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TEXTS AND MANUSCTRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Iala Ianbay

LETTERS BY CRIMEAN NOBLEWOMEN TO SWEDEN

This paper is a publication and translation of four letters by Crimean noblewomen to Sweden. They were written in the mid-seventeenth century in the Crimean Khanate and contain 12—14 lines each. First, I would like to provide the reader with some information concerning the circumstances surrounding the appearance of the letters and make some observations about their language. The letters are kept at the Swedish National Archives in Stockholm [1]. According to the catalogue [2], the letters' call numbers are 139, 140, 149, and 150. The letters under discussion were written by the ladies from the royal family of the Crimean Khanate (1420 - 1783); their authors are either mothers or chief wives of the Crimean Khans.

The texts under discussion are the first from a number of Crimean Tatar letters which I am planning to publish. As a matter of fact, not a single letter from the Tatar collection of the Swedish Archives has been published yet. Furthermore, not a single Crimean Tatar letter in a Latin transcription has been published at all. The aim of the present paper is to present the first four Crimean Tatar letters to the attention of the reader. The publication is also a good opportunity to observe the text of the letters as valuable linguistic material. No doubt, its study can broaden our knowledge about the history of the Crimean Tatar language. The letters are also of interest from the historical point of view.

The messages to Sweden authored by mothers and chief wives of the Crimean Khans contain confirmation of the devoted friendship existing between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden as well as a promise to develop their mutual relations. Each letter informs about a new Crimean envoy leaving the Crimean Khanate for Sweden. The sender certifies the high rank of the envoy. The name of the envoy is indicated only in the letters written by Khans' mothers; it is absent in the letters sent by their wives (cf. ll. 8, 20, 38, 51)[1]. One can assume that the letters constituted part of the credentials procedure confirming the envoy's powers. What seems a bit extraordinary is that the authors of the letters are women. (The reason of this is discussed below.) The letters required no reply in the form of a letter from the addressee; they contained a request to

show the envoy good hospitality and due respect. The letters are full of compliments and oaths to strengthen friendship between the Crimean Khanate and Sweden.

The structure of the letters betrays an old epistolary Turkic tradition well examined by Anna von Gabain [3]. It is also identical to the structure of the Golden Horde *yarlïqs*, and letters [4], and of the Ottoman Sultans' messages [5]. According to this surviving tradition, the whereabouts and the names of our senders, as well as the titles of Khans, constitute an opening formula. It is followed by the whereabouts and the name of the addressee, with abundant praise to him. The letters from the Crimean Khans are no exception. But what is interesting is that the scribes did not know the name of the ruler of Sweden at the time when the letters were compiled; we find an empty space left by the scribe for the name of the Swedish sovereign.

The main text of the messages appears after the opening formula. At the end of the letters, we find the phrase "Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]", a colophon typical of private letters [6]. A letter can have a date or lack it. The last word in the letters is the name of the capital of the Crimean Khanate, Bakhchisarai, written in the left corner of the leaf. The seal of the sender is placed also here.

The epistolary features of the texts are the following: the letters contain both personal pronouns as a form of address and a direct speech. In addition, there are special epistolary forms of some words, e.g. *sa'adätlï* 'felicitous' instead of *sa'adatlï* usual in the spoken language; *šävkätlï* 'magnificent' instead of *šävkätli*; *azamätlü* 'illustrious' instead of *azamätli*. As is common in the letters written by the Crimean Khans, we find here (ll. 1, 15, 29, 43) the usual formula of mentioning God — the Arabic phrase هو 'He is' or هوا المعين 'He is the Helper' [7]. These are written at the top of the leaves, high above the text. The Turkic word for 'God' does not appear in the texts of the letters; loan-words are only used: الله (Arab.), خدای (Pers.) (in the form of خودی). For the word 'ruler' five terms borrowed from Turkic, Arabic, Persian and Slavonic are used: those are (in

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[1] For convenience, we use a single numeration for the letters' lines.

alphabetical order): *xan* 'khan' (ll. 4, 7, 11, 18, etc., 11 times in all), *mälikä* 'queen' (ll. 5, 33), *padišah* 'king' (ll. 4, 17, 32, 34, 48), *qiral* 'king' (ll. 6, 8, 18, 19, etc., 14 times) and *sultan* 'sultan' (il. 11, 12, 25, 40). The words *padišah* (ll. 4, 17, 32) and *xan* are used by the senders with respect to the ruler of the Crimean Khanate. The ruler of Sweden is named by the words *padišah* (ll. 34, 48) or *qiral*. But what is important, although the letters were sent to Sweden in the reign of Queen Christina (r. 1632—1654), the words *mälikä* or *qiralice* ('queen') are not used. The term *mälikä* is employed only to indicate Khan's mother. The term *sultan* is used to name the first and the second heir to the Khan's throne (*qalγa* and *nureddin*), so, in this particular case, the meaning of the word *sultan* appears to be 'heir to the throne'. It is interesting that the name of Christina does not appear in the letters at all, although the dates of the letters show that their addressee was this Queen of Sweden. The fact that the ruler of Sweden in the period under discussion was a woman may explain the striking feature of the letters written in the name of the first ladies of the Crimean Khanate royal family.

The texts of the letters are written in the lower part of the leaves, after a large empty space left at the top. Information about the sender is given first (e.g. ll. 2, 30); here we find the mention of Khan's mother or his chief wife (ll. 16, 44). Sometimes the beginning of a letter contains a broader invocation (e.g. ll. 31, 45).

The first lines of a letter contain the titles of the Crimean Khan, then a list of territories and nations under his rule (ll. 3, 4, 17, 18, 31, 32, 45, 46). The Crimean Khanate's lands included the Crimean peninsula, the Taman peninsula, the Kuban area, and Qipchaq steppe [8], of which only the Crimean peninsula and Qipchaq steppe are mentioned. Among the nations enumerated in the titles of the Crimean Khans, we find the Tatars, Noghays, and Circassians. The words 'Tavgaches' and 'Tats' are also used in the form of *tat bilä tavγač* known to us from Old Turkic to mean 'various foreigners' [9]. It is not unlikely that peoples of different faiths are meant here (e.g. the Genoese, Krimchaks, Karaites, etc. who lived in the Crimea throughout the seventeenth century).

The phrase *oη qol ve sol qol* 'the right flank and the left flank' (ll. 4, 18), which we find among the titles of the Crimean Khans, was borrowed from the titles of the Golden Horde Khans who used it to denote the White Horde and the Blue Horde constituting the left and right flanks of the Golden Horde's army [10]. In the titles of the Crimean Khans this expression had lost its original meaning. After the enumeration of Khans' titles, their names — Bakhadir Geray (l. 4) and Islam Geray (ll. 33, 46) — go.

The language of the letters is Crimean Tatar with noticeable influence of Ottoman Turkish. The texts show both numerous Oghuz and Qipchaq elements, which is the main feature of the Crimean Tatar language [11]. A lot of specific Qipchaq words, such as, for instance, *bar* 'there is', *bol-* 'to be', *taγ* 'mountain', *köp* 'many', *oη* 'right [flank]', are used along with Oghuz words (e.g. *var* 'there is', *ol-* 'to be', *daγ* 'mountain', *čališ-* 'to work', etc.). The texts have a complete set of Qipchaq case suffixes — *-niη* (genitive) and *-ni* (accusative). Our texts go together with Modern Crimean Tatar in having, for instance, the Qipchaq participle and verbal noun *-γan* (10 times), along with the Oghuz

participle *-diγ* (4 times), which makes us disagree with Henryk Jankowski who holds that the language of the Crimean texts written in Arabic script is in fact Ottoman Turkish [12]. I think that the linguistic aspect of the letters deserves special study, since both the letters' vocabulary and their grammar forms reflect a certain stage in the history of Crimean Tatar.

Loan-words from Arabic and Persian are numerous in the letters, which was typical of the Turkic written language in general. All of the borrowings are attested in Budagov's dictionary [13]. Part of these loan-words has survived in Modern Crimean Tatar without any change (e.g. *daf'a* 'time' < Arab.; *dävlät* 'prosperity' < Arab.) [14]. Some of the borrowings demonstrate phonetic alterations, for example, *jihan* 'world' < Pers. *jahan*; *dušman* 'enemy' < Pers. *došman* [15]. It is interesting that the Persian word *došman* is given in the texts as *tušman*, with the initial consonant *t* as it is attested in the *Codex Cumanicus* [16]. We find the same thing in other letters originating from the Crimea [17]. A greater part of the borrowings from Arabic has to do with the terms relating to the Muslim religion. Most of them are absent in Modern Crimean Tatar, e.g. *dam* 'this world', *qudrät* 'Almighty', etc. An extensive use of Arabic and Persian loan-words can be explained by the elevated literary style of the Crimean correspondence under discussion.

An interesting detail with regard to orthography is the use of two variants of the spelling of the word meaning 'great, big'. We find either the word *uluγ* (ll. 3, 4, 5, etc., 22 times in all), in the titles of the Crimean Khans, or the word *ulu* (ll. 16, 44) with reference to the sender of a letter. In the title of the Crimean Khans the old "Chaghatay" form is attested, while the form *ulu* indicates the Qipchaq feature of the mother tongue of the writer. We can also cite another "Chaghatay" form in the texts: it is the Ablative suffix *-din* in the phrases *köpdin / köbdin köp / köb salam* 'many greetings' (ll. 6, 35, 49). These "Chaghataisms" demonstrate the influence of the Golden Horde's official language [18]. The phrases *köpdin / köbdin köp / köb salam* are used in the epistolary language of the today Tatar.

The letters under discussion here are written in *riq'a*, a handwriting usual in official correspondence.

In the present paper, the transcription of the texts are given. However, the Arabic quotations are left without transcription; they are reproduced in Arabic characters, since I am not certain about their pronunciation in the spoken Crimean Tatar language.

Judging by vocalism in Modern Crimean Tatar [19], one can presume that the language of our letters employ the vowels *a, ä, ï, i, o, ö, u, ü*. The texts lack diacritical marks to indicate vowels. However, sometimes vowels are spelled by means of four Arabic letters — ا, و, ی, ه — or by their combinations — او and ای [20]. Vowels are often omitted. In this case, in transcription I give in brackets whichever of eight vowel phonemes I see fitting to reflect palatal harmony characteristic of Turkic phonology. The choice of a right vowel depends on the spelling. We have many suffixes forming pairs by alternating the consonants: for example, *qaf* and *γayn* on the one hand, and *kaf* on the other — *maq-/mäk* (verbal noun); *γan-/gän* (participle); *γay-/käy-* (optative). The texts show some other suffixes forming pairs by alternating the vowels *a* and *ä*: for exam-

ple, *lar-/lär-* (plural); *ma-/mä-* (verbal negative). Thus, the words containing the letters *qaf*, *γayn* or *a*-suffix are rendered in our transcription with back vowels, for example, *qïrïm* 'the Crimea' (ll. 3, 7, 17, 24, 31, 46), *tay* 'mountain, forest' (ll. 3, 17, 31), *dostluq* 'friendship' (ll. 13, 26, 27, 38, etc.), while the words containing the letter *kaf* or *ä*-suffix are rendered with front vowels in our transcription, for example, *čirkäč* 'Circassian' (ll. 3, 17, 32), *köp* 'many' (ll. 5, 6, 35, 49), *mämläkät* 'country' (ll. 5, 18, 34, 47).

The texts present a large number of instances when labial harmony appears to have been disrupted; we have, for example, *köndürdim* 'I have dispatched' (l. 21); *yoqdïr* 'there is not' (l. 10), etc. The same non-observance of labial harmony is typical of Modern Crimean Tatar [21]. On the other hand, such a word as *ičün* 'for' (ll. 8, 20, 21, etc., 7 times in all) shows that labial vowels in the first syllable can be substituted by non-labial vowels. Sometimes an interchange of the vowels *i — ä* (spelling *alif — alif+ya*) may occur in the initial position of the auxiliary verb *-tä ~ it-* 'to do'. One can observe the same feature in the Crimean documents of the fifteenth century [22]. However, the spelling of the word 'envoy' is always *älči* in our texts, i.e. it is written with *alif* only, although one can find the variant *ilči* in the *bitik* of Mengli Geray Khan [23]. The form *elči* is attested both in Modern Crimean Tatar and Turkish.

Solving the problem of transcription for the present article, I took into consideration a certain succession of vowels in the Turkic words of the Crimean Tatar language [24]. Therefore, the succession of vowels is given in the transcription as follows:

1) *a – a – ï – (u)* if the initial *a*, e.g. *ana* 'mother', *ara* 'adorning', *sansïz* 'countless', *barïšlïq* 'peace';

2) *ä – ä – i – (ü)* if the initial *ä*, e.g. *sänä* 'year', *gäräy* 'Geray', *käräkdir* 'it is necessary';

3) *ä* or *i* if the initial *i*, e.g. *bildir-* 'to inform', *bildiräsiz* 'you will inform', *bizim* 'our';

4) *a* or *u* (*ï*) if the initial *ï*, e.g. *qïrïm* 'the Crimea', *qïbčaq* 'Qipchaq';

5) *a* or *u* if the initial *o*, e.g. *sonra* 'after', *xošča* 'good', *olub* (adverb of the verb *ol-* 'to be');

6) *ä* or *ü* if the initial *ö*, e.g. *šöylä* 'thus', *sözümiz* 'our word', *köndürdim* 'I have sent';

7) *a* or *u* (*ï*) if the initial *u*, e.g. *tušman* 'enemy', *sultan* 'sultan', *uzun* 'long', *ulu/uluy* 'big, great';

8) *ä* if the initial *ü*. There is only one case with the Turkic word *üzrä* 'according to' in the texts which illustrates this succession of vowels.

The transcription of the Crimean Tatar texts is a transliteration as far as the consonants are concerned. The 28 Arabic and Persian consonant signs are the inventory of character in the letters. All of them designate the sounds of Crimean Tatar. Several Arab letters can be used for rendering one and the same sound of Crimean Tatar, according to existing tradition [25]. For instance, the letters ص and س are used to render the dental voiceless fricative [s]; the letters ض and ز — the voiced fricative [z]; the letters ط and ت — the dental stop [t]. An orthographic distinction present in our transcription is between the first and second compo-

nents of the above-mentioned pairs — *ṣ*, *ẓ*, *ṭ* and *s*, *z*, *t* respectively, e.g. *ṣans(ï)z* 'countless', *ṣol* 'left' and *siz* 'you', *söz* 'word'; *'aẓïm* 'great' and *uzaq* 'old'; *ṭay* 'mountain', *ṭat* 'Tats' and *tatar* 'Tatars', *tušman* 'enemy'. At the same time, some letters are used differently in the texts. For instance, the Arabic letter *kaf* is used to render three different Crimean Tatar consonant sounds: the velar stops [k], [g] and the nasal sonant [ŋ], e.g. *köp* 'many', *k(ä)r(ä)k* 'necessary', *g(ä)räy* 'Geray', *q(i)rïm-nïŋ* 'of the Crimea'.

