we plan to present them in the next article of this series.

7. For more detail on the time of Aṣaf Jāh I, see W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i—ii (Calcutta, 1921—1922).

8. Just as with the *qit'a* on fol. 26a of our Album, which was described in the preceding article of this series.

9. Qur'ān, 23:53 (30:32).

10. Khusraw I (531—579), Sassanian emperor famous for his justice and support of Mazdaean religion, who received the honorary name Anūshirwān.

11. I would like to express once again sincere thanks to my daughter, Maria Rezvan, for her help in rendering Persian texts.
 12. Qā'im epithet of the twelfth Shi'ite imām, who remains concealed.
 13. Qur'ān, 1: 1—2.
 14. See J. Goelet, als, *40 Years on...Donations by John Goelet. Sculpture, Painting and Drawings, Miniatures and Calligraphy, Tankas and Mangalas* (New York, 1999); G. D. Lowry and S. Nemanzee, *A Jeweller's Eye, Islamic Arts of the Book from the Vever Collection* (Washington, D. C., 1988). I am indebted to Dr. Roselyne Hurel (Musée Carnavalet, Paris) for this information.

Illustrations

Back cover:

- Plate 1.** Portrait of Nawwāb Mīr Qamar al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 4b, 15.1×24.0 cm. Inner frame dimensions: 15.1×24.0 cm; outer frame dimensions: 22.0×30.5 cm
- Plate 2.** Portrait of Nawwāb Mīr Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Jang, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. The same Album, fol. 3b, 11.5×21.3 cm. Inner frame dimensions: 11.5×21.3 cm; outer frame dimensions: 21.0×31.2 cm.

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1.** Colour 'umwān from the manuscript of a work by Muḥammad Fāḍil Garrūsī *Anjuman khaqān* ("Collection of the Ruler"). MS D 369 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tehran, 1820—21, fol. 1b, 33.0×22.5 cm.
- Fig. 2.** Front back of the lacquered binding of the same manuscript, Tehran, mid-19th century.
- Fig. 3.** Inner back of the lacquered binding of the same manuscript, Tehran, mid-19th century.
- Fig. 4.** Calligraphic sample (*qit'a*). Watercolour, gouache, ink and gold on paper. Mounted in India, mid-18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 4a, 10.0×19.0 cm.
- Fig. 5.** Calligraphic sample (*qit'a*). Watercolour, gouache, ink and gold on paper. Mounted in India, mid-18th century. The same Album, fol. 3a, 19.8×29.8 cm.
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ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

N. I. Serikoff

IMAGE AND LETTER: "PACE" IN ARABIC SCRIPT (A THUMB-NAIL INDEX AS A TOOL FOR A CATALOGUE OF ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS. PRINCIPLES AND CRITERIA FOR ITS CONSTRUCTION)*

"I know it, I have seen this handwriting!" How often a specialist in medieval manuscripts receives such a reaction from a colleague while showing him handwriting of unknown provenance. However, the matter is given little further attention, since it is usually difficult to recall where the manuscript was seen, especially if it was seen years before. Yet finding evidence of a similar hand, perhaps several years later, does occur. When this happens, it allows two or more manuscripts to be compared, and this comparison can lead to the establishment of the provenance of the manuscript under investigation, the approximate date of its compilation and sometimes its authorship.

To facilitate the difficult task of identifying a particular hand one requires a reliable tool rather than the sometimes unreliable and often fugitive memories of scholars. Specialists in palaeography have already made a number of attempts at producing such a tool. Regardless of the narrow specialization of these scholars (medieval European, Byzantine, Slavonic studies, etc.), the principles of such a tool were generally intended to provide a set of tables which represent dated specimens of medieval handwriting appropriate to these different scripts. Since comparison has been and remains the only method for identifying a particular hand, these tables usually include appendices which consist of lists of selected elements such as letters, ligatures, etc. For example, the specialists in Classical and Byzantine studies, among many other instruments, use reference tools by G. F. Tsereteli [1] and V. Gardthausen [2]. The most recent work in this field is represented by a voluminous and very detailed *Repertorium der griechischen*

Kopisten, an up-dated version of Gardthausen's work published by the Austrian and German Byzantinologists H. Hunger, E. Gamillscheg, D. Haringer and P. Eleuteri [3].

Arabic and Islamic studies, although a much younger discipline, have followed the same course. Many albums of dated manuscripts have been published. The number of published specimens of handwriting in these albums is, however, insufficient if one regards the scale of manuscript production in Islamic culture [4]. One has also to add that most of what has been published is calligraphic specimens, which leave aside less formal hands. These published works are all of significant help in identifying unknown hands, although very difficult to use. It is not easy to compare a particular example of handwriting with several hundreds of specimens listed in the relevant manuals. Attempts to create a computerized tool for identification of scripts were made by the Russians E. Rezvan and N. Kondybaev, who independently repeated the approach of the Austrian team of Byzantinologists [5], taking individual letters as recognition units. The potential of this letter-based approach suggested by Austrian and Russian scholars is, however, limited. A reduction of a script to letter forms with similar or specific characteristics can be very misleading, since one and the same letter is not absolutely identical in one and the same person's hand-writing. Even slight inconsistencies may vitiate a human or machine search and recognition [6]. Further, the letter-based approach does not immediately give the idea of the whole lay out of a page. Thus two apparently similar letters may belong to two different hands.

A THUMB-NAIL INDEX

In my view, in order to facilitate the identification of hands one has to create a tool consisting of reduced specimens of manuscript pages in tabular form, which may be attached to an album of manuscripts or to a manuscript

catalogue. This listing should be arranged according to strict search criteria and be in the form of a **thumb-nail index** -- a technical term originating from computing science [7]. A thumb-nail index with a series of small illus-

* The present article is a revised and augmented version of my talk held on the MELCOM International Conference (St. Petersburg, June 2001). I am most grateful to Dr. Nigel Allan, Tim Stanley and Michael Rogers (all London) who read the paper and corrected my English.

trations has already been used as an appendix for a manuscript catalogue. This was undertaken by Peter Friedlander in his descriptive catalogue of Hindi manuscripts in the Wellcome Library [8]. However, this index was not based on search criteria but was arranged according to call numbers.