We can see the following alternations in our texts:

b p (ب – پ): *barča* 'all', *pad(i)šah* 'ruler', *bu* 'this', *bol-* 'to be'; *m(ä)ktüb(i)m(i)z* 'our letters' (l. 38); alternating *b* and *p* in *köb/köp* 'many, numerous' and *q(i)bčaq/q(i)pčaq* 'Qipchaq' demonstrate the working of the stem-final devoicing. The spelling of the suffix *-ub* (verbal adverb) with *b* is in keeping with neither modern pronunciation [26] nor with that of the seventeenth century. However, the letter ب is shown as *b* in our transcription to demonstrate special features of the spelling employed in the letters.

b – v (ب – و): original word-initial *b* in *bar* 'there is' (l. 11) also appears as *var* (l. 25). The *b* variant displays a Qipchaq feature, while the *v* variant is typical of Oghuz.

d – t (د – ت, sometimes ط): *d(ä)št* 'steppe', *dost* 'friend', *orda* 'Horde', *tatar* 'Tatar', etc. One case of alternation of the consonants *d – t* occurs in the initial position, as in *day* (l. 32) / *tay* 'mountain' (ll. 3, 17). The etymological letter د [d] is kept in transcription at the end of borrowings, e.g. *murad* 'aim, intention', *i'tiqad äylä-* 'to believe', etc.

q – k (ق – ك): *qol* 'flank', *könd(ü)r-* 'to send', *q(a)r(i)ndaš* 'brother', *k(ä)r(ä)k* 'necessary', *olmaq* 'to be', *m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t* 'country', *yoq* 'there is not'.

γ – k (غ – ك): mainly observed in suffixes — *tušman bolgay-s(i)z* 'you will be enemy' (ll. 10—11), *i'lam itkäy-s(i)z* 'you will inform [us]' (l. 11).

q – γ (ق – غ): in the intervocal position the velar consonant *q* changes to the fricative one, e.g. *dostl(u)q* 'friendship' (ll. 8, 19), *dostl(u)γ(u)ŋuza* 'for your friendship' (ll. 13, 26, 39) like in the modern language [27].

ğ – č (ج – چ): *ğ(i)han* 'world', *ğan(i)b* 'side', *č(i)rkäč* 'Circassian', *älči* 'envoy', *ičün* 'for'.

We use *x* to render the letter خ, e.g. *xan* 'khan', *xoš* 'good', *t(a)xt* 'throne'. This letter indicates back feature of vowels of word as well. The letter ه is rendered by *h* in transcription, e.g. *bahadir* 'Bakhadir' (l. 4), *pad(i)šahï* 'its ruler' (ll. 4, 18). In the modern language, we encounter the form *padiša-*, final sound [h] lacking. *ŋ* (the letter ك) is mainly used to indicate the suffix of genitive case: *yurt-nïŋ* 'of the country', *q(i)rïm-nïŋ* 'of the Crimea', *tatar-nïŋ* 'of the Tatars', etc.

Hyphens are used in the transcription to indicate suffixes separated from stems. The sign ~ indicates an empty space (about 1.5—2.0 cm) left by the scribe to insert the name of the ruler of Sweden and the name of the envoy. We leave also the original division of the documents into lines, but the texts are regarded by us as a single text, therefore, the general numeration of lines is used. Numbers in round brackets indicate the beginning of the line.

LETTER NO. 1

According to the seal in the letter [28], it was written by the mother of Khan Bakhadir Geray I. The letter (39.0×28.0 cm) is not dated, but we know that Bakhadir Geray reigned from 1637 to 1641. The letter contains 14 lines. The first one consists only of two short words placed at the very top of the leaf. The main body of the text is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line is 21.0 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the final words in the lines are often written one over the other. It seems as if there were not enough space for the text, though this conclusion is not correct. Such was a special manner of writing of official documents. The last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (2.0×2.0 cm) and the sender's address are placed below the text, on the left.

TRANSCRIPTION

(1) هوا المعين

(2) *ana bi(γi)m(i)z ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)ri söz(ü)m(i)z*

(3) *uluγ orda v(ä) uluγ yurt-niŋ v(ä) d(ä)št(-i) q(i)bčaq-niŋ v(ä) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rïm-niŋ v(ä) ṣans(i)z köb tatar-niŋ v(ä) ṣaγ(i)š-siz noγay-niŋ v(ä) ṭay ara č(i)rkäč-niŋ*

(4) *v(ä) ṭat bilä ṭ(a)vγač-niŋ oŋ qoln(i)ŋ² v(ä) ṣol qol-niŋ uluγ pad(i)šahï bolγan s(a)'adätlü v(ä) 'aẓamätlü v(ä) š(ä)vk(ä)tlü b(a)had(i)r g(ä)räy³ xan⁴* دام مؤيدن المي يوم

(5) الميزان *ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)r(i)-niŋ val(i)dä-i m(ü)k(ä)rrämäl(ä)ri ki m(ä)l(i)kä-i z(ä)man xaṭïğa-i deveran b(ä)hiğä-i ğihan ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)r(i)ndän uluγ yurt-niŋ v(ä) uluγ m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t-niŋ v(ä) köp x(i)r(i)stian-niŋ*

(6) *uluγ q(i)ralï bolγan ~ q(i)ral d(ä)vlät(-i) išt(i)mal ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä köpdin köb s(a)läm vä ḥadd(a)n birun p(ä)yam m(ä)särr(ä)t ängam ïblaγï(γ)la inha v(ä) i'lam ol(u)nan*

(7) *oldïr ki* الحمد الله تعالى عنايت ربانى قرين و هدايت سبحانى *r(ä)hin olub q(i)rïm yurtï mü(ä)ssir v(ä) ärzani olub s(a)'ad(ä)tlü xan 'alïšan ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)ri s(i)zä*

(8) *dostl(u)q ičün uluγ älčil(ä)rin könd(ü)rm(ä)kin biz d(a)xi s(i)z q(i)ral ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä q(u)run h(ä)m q(i)ran uluγ älčim(i)z rust(ä)m-nï dostl(u)q ičün könd(ü)rd(i)k* ارى الوصول

(9) *xaṭ(i)rïŋuz xoš tutub dost olduγ(u)m(i)za i't(i)mad v(ä) i't(i)qad äyl(i)yäs(i)z uzun uzaq dost olm(u)šuzd(i)r* انشا ᶜ الله تعالى *bu ğan(i)bd(ä)n*

(10) *x̱(i)laf(-i) vaq(i)'a b(i)r n(ä)snä olmaq iht(i)malï yoqd(i)r k(ä)r(ä)kd(i)r ki s(i)z d(a)xi uzun uzaq dost olub dost(u)muza dost v(ä) tušm(a)n(i)m(i)zγa tušman*

(11) *bolγay-s(i)z ḥ(ä)r nä aḥval(i)ŋüz bar bolsa i'lam itkäy-s(i)z q(a)rïn q(a)bul(i)m(i)z olub k(ä)r(ä)k xan 'alïšan v(ä) k(ä)r(ä)k qalγa s(u)ltan zišan v(ä) nuräddin*

(12) *s(u)lṭan ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä h(ü)sn(-i) t(ä)rbiγa közäidüb m(u)ṣafat(-i) ab(a)d v(ä) m(u)ṣal(a)ḥ(a)t(-i) mu'(ä)bbäd t(ä)ṣγïd v(ä) ta'bid(i)nä ḥ(ü)sn(-i) iht(i)mam(i)z m(ä)bzül v(ä) m(a)ṣruf olm(a)q m(u)q(a)rr(ä)rd(ü)r*

(13) *h(ä)r v(ä)ğh (i)lä dostl(u)γ(u)ŋuza čal(i)šur(i)z s(i)z d(a)xi da'ima m(u)ḥab(ä)t üzrä olub dostl(u)q itm(ä)kd(ä)n xali olmaγas(i)z varan älčim(i)zä r(i)'aγät idüb*

(14) *b(i)r xošča siγ v(ä) ḥ(ü)rmät itkäy-s(i)z m(ä)r'i v(ä) m(ä)rżi '(ä)vd(ä)t v(ä) m(ü)rağ(a)'(a)t ätd(i)räs(i)z šöylä* المحروسه *maqam bagčäsaray* باقى و الدعا على مين التبع الحدي *m(a)'lüm ol(u)na*

WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION⁵
(with grammar forms indication)

(1) هوا المعين

(2) mother lady=POSS=1PL majesty=POSS=3PL word= POSS=1PL

(3) great horde and great country=GEN and steppe-(of) Qipchaq=GEN and throne-(of) Crimea=GEN and count-ing=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and calculation=PRIV Noghay=GEN and mountain adorning Circassian=GEN

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² Genitive form is spelled here without the letter *yā'* as *–nŋ*.

³ Modern Tatar pronunciation of the word.

⁴ According to Zetterateen (p. 81, see n. 2 in Notes of the present article), the word *dävlätä* is missing in the Arab quotation in the original text.

⁵ Abbreviations used in the word-by-word translation are: ABL = Ablative, ABSTR = Abstract suffix, ACC = Accusative, ADJ = Adjectival suffix, AOR = Aorist, CAUS = Causative, COND = Conditional, DAT = Dative, FUT = Future, GEN = Genitive, GER = Gerund, IMP = Imperative, INF = Infinitive, ITER = Iterative aspect, LOC = Locative, NEG = Negation, OPT = Optative, PART = Participle, PL = Plural suffix, POSS = Possessive, PRED = Predicative, PRES = Present, PRIV = Privative suffix, REFL = Reflexive suffix, SING = Singular, VN = Verbal noun.

(4) and Tat with Tavgach=GEN right flank=GEN and left flank=GEN big king=POSS=3SING be=PART happiness=ADJ and grandeur=ADJ and might=ADJ Bakhadir Geray khan دام مؤيدن الي يوم

(5) الميزان majesty-POSS=3PL=GEN mother of esteemed=POSS=2SING who queen time Khadija epochs beauty world majesty=POSS=3PL=n-ABL big country=GEN and big land=GEN and many Christian=GEN

(6) great king=POSS=3SING be=PART ~ king luck-(of) comprehensive majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT many=ABL many greeting and bound=ABL outside compliment joy complete message=POSS=3SING=INSTR inform and communicate be=REFL=PART, PRES

(7) this=PRED which الحمد الله تعالى عنايت ربانی قرین و هدايت سبحانی be-given=GER Crimea country=POSS=3SING presented-by-the-Lord be=GER and kind be=GER happiness=ADJ king illustrious majesty=POSS=3PL you-PL=DAT

(8) friendship, for, great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC send=ITER, we also you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT connection and favourable-disposition-of-planets, high envoy=POSS=1PL Rustam=ACC friendship, for, spend=PAST=1PL ارى الوصول

(9) health=POSS=2PL fine keep=GER friend be=PART=1PL=DAT trust and believe do=PRES=2PL long time friend be=PAST,PART=1PL=PRED انشاء الله تعالى this side=ABL

(10) opposition-(of) event one thing be=INF probability=POSS=3SING there-is-not=PRED necessary=PRED that you-PL also long time friend be=GER friend=POSS=1PL=DAT friend and enemy=POSS=1PL=DAT enemy

(11) become=OPT=2PL every what circumstance=POSS=2PL there is, be=COND information do=OPT=2PL partner receiving=POSS=1PL be=GER both khan glorious and also *qalga* sultan glorious and *nureddin*

(12) sultan majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT good (of) breeding keep=GER sincere-amity, eternity and good-advice, for ever, building and making-smth-regulary=POSS=3SING-n-=DAT, beauty (of) effort=POSS=1PL, be-replaced=INF, and be-directed=INF definitive=PRED

(13) every way with friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL=DAT make efforts=AOR=1PL you-PL also always love, according-to be=GER friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL go=PART, PRES envoy=POSS=1PL=DAT pay honour do=GER

(14) one, well-and-truly, hospitality and respect do=OPT=2PL respect and satisfaction, return and give-back do=CAUS=PRES=2PL thus well-known be=REFL=PRES باقى و الدعا على مين التبع الحدي residence Bakhchisaray المحروسه.

TRANSLATION

He is the Helper[6].
[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of Her Majesty the Queen Mother.
Many greetings and countless joyous compliments to Her Majesty the powerful Queen[7] [*lacuna*], the great ruler of the great country and of the great state, [the sovereign] of numerous Christians, from Her Majesty the esteemed Mother, who is the queen of the time, Khadija of the epoch, the beauty of the world, [the mother] of His Majesty the felicitous, illustrious and magnificient Bakhadir Geray Khan — *may God last his greatness till the Day of Judgement* — [who is] the great ruler of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars, innumerable Noghays and the adornment of the mountains, Circassians, [the commander] of the foreign tribes of the right and left flank. [Now], let it be known [to you] that since His Majesty the felicitous and glorious Khan — *praise be of God, the Most High, to his charge of his subjects and to his laudable rule* — to whose rule the Crimean kingdom is entrusted, send [his] high envoys to show his friendship to you, we also, when the planets are in a favourable conjuction and disposition, are sending you our high envoy, Rustem, in order [to display] our friendship. *On his arrival*, please, show him due respect and do believe that we are your friend. We have long been old friends, [by this reason] — *Allah, the Most High, willing* — our doing anything against [you] is excluded. It is necessary that you, too, being our old friend, become our friend's friend and our enemy's enemy. Please, inform us about your circumstances. Be sure that, following [our] good breeding [demanding our being obedient to the will] of both His Majesty the glorious Khan and His Highness the noble *qalya* sultan, and of [His Highness] *nureddin* sultan, who are well-disposed towards us, we endevour to strengthen and make eternal the peace [between our countries]. We make all our efforts [to keep] your friendship. You, who always showed your amity [to us], also do not keep out of being our friend. Please, pay honour to our envoy and give him due respect. Then let him come back safely. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path.* Bakhchisaray *protected by God.*

LETTER No. 2

The letter is registered under No. 140 in Zettersteen's catalogue [29]. This is the letter of the chief wife of Khan Bakhadir Geray I (r. 1637—1641); the letter (38.0×27.0 cm) is dated by A. H. 1047 / A. D. 1637—38. It consists of 14

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[6] The translation of the Arabic phrases is given in italics.

[7] The word *qiral*, not *mälikä* or *qiralčе*, is used throughout the letters' text, as one could expect, taking into account that the ruler of Sweden was a woman. We translate the word *qiral* as "queen" because it is actually applied to Queen Christina. Correspondingly, we also change the titles relating to her from musculin to feminine.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

lines; the first one contains one word only placed at the top of the leaf. The text itself is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line is 21.0 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (1.0 × 1.5 cm) and the sender's address are below the text, on the left.

<div align="center">TRANSCRIPTION</div>

(15) هو

(16) ulu bi(vi)m(i)z ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)ri söz(ü)m(i)z

(17) uluγ orda v(ä) uluγ yurt-niŋ v(ä) d(ä)št(-i) q(i)bčaq-niŋ v(ä) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rïm-niŋ v(ä) ṣans(i)z köb tatar-niŋ v(ä) ṣaγ(i)š-s(i)z noγay-niŋ v(ä) ṭaγ ara č(i)rkäč-niŋ

(18) v(ä) ṭat bilä ṭ(a)vγač-niŋ oŋ qol-niŋ v(ä) ṣol qol-niŋ v(ä) din islam k(ä)r(i)-niŋ uluγ pad(i)šahï bolγan d(ä)vl(ä)tlü v(ä) ṣ(a)ʿad(ä)tlü v(ä) š(ä)vk(ä)tlü v(ä) ṣ(a)l(a)b(ä)tlü xan ʿ(a)ẓïm

(19) ʿal(i)šan ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)ri uluγ yurt-niŋ v(ä) köb m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t-niŋ v(ä) ğ(i)mlä x(i)r(i)stian-niŋ uluγ q(i)rali bolγan ~ q(i)ral s(a)ʿad(ä)t išt(i)mal ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)rinä dostl(u)q

(20) v(ä) q(a)rdašl(i)q uzun uzaq bar(i)šl(i)q ičün uluγ älčil(ä)rin könd(ü)rm(ä)k(i)n b(i)z d(a)xi uluγ älčim(i)z ~ zid q(u)dräti s(i)z q(i)ral ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)rinä dostl(u)q

(21) ičün könd(ü)rd(i)m k(ä)r(ä)kd(i)r ki xaṭ(i)rïŋuz xoš tutub عليهم رحمهم اللَّه سالفين خواقين iğm(a)ʾin ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)r(i)nd(ä)n b(u)runğa dost v(ä) q(a)r(i)ndaš olub m(u)ḥ(a)b(ä)t

(22) v(ä) m(ä)v(ä)dd(ä)t oluŋduŋuz isä bu d(ä)fʿa d(a)xi z(i)yadä dost v(ä) m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ä)t olub m(u)ḥ(a)b(ä)t v(ä) m(ä)v(ä)dd(ä)t š(ä)rait(i)n r(i)ʿaγ(ä)t idüb k(ä)mak(ä)n dostl(u)q ätm(ä)kd(ä)n

(23) xali olm(a)yas(i)z dost(u)ŋuza dost v(ä) tušman(i)ŋuza tušman olm(u)šuzd(i)r s(i)z d(a)xi dost olduγ(u)mïza iʿt(i)mad ädüb dost(u)muza

(24) dost v(ä) tušman(i)muzγa tušman bolγaγ-s(i)z v(ä) s(i)z d(a)xi q(i)rïm xanï ilä xal(i)ṣanä dost olub b(i)rb(i)riŋüzä älči könd(ü)rüb m(u)ḥ(a)b(ä)t-l(i)k ätm(ä)kd(ä)n xali olm(a)ya-s(i)z

(25) ḥ(ä)r nä aḥval(i)ŋüz var isä iʿlam äyl(i)yä-s(i)z انشاء اللَّه تعالى maʿmul(i)ŋüzd(ä)n z(i)yadä k(ä)r(ä)k xan zišan ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)rinä v(ä) k(ä)r(ä)k s(u)lṭanl(a)r ḥ(a)ʒ̈r(ä)tl(ä)rinä

(26) ḥ(ü)sn(-i) t(ä)rb(i)yä köz(ä)idüb dostl(u)q(u)ŋuza čal(i)šurm(i)z bu ğan(i)bden x(i)laf(-i) vaq(i)ʿa b(i)r n(ä)snä olmazd(i)r da'ima m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ä)t v(ä) m(ä)v(ä)dd(ä)t üzrä olas(i)z

(27) ḥ(ä)r v(ä)ğh ilä dostl(u)qda ṣab(i)t-qad(a)m olub älčiŋüz könd(ü)rüb qaṭʿï ʿ(a)laqa ätm(i)yäs(i)z m(u)radïŋuz nä isä b(i)ld(i)räs(i)z b(i)z(i)m d(a)xi

(28) qad(i)r olduγ(u)m(i)z d(i)riγ ol(u)nm(a)zd(i)r varan älčim(i)zä r(i)ʿaγ(ä)t v(ä) x(ü)rm(ä)t äyl(ä)yäs(i)z šöyla m(a)ʿlüm ol(u)na من التبع الـحودى s(ä)nä 1047 maqam bagčäsaray باقى و الدعا على الدعا على المـحروسه

<div align="center">WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION
(with grammar forms indication)</div>

(15) هو

(16) great lady=POSS=1PL majesty=POSS=3PL word= POSS=1PL

(17) great horde and great country=GEN and steppe-(of) Qipchaq=GEN and throne-(of) Crimea=GEN and counting=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and calculation=PRIV Noghay=GEN and mountain adorning Circassian=GEN

(18) and Tat with Tavgach=GEN right flank=GEN and left flank=GEN and faith Islam splendor-GEN big king=POSS=3SING be=PART power=ADJ and happiness=ADJ and might=ADJ and fortitude=ADJ khan great

(19) illustrious majesty=POSS=3PL great land=GEN and many country=GEN and all Christian=GEN great king=POSS=3PL be=PART ~ king happiness comprehending majesty=POSS=3PL-n-DAT friend=ABSTR

(20) and relation=ABSTR long time peacefulness, for, great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC send=ITER we also great envoy=POSS=1PL ~ increased power=POSS=3SING you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL-n-DAT friend=ABSTR

(21) for, send=PAST=1SING necessary=PRED that health=POSS=2PL fine keep=GER عليهم رحمهم الله سالفين خواقين all majesty=POSS=3PL-n-ABL old friend and brother be=GER love

(22) and friendship be=REFL=PAST=2PL be=COND this time also, bigger, friend and partner be=GER, love and friendship condition, pay respect do=GER in-this-way friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL

(23) stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL friend=POSS=2PL=DAT friend and enemy=POSS=2PL=DAT enemy be=PAST,PART=1PL=PRED you-PL also friend be=GER=POSS=1PL=DAT trust do=GER friend=POSS=1PL=DAT

(24) friend and enemy=POSS=1PL=DAT enemy become=OPT=2PL and you-PL also Crimea khan=POSS=3SING with sincere friend be=GER one-to-another=POSS=2PL=DAT envoy send=GER friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL

(25) every, what circumstance=POSS=2PL there-is be=COND information do=PRES=2PL انشاء الله تعالى action=POSS=2PL=ABL very-much or khan glorious majesty=POSS=3PL-n-DAT and or sultan=PL majesty=POSS=3PL-n-DAT

(26) good-(of) breeding keep=GER friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL=DAT make efforts=AOR=1PL this side=ABL opposite-(of) event one something be=NEG=AOR=3SING=PRED always love and friendship, according-to, be=PRES=2PL

(27) every way, by, friend=ABSTR=LOC keeping-one's-word be=GER envoy=POSS=2PL send=GER cutting-off-(of) connection do=NEG=PRES=2PL aim=POSS=2PL what be=COND know=CAUS=PRES=2PL we=POSS=GEN also

(28) strong be=GER=POSS=1PL regret be=REFL=AOR=3SING=PRED go=PART,PRES envoy=POSS=1PL=DAT render-attention and respect do=PRES=2PL thus well-known be=REFL=PRES الحودى التبع من على الدعا و باقى year 1047 residence Bakhchisaray المحروسه

TRANSLATION

He [*is the Helper*].

[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of Her Majesty the Chief Wife.

[Following] His Majesty the great and glorious Khan, the powerful and felicitous, magnificient and steadfast ruler, the great sovereign of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars, innumerable Noghays and the adornment of the mountains, Circassians, [the commander] of the foreign tribes of the right and left flank, the buttress of the Muslim faith, who send [his] high envoys to Her Majesty the felicitous Queen [*lacuna*], the great ruler of the great land and of the great state, [the sovereign] of all Christians, in order [to show you his] friendliness and brotherliness, [and] long-term peacefulness, we are also sending our high envoy [*lacuna*] — may his abilities be increased — to Your Majesty the Queen [to demonstrate our] friendly feelings [to you]. It is necessary that you pay him due respect. You have become [our] first friend and sister among all other sovereigns — *may Allah rest* [*the souls*] *of the khaqans of the past*. Being a loving friend to us, now that you are even [our] bigger friend and loving partner, do keep your devotion to [our] amity and friendship, do not evade making friendship [with us], as you did before. We are your friend's friend and your enemy's enemy. Do believe that we are your friend, [therefore], be our friend's friend and our enemy's enemy. Also, since you are a sincere friend with the Crimean Khan, show your amity by sending your envoys to him. Please, inform him about all your circumstances. *Allah, the Most High, willing* — following [our] good breeding [demanding our being obedient to the will] of both His Majesty the noble Khan and of Their Highnesses sultans, we care about your friendship more than about [your manufactured] products. We never did anything against you, so, you also, act as your duties of our affectioned and devoted friend demand. Be firm in everything that support friendship [between our countries]. Please, send your envoys [to us], thus not breaking [our] relations off. Inform [us] about your intentions. As for us, there will be not refusal in [doing everything] which is in our power.

Please, show due respect and favour to our arriving envoy. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path*. The year of 1047. Bakhchisaray *protected by God*.

LETTER NO. 3

The letter registered under No. 149 in Zettersteen's catalogue [30] is from Lady Dewlet, the daughter of Ghazi Bek and the mother of Khan Islam Geray III (r. 1644—1654). The seal's legenda confirms it. The letter (40.0×28.0 cm) is dated by A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650. It contains 14 lines; the first consists only of two short words placed at the very top of the leaf. The main body of the text is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line is 20.0 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (2.0×1.5 cm) and the sender's address are below the text, on the left.

TRANSCRIPTION

(29) هوا المعين

(30) h(a)ż̇r(ä)t(l(-i) ana bi(γi)m(i)z söz(ü)m(i)z

(31) uluγ orda v(ä) uluγ yurt-niŋ v(ä) d(ä)št(-i) بعد از حمد خدا دورود حضرت حبيب خدا صلى الله تعالى عليه و سلم q(i)pčaq v(ä) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rïm-niŋ

(32) v(ä) ṣans(i)z köb tatar-nïŋ v(ä) ṣaγ(ï)š-s(i)z noγay-nïŋ v(ä) ṭat bilä ṭ(a)vγač-nïŋ v(ä) daγ ara č(i)rkäč-niŋ uluγ pad(ï)šahï bolγan s(a)'adätlü v(ä) š(ä)vk(ä)tlü vä '(a)z̤(a)m(ä)tlü

(33) islam g(ä)räy xan يوم الميزان الي مؤبند دولته دام h(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)r(i)-nïŋ val(i)dä'(-i) m(ü)k(ä)rr(ä)mäl(ä)ri ki m(ä)ll(i)kä'(-i) z(ä)man xadiğa-i deveran b(ä)hiğä(-i) ğ(i)han h(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)r(i)nd(ä)n uluγ

(34) uluγ[8] yurt-nïŋ v(ä) uluγ m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t-nïŋ v(ä) köb x(i)r(i)stian-nïŋ v(ä) barča m(i)ll(ä)t m(ä)s(i)ḥa-nïŋ uluγ pad(ï)šahï bolγan dost(u)muz isv(i)tsa q(i)ralï ~ q(i)ral

(35) dam(ä)t[9] h(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä köpdin köb s(ä)lam v(ä) h(a)dd(a)n birun p(ä)yam m(ä)s(ä)rr(ä)t ängam ïblaγ(i)nd(a)n (o)ŋra inha' v(ä) i'lam ol(u)nan old(i)r ki خواقين سالفين رحمهم الله

(36) iğm(a)'in h(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)ri ilä s(i)z(i)ŋ ağdad(i)ŋuz q(i)rallar ilä xal(i)ṣanä dost olub b(i)rb(i)rl(ä)rinä tušmanl(i)q itm(ä)zl(ä)r-im(i)š da'ima m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ä)t üzrä olub älčil(ä)rin b(i)rb(i)rl(ä)rinä

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[8] The word *uluγ* is erroneously written twice here.

[9] Here the word *dam(ä)t* stands for the wish of long life.

(37) könd(ü)r(ü)rl(ä)r-im(i)š šol v(ä)ğh üzrä dost olm(a)q ičün š(ä)vk(ä)tlü xan 'alïšan ḥ(a)ż(rä)tl(ä)ri uluγ älčil(ä)rin
könd(ü)rm(ä)kin b(i)z d(a)xi s(i)z q(i)ral ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä

(38) dostl(u)q ičün q(u)run h(ä)m q(i)ran uluγ älčim(i)z r(u)st(ä)m bek zid q(u)dräti m(ä)ktüb(i)m(i)z ilä könd(ü)rd(i)k
انشا ٔ اللّه تعالى vaṣ(i)l bolγanl(a)r(ï)nda xaṭ(ï)r(ï)ŋuz xoš tut(u)b

(39) dost olduγ(u)m(ï)za i'ṭ(i)mad v(ä) i'ṭ(i)qad äγl(ä)yäs(i)z اللّه ٔ انشا uzun uzaq dost olub da'ima dostl(u)γ(u)ŋuza
čališub s(a)'ad(ä)tlü xan 'alïšan

(40) ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä v(ä) qalγa[10] s(u)lṭan ḥ(a)ż̇r(ä)tl(ä)rinä ḥ(ü)sn(-i) t(ä)rbiyä közäidüb b(ä)yn(i)ŋüzdä m(u)ṣafat(-i)
ab(i)d v(ä) m(u)ṣal(a)ḥat mu'(ä)bb(ä)d t(ä)šγ(i)d v(ä) ta'bidinä ḥ(ü)sn(-i) iht(i)mam ol(u)nmaq

(41) m(u)q(a)rr(ä)rd(i)r aŋa körä s(i)z d(a)xi dost v(ä) m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ä)d olub uluγ älčiŋüz könd(ü)rüb dostl(u)q
ätm(ä)kd(ä)n xali olm(ï)yas(ï)z šöylä m(a)'lüm ol(u)na

(42) المحروسه s(ä)nä 1060 maqam bagčäsaray باقى و الدعا على من التبع الحودى

WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION
(with grammar forms indication)

(29) هوا المعين

(30) mother lady=POSS=1PL majesty=POSS=3PL word=POSS=1PL

(31) بعد از حمد خدا دورود حضرت حبيب خدا صلى اللّه تعالى عليه و سلم great horde and great country-GEN and steppe Qipchaq-GEN and throne-(of) Crimea-GEN

(32) and counting=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and calculation=PRIV Noghay=GEN and Tat with Tavgach=GEN and mountain adorning between Circassian=GEN great ruler=POSS=3SING be=PART happiness=ADJ and might=ADJ and grandeur=ADJ

(33) Islam Geray khan دام دولته مؤيدةً الى يوم الميزان majesty=POSS=3PL=GEN mother-of esteemed=POSS=2SING who, queen, time, Khadija epochs beauty world majesty=POSS=3PL=n-ABL big

(34) great country=GEN and great land=GEN and numerous Christian=GEN and all nation Messiah=GEN great king=POSS=3SING be=PART=0 friend=POSS=1PL Sweden king=POSS=3SING ~ king

(35) bouquet friendship majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT many=ABL many greeting and bound=ABL outside compliment joy complete message=POSS=3SING=n-ABL after inform and communicate be=REFL=PART, PRES this=PRED which خواقين سالفين رحمهم اللّه