DIFFICULTIES

It is acknowledged that the main problem in arranging a thumb-nail index of manuscripts is the system of classification. Any of the traditional classification systems used in cataloguing are inappropriate, since neither call numbers, sizes of manuscripts, types of paper, colours of ink, or even collation marks etc. are relevant to the handwriting and its style. Nor, as has been shown, can the letter-based approach be credited with high reliability. The traditional division of the script into various styles, e.g. *thulth*, *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq*, *riqa'*, etc., does not help either. Firstly, these styles were not similar in Islamic society throughout its history. Although bearing the same label, the shapes of the letters varied significantly over time [9]. Secondly, even if a scholar follows the classification by style, he must admit that he is dealing exclusively with scripts written by professional and skilled calligraphers. The majority of scribes and learned men were not professional calligraphers at all but received a school training in handwriting (as was the rule in the context of Islamic education). They were writing only within the general framework of a certain style, e.g. *naskh* or *nasta'liq*, and they had a different aim: to relate a message rather than produce a piece of calligraphy as a work of art.

The aspect of clear and distinctive script, which does not have much in common with calligraphic script, has been constantly stressed by many theoreticians of writing. One must stress here that penmanship as a discipline is well-represented in the works of Arab (Islamic) authors [10], who frequently reproduce earlier works on the subject [11]. In this instance it is sufficient to give random examples, thus presenting a **tradition** rather than an opinion of one selected author.

The need for clear writing is explicitly testified by an anonymous 15th-century Arab writer, who wrote a *Treatise about Calligraphy* [12], and in sixteenth-century Iranian

The aim of the present article is to suggest a set of search criteria for manuscripts written in the Arabic script which enable a cataloguer to create a hard-copy or on-line thumb-nail index for his catalogue, and enable a user to find quickly among the specimens listed in this index those which are the closest match to the manuscript he has in hand.

works on the subject [13]. The anonymous Arab author, among other topics, discusses the question of "why the best script is namely that which is readable — any other forms of it can be considered as pieces of art" [14]. A sixteenth-century Iranian source quotes a predecessor, a fifteenth-century scribe Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī, who says that "a good handwriting is that which is clear and distinguishable; the purpose of a written text is to be read" [15]. This remark by Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī, frequently repeated over the centuries [16], is logical. Due to the nature of the Arabic script, which rendered only long vowels, one was not able to read (=understand) a written word if the vocalisation is unfamiliar to the reader [17]. Arabic words were therefore mastered as ideograms — according to their shapes (*rusūm*), so forcing a reader to memorize the vocabulary not just orally but also visually [18]. This visual approach to the Arabic script is comparable to scripts from the Far East — Chinese and Japanese. On the one hand, it was used as a vehicle for transmitting information, and, on the other hand, it was aesthetically admired as an artistic masterpiece [19]. This latter aspect, as well as the lack of obvious criteria for identifying Arabic scripts (including non-professional), is reflected in publications on Islamic calligraphy. A majority of these deal with aesthetic features of script rather than handwriting as a mean of written communication. Even learned catalogues of Islamic manuscripts usually give depersonalised descriptions like "small clear *naskh*", etc., which has become commonplace [20].

The aesthetic side of the Arabic script, although not an issue for the present article, must not be underestimated since it is invaluable for establishing rules for individual non-professional scripts, i.e. the criteria for generating a thumb-nail index.

THE ARABIC SCRIPT

In numerous medieval manuals concerned with the Arabic scribal tradition [21], among them, *Kitab al-fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadīm (10th century) and *al-Qalqashandī* (15th century), informs us that Ibn Muqlah (10th century) invented the six styles which derived from the main *Kūfī* script: *thulth*, *naskh*, *muḥaqqaq*, *rayḥān*, *tawqī'*, *riqa'*. His successor 'Alī b. Ḥilāl (known as Ibn al-Bawwāb) introduced a new system, called "balanced" (or "proportional") script [22]. This script — in its calligraphic form — had strict proportions between the height and the width of each letter, their ligatures and places for diacritical dots. These proportions were measured by pen dots. This ingenious system, still applied today for educational purposes, was found very convenient and "architectural". A tradition ascribes to the famous Greek mathematician Euclid a saying: "Handwriting is spiritual geometry which appears by means of a bodily instrument" [23]. This "balanced" Arabic script has been compared to certain features in music [24], too. The proportions of letter-parts build up into a style, easily rec-

ognizable by eye but very difficult to describe. Remarkably enough, Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī writes: "To represent the rules of calligraphy in the form of a poem [25] is to my mind simply a mistake. Similarly, one cannot write about them in prose — do not even think about it! — because handwriting has neither beginning nor an end" [26]. The sayings collected by the tenth-century Arab polymath, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [27] and others are rather similar to that quoted above. In fact, they show that Arab theoreticians had similar to ours: the lack of an adequately precise terminology to describe handwriting [28]. However, at the same time Arabs **viewed** [29] and **felt** [30] hand-writing differently. Individual hands were not only easily recognizable by the readers [31], but, as in modern graphology, they allowed the reader to make conjectures about the scribe's personal character.

Remarkably, the medieval Arabs' own comparisons of the "balanced" script with music, architecture and other arts, which influence human feelings, turn out to be helpful

in establishing rules for a thumb-nail index. In this instance, it is convenient to refer to the Greek word which describes either architectural or musical style — ρυθμός, a rhythm. However, this term has been already used by V. Atanasiu to describe letter frequency in the languages using Arabic script [32]. Therefore, in the present article another word

which has a similar meaning will be used, namely, *pace* [33]. The word *pace* will denote *a sequence of repeated patterns which facilitate the description and identification of the hand and the lay out of a whole page*. This notion can be applied to the description of both professional and non-professional handwriting in Arabic script.

PACE

Non-professional scribes and scholars, when they were not preparing a calligraphic copy as a work of art, tended to stick to a certain style, although they did not meticulously follow the rules of that style. Therefore, in classifying non-professional scripts it is worth avoiding strict definitions, e.g. *naskh*, *nasta'liq*, etc. They should be replaced by descriptions of large groups which include *naskh-like* or *nasta'liq-like* specimens even (if possible) with a relevant indication to their provenance, e.g. "Syrian", "Iranian", etc.