(36) all majesty=POSS=3PL, with, you-PL=GEN ancestors=POSS=2PL king=PL with sincere friend be=GER one-to-another=POSS=3PL=n-DAT enemy=ABSTR do=NEG=AOR=3PL-PAST, PART permanent affection according-to be=GER envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC one-to-another=POSS=3PL=n-DAT

(37) send=AOR=PL-PAST,PART that way, by, friend be=INF for, magnificent=ADJ khan glorious majesty= POSS=3PL great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC send=ITER, we also you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT

(38) friend=ABSTR for, conjuction and favourable-disposition-of-planets, high envoy=POSS=1PL Rustam, master, increased, power=POSS=3SING message=POSS=1PL, with, spend=PAST=1PL انشا ٔ اللّه تعالى arrive become= PART=POSS=3PL=n-LOC health=POSS=2PL fine keep=GER

(39) friend be=PART=1PL=DAT trust and believe do=PRES=2PL انشا ٔ اللّه long time friend be=GER always friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL work=GER happiness=ADJ khan illustrious

(40) majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT and qalga sultan majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT good-(of) education keep=GER be-tween=POSS=2PL=LOC sincere-amity, eternity and well-disposed, for ever, building and making-smth-regulary=POSS=3SING-n-=DAT, beauty (of) effort be=REFL=INF

(41) definitive=PRED, it=ŋ-DAT see=ADV you-PL also partner and friend be=GER great envoy=POSS=2PL send=GER friend=ABSTR do=INF=ABL stop be=NEG=PRES=2PL thus well-known be=REFL=PRES

(42) المحروسه year 1060 residence Bakhchisaray باقى و الدعا على من التبع الحودى

TRANSLATION

He is the Helper.
[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of Her Majesty the Queen Mother.
Glory be to God [and] His favourite friend. May Allah, the Most High, bless and greet him. The esteemed Mother, who is the queen of the time, Khadija of the epoch, the beauty of the world, [the Mother] of His Majesty the felicitous, magnificent and illustrious Islam Geray Khan — *may [God] last his greatness till the Day of Judgement* — the great ruler of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars, innumerable Noghays, the foreign tribes, and the adornment of the mountains, Circassians, [sends] many greetings and countless joyous compliments to Her Majesty [*lacuna*], the Queen of Sweden — may her life be eternal — our friend, [who is] the sovereign of the great country and of the great state, [the ruler] of numerous Christians and of all Christian peoples. [Now], let it be known [to you] that since there was sincere friendship between your royal ancestors and

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[10] In the text — *qaγlγa* (the slip of the pen) instead of *qalγa*.

all [our] rulers — *may Allah rest [the souls] of the khaqans of the past* — they did nothing hostile to one another. Because of this permanent affection, they sent envoys to one another. Likewise, since His Majesty the magnificient and glorious Khan sends his high envoys [to you] to be [your] friend, we also, at the time of a favourable conjunction and disposition of the planets, are sending our great ambassador, Rustem-bek — may his abilities be increased — to Your Majesty the Queen, with our letter. On his arrival — *Allah, the Most High, willing* — please, pay him due respect and believe in our friendly feelings. *Allah willing* — being the old friend of yours, we do our best [to maintain] friendship [between you and His Majesty the Khan]. Be sure that following [our] good breeding [demanding our being obedient to the will] of His Majesty the felicitous and glorious Khan, as well as of His Highness *qalγa* sultan, we make our efforts in order to strengthen and maintain eternal sincere friendship between you. Therefore, you, too, being our friend and good-willer, please, send your great ambassador [to us], do not evade making friendship [with us]. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path.* The year of 1060. Bakhchisaray *protected by God.*

LETTER NO. 4

The letter is registered under No. 150 in Zettersteen's catalogue [31]; it is dated by A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650. The letter (30.0×22.0 cm) is from Lady Farakh, the daughter of 'Adil Shah and the chief wife of Khan Islam Geray III (r. 1644—1654). The letter contains 12 lines; the first line consists of two words placed at the top of the leaf. The text itself is in the lower part of the leaf. The length of each line — 15.5 cm. The ends of the lines are rounded upward; the last words in the lines do not coincide with the end of the sentences. The seal (2.0×1.5 cm) and the sender's address are below the text, on the left.

TRANSCRIPTION

(43) هوا المعين

(44) *h(a)żr(ä)t(-i) ulu bi(γi)m(i)z söz(ü)m(i)z*

(45) و سلم علیه تعالی الله صلی خدا حبیب حضرت دورود خدا حمد از بعد *uluγ orda v(ä) uluγ γurt-niŋ v(ä) d(ä)št(-i) q(i)bča(q)*[11]*-niŋ*

(46) *v(ä) t(a)xt(-i) q(i)rïm-niŋ v(ä) šans(i)z köb tatar-niŋ v(ä) barča ümm(ä)t(-i) m(u)ḥamm(ä)d-niŋ uluγ pad(i)šahï s(a)'ad(ä)tlü v(ä) š(ä)vk(ä)tlü islam g(ä)räy xan*

(47) المیزان یوم الی دولته ایام تعالی الله ادام *ḥ(a)żr(ä)tl(ä)r(i)-niŋ uluγ bi(γi)m ḥ(a)żr(ä)tl(ä)r(i)nd(ä)n uluγ γurt-niŋ v(ä) uluγ m(ä)ml(ä)k(ä)t-niŋ v(ä) köb*

(48) *x(i)r(i)stian-niŋ v(ä) barča m(i)ll(ä)t(-i) m(ä)s(i)ḥa-niŋ uluγ pad(i)šahï dost(u)muz išv(i)tsa q(i)ralï bolγan ~ q(i)ral*

(49) *dam(ä)t ḥ(a)żr(ä)tl(ä)rinä köpdin köb s(ä)lam v(ä) x(a)dd(a)n birun(-i) p(ä)γam m(ä)s(ä)rr(ä)t ängam iblaγ(i)nd(a)n s(o)ŋra inha v(ä) i'lam ol(u)nan*

(50) *old(i)r ki š(ä)vk(ä)tlü xan 'alïšan ḥ(a)żr(ä)tl(ä)ri s(i)z q(i)ral ḥ(a)żr(ä)tl(ä)ri bilä dost v(ä) m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ä)t bolmaq ičün uluγ älčil(ä)rin*

(51) *könd(ü)rmäkin b(i)z d(a)xi dostl(u)q ičün q(u)run h(ä)m q(i)ran uluγ älčim(i)z könd(ü)rd(i)k* تعالی الله انشا *vasil bolγanda*

(52) *m(ü)bär(ä)k xat(i)rïŋuza xoš olub uzun uzaq dostl(u)q bolγan(i)na i't(i)mad v(ä) i't(i)qad äyl(i)γäs(i)z v(ä) s(i)z d(a)xi dost*

(53) *v(ä) m(u)ḥ(a)bb(ä)t üzrä bolub da'ima dostl(u)q-da olub älčiŋüz könd(ü)rm(ä)kd(ä)n xali bolm(a)γaγ-s(i)z* الله انشا *b(ä)γn(i)ŋüzdä*

(54) علی الدعا و باقی *b(i)z d(a)xi uzun uzaq dostl(u)γ(u)ŋuza čal(i)šm(a)q m(u)q(a)rr(ä)rd(i)r šöγlä m(a)'lüm ol(u)na* الحروسه *s(ä)nä 1060 där bagčäsaray* الحودا التبع من

WORD-BY-WORD TRANSLATION
(with grammar forms indication)

(43) هوا المعين

(44) majesty(of) great lady=POSS=1PL word=POSS-1PL

(45) و سلم علیه تعالی الله صلی خدا حبیب حضرت دورود خدا حمد از بعد great horde and great country=GEN and steppe Qipchaq=GEN

(46) and throne-(of) Crimea=GEN and calculation=PRIV many Tatar=GEN and all people-(of) Muhammad=GEN great king=POSS=3SING happiness=ADJ and magnificent=ADJ Islam Geray khan

(47) المیزان یوم الی دولته ایام تعالی الله ادام majesty=POSS=3PL=GEN great lady majesty=POSS=3PL=n-ABL big land=GEN and big country=GEN and many

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[11] This word is spelled as *qibča* in the original text.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

(**48**) Christian=GEN and all nation-(of) Messiah=GEN great king=POSS=3SING friend=POSS-1PL Sweden king=POSS=3SING be=PART ~ king

(**49**) bouquet friendship majesty=POSS=3PL=n-DAT many=ABL many greeting and bound=ABL outside compliment joy complete message=POSS=3SING=n-ABL after inform and communicate be=REFL=PART, PRES

(**50**) this=PRED which might=ADJ khan illustrious majesty=POSS=3PL you-PL king majesty=POSS=3PL with, friend and partner become=INF for, great envoy=POSS=3PL=ACC

(**51**) send=ITER we also friend=ABSTR for, conjunction and favourable-disposition-of-planets, high envoy= POSS=1PL send=PAST=1PL تعالى اللّٰه ٔ انشا arrive become=PART=POSS=3PL=n-LOC

(**52**) blessed health=POSS=2PL=DAT fine be=GER long time friend=ABSTR be=PART=POSS=3SING=n-DAT trust and believe do=PRES=2PL and you-PL also friend

(**53**) and partner, according-to be=GER always friend=ABSTR=LOC be=GER envoy=POSS=2PL send=VN=ABL stop become=NEG=OPT=2PL اللّٰه ٔ انشا between=POSS=2PL=LOC

(**54**) we also long time friend=ABSTR=POSS=2PL=DAT work=INF definitive=PRED thus well-known be=REFL=PRES الحودى التبع من على الدعا و باقى year 1060 residence Bakhchisaray المحروسه.

<div align="center">TRANSLATION</div>

He is the Helper.
[This is] Our Word, [the Word] of [Her Majesty] the Chief Wife.
Many greetings and countless joyous compliments to Her Majesty [*lacuna*], our friend, the great sovereign of Sweden — may her life be eternal — the ruler of the great country and of the great state, [the queen] of many Christians and of all Christian nations, from Her Majesty the Chief Wife of His Majesty the felicitous and magnificent Islam Geray Khan — *may Allah the Most High last his greatness till the Day of Judgment* — the great ruler of the great Horde and of the great country, and of the Qipchaq steppe, [the possessor] of the throne of the Crimea, [the sovereign] of countless Tatars and of all Mohammedans. [Now], let it be known [to you] that since His Majesty the glorious and magnificent Khan send his high envoys [to you] in order to display [his] friendship and amity to Your Majesty the Queen, we also, at a favourable conjunction and disposition of the planets, are sending our great envoy [to you as a token of our] friendly feelings. On his arrival — *Allah, the Most High, willing* — please, do him your precious favour and believe in our invariable amity [to you]. You, who show [your] friendliness and amity [to us], and are in permanent friendship [with us], also, do not hesitate to send your ambassador [to us]. Be sure that — *Allah willing* — we also do our best [to develop] the old friendship between you [and the Khan]. Thus, [the contents of our message] is known [to you]. *Finally, prayer be upon that which follows the right path.* The year of 1060. Bakhchisaray.

<div align="center">**Notes**</div>

1. I would like to express my gratitude to the Swedish National Archives for the permission to publish the letters. My work was financially supported by the Swedish Institute (Stockholm) in summer 1997. I am also indebted to Mrs. Elzbieta Swecicka (Uppsala) for her helpful discussion of the draft of this paper and to Dr. Leyla Mahmutova (Kazan) and Mr. Michael Glatzer (Jerusalem) for their help and support.

2. K. V. Zettersteen, *Turkische, Tatarische und Persische Urkunden im Schwedischen Reichsarchiv* (Uppsala, 1945), pp. 78—128.

3. A. von Gabain, "Briefe der Uigurischen Hüen-tsang Biografie", *Sitzungsberichte der (Berliner, d.h.) Preussischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 29 (1938), pp. 375—451.

4. See, for example, A. N. Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler* (İstanbul, 1940); M. Ivanics, "Formal and linguistic peculiarities of 17th century Crimean Tatar letters addressed to Princes of Transylvania", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, XXIX (1975), pp. 213—24; T. I. Sultanov, "Pis'ma zolotoordynskikh khanov" ("Letters of the Goldern Horde Khans"), *Tiurkologicheskiĭ sbornik. 1975* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 234—51; M. A. Özyetgin, *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Kazan sahasına ait yarlık ve bitiklerin dil ve üslûp incelemesi* (Ankara, 1996).

5. *Osmanlı Devleti ile Kafkasya, Türkistan ve Kırım Hanlıkları arasındaki münasebetlere dair arşiv belgeleri (1687—1908 yıllar arası)* (Ankara, 1992); M. P. Pedani-Fabris, "La dimora della pace", *Quaderni di Studi Arabi, Studi e Testi*, 2 (1996), pp. 73—91.

6. L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nyĭ slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narechiĭ* (A Comparative Dictionary of Turkic-Tatar Dialects) (St. Petersburg, 1869), i, p. 234.

7. See Kurat, *op. cit.*

8. See *Osmanlı Devleti.*

9. *Drevnetiurkskiĭ slovar'* (Old Turkic Dictionary) (Leningrad, 1969), p. 541; cf. Ivanics, *op. cit.*, pp. 217, 218.

10. B. Grekov, A. Iakubovskiĭ, *Zolotaia orda i eë padenie* (The Golden Horde and its Fall) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1950), p. 262.

11. H. Jankowski, *Gramatyka języka krymskotatarskiego* (A Grammar of the Crimean Tatar Language) (Poznań, 1992). G. Doerfer, "Das Krimtatarische", in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (Wiesbaden, 1959), pp. 369—90; A. N. Samoĭlovich, *Opyt kratkoĭ krymskotatarskoĭ grammatiki* (An Attempt at a Concise Crimean Tatar Grammar) (Petrograd, 1916).

12. Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

13. See Budagov, *op. cit.*, i— ii.

14. Sh. Asanov, A. Garkavets, S. Useĭnov, *Krymskotatarsko-russkiĭ slovar'* (The Crimean Tatar-Russian Dictionary) (Kiev, 1988).

15. A. Memetov, "Nekotorye foneticheskie izmeneniia glasnykh zvukov v persidskikh leksicheskikh zaimstvovaniiakh v krymskotatarskom iazyke" ("Some phonetic alternations of vowels in lexica of the Crimean Tatar language borrowed from Persian"), *Sovetskaia tiurkologiia*, 5 (1973), pp. 111—4.

16. K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch* (Copenhagen, 1942), p. 257.

17. See, for example, Ivanics, *op. cit.*

18. Kurat, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 7.

19. See, for example, Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*; Doerfer, *op. cit.*; Jankowski, *op. cit.*

20. Cf. Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

21. Asanov, Garkavets, Useïnov, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 203; Doerfer, *op. cit.*, p. 381; Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

22. Özyetgin, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 218.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 217.

24. Samoïlovich, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

26. Jankowski, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

27. *Ibid.*

28. We use here the results of the seal's analysis made by Zettersteen, see his *op. cit.*, No. 139.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

Illustrutions

Fig. 1. Letter (between 1637 and 1641) from the mother of the Crimean Khan Bakhadir Geray I, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 39.0×28.0 cm.