Within each of these groups the following proportions should be measured:

1. The ratio between the height of *alif* ا and the width of the separate form of *bā'* ب (see a, b in fig. 1).

The reason for measuring this ratio has its roots in the theory of Arabic calligraphy, since *alif* is the highest and *bā'* [34] is the longest letter of the Arabic alphabet. Ideally, they should be equal to the diameters of a circle which, according to Ibn Muqlah, is the basic element for the construction of letters [35].

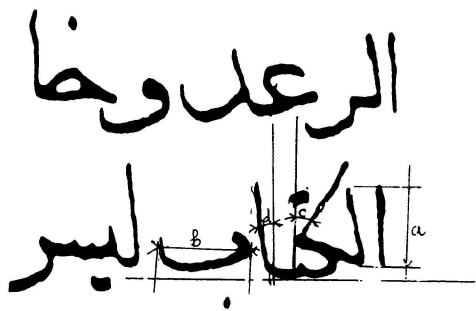


Fig. 1

2. The angles of inclination of the connected form of *alif* ا and the bar of the letter *kāf* ك in medial position (see c, d in fig. 1).

The angles of inclination of the connected form of *alif* and the bar of the letter *kāf* in medial position seem to be characteristic elements of the individual non-calligraphic hands. Being a calligraphic flourish, they distinctively betray *individual* features, i.e. the personality of the scribe.

Thus *alifs*, especially in their final form, tended not to be written vertically. This "freedom" seemed to be an object of constant attention for the Arab theoreticians of writing. In this instance an account of the handwriting of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn's secretary Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid al-Aḥwal (d. A.D. 825/26) related by al-Tawḥīdī is worth mentioning. Al-Tawḥīdī, while quoting Ibn al-Musharraf

al-Baghdādī, explicitly notes that in the secretary's hand *alifs* and *lāms* were as straight as they could be [36]. Another theoretician, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣadāwī [37], also stresses the fact that *alif* should not be inclined: "The first letter with which we begin among the letters [of the alphabet] is the *standing alif* among the ranks // It is the greatest [letter] among those which are vertical and erect // And it is the best which stands within symmetry // *Alif* collects everything, it is the pillar of superiority..." [38]. Descriptions of *alif* are innumerable. I quote here only the first warning of al-Qalqashandī describing the pitfalls in writing this letter: "it should be *erect*, must not incline to one side or fall" [39].

According to al-Ṣadāwī, the letter *kāf* — especially in its medial form — had obviously to be written without lifting the pen [40], regardless of the number of strokes [41]. However, this did not seem to happen frequently. The upper bar usually appears to be divided from the body of the letter. On the other hand, from al-Qalqashandī's description of the *kāf* in the medial position it follows clearly that the bar above was added separately [42]. Being an element of a flourish, the angle of the bar of the *kāf* clearly represented the scribe's individuality and therefore, together with the slope of *alif*, it can be seen as an element of *pace* in Arabic handwriting.

However, the same scribe can write on large or small pieces of paper, in large or small letters. In order to be able to compare handwriting independently of the size of paper, one has to introduce an additional parameter, i.e. the *density*. Density $[\Delta]$ is a parameter which describes how much of a written text could be located in a given measure of paper. As has recently been shown by Valery Polosin [43], density was an important parameter, since it helped to assess the amount of paper and ink required to complete a manuscript and therefore the scribe's salary. According to Polosin, density has to be calculated by multiplying the number of letters in one line by the number of lines on a page. Contrary to Polosin, I suggest density is the number of word segments (not letters, as proposed by Polosin) as visually recognizable units in one line multiplied by the number of lines on a page. Thus, for example, a sequence of Arabic words على الاطلاق has the following segments على / الا / طلاق. However, the article ال and the conjunction و, as well as the components of words written above the line, are not counted as segments. All the separate letters in word, however, are to be counted as segments: الورد has following segments: الو / ر / د.

One should explicitly stress the fact that counting word segments is preferable to counting individual letters. These segments are usually written on the line and only their contraction or stretching (which relatively rarely occurs) can thus change the density of the script. Density is given in the form of a formula (number of segments by the number of lines) and in a round figure which is expressed to the nearest ten, e.g. 18×17 (310) (18 — number of segments,

17 is a number of lines). $18 \times 17 = 306$ which is rounded up to 310.

Among other parameters are: (i) number of lines to the page; (ii) existence (or lack) of a frame; (iii) colour of paper. The last two parameters are not included in the description of pace. However, they can be used as additional criteria for arranging material. The *pace* can therefore be

expressed with a *formula* comprising *resemblance* (to a certain calligraphic style), *number of lines to the page*, Δ (*density*), *ratio* (of *alif* to *bā'*) *a* (*inclination of alif*), *k* (*angle of the bar of kāf*); *call number of the manuscript*. In a short and searchable form it appears as, for example: *naskh-like*; 18; $\Delta 15 \times 12$ (220); 1:1.1; $a100^\circ$, $k35^\circ$; (B1219) as presented in *fig. 2*.

TEST

The categories of *pace* have been tested on approximately 200 manuscripts while compiling the forthcoming descriptive catalogue of the Christian Arabic manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [44] and the descriptive catalogue of the Arabic medical manuscripts in the Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine [45]. *Fig. 2* shows a page of the thumb-nail index prepared for the catalogue of the St. Petersburg Christian Arabic manuscripts. A comparative table of pace (see below) shows coinciding pace in a number of manuscripts kept at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies and in the Wellcome Library (WMS Ar. 205, WMS Ar. 216, WMS Ar. 207, see *fig. 3.1 — 3.5*) [46]. At the same time, another Wellcome manuscript (WMS Ar. 217, cf. *figs. 3 and 4*) has a different pace. Close analysis of the first three manuscripts from the Wellcome collection shows that all of them can be identified as a group of that were transcribed in Christian circles in Syria from the beginning of the nineteenth to the begin-

ning of the twentieth century, similar to those from St. Petersburg.

The thumb-nail index, which is arranged by pace according to density (Δ) also helps in identifying the approximate date of acephalous manuscripts. Thus a hitherto undescribed composite manuscript (WMS AR. 357, see *figs. 4.1 — 4.2*) [47] can be attributed to the middle or second half of the eighteenth century on the basis of the pace of its different parts: 15; $\Delta 15 \times 21$ (310); 1:1; $a90^\circ$, $k30^\circ$; and 15; $\Delta 15 \times 15$ (225); 1:0.8; $a90^\circ$, $k15^\circ$. This attribution coincides with readers' notes in the manuscript. The earliest gives the date A.H. 1190 which corresponds to the year A.D. 1776/77, giving a *terminus post quem*.

To conclude, the system proposed cannot be regarded as universal, since handwriting will always retain an element of individuality. However, it is sufficiently practical to allow a researcher to identify the manuscript he has in hand with a circle of manuscripts to which it is most likely related on the basis of the handwriting.

Table

Comparative table of paces in the manuscripts from St. Petersburg and Wellcome collections written in a *naskh*-like script

St. Petersburg manuscripts (call numbers)	Pace	Wellcome manuscripts (call numbers)	Pace
A 740	15 $\Delta 15 \times 13$ (190); 1:0.8; $a100^\circ$ $k35^\circ$		
B 1115	15 $\Delta 15 \times 12$ (200); 1:0.9; $a105^\circ$ $k35^\circ$		
B 473	15 $\Delta 15 \times 12$ (200); 1:1.1; $a100^\circ$ $k30^\circ$		
A 189	15 $\Delta 15 \times 14$ (210); 1:1.1; $a100^\circ$ $k30^\circ$	WMS Ar. 205	17 $\Delta 17 \times 31$ (530); 1:1.1; $a100^\circ$ $k30^\circ$
B 1219	18 $\Delta 18 \times 12$ (220); 1:1.1; $a100^\circ$ $k35^\circ$		
B 1118	16 $\Delta 16 \times 16$ (260); 1:1; $a100^\circ$ $k35^\circ$		
B 1226	18 $\Delta 18 \times 18$ (320); 1:1; $a100^\circ$ $k40^\circ$	WMS Ar. 216	20 $\Delta 20 \times 16$ (320); 1:1.1; $a100^\circ$ $k35^\circ$
B 474	19 $\Delta 19 \times 16$ (300); 1:1; $a100^\circ$ $k40^\circ$		
B 1223	21 $\Delta 21 \times 24$ (420); 1:0.8; $a100^\circ$ $k40^\circ$	WMS Ar. 207	21 $\Delta 21 \times 17$ (360); 1:0.9; $a100^\circ$ $k40^\circ$
		WMS Ar. 217	21 $\Delta 21 \times 17$ (360); 1:0.8; $a90^\circ$ $k30^\circ$
		WMS Ar. 219	31 $\Delta 31 \times 30$ (930); 1:1.5; $a95^\circ$ $k35^\circ$

تسعة ايام في الصيام
 انما اكله وكره اكله ولا ياكله
 والبر والبر والبر والبر والبر
 انكره في هذا الوقت ما كان
 انما اكله وكره اكله ولا ياكله
 كانه انفسه او قلة فلا ياكله
 عند الفجر والاذن وفجر
 والشهية ذلك فاعلم ان
 بالكون والنفس والكره
 والاذن والبر والبر والبر
 في هذا الوقت ما كان
 الصبح فعمل اليوم في
 السهولة ان كان في
 ساءا في هذا الوقت ما كان
 وهو ان ان يكون في
 والبر والبر والبر والبر
 اللذان ان اول يوم في
 في هذا الوقت ما كان

Fig. 3.1

١٢ معان في تعبيرة الابرصات وقتها وكما في غيرها
 عايش الله المدعو بولسك سلف منمن العفة والنفي
 ومن كسيرة العار اعزمت و قد ما تلتد وراحتهم
 واخلم ثم اخلم وعلت شي بعد شي اهل هذا الي
 في البرقة الحيت على نالغ وهدان يلمت وينتهي الابداب
 والحرق في الصامت طم في مدح ساجه على نثار قد
 في ما خالية ثم صفيه في ورت الكدش ثم اخرج كما
 وويسس وينال صبيح جدا وهذا يدعي صلح ابوليك
 الذي طبعه وفضل صفي شي واخذ طبع وفضل ما
 عالج جاز الطير والظن ونفي جد وبيسب لبيسب زينا
 المرح لبيز مفضل في العزمه العوضه ويستقمه ما
 منبرج ربيع المنطرون العال بالناية وبيسب في
 ماره ملحة التي في جاز المنطرون والمنطرون في
 اللعان لريسي على في الطير اجاز و جاز الطير لانه
 الا وان شتمه مع المنقاة على مدح الكي في طبعها
 تطعمه الرخلوطا الفاطمة الزرقه واخرها بالمثل
 شرب الكليل وندرا البول ويندرب منها مويان معدنية
 لاطلا الامراض المنقفة وكذا في نثار با
 من مفر داة الطيب جعروم الفريسي
 في الزهر والبر والاصول والاصول الزهور الطيبة
 المقوية القلب هي شبة وهو كذا في التور البستاني
 بلطفون

Fig. 3.2

والنفحة ارق حافر حمار وعجن زباده بزيت واخفظ معه زيل
 حمار وطحن سفير غسل اطح ل كل هولاء ينج على النفحة بزاد .
 التحل بعصير الافستق يدا يحيى . وايضا كفضله حاله
 للباه يوقد متقار مسك خالص ويضاف له جوزة طيب وفاقله
 معوقين ناعين ويجمع اجمع بدهن حناكس ويحبلون مثل كهيته
 تنام فاذا اراد اجماع يشتم تلك النعاه فلا يزال اجماع ما زال
 بينهم وقد حربت ذلك واذا تناول منها وزن اربع شعيرات
 كان اجماع صاعا . وصفه للرهب ووضيق النفس مجرب
 يوقد اصل السوسن الا سناجوني يغلى في حمار ويقعد ذلك الماء
 بالسكر كالاسبره ويستعمل .
 صفه طلا يرمى تحيات من البطن يوقد رقيق حب العرع وعجن
 في مرارة ثور سايله ويطلى به السره . صفه معجون مجرب
 للتعرق . زاجسل و حج من كل جزء صاع ونصف جزا يعجن بغسل
 ويوقد منه مثل اجوزة بكرة وعشيه . اذ اراد قطع عضو
 خذ رارة الازرب واسقه فلم ينسبه من نومه حتى يشره رجل خم
 معجون القومر
 يقوى لاغصا الرية والورارة الفريزة يفرح القلب ينفع من اللمع
 ومن وجاع الاس والدوار ومن العالج والرعشه والما ينجو ويكفي
 الجواس ويند حب الخفقان يقوى المعدة يحلل لوزياح السوداويه
 وايراح البواير ويقطع السدد ويحفظ ملاجنه وينفع من عدهم
 واوراض