Fig. 2. Letter (A. H. 1047 / A. D. 1637—38) from the chief wife of the Crimean Khan Bakhadir Geray I, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 38.0×27.0 cm.

Fig. 3. Letter (A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650) from Lady Dewlet, the daughter of Ghazi Bek and the mother of the Crimean Khan Islam Geray III, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 40.0×28.0 cm.

Fig. 4. Letter (A. H. 1060 / A. D. 1650) from Lady Farakh, the daughter of 'Adil Shah and the chief wife of Khan Islam Geray III, the Swedish National Archives, Stockholm, 30.0×22.0 cm.

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI.
II. *AVADĀNA* AND *JĀTAKA* (PART 6)

Although there are no concrete indications, it appears that the *avadāna*s and *jātaka*s that make up this section of the manuscript follow the ideas expressed by the Buddha in the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, focusing on the chapter in which the Buddha expresses his concern for his subjects and discusses the ways of the righteous ("Solicitudes of the Buddha") [1]. Setting out for Rājagṛha for the season of rains, he invites his relatives and the followers of the teaching, for he has a presentiment that without him Devadatta will cause a schism in the community. This is, in fact, what happened. At that point, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana went to the Buddha and asked him to return and preach a sermon on the four meritorious men. The Buddha complied with their request, saying that a meritorious man should first erect a *stūpa*, placing holy relics connected with the Buddha in the foundation; or he should take care of a *stūpa*, adorning it with flowers, bringing holy water, etc. Secondly, he who has grasped the Teaching of the Buddha should spread it to the four corners of the earth. Thirdly — and this would appear to be the most important precept in this group of tales — he should put an end to conflicts within the community. Finally, he should, with an open heart, with hostility toward no one, without rivalry, without causing harm, performing the ritual of *upasaṃpada*, live in a community, abide by its rules, and follow all precepts and rituals (including timely departure for the season of rains period with all other members of the community).

FOL. [19a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. [*pū*]*j*(*ā*)*rtha tataḥ tena janena bhagavato mahāpūjā kṛtā bhuṃjāpito ca bhagavāṃ tā*[1] *tādṛśī*
2. *dharmadeśanā kṛtā te yaṃbhūyena*[2] *satye pratiṣṭhāpitā gopabhāryā bhagavāṃ bhuṃjāpitaḥ*
3. *sāOdṛṣṭasatyā saṃvṛttā pūrvayogaṃ sarve kāśyape samyaksaṃbuddhe upāsakā āsīt**[3] ¶
4. *vayasyā iti sambahula vayasyā nṛtyamānā gāyamānā ca vvividhair vādya*[4] *viśeṣai-*
5. *rnnagarānniṣkramaṃti bhagavāṃś ca praviśati te*[5] *prasādajātā vividhair vādyair nṛtyam tā tāvadeva*

TRANSLATION [1]

1. …for veneration. Then this man solemnly honoured the Bhagavān, Bhagavān was satisfied [with this veneration]. In this fashion

2. those [who took part in the veneration] almost entirely [2] grasped the *dharma*. The wife of a shepherd [also] become grounded in the truth. Bhagavān was satisfied.

3. That [shepherd's wife] gained [the four noble] truths. In an earlier incarnation during the time of the completely enlightened Kāśyapa, she was *upasikā*.

4. **[Tale of] the female friends** [3]. A crowd of female friends with dances and singing, [surrounded by] various and varied sounds [4],

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[1] Instead of *te*?

[2] Instead of *yadbhūyena*, see *BHSD*, p. 444.

[3] * is used to show the sign of *avagraha*.

[4] Instead of *vividhair vādyair*.

[5] Instead of *tā* (we find here the signs of text's correcting).

5. went out of the city, and Bhagavān [at that time] was entering [the city]. [Upon meeting the Bhagavān] they were filled with faith. [They addressed the Bhagavān] with respectful words and singing, breaking off the dance

Commentary

[1] The context indicates that this text is a continuation of the text on fol. 19b, put page 20 is missing. Moreover, this folio is paginated as 19b. There are further errors in the pagination; they will be noted as they occur.

[2] *yadbhūyena* (in the text *yambhūyana*; slip of the pen or Prakritism?) — "for the most part, in the main", a form attested in Buddhist Sanskrit, see *BHSD*, p. 444.

[3] In the *uddāna* on fol. 17a (4), the tale is entitled *vayasya*, possibly a slip of the pen or *metr causa*. The text appears to be a summary of *avadāna* No. 30 — *Valgusvara iti*, see *Avadānaśataka*, I, pp. 163—7. The difference is that in the *avadāna* the Bhagavān was venerated not by "female friends" (*vayasyā*), but by *saṃbahulaś ca goṣṭhikā* ("numerous female city-dwellers").

[4] The word *vādya* means both "speech, singing" and "the sounds of music".

FOL. 19b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *lop[i]t[ā] bhagavanta[ṃ] pr[a]dakṣinīi karont[i] tena bhagavatā valgunā svareṇa pratyekabuddhā*
2. *vyākṛtā ¶ dhanarata iti bhikṣavo bhagavantaṃ pṛcchanti paśya bhagavatā yāvad idaṃ indri-*
3. *ya[ga]Obodhyaṃgehi⁶ vaineyavarggaḥ vibhaktaḥ na bhikṣavo etarahiṃ bhūtapūrvva bhi-*
4. *kṣavo dhanaratano nāma sārthāvaho ba[bhū]va mahātmā dhārmikaḥ sa mahāsamudram āvatī-*
5. *rṇaḥ tatra nāgehi⁷ apahṛtaḥ tatra dvai nāgarājānai⁸ kalahā jātā viharaṃti te amnya-*

TRANSLATION

1. broke off [and] made a circle of honour around the Bhagavān. For this reason the Bhagavān foretold that they would be born [all together] as a group of *pratyekabuddhā*s "Sweet-voi-
2. ced" [5]. [Tale of] Janarate [6]. The monks asked the Bhagavān: "Look, how the Bhagavān
3. has identified this group of those awaiting conversion by [their] possession [of the seven] factors of enlightenment and [the six] psychic abilities" [7]. [Bhagavān replied]: "No, monks, at this time in a previous incarnation, mo-
4. nks, [there] was a merchant by the name of Dhanaratana. He was great in spirit and followed the *dharma* [8]. He swam across the ocean.
5. There he was seized by the *nāga*s. [In the ocean] an argument broke out between two *nāgarājā*s. With each other they

Commentary

[5] ... *valgunā svareṇa pratyekabuddhā vyākṛtā* — lit. "thanks to a pleasant voice they were foretold as *pratyekabuddhīs*".

[6] In the *uddāna* on fol. 17a (4) we find the same title. In the text, line 4, this name appears in the form Dhanaratana. The reference is to the *avadāna* about the leader of the merchants Dhanaratha, see *Saṅghabhedavastu*, II, pp. 13—4. See also Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya. Analysiert auf Grund der Tibetischen Übersetzung* (Tokyo, 1981), p. 94.

[7] *indriya-gala-bodhyaṃgehi* — lit. "thanks [to the presence] of factors of illumination and psychic abilities" — a Prakritism: it should be *bodhyaṅgaih* (Instr. Plr.).

[8] *dhārmika* — lit. "dharmic, linked to the *dharma*; following the *dharma*".

FOL. [20a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *m annya⁹ kalahavigrahavivādamāpannā dvādaśa varṣāni apraśānta vairā tena teṣān dharmadeśa-*
2. *nā kṛtā mahavairanachinnaṃ tehi parituṣṭehi ekena nāgarājña maṇirddattaḥ kiṃ pra-*
3. *bhavaḥO paṃcāśa¹⁰ yojanā sphurittā sarvaratnāṃ varṣati dvitīena maṇirddattaḥ*

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⁶ Instead of *bodhyaṅgebhih*, a Prakritism.

⁷ Instead of *nāgebhih*, a Prakritism.

⁸ Instead of *nāgarajñoh*.

⁹ Instead of *anya*.

¹⁰ Instead of *paṃcaśata*.

4. *sa yoOjanaśataṃ sph[u]ritvā ratnāṃ varṣati yāvanena uttīrya sarvve saṃtarppitā*[11] *babhū-*
5. *va* ¶ *ṛkṣasya avadānam kṛtvā yathā akṛtajñīyeṣu* ¶ ***lakuṃcika*** *iti śrāvastyā a*

TRANSLATION [9]

1. disputed, feuded and argued, and for twenty years this hostility did not cease. Thanks to that [merchant] those [*nāgarājā*s] came to understand the *dharma*.

2. Great hostility was ended by those [*nāgarājā*s] who [greatly] rejoiced. One of the *nāgarājā*s gave [to the merchant] as a gift a precious stone that was so marvellous [10]

3. that it shone with the light of five-hundred *yojana*s and revealed all valuables [around it]. By other [*nāgarāja* as well] was given a precious stone.

4. Shining with the light of a hundred *yojana*s, it revealed all valuables [and] with its help all [the seas] that [the merchant] had to cross were [successfully] crossed".

5. Tell [11] the *avadāna* of the bear [12] as one of the *avadāna*s about the ingrates. Tale of Lakuṃcika [13]. In Śrāvasti [14]

Commentary

[9] Judging by the subject, the text on the folio continues the previous *avadāna*.

[10] *kiṃ prabhavaḥ* — lit. "what is better [than he]?"

[11] *kṛtvā* — absolute, lit. "after it was told; having told".

[12] *ṛkṣasya avadāna* — "*Avadāna* of the bear" — in the *uddāna* on fol. 17a(4) the tale has the same name. The text of the tale is absent. The reference is possibly to an *avadāna* from the *Saṅghabhedavastu*, II, pp. 104—5: "The story of a bear and a poor man (Concerning a previous incarnation of Devadatta)".

[13] The "[Tale] of Lakuṃcika" is also mentioned in the *uddāna* on fol. 17a(4). The text is missing. One can assume that the reference is to a certain Lakuṃcika, the son of a *brāhman* from Śrāvasti, the protagonist of *avadāna* No. 88, see *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 152—60.

[14] As has been noted, the folios of the manuscript from Bairam-Ali were pasted together from two, and sometimes even three, thin layers of outer birch bark. Until recently, this folio lacked the second layer of birch bark. It was lost in the process of restoration but later found (now the folio is numbered as fol. 20b and will be published in the next issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*). It contains, in addition to the tale of Lakuṃcika, the last of this group of stories, entitled *Eru*, and the *uddāna* for the next group of tales.

FOL. [21a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *naḥ karṣikaḥ p[i]tā* ¶ ***maitrāb(a)lasya iti*** *bhikṣavaḥ pṛcchanti paśya bhadaṃte yāva ca* [*a*]-
2. *nuttaraṃ ca sthānam adhigatam iti na bhikṣavo yathā rajñā brahmadattena maitrā u-*
3. *tpāditā maitrābalena ca viṣayāparitrāta vā mahato yakṣa bhayāto parimoci-*
4. *taḥ O te ca paṃca yakṣa paṃcasu śikṣāsu pratiṣṭhāpitā* ¶ ***sārtha iti*** *vindhyāṭa-*
5. *vyāṃ paṃcanmātravaṇījaśatā gacchanti mahatā paṃṇyena te ca tatra pauruṣādena rākṣasena*

TRANSLATION [15]

1. ... the ploughman father [16]. **Tale of the Maytrābala** [17]. The monks asked: "Look, deeply revered one, how did they

2. receive the best place [in the chain of reincarnations]?" [Bhagavān replied]: "No, monks, at this time in a previous incarnation the *rājā* Brahmadatta showed love [toward living things],

3. and by the force of [this] love was the undefended kingdom saved from a huge, terrible *yakṣa*

4. and there the five *yakṣa*s received instruction in the five rules" [18]. **[Tale] entitled "Beneficial"** [19]. Through the forest in the hills of Vindhya

5. five hundred merchants went with a large commercial caravan. And there they [were attacked] [20] by a *rakṣas* that devours people.

Commentary

[15] The errors in pagination end here.

[16] The context is missing. Other translations are possible.

---

[11] Instead of *saṃtarpitā*.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

[17] Maitrābala is a proper name. The tale of the conversion of the five *yakṣa*s forms the basic plot of the *Maitrībala-jātaka*. See *Jātaka Māla*, No. 8, pp. 41—51.

[18] The term *śikṣa* is here used with the meaning *śikṣapāda* "moral norms"; *paṃcāni śikṣāpadāni* "the five norms of morality" are enumerated in *Mahāvastu*, III, 268, 10—3. An identical text is found in the Canon of the Theravadins, see *BHSD*, p. 527.

[19] A tale similar in content is well-known in the Buddhist literature. It is part of the *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 244—6, which tells of the merchant Sthapakarnika, who together with five hundred merchants was attacked in the open sea by a monster (*makara*) that was prepared to devour them all. On the advice of *sthavīra* Pūrṇa, Sthapakarnika appealed to the Buddha for help and the merchants were saved. The same events are described with some variations in *Suparaga-jātaka*, see *Jātaka Māla*, No. 14. The same plot occurs in *jātaka* No. 463.

[20] The text clearly lacks the predicate which should agree with the subject *te* "those", Nom. Plr.

FOL. 21b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *mahakā[v]īkaṃ vā taṃ saṃjanayitvā vaṇijā[ṃ] utsādayitu kāmas tatas te vaṇ[i]j[ā] bh[ī]t[ā]*
2. *vividhāṃ O devatāṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchanti na ca kaścit paritrātā[12] atha tatra upasakaḥ sa ka-*
3. *thay[a]Oti buddhaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchatheti[13] tatas te eka svareṇa buddhaṃ śaraṇe gatā [ta]taḥ*
4. *sā mahatā vālā[14] vilayaṃ gatā te ca vaṇijā jambudvīpā gatvā pravrajātā[15] arhatvaṃ prā-*
5. *ptaṃ karme sarvehi tehi kāśyape saṃmyaksaṃbuddhe pravrajitā babhuvuḥ* ¶ **kītīka iti**

TRANSLATION

1. And having appeared in the guise of that giant, [the *rakṣas*] wanted to destroy the merchants. Those merchants then took fright

2. and appealed for defence to various divinities, but no one received aid. There was there [among them] an *upasaka*. He

3. said: "Allow yourselves to be defended by the Buddha!" They then appealed to the Buddha for defence in a single voice [121]. Then

4. the might of the *rakṣas* was destroyed by the power [122] [granted by the Buddha] and those merchants, upon returning to Jambudvīpā, received *pravrajyā* induction. They attained [the state of] *arhat*.

5. According to the *karma*, they were all inducted in the time of the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa [123]. **"[Tale] of the worms"** [124].

Commentary

[121] *buddhaṃ śaraṇe gatā* — possibly an error, in place of *buddhaśaraṇe gatā*, lit. "went under the Buddha's defence".

[122] The word *vālā* does not fit into the context in this grammatical form. It is either fem., Nom. Sg., although there is no such word in Sanskrit, or masc., Nom. Plr., lit. "with tails". This is most likely the Prakrit form in place of the Sanskrit *balena*, Instr. Sg. "by force".

[123] *pravrajitā babhuvuḥ* — "received *pravrajyā* induction" — a compound verb form that consists of the participium perfectum passivi of *pravrajitā* and the 3 Plr. perfect of the root *bhū* "to be".

[124] From the *avadāna* cycle about help given by the Bodhisattva to living things. The tortoise gives up his body to be devoured by hungry worms. See *Saṅghabhedavastu*, II, pp. 16—8: "The story of the tortoise [concerning a previous birth of Kauṇḍinya]".

FOL. [22a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *+ + + + +[16] b[o][dhi]satvasya [ya]thā vistareṇa kacchapa bhūtasya aśīti kītīkā sahasrā-*
2. *+ + + + + ṇi jihvālagnāni teṣāṃ parirakṣaṇārthaṃ ātmaparityāgaḥ kṛta iti* ¶
3. **kuṃjara iti** *bhagavataḥ adhvānapratipannasya aṭavyāṃ kuṃjaraḥ mahatiṃ[17] vṛkṣaśākhā-*

---

[12] Instead of *paritrāta*.

[13] Evidently, a slip of the pen; it may be also *gacchethā iti* or *gacchata iti*.

[14] Instead of *balena*?

[15] Instead of *pravrajitā*.

[16] In all likelihood, the left upper corner of fol. 22a was originally damaged and lacked text from the very beginning.

[17] Instead of *mahatīṃ*.

4. *muparidhārayate gacchantaṃ ca anugacchati yāva sa kumjaraḥ nirvṛttaḥ sa sīnhe*
5. *na hataḥ sa ca bhagavatopasthāna cittaṃ prasāditaṃ deveṣūpapannaḥ sa devatā bhūto*

TRANSLATION

1. Tell [in detail] how when the Boddhisattva was a tortoise, eighty thousand worms
2. attached themselves [to it] by their tongues. To save them, [the tortoise] committed an act of self-sacrifice. Tell it thus [25].
3. **"[Tale] of the elephant"** [26]. In the forest, at that time the Bhagavān had not yet found the way, a large tree branch an elephant
4. did hold above [him] and accompanied him during his walk [27]. That elephant attained *nirvāṇa*. He was by a lion
5. killed while he was aiding the Bhagavān [28]. [At that very moment] his consciousness became enlightened. [The next time he] was born among the gods. That [elephant], as a deity,

Commentary

[25] See above, n. 24.
[26] See *Saṅghabhedavastu*, II, pp. 189—91: "The elephant Dhanapālaka follows submissively the Buddha, dies of grief and is reborn in the heaven of the four Great Kings".
[27] *gacchantaṃ ca anugacchati* — lit. "walked behind [him], going".
[28] *sa ca bhagavatopasthāna* — lit. "and he is the support of the Bhagavān".

FOL. 22b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *bhagavatā upasaṃkrāntaḥ dharmadeśanā kṛtvā satyāni dṛṣṭāni karma kāśyape samyaksa[ṃ]buddhe*
2. *pravrajito babhūva na ca anena śakitaṃ brahmācaryam upapādayittam* [18] *iti evaṃ vistanti-*
3. *vyam* [19] *O iti ¶* **sinhasenāpatiḥ vistareṇa** *vācyam yathā vinīto bhagavatā karma kā-*
4. *śyape sammyaksambuddhe upāsako babhūva* **āraṇyaka iti** *anyatarasya gṛhapatisya* [20]
5. *dāraka ekārāmaḥ saṃsargabhīrū yāva pravrajitaḥ arhatvaṃ prāptaṃ sa kadāci gṛhaṃ*

TRANSLATION

1. drew close to the Bhagavān and received instruction in following the *dharma* and he grasped the [four noble] truths. [His] *karma* [was thus]: during the time of the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa
2. he received induction and with no compulsion led a pious way of life — tell it thus. That is how [this] should
3. sound. One must tell in detail the tail of **Sinha-**
4. **senāpati** [29], how he was converted by the Bhagavān. [His] *karma* [was thus]. During the time of
5. the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa he was an *upasaka*. **"[Tale] of he who lives in the forest"** [30]. A certain head of a household [had]
6. a son who enjoyed solitude, he was shy among people. He underwent the ritual of induction and attained [the state of] *arhat*. One day to a house he

Commentary

[29] Sinhasenāpati (Pāli Sīhasenāpati) — the protagonist of *jātaka* No. 246, which tells of how a certain man by the name of Sinhasenāpati turned to the Buddha for defence and then served him a meal that included meat. It is difficult to say whether the manuscript refers to this *jātaka*, as the text gives no details.
[30] The reference is evidently to an *avadāna* close in plot to *Aputra jātaka*, see *Jātaka Māla*, XVIII, pp. 105—8. The *jātaka* gives proof of the advantages of a hermit's life in the forest as compared to the life of one who heads a household.

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[18] Instead of *upādayitam*.
[19] Instead of *vistantayyam iti*.
[20] We find here the signs of correcting the text: first the word *grihapatisya* was written, then the first *-i-* was washed off and replaced by *-r-*; it must be *gṛhapateḥ*.
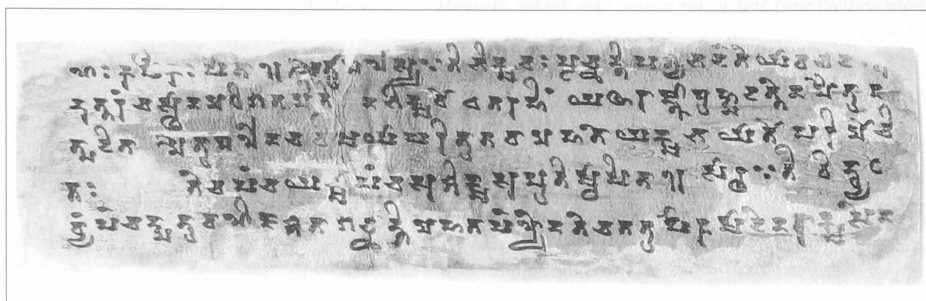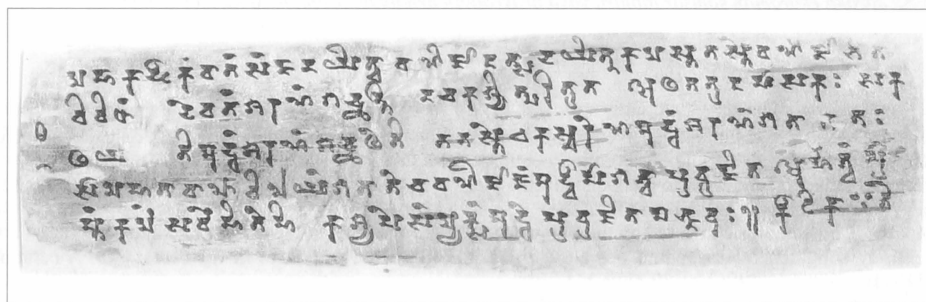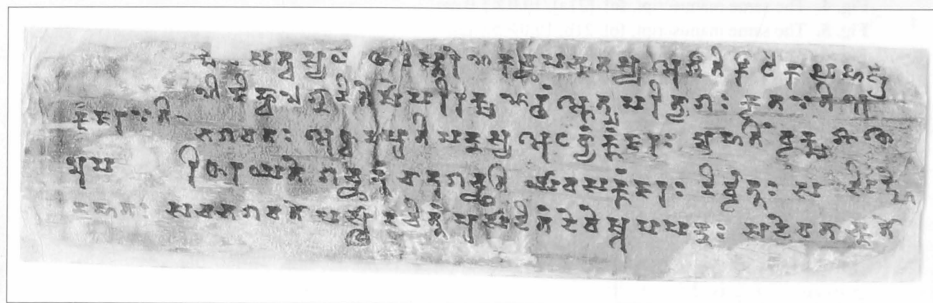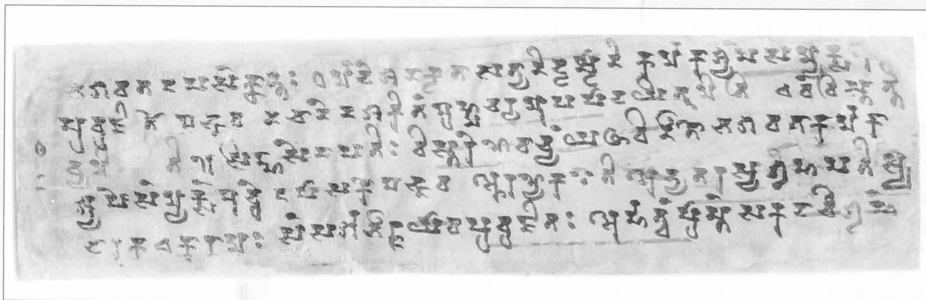
Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Notes

1. *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu Being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvastivādin*, pt. II, ed. Raniero Gnoli (Roma, 1978). - - Rome Oriental Series, vol. XLIX, 2.

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. [19a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 19b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [20a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. [21a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. 21b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. [22a], 19.0 × 5.0 cm.
Fig. 7. The same manuscript, fol. 22b, 19.0 × 5.0 cm.

V. A. Livshits

PARTHIANS JOKING*

In April of 1992 Iranian scholars — archaeologists, students of local lore and linguists working in the Department of cultural heritage of the province (*ostan*) of Khorasan investigated rock inscriptions and petroglyphs in the gorges known as Lākh-Mazār, not far from the settlement of Kūch (29 km to the south-east of Bīrjand). The results of their work have been published in two articles in Persian in the report entitled "A Series of Scholarly Works. Rock Images of Lākh-Mazār" [1]. The outstanding Iranian scholar, late professor Ahmad Taffazzoli kindly supplied me with a copy of this publication; some inscriptions seemed to me a bit amusing.

Through the gorges of Lākh-Mazār runs the road from Khorasan to Kerman. Travellers have left on the rocks numerous inscriptions — Arabic (Kufic and later, 35 inscriptions in all, some of them with dates of the lunar Hijra calendar — 847/1443—44, 891/1486, 902/1496—97, 972/1564—65, 985/1577—78, 1115/1703—04) [2], New Persian (8 inscriptions), all of them very brief, containing personal names and Qur'ānic formulas (only in Arabic) [3], and Parthian, more lengthy [4], which are probably the latest Parthian texts found within the Iranian territory [5].

The authors of the report date the Lākh-Mazār Parthian inscriptions to the fifth century. This date, in their opinion, is confirmed by the finds of the coins of king Kavad I (488—531) in the gorges and by the presence of an engraved image representing a man's head in a crown in which Khānīkī sees the portrait of this king [6].

In the "Report" the Parthian inscriptions are reproduced on 6 photographs and 5 plates of tracings [7]; it is rather difficult to use and read them, because many characters are doubtless distorted. It can be noticed, however, that in the tracings among other inscriptions one can distinguish variants ("drafts") of the same Parthian texts, which are very carefully (even calligraphically, if we can apply the term here) executed on other rocks by the same hand with a clear difference between *r* and *d* (the last one with a diacritic below the character) and a distinct form of *ḥ*.

Rasūl Bashshāsh, who published the transliteration, transcription and translation into Persian of the six most clearly distinguishable Parthian inscriptions of Lākh-Mazār, made a conclusion that they were ritual, telling about religious ceremonies in honour of the Zoroastrian deities

of Truth and Righteousness. The word *drwdšt* 'firm, righteous', which is present in some of the inscriptions, Bashshāsh associated with the Middle Persian name of the religious sect of *drist-dēnān*, lit. '(with) the right faith', connected with the Mazdakite movement. Bashshāsh [8] in this connection cites the well-known passage from the Byzantine historian John Malala [9] about the arrival in Rome in the reign of Diocletian of Bundos the Manichaean, whose teaching contradicted the doctrine of Mani, and who then moved to Iran where his teaching, according to Malala, became known under the name of (*tōn*) *Laristhenōn* — the rendering of the Middle Persian *drist-dēnān* [10].

The second subject, which, in the opinion of Bashshāsh, is considered in the Parthian inscriptions of Lākh-Mazār, is the improvement of the Zoroastrian ritual of *nōk-nawār* (variants: *nāyewar, nāwar*) connected with the coming of age (15 years) when a boy received his sacred belt (*kustī-bandī*), and the performance of the rites through which faithful Zoroastrians attain the priestly rank of *hērbed* [11].

The reading of the Parthian inscriptions from Lākh-Mazār led me to the conclusion that they have nothing to do with Zoroastrian ritual practices as well as with the Mazdakite *drist-dēnān* sect. The Lākh-Mazār inscriptions present an example of humorous texts, which rearly occur in Iranian epigraphics. Their humour, one has to admit, is rather primitive, but let us be lenient towards the fifth-century Parthian jokes. The authors of these inscriptions were six Parthian lads working as guides on the mountain road running through the gorges. Their names were Mihrbān (*Mtrybn*, lit. 'possessing the brilliance of Mithra'), Wišādewēnēn (*Wyšṭywynyn*, 'with open gaze') [12], Ardaxšīr (*'rthštr*, 'having the favour of [the deity of] Righteousness and Power') [13], Girdāzād (*Grt'z't*, 'having the free [celestial] orb'), Paryōž-naw (*Prgwz-nw* 'new victor') and Wahrām (*Wrhr'm*, '[created by] Veretragn'). Their "visiting card" is the inscription in which their names are enumerated [14]. These lads were not remarkable for their modesty, which is testified by their statement [15]: (1) *mtrybn* (2) *wyšṭywynyn W mtrybn* (3) *MNW n'yt drwdšt* (4) *drysyd sr ḤWYt | Mihrbān Wišādewēnēn ud Mihrbān kē nāyēd dru(w)dišt ud drisīd sar ahēd |* ("[Says] Mihrbān: if Wišādewēnēn and Mihrbān take anyone across [the