Fig. 3.3

ما هو كثير هذا على حساب هذا المجموع الخارج عن العقل
والاستقامة ان يصنفوا لهم كتاب شهادات التي والذين
ويسرهم عقول الناس للجهال ويرد عليهم اليهم انهم هو
وغير من تفهم الردي . وهذا كله ليرتول الله على انان
التي القابل للبول الذي يجعلون النخيل والخصي
والرخصا وطلو من والنور ضلما والضلخ نوراً . وقال
الويل للذي هم عند انفسهم فما والذي يعتقدون انهم
عددا واحم عقلا . فاذا كان الله اعطى القوم جهله
لم هو لا ي خارجين الذين استوتقوا بانفسهم انهم
كلواهم جهال كما قال من رسولك جميع حكا هذا العلم
فما عدل الله . فاعلم القايه لتجمع مثل هذا . ولا سيما
انه تحتل روتا القاطع واللعنات المانه . فحقى نظير
الله ان بعد ان يجمع مثل هذا نصفه عددا ريدا
ويستنا على ما يتوه الحايح القادى تنبيا واقر . ويمتينا
على جمع ما يتوه وسنوه الرسل القادى يربوا الا الكهين

Fig. 4.2

اصيب فتمتخ من في اري ولا فصل في ايدين من في حال حاجته منها وهو
عقلي باذ يرتب عنه وهو مصيب فلا يشي به ذكرو على معاودة الخطا
واجنا بالمصوبات ونا رعيان اعلا العا قله من نفسه به . واليه
بمرطام بنفسه ونا العا قله من اعلاه ونا العا قله من اعلاه
لا رية على الناس . لان منهم خاصه ومنهم عامه
فلخاصه تفصلك للمختس والعامة تفصلك لانا كرو ونا
طالهم ليلا اذا شلم دون الانسان من الامم ارض التي تعوقه عن
الكلية والقراءة والتعليم من شلم عقله من الاختلافه من كفاية
خزينة على ما استقا ذكرك في غيره من صفة ونا الرجال جلاله على عقل
وهو لها هو فا العا قله سبل وعلم وهل وجار بالصلا على علم
بفرضه عن عا قله فا احسن للمعلمين ان شالنا فلا يذنا الا
مستفها . واذا قاله قيرال انصف واليا هل اذا سبل على
واجاب على ما لا يعا فان شال فلا يذنا الا لعنا . وان اجبته
بالصواب لذكرو كما ونا قيرال انا يصنفه نظير الرية صبي على بعض
رسول من كلف نفسه عند الرية فاربه وهذا العا قله قد رقت

Fig. 4.1

Notes

1. G. F. Tsereteli, *Sokrashcheniia v grecheskikh rukopisiakh, preimushchestvenno po datirovannym rukopisiam S.-Peterburga i Moskvy* (Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts as Presented Predominantly in Dated Codices Kept in St. Petersburg and Moscow) (Hildesheim, 1969), reprint.
2. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Paleographie* (Leipzig, 1913).
3. *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 888—1600*. Teil 1: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens, erstellt v. E. Gamillscheg, D. Haringer. Ver öffentlichtungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik, Bd. III/1A—1C (Wien, 1981); Teil 2: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs und Nachträge zu den Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens, *ibid.*, Bd. III/2A—2C (Wien, 1989); Teil 3: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan, erstellt v. E. Gamillscheg unter Mitarbeit von D. Haringer und P. Eleuteri, *ibid.*, Bd. III/3A—3C (Wien, 1997). The volumes 1B—3B (Paläographische Charakteristika) are compiled by H. Hunger.
4. F. Déroche et al., *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe* (Paris, 2000), p. 229.
5. E. A. Rezvan, N. S. Kondybaev, "New tool for analysis of handwritten script", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/3 (1996), pp. 43—53; *idem*, "The ENTRAP software: test results" *ibid.*, V/2 (1999), pp. 58—64.
6. The search and comparison facilities are still not available for the Austrian tool.
7. The usage of this term was suggested by Dr. Dominik Wujastyk, Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine.
8. P. Friedlander, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Hindi Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine* (London, 1996).
9. A. Gacek, "Al-Nuwayrī's classification of Arabic scripts", *Manuscripts of the Middle East*, 2 (1987), pp. 126—7.
10. For a selected bibliography of classical and post-classical texts on penmanship, see Gacek, *op. cit.*, pp. 129—30.
11. Cf. parallel places in F. Rosenthal, "Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī on penmanship", *Ars Islamica*, 13—14 (1948), pp. 1—30.
12. Cited after A. M. Rayef, *Die ästhetischen Grundlagen der Arabischen Schrift bei Ibn Muqlah*. Inauguraldiss., Universität Köln, 1974, p. 37.
13. For example, Kazi-Akhmed (Qaḍī Aḥmad), *Traktat o kalligrafakh i khudozhnikakh* (A Treatise on Calligraphy and Artists), introduction, translation into Russian and commentary by B. N. Zakhoder (Moscow—Leningrad, 1947).
14. Rayef (see n. 12) quotes an unpublished manuscript (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Codex We 167, fols. 47a—50b; cf. A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie* (Wien, 1967), p. 23. He also writes: "The author of this treatise is not known. There are answered three questions why the 'proportional script' was called as such, why this script was highly regarded both by the learned people as well as by alphabets and even foreigners...".
15. G. I. Kostygova (ed., tr.), "Traktat po kalligrafii Sultan-Ali Meshkhedī" ("A Treatise on Calligraphy by Sulṭān-'Alī Mashhadī"), *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi Biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina*, II (V) (Leningrad, 1954), fol. 5a.8 (tr., p. 127): بهر آنست خط که برخوانند. Cf. Kazi-Akhmed, *Traktat*, p. 116.
16. Kostygova, *op. cit.*, p. 109, n. 2.
17. This peculiar feature is reflected in semantics of an Arabic word "to read" (قرأ) which means "to gather" or "to articulate". Cf. also here a remark by S. Hurgronje in his *Mekka* (Leiden, 1931), p. 168. Cited after B. Messick, *The Calligraphic State. Textual Domination and History in Muslim Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), p. 22. Thus to be able to "read" in a strict sense means to be able to pronounce correctly, whereas the idea of reading in Greek ἀναγινώσκω reflected gaining knowledge or learning.
18. Messick, *op. cit.*, pp. 21—2; N. Serikoff, "Mistakes and defences. Foreign (Greek) words in Arabic and their visual recognition" (in print).
19. S. Fu, G. D. Lowry, A. Yonemura, *From Concept to Context: Approaches to Asian and Islamic Calligraphy* (Washington D.C., 1986). P. Jaquillard, Ung No Lec, *Calligraphie, peinture chinoises et art abstrait* (Neuchâtel, 1973); B. Lussato, C. Mediavilla, *Du signe calligraphié à la peinture abstraite*, préface de Jean Dérens. Textes de Bruno Lussato et de Claude Mediavilla (Paris, 1996), *non vidi*.
20. As far as I know, only Dr. Fateme Keshavarz has introduced a definition "personal handwriting" in order to distinguish it from a professional hand, thus reflecting local, educational, confessional features of a non-calligraphic script. See F. Keshavarz, *A Descriptive and Analytical Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Wellcome Institute of Medicine* (London, 1985), *passim*.
21. See supra n. 9.
22. Rayef, *op. cit.*, pp. 42—6.
23. Tawḥīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, No. 56, p. 25 (tr. p. 15).
24. Tawḥīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, No. 10, p. 23 (tr. pp. 7—8).
25. The whole work is actually written in form of a poem.
26. Kostygova, *op. cit.*, fol. 10a.6—8 (tr. p. 147).
27. Tawḥīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
28. Cf. the usage of almost the same vocabulary for descriptions of the different manuscript specimens: "kalligraphische disziplinierte Hand mit deutlicher Wort- und Buch-stabentrennung", *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten*, vol. 1B, No. 11; "Senkrechte, lockere Gebrauchsschrift einer geübten Hand mit weitgehenden Wort- und Buchtaben-trennung", *ibid.*, No. 39; "Senkrechte bis richtungslose kalligraphische Minuskel unter-durchschnittlichen Niveaus", *ibid.*, vol. 2B, No. 155.
29. Tawḥīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, (رایت!), *passim*.
30. Tawḥīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, Nos. 13, 34, 35—44 (tr. p. 12). Cf. words of a secretary Ibn al-Marzubān (*ibid.*, No. 13): "A script is a difficult engineering, if it is elegant it is weak, if it is solid it is easily washed off (?), if it is big it is coarse, if it is thin it looks scattered and if it is round it is thick".
31. Tawḥīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, relates about the scribe of 'Amr b. al-Āṣṣ who recognized the handwriting of a certain scribe: "The qalam does not to hesitate to show to whom it belongs", No. 50, p. 25 (tr. p. 14).

32. V. Atanasiu, *De la fréquence des lettres et de son influence en calligraphie arabe* (Paris, 1999).
33. *Gradus* in Latin, *alliu* in Russian, *allure* in French (not to confuse with *allure* in English!).
34. As well as other letters built from its base, like **ت** and **ث**.
35. Rayef, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 and 146. Zayn al-Dīn Nājī, *Maṣūʾ al-khaṭṭ al-ʿarabī* (Baghdad, 1388/1968), p. 113.
36. Tawhīdī as cited in Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, No. 14, p. 23 (tr. p. 9).
37. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣadāwī, “*Wiḍḍāḥat al-ʿuṣūl fī al-khaṭṭ*”, *ḥaqqāqahā* Hilāl Nājī, in *al-Mawrid*, 15/4 (1986), pp. 156—72.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 177, verse 41—43. The translation is deliberately literal.
39. Abū-l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-ʿaṣhā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʿ* (Cairo, s. a.), ii, p. 23.18.
40. Thus I understand the verses by ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣadāwī: اعلاه غير قاسم // له وابداءه من (*op. cit.*, verse 77).
41. Cf. al-Qalqashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 30—1 and a commentary by Rayef, *op. cit.*, pp. 97—8.
42. al-Qalqashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 80.13—14.
43. Val. Polosin, “Arabic manuscripts. Text density and its convertibility in copies of the same work”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/2 (1997), pp. 3—17.
44. Val. Polosin, VI. Polosin, N. Serikoff, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Christian Arabic Manuscripts Preserved at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Asiatic Museum)*, eds. N. Serikoff, H. Teule (forthcoming).
45. In preparation by N. Serikoff.
46. The call numbers will be changed in the final description.
47. The Wellcome call number will be changed in the final description.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. MS B 1226, fol. 60b.

Fig. 2. A specimen of the thumb-nail index. St. Petersburg Christian MSS arranged after the density (Δ) of the script.

a — a specimen of the thumb-nail index. St. Petersburg Christian MSS arranged after the density (Δ) of the script (continuation of **fig. 2**).

Fig. 3.1. WMS AR. 205, *Kitāb mūjiz al-qānūn* by Ibn al-Nafīs, copied 5 January 1804 A. D.

Fig. 3.2. WMS AR. 207, *Kitāb iqtisār al-iqtidāb ʿalā tarīq al-suʿāl wa-l-jawāb*, copied ca. 18th century A. D.

Fig. 3.3. WMS AR. 216, an acephalous MS on diverse illnesses, a convolute entitled *Kitāb al-aqrābāddīn* in the colophon, copied 12 January 1804 A. D.

Fig. 3.4. WMS AR. 217, an acephalous MS containing a list of diverse diseases and their treatment, copied ca. mid-19th century.

Fig. 3.5. WMS AR. 219, *Kitāb mūjiz al-qānūn* by Ibn al-Nafīs, copied in Lebanon at the beginning of the 20th century.

Fig. 4.1. WMS AR. 357.

Fig. 4.2. WMS AR. 357.

BOOK REVIEWS

La civilisation islamique en Afrique de l'Ouest. Communications du Symposium International tenu les 27—30 Décembre 1996, Dakar, Sénégal. Ed. par Samba Dieng, préface par Prof. Dr. Ekmaledin Ihsanoğlu. İstanbul: 1999, XXIX, 430 pp. — Série d'histoire des nations musulmanes, No. 4.

The international symposium *La civilisation islamique en Afrique de l'Ouest* was held in December, 1996, in Dakar. Three years later IRCICA published the symposium materials as the fourth issue in the *Série d'histoire des nations musulmanes* (while the series also has an English title, it lacks, like other IRCICA series, a stable title). At present, the topic of the symposium is no longer uncharted territory, but far less has been done than remains to be done; in particular, a critical analysis of the African literary heritage.