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

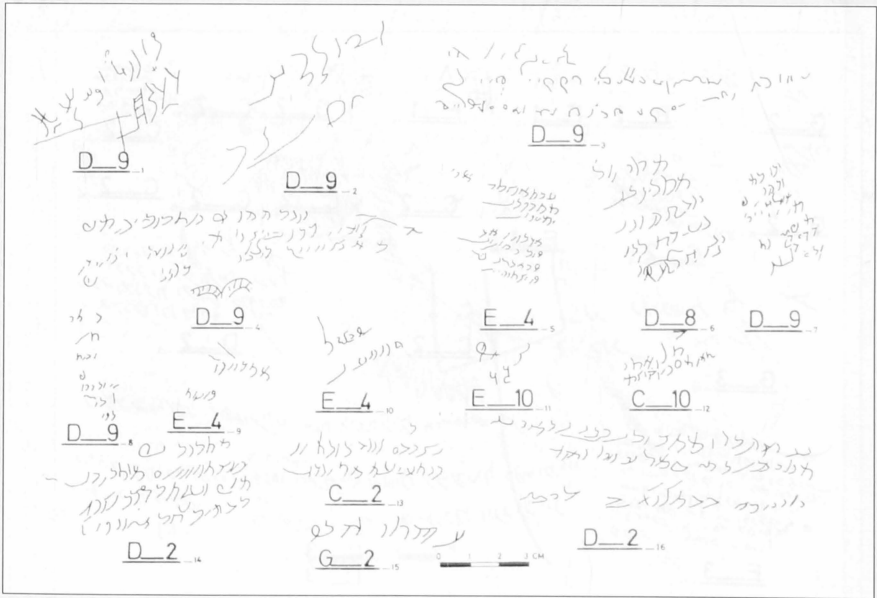*Fig. 5*
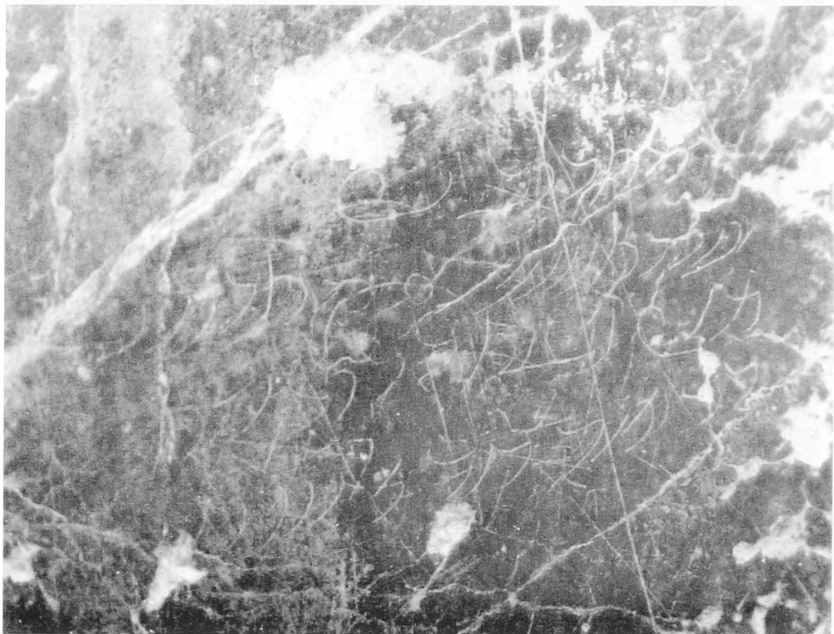
Fig. 6

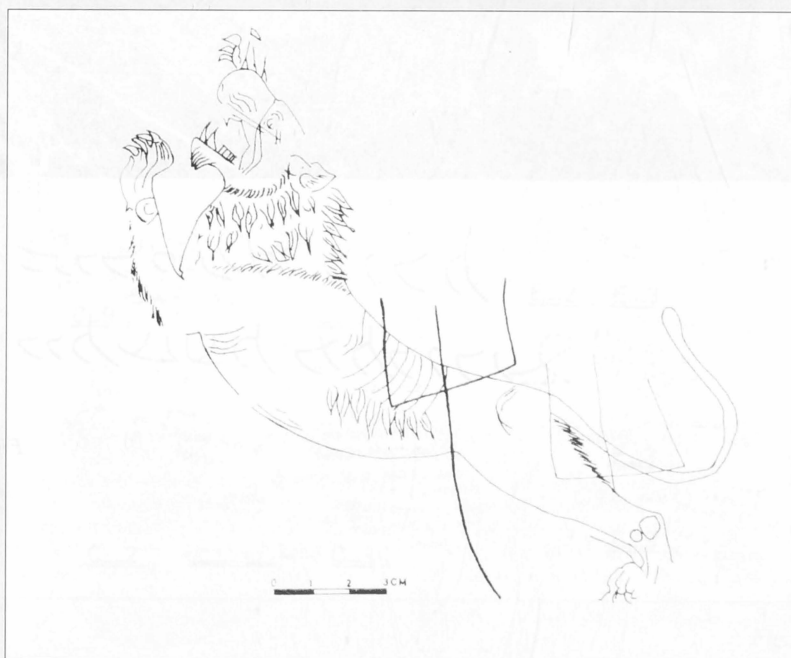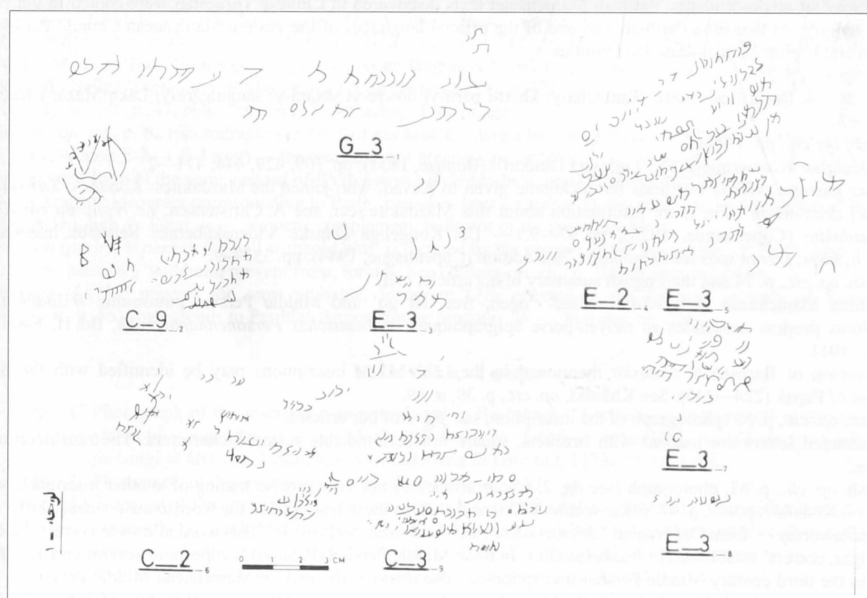*Fig. 7*

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

mountain], he stays in good order (lit. 'correct, right') and his head sound (?)") [16].

That they were proud of their profession is revealed in another one-line inscription [17]: *mtrybn W wyštywynyn MNW n'yt drwdšt thsyt | Mihrbān ud Wišādewēnēn kē nāyēd dru(w)dišt tuxsēd* | ("Mihrbān and Wišādewēnēn [if they] take anyone through, will strive to take him in good order") [18].

Those lads were probably taking pleasure making jokes and laughing at each other. For some reason they did not like Ardaxšīr's donkey, of which they twice informed the world — in a crudely scratched inscription and in another one, clearly carved upon a rock with a firm hand [19]: (1) *'rthštr* (2) *hwtwy pty* (3) *HMR 'yysyt* (4) *pty HMR MH* (5) *'nywš | Ardaxšīr xwadāw pad xar āyisēd pad xar čē aneyōš* | ("Lord Ardaxšīr comes upon a donkey, the donkey which is out of his mind (lit. 'which is mad')") [20].

The guides did not lack certain artistic abilities. Two of them carved on the rocks several images of lions [21]. Upon one of them they wrote [22]: (1) *šgrw ZNH kyrt* (2) *grt'z't (W) mtrybn | im šagru kird Girdāzād ud Mihrbān* | ("This lion has been made by Girdāzād and Mihrbān") [23].

Once three of the lads decided to improve their rock gallery by adding some images of bears [24]. Upon one of them they wrote [25]: (1) *hrsk ZNH kyrt* (2) *wyštyw(y)n W 'rthšt[r]* (3) *W MNW p(t)y ZNH hrsk* (4) *HMR 'KLw W š't [HMR?]* (5) *'KLw* (5) *wyštyw(y)n (L)[Hw prz]ryt | im xirsak kird Wišādewēn Mihrbān ud Ardaxšī[r] ud kē pad im xirsak mad wxard ud šād [mad?] wxard Wišādewēn* [26] *h[ō parzā]rēd* | ("This bear Wišādewēn, Mihrbān and Ardaxšīr have made. And [if] anyone have drank [27] wine upon this bear and drank [wine?] with joy, then Wišādewēn will [withho]ld [28] [him] [29] [from further libations]").

Such are the texts of the Parthian inscriptions on the rocks in the gorges of Lākh-Mazār, as far as it is possible to read them from photographs and tracings published in the report made by Iranian scholars. Unfortunately, these tracings do not allow to produce a reliable reading of a number of these inscriptions. Those, however, which can be read and interpreted, demonstrate the creative activities of the fifth century Parthian guides, whose simple jokes have been recorded on the rocks of Lākh-Mazār.

Notes

1. Rajab-'Alī Labbāf-i Khānīkī, Rasūl Bashshāsh, *Silsile-yi maqālāt-i pazhūhishī-yi mīrās-i farhangī-yi kishwar. 1. Sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār* (Bīrjand, 1373/1994).

2. Rajab-'Alī Labbāf-i Khānīkī, "Guzārish-i barrasī-yi sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār-i Bīrjand", in *Silsile-yi maqālāt*, pp. 22—3.

3. *Ibid.*

4. It is difficult to establish the exact number of Parthian inscriptions. Khānīkī (*ibid.*) mentions that there are more than 80 Parthian and Middle Persian inscriptions; however I could not find a single Middle Persian one among the photographs or tracings reproduced in the publication (pp. 40—3). There are photographs of six Parthian inscriptions and tracings of about forty. The tracings, however, are not precise and in most cases it is difficult to distinguish the borders between different Parthian inscriptions.

5. The Parthian language once widespread in Eastern Iran (Parthia, Margiana, Gyrcania) and Central Asia disappeared probably in the sixth century leaving no descendants. Parthian Manichaean texts discovered in Chinese Turkestan were copied in the eighth — first half of the tenth century. At that time Parthian was one of the official languages of the eastern Manichaean Church. Parthian texts were copied in Sogdian and Uighur Manichaean communities.

6. Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 40—4; Rasūl Bashshāsh, "Katībehā-yi khatt-i pārtī-yi dowre-yi sāsānī-yi sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār-i Kūch", *Silsile-yi maqālāt*, pp. 58—63.

8. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 73—4.

9. *Ioannis Malalae Xronographia*, rec. Ludovici Dindorfii (Bonnae, 1831), pp. 309, 429, 444, 471—2.

10. In another passage, Malala mentions the nickname given to Kavad, who joined the Mazdakites: *Kōadēs o Laristhenos* 'Kavad [from the sect of] *drist-dēnān*'. For more information about this Mazdakite sect, see A. Christensen, *Le règne du roi Kawād I et le communisme mazdakite* (Copenhague, 1925), pp. 97—9. — Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs historisk-filologiske Meddelelser, IX, 6; *idem*, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2me édition (Copenhague, 1944), pp. 337—9.

11. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 74 and the English summary of his article, p. II.

12. Cf. Parthian Manichaean verb *wišāh-*, *wišād-* 'open, free, let go' and Middle Persian patronymic *Wišādān* (*Wš't'n*), see Ph. Gignoux, "Noms propres sassanides en moyen-perse épigraphique", in *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Bd. II, Faszikel 2 (Wien, 1986), p. 184, No. 1011.

13. In the opinion of Bashshāsh, Ardaxšīr mentioned in the Lākh-Mazār inscriptions may be identified with the Sasanian king Ardaxšīr I, the son of Papak (224—240). See Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n. 69.

14. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 59 (photograph of the inscription; see *fig. 1* of our article).

15. Partly damaged letters are marked with brackets, square brackets indicate restored characters. The transliteration marks the division into lines.

16. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 63, photograph (see *fig. 2*, of our article). A not very precise tracing of another inscription with the same text (a "draft"?), cf. Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 41, plate, section D-2 (see *fig. 3*). In these inscriptions the word *drwdšt = dru(w)dišt* 'strong, right, correct' is most noteworthy — from Old Iranian **druv(a)-dišta-*, lit. 'well-built, well-made'. This word allows to correct the etymology of Persian *durust* 'right, correct' established in Iranian studies. In book Middle Persian (Pahlavi) it appears in several variants: *drust, druwist, (drwst, drwyst)*, in the third century Middle Persian inscriptions — also *druwist* (*drwdst*), in Manichaean Middle Persian — *drīst* (*dryst*), in Parthian Manichaean — *društ* (*drwšt*). See D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London, 1971), p. 28; Ph. Gignoux, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes* (London, 1972) p. 22. — Corpus inscriptionum iranicarum. Supplementary series, vol. I; H. S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, vol. II (Wiesbaden, 1974), p. 67; M. Boyce, "A word-list of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian", *Acta Iranica*, 9a (1977), p. 35. From the nineteenth century this word was traced back to Old Iranian **druvišta-*, superlative form of **druv(a)-* 'healthy, strong', see Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 67. Parthian *drwdšt | dru(w)dišt* in the Lākh-Mazār inscriptions allow to reconsider this interpretation: Persian *durust* and the Middle Persian and Parthian forms cited above derive from Old Iranian **druv(a)-dišta-* — from *druv(a)-* 'healthy, strong' and **dišta-* — perfect participle from the root **dis-, *dais-* 'form, build'. The word *drysyd | drisīd? |,*

judging by the context of the inscription, has a similar meaning — 'healthy, prosperous'. Its etymology is not clear to me. Bashshāsh (*op. cit.*, p. 63) reads *dry*'[*s*]*d* instead of *drysyd*, *prḥwyt* | *farxwēd* | instead of *sr ḤWYt*.

17. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 61 (photograph; see *fig. 4* of our article); Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 40, plate, section C-2 — D-2, the tracing is not precise (see *fig. 5* of our article).

18. The translation "...then they will take great care [to take him through]" is less likely. Bashshāsh (*op. cit.*, p. 61) suggested to read the final part of the inscription in the following way: *t/hx*[*syt drwdšt*...], however, there is no text after *t̲h̲syt* neither on the photograph nor in the tracing. It is the first time, as far as I can judge, that the present stem *tuxs-* 'be laborious, strive, work', appears in Parthian. In the published Manichaean Parthian texts this stem has the form *tuxš-*, the same is in the Middle- and New Persian (see MacKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 88; A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe* (Louvain, 1939), p. 48), Old Persian *ham-taxš-* 'be diligent, strive', Avest. *θwaxšah-* 'zeal', Old Indian *tvákṣas-* 'energy'. See W. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1964), p. 144; M. Mayrhofer, "Über Kontaminationen der indoiranischen Sippen von *al. takṣ-*, *twakṣ-*, **tvarš-*", *Indo-Iranica. Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 142—8.

19. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 58 (photograph; see *fig. 6* of our article); Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 40, plate, section C-2 — the tracing is not precise (see *fig. 5* of our article).