The collection opens with an official greeting followed by papers. Unfortunately, the book contains no information on symposium participants, nor does it adhere to a single system of transcription for proper names. All texts are evidently given in the author's version, and S. Dieng's role was more that of compiler than editor.

The main topics of papers are the history of Islam in West Africa, Islamic education and the Islamic cultural and literary heritage. Taking into account the interests of the journal *Manuscripta Orientalia*, we note only those papers that discuss manuscript sources. The first of them, "Towards a history of Islamic thought in West Africa down to the nineteenth century" (pp. 139—55) is by John O. Hunwick, publisher of an extremely important reference project on Arabic literature, *Arabic Literature of Africa*. It is a marvellous, concise overview of Arabic sources on Africa, the emergence and development of Arabic-language literature in various regions of West Africa, the role of the family of 'Uthman Dan Fodio (d. 1232/1817) in the appearance of written works in Fulbe and Hausa. The paper notes the weak spots in the study of these issues. This excellent overview is marred only by a large number of typographical errors.

Al-Amin Abu-Manga, author of two books — *Fulfulde in the Sudan*, Berlin, 1986, and *Hausa in the Sudan*, Köln, 1999 — and publisher of the oral Fulani epic *Baajankaro* (Marburg, 1985), in his paper "Contribution of the Socket (read Sokoto I. W.) jihad leaders in dissemination of Arab-Islamic knowledge through local languages" (pp. 215—30) continues the discussion of literature in Hausa and Fulbe and 'Uthman Dan Fodio's circle. This literature focuses exclusively on poetic works in Arabic script

that followed Arab poetic forms. He provides examples of such poetry in Latin script and translation, analysing in detail types, meters, adornments and genres.

The role of the 'Uthman Dan Fodio family in the emergence of Hausa literature is also treated in a paper by D. M. Argungu, "Contributions of Hausa language to the spread of Islamic culture and civilisation in Nigeria" (p. 307—12). Fulbe literature is discussed in "Le 'beytol': une forme de la littérature poular", by Samba Dieng (pp. 313—8).

We note with interest "La poésie islamique wolof" by Assane Sylla (pp. 357—63), which contains important comments on the significance of Arabic writing and Islamic culture for literature in Wolof, focusing on their role in the transition from traditional oral poetry to a written literature. The author also provides examples of poetry in Latin writing and in translation.

Penda Mbow's "Éléments de réflexion sur l'enseignement et le système de pensée au Soudan Occidental" (pp. 239—45) is polemical. The author rebukes Western scholars for a lack of interest in determining the place of Islam in African civilization, limiting themselves to political science and colonial history, while "Timbuktu, whether we like it or not, was one of the largest intellectual centres of the Muslim world". Indeed, if we examine the "Handlist of Manuscripts in the Centre de documentation et de recherches historiques Ahmen Baba, Timbuktu", 5 vols., London, 1995—1998, one finds that an enormous quantity of manuscripts was produced; a qualitative analysis is still lacking.

In "Preservation of Arabic manuscripts in Nigeria" (pp. 231—7), Musa Sulaiman Etsayi stresses that the bulk of Arabic-language literature by Sudanese *ulama* was and remains in manuscript form; he expresses concern about the future awaiting these manuscripts. The author urges that the search be continued for works known only through secondary sources, gives an overview of literature on the issue, enumerates the people and institutions that aided in the preservation of manuscripts. In addition to cataloguing and storage, work continues to publish and translate Arabic-language texts: as we see from the list the author provides, this work is in the main conducted as a doctoral dissertation, unfortunately, and its results do not come out in book form. General works created on the basis of manuscript sources form another area of manuscript studies. Naturally, the percentage of published material remains small. The author recommends the following methods of disseminating and preserving the manuscript heritage: photocopying

(instead of the traditional copying by hand), which avoids the grammatical and orthographic errors common among insufficiently educated copyists; scanning, lamination, printing (the author calls on philanthropists to provide material support). This concerns primarily materials of educational significance. The author also recommends computerization, stenciling, and microfilming.

Two papers discuss concrete authors. Abdoul Malal Diop's "Cheikh Moussa Kamara et la mystique: apport — critique — analyse" (pp. 247—50), after enumerating works by Kamara (*ca.* 1864—1964) on various subjects, limits itself to an analysis of the author's mystical views. Unfortunately, the absence of any bibliographic references reduces the paper's usefulness. Sidi Mohamed Mahibou's "L'oeuvre de Abdullahi Dan Fodio et son impact sur la vie sociale et culturelle de sa région" (pp. 365—76) is traditional in form: bibliographic information, the author's opinion, his work (some 170 titles), its timeliness. We do not learn, unfortunately, which of the author's works have been discovered, published and studied.

Finally, Khadim Mbacké in his "Contribution de l'Afrique de l'Ouest à l'enrichissement des lettres islamiques: le cas du Sénégal" (pp. 395—411) draws up a recommended list of 10 topics on the basis of manuscripts "of varying significance" that he has studied:

1. astronomy (its tasks were determining the direction of Mecca, the times of the 5 prayers, the beginning and end of Ramadan, orientation while travelling). The most detailed discussion here is of Mbacké Bouso; two other authors are mentioned in passing;

2. the biography of the Prophet — Sheikh Muhammad b. Abdallah Niass;

3. Muslim law — Malick Sy and Muhammad Bamba;

4. Qur'anic exegesis — Serigne Ahmad Déme;

5. grammar — Mor Khoudia Coumba Diop;

6. history — Moussa Kamara (or Camara, the same author discussed by Abdoul Malal Diop; Kamara's main work, the historical *Zuhūr al-basātin*, although compilative, is considered by the author an indispensable source for understanding traditional African culture);

7. copies of the Qur'an — once again, Mbacké Bouso;

8. literature — it is enough to mention here the large work by Amar Samb, *Essai sur la contribution du Sénégal à la littérature d'expression arabe*, 2 vols., Lille, 1972, Arabic edition, Algiers, 1978—79;

9. religious morality — once again, Muhammad Bamba;

10. Sufism — also Bamba.

Overall, despite some repetitiveness in topics and sources, one can only greet the publication of these symposium proceedings. The symposium undoubtedly represented a contribution to the discussion of the issues surrounding Islamic civilization in West Africa. One hopes that the publication of these materials will draw attention to the preservation of the Islamic heritage in this region not only among scholars and specialists, but also among potential sponsors of projects to study and preserve the cultural heritage of Islamic Africa.

I. Wojewódzki

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- Srednevekove arabskie i persidskie rukopisi fiziko-matematicheskogo sodержaniia v bibliotekakh byvshego Sovetskogo Soiuz.* Vypusk I: *Nasir ad-Din at-Tusi i ego trudy po matematike i astronomii v bibliotekakh Sankt-Peterburga, Kazani, Tashkenta i Dushanbe.* sost. M. M. Rozhanskaia, G. P. Matvievskaia, I. O. Liuter. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnaia Literatura, 1999, 142 str.
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- Elisabetta Chiodo.** *The Mongolian Manuscripts on Birch Bark from Xarbusyn Balgas in the Collection of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences.* Part 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000, X, 305 pp., plus facsimiles. — *Asiatische Forschungen*, Bd. 137.
 by **A. Sazykin** No. 2, pp. 71—72

Archivnye materialy o mongol'skikh i tiurkskikh narodakh v akademicheskikh sobraniiah Rossii.

Doklady nauchnoi konferentsii. Sostavitel' I. V. Kul'ganek, pod red. S. G. Kliashtornogo. Izdanie podgotovili I. A. Alimov, I. V. Kul'ganek, E. V. Pavlova. Sankt-Peterburg: Tsentr "Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie", 2000, 152 str.

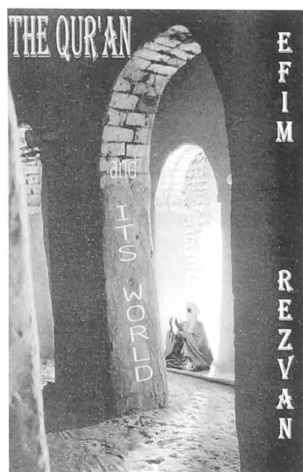
Archival Materials on Mongolian and Turkic Peoples in Russian Academic Collections. Conference Papers. Compiled by I. V. Kulganek, ed. S. G. Klyashtorny. Prepared by I. A. Alimov, I. V. Kulganek, E. V. Pavlova. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg Center for Oriental Studies, 2000, 152 pp.

by ***I. Petrosyan*** No. 3, p. 71—72

La civilisation islamique en Afrique de l'Ouest. Communications du Symposium International tenu les 27—30 Décembre 1996, Dakar, Sénégal. Ed. par Samba Dieng, préface par Prof. Dr. Ekmaledin İhsanoğlu. İstanbul: 1999, XXIX, 430 pp. — Série d'histoire des nations musulmanes, No. 4.

by ***I. Wojewódzki*** No. 4, pp. 67—68

E. A. Rezvan, *Koran i ego mir* (The Qur'ān and Its World), St. Petersburg: Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie (St. Petersburg Centre for Oriental Studies) Publishing Centre, 2001.



Various factors in the development of Russian Islamic studies precluded the appearance of a scholarly introduction to the Qur'ān that would provide an overview of the text. E. A. Rezvan's work not only fills this gap, but provides scholars of Islam, historians, philosophers, and specialists on religion with rich material for thought and comparison. E. A. Rezvan's study is the result of 15 years of work on the text of the Qur'ān and the most varied sources. The author's numerous previous publications have allowed him to formulate a truly broad theme: the role and place of the Qur'ān in Muslim society, the history of the study of this text both in the Muslim East and in Europe, and the application of new technologies to the organization and analysis of extant materials on the Qur'ān's early history. Rezvan's approach rests on two interconnected tasks: examining various aspects of the internal links between the "Qur'ān" and "society" (The Qur'ān and Arabian Society: 6th—7th centuries; The Qur'ān and Muslim society: 8th—10th centuries; The Qur'ān and Europe and Russia) and searching for means to solve the methodological problems posed by the Qur'ān's early history with recourse to new information technologies.

The book contains more than 100 colour and black-and-white illustrations. Moreover, book copies are augmented with audio recordings of various recitation styles on CD-ROM, as this is the only way to convey to readers the variations allowed within the existing tradition. The disc contains recitations of the first *sūra*, *al-Faṭīha*, and brief information on the styles of recitation. The audio recording is accompanied by examples of Qur'ānic calligraphy from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

The author has recently received offers to publish his book in English and French, which indicates the interest of a broader readership in his work.

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Submissions

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

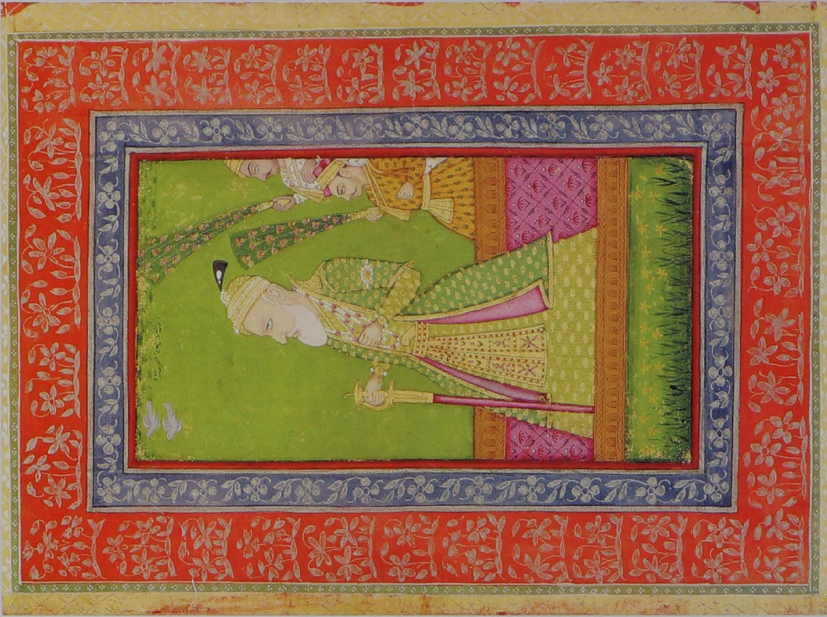


Plate 1



Plate 2