20. Bashshāsh for *ḤMR* takes the meaning 'wine'; 'wine' in Aramaic is *ḥámar*, 'donkey, ass' — *ḥemắr*, in writing these words are homographs. The verbal stem '*ysyt* | *āyisēd* is noteworthy for the presence in it of the Praes. stem *āyis-*, from Old Iranian **ā-isa-* (cf. Sogdian '*ys* | *āys, ēs*|), which, as demonstrated by Parthian Manichaean texts, in the dialect, which had formed the basis of the written Parthian, as early as the third century contracted into *ās-* (see Ghilain, *op. cit.*, p. 49, n. 10, p. 103; Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 15). Cf. also the skilful explanation of the structure of the place-name Khorasan in the poem *Wīs-u Rāmīn* by Fakhr al-Dīn Gūrgānī drawn by H. Humbach and Gh. Davary when analysing Parthian *ās-*: *Khushā jāyā bar(r)-u būm-i Khurāsān / Dar ō bāsh-u jahān-rā mēkhur āsān / Zabān-i pahlawī har k-ō shināsad / Khurāsān ān buwad ki-z-ōy khūr āsad / Khūr āsad pahlawī bāshad khūr āyad / 'Irāq-u Pārs-rā khūr z-ō barāyad / Khurāsān-rā buwad ma'nī khūr-āyān / Kujā az ōy khūr āyad sōy-i Ērān* ("O, how good is the land of Khorasan! / Live (lit. 'be') there and happily ('easily') enjoy peace. / He, who understands Pahlavi (= Parthian) language, / [he knows] that Khorasan [is the land] from which the sun comes. Pahlavi *khūr āsad* [means the same as Persian] *khūr āyad*. / To Iraq and Pars the sun comes from there. / The meaning of the word Khorasan — the coming sun, / the place whence from the sun comes to Iran"). See H. Humbach and Gh. Davary, "Der Name Khorasan", *Anjoman-e farhang-e Iran-e bastan, Bulletin. Anquetil Duperron Bicennary Memorial Volume*, XI / 2 (Tehran, 1973), pp. 8—9.

Noteworthy is also the word '*nywš* | *aneōš* | 'mad', its first part being privative prefix *ane-* (or *ani-* ?) for the first time attested in Parthian instead of the usual *an-* and *anā-* (cf. Parthian Manichaean *an-abyād* 'not-remembered, forgotten', *anā-sag* 'innumerable, countless'). See Boyce, *op. cit.*, pp. 11—2.

21. Khānīkī (*op. cit.*, pp. 17—8, 47 — tracing of the images) marks drawings of lions representing the appearance of these animals and their rage with much precision (cf. *fig. 7* of our article).

22. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 60 (photograph; see *fig. 8* of our article); Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 40, plate, section C-2 — not a very precise tracing of the inscription (cf. *fig. 5* of our article).

23. *šgrw* | *šagru* | 'lion' — an earlier form with final -*u*, than Parthian Manichaean *šagr*, Middle Persian *šagr* (> New Persian *šēr*). Cf. also Sogdian *šyrw, šrwy* | *šayru, šruy* |, Khorasmian *sary*, Khotano-Saka *sarau*. From Iranian *saryē* the word was apparently borrowed by Chinese — *suan-i* (Middle Chinese **swân-ngiei*, Old Chinese **swân-ngieg*). See W. B. Henning, "A grain of mustard", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. Sezione Linguistica*, VI (1965), p. 46. In Henning's opinion, Iranian languages in their turn borrowed the word for 'lion' from some South-East Asian language. H. W. Bailey suggested that this word continues an Old Iranian prototype. See H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 421.

24. Cf. Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 47, plate, section E-3 — tracing of the image.

25. Bashshāsh, *op. cit.*, p. 62 (photograph; see *fig. 9* of our article where a blown up fragment of the inscription is given); cf. Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 40, plate, section E-2 — E-3 (top) — the tracing is not precise (see *fig. 10*).

26. An abbreviated form of the name instead of *Wyštywynyn* | *Wišādewēnēn* usual for these inscriptions.

27. '*KLw* — Aramaic ideogram corresponding to Parth. *xwardan*, later *wxardan* 'to eat, consume, use' (attested in Parthian document *Avroman III* (53 A.D.), line 4). Final -*w* — phonetic complement, indicator of the past tense form.

28. Restoration [*prz*]*ryt* = *paržā*]*rēd* 'will withhold him' is dictated by the context of the inscription, cf. Parth. Manich. *prc'r* | *paržār* | 'prohibition', *prc'r-* | *paržār-* | 'withhold, prevent from, forbid'. See Ghilain, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

29. Restoration (*L*)[*Ḥw*] appears the most probable. Ideogram *LḤw* attested in the Parthian versions of Sasanian inscriptions (see Gignoux, *op. cit.*, p. 56) corresponds to Parthian demonstrative pronoun *hō* — 'this one, he, him'.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Photograph of the inscription as reproduced in Bashshash, "Katībehā-yi khatt-i pārtī-yi dowre-yi sāsānī-yi sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār-i Kūch", in *Silsile-yi maqālāt-i pazhūhishī-yi mīrās-i farhangī-yi kishwar. I. Sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār* (Bīrjand, 1373 / 1994), p. 59.

Fig. 2. Photograph of the inscription as reproduced in *ibid*, p 63.

Fig. 3. Tracings of the inscription as reproduced in Rajab-'Alī Labbāf-i Khānīkī, "Guzārish-i barrasī-yi sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār-i Bīrjand", in *Silsile-yi maqālāt-i pazhūhishī-yi mīrās-i farhangī-yi kishwar. I. Sangnigāre-yi Lākh-Mazār* (Bīrjand, 1373 / 1994), p. 41, the block above.

Fig. 4. Photograph of the inscription with tracings as reproduced in Bashshash, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Fig. 5. Tracings of the inscription as reproduced in Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 40, the block below.

Fig. 6. Photograph of the inscription as reproduced in Bashshash, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

Fig. 7. The drawing of the lion jumping, Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 47, tracing.

Fig. 8. Photograph of the inscription as reproduced in Bashshash, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

Fig. 9. Photograph of the inscription as reproduced in Bashshash, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Fig. 10. Tracings of the inscription as reproduced in Khānīkī, *op. cit.*, p. 40, the block above.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

Aftandil Erkinov

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE FORMER UZBEK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES INSTITUTE OF MANUSCRIPTS (1978—1998)*

The Hamid Suleymanov Institute of Manuscripts (Academy of Sciences, Republic of Uzbekistan) is a rather young institution. It was created in 1978 on the basis of the Uzbek State 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī Museum of Literature. This Museum, in turn, was founded in 1968 on the basis of a small museum of literature that had functioned under the Institute of Language and Literature (Academy of Sciences, Republic of Uzbekistan) since 1939. The manuscripts that had been gathered at this museum were later transferred to the collection of the Nawā'ī State Museum of Literature, which became one of the larger subdivisions of the collection at the Institute of Manuscripts after the latter's creation.

The founder of the first Institute of Manuscripts in Central Asia, and its first director, was Professor Hamid S. Suleymanov (1911—1979). After his death the Institute bore his name. From 1979 to 1998, when the Institute was closed, its director was Aziz Qayumov (b. 1926), a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan. From 1969—1998 the Museum, and later the Institute, which possessed numerous Eastern manuscripts, published a collection of materials and studies on the history of Uzbek literature, under the title *Adabiy meros* ("Literary Heritage"). 68 issues appeared in all.

The collection we review here owes much to its founder, H. Zaripov (1905—1972), the first director of the Nawā'ī Museum of Literature. Beginning in 1950, manuscripts were gathered by H. Muhammadjanov (1883—1964), Sh. Afzalov, and A. Vorotnikova. By the time the State 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī Museum was created in 1968, the collection contained 300 manuscripts. Until then, manuscripts had been gathered rather haphazardly. Later, the collection was expanded in a formal framework. After the Institute of Manuscripts was created in 1978 on the basis of the Museum, the manuscript collection had grown to more than 2,500 volumes.

According to Resolution No. 382 on the collection of written materials on culture and folk arts among the popula-

tion, issued on 30 August 1972 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and the Council of Ministers of the Uzbek SSR, manuscripts began to be gathered by purchasing them. Between 1972 and 1990, the Presidium of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences allotted 50,000 Soviet rubles annually for this purpose.

By 1982, the Institute's manuscript collection contained some 4,000 Arabic-script manuscripts written in Turkic (Chaghatay), Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and other languages. The collection of lithograph editions numbered some 5,000 volumes. At the time of the Institute of Manuscript's closure, its collection numbered 7,329 volumes in all. It also possessed a large number of photocopies and microfilms received from other manuscript repositories.

In addition to the collection of manuscripts and lithograph editions, the Institute had a separate collection of folklore produced by the peoples of Uzbekistan and neighboring Central Asian republics. There was also a special archive of writers, philologists and cultural figures from modern Uzbekistan. All of these collections served as the basis for text research.

After the closure of the Institute of Manuscripts in 1998, its exhibition became an independent institution, the Nawā'ī Museum of Literature. The departments and collections of the Institute were attached to three scholarly institutions in the Uzbek Academy of Sciences: the collection of manuscripts and lithograph editions was transferred to the Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies (henceforth cited as IOS); the folklore collection went to the 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī Institute of Language and Literature; and the archive of writers to the 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī Museum of Literature.

The collection transferred to IOS became Collection No. 3 (IOS3), while the main collection is now known as IOS1, and the collection containing doubles — as IOS2. The Institute of Manuscripts collection transferred to IOS, which numbered 7,329 manuscripts, has brought the total number of manuscripts at IOS to 25,954.

Archeographic expeditions organized between 1972 and 1998 contributed to the collecting of manuscripts for the Institute of Manuscripts. The participants of the expeditions were H. Suleymanov, R. Majidi, H. Rasul, M. Qodirova, M. Hakimov, B. Hasanov, Q. Sodiqov, S. Hasanov, R. Holiqov (1946—1983), J. Tursunov, B. Qosimkhonoiv, A. Shokirov (1935—1994), and many others. The manuscripts were collected in Uzbekistan, Southern Kazakhstan (mainly the Chimkent region), Kirghizia (the Osh region), Turkmenistan (regions bordering on Uzbekistan). Beginning in 1980, the Republic newspapers *Pravda Vostoka* (The Truth of the East) and *Sovet Uzbekistoni* (The Soviet Uzbekistan) featured announcements from the Institute on the purchase of manuscripts from the population. People sent letters to the Institute and described the manuscripts they owned or brought them directly to the Institute for sale. Expeditions visited known addresses and lists were compiled and sent to Tashkent. The Institute had an expert evaluation committee that consisted of four scholars; they evaluated the manuscripts that were brought in and determined the sums to be paid to their owners.

Specialists who worked in different regions of Uzbekistan — scholars, teachers, and intellectuals — collected the addresses of manuscript owners and transmitted the information to the Institute, too. Some of the expeditions departed for the addresses that became known to them, targeting manuscript owners. Among the regional coordinators in Kokand we find such specialists on manuscripts as A. Madaminov, S. Yuldoshev, S. Sotvoldiev (1948—1998), and A. Turdaliev, who did much to find manuscripts and their owners in the Fergana Valley.

To this day, manuscripts in Uzbekistan are found in old trunks or extracted from walls where they were hidden during Stalinist repressions. Storage in such conditions naturally affected the manuscripts — many of them are badly damaged or even ruined. When collecting manuscripts, the Institute's staff was reluctant to purchase defective copies. Moreover, works already represented by several copies were rarely acquired unless they were of outstanding artistic merit.

One should note that the thematic content of manuscripts played some role in their purchase. Before the creation of the Institute of Manuscripts, the Museum acquired mainly fictional or historical works. The artistic merits of a copy were often of decisive importance. After the Institute of Manuscripts was created in 1978, the thematic content and artistic value of manuscripts were no longer primary criteria in their acquisition for the collection. When collecting complete manuscripts from the population of Uzbekistan, the aim was to acquire as quickly as possible all worthy manuscripts. As a result, the basic repertoire of works common in Central Asia between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries grew rapidly. In its present form, the collection enables us to study the reading habits, interests and aesthetic tastes of peoples in the region during this period.

To compare, the method of manuscript collecting for the Institute of Manuscripts was different from that for IOS. The latter was an old institution (it was created as the Institute of Eastern Manuscripts in 1943; after 1950, the

Uzbek Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), and its collection was augmented with the palace libraries of the Khivan and Bukharan Khanates and various large personal libraries of Eastern bibliophiles. In 1943, IOS received from Khiva the library of the Khivan khans, some 1,000 manuscripts, from the personal collection of the Bukharan *qāḍī kalān* Ṣadr-i Ḍiyā' (1867—1932) 282 manuscripts, etc.

The staff of the Institute of Manuscripts, however, were compelled to collect manuscripts almost one at a time. Of course, there were cases when the collection absorbed books from personal libraries. For example, the Uzbek poet Gulshanī (1895—1978), who wrote poetry in Arabic script, gave the Institute fifteen Arabic-script manuscripts from his personal collection, including manuscripts of his own composition and his scholarly commentaries on various works. But such cases of acquiring entire collections were rarities for the Institute of Manuscripts.

One should note that it was a bad luck that in the mid-1980s an anti-religious campaign gained force in Uzbekistan under the direction of the Secretary for Ideology of the Central Committee of the Uzbek SSR, Rano Abdullaev: religious artifacts were liquidated, although the Institute's collection as a whole continued to be enriched with new copies.

The manuscripts in the Institute's collection are from various dates. For example, the collection holds one of the earliest copies of the *Badā' al-bidāya* (IOS3, 216) by the famous Chaghatay poet 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (1441—1501), copied during the poet's lifetime by the famed calligrapher 'Alī b. Nūr. On the other hand, there is also one of the latest copies of Nawā'ī's *Maḥbūb al-qulūb* (IOS3, 1530), copied in 1936 in the city of Khwarezm (today Khoresm) by Mīrkhān Khudāy birgān dīwān. The collection possesses an early copy of the Persian version of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* (IOS3, 1643), copied in 1323 in Baghdad. The youngest manuscript in the collection is a copy dated by August 1, 1965. This is also the date of the work's creation (with no title; IOS3, 1496). The author and copyist was Fano Khajiev from the city of Khwarezm. The work describes historical events that took place in Khwarezm in the first quarter of the twentieth century under the last khans of Khiva during the early years of Soviet rule in the region. Among the riches of the Institute's manuscripts one can also find numerous collections of *qiṣṣa* stories appealing to the Uzbek people even today. There are also lyrical works, collections of poets, and *tadhkira*s.

There exists a scholarly survey of the manuscript collection at the Nawā'ī Museum of Literature; it was drawn up by H. Rasul (1911—1991) and I. Rajabov. The systematic scholarly description of manuscripts began in 1979. The general scholarly description is accompanied by the description of works by individual poets. We can mention, for example, the catalogue of M. Hakimov, *Navoiy asarlari qulyozmalarining tavsifi* ("Description of Manuscript Works by Nawā'ī"). Later, in 1988—1989, a two-volume *Katalog fonda Instituta Rukopiseĭ* ("Catalogue of the Collection of the Institute of Manuscripts") was published; it contained descriptions of 1,000 works in Turkic (vol. I) and 900 in Persian (vol. II). Unfortunately, three more vol-

umes of descriptions remained unpublished. Those from the Institute's staff who took part in the description of the collection were A. Kayumov, G. Ahrarova, E. Ahmadkhujaev, I. Bekjanov, F. Ghanikhujaev, S. Haydarova, M. Hamidova, B. Hasanov, M. Inaghamkhujaeva, H. Islamov, M. Hayrullaeva, Kh. Mukhtarova, M. Rahmatullaeva, G. Raimova, S. Razhoi, R. Kobulova, I. Shamsimuhammedov, S. Shukrullaev, Sh. Vohidov, and others. Although only two volumes appeared and three remained unpublished, the five-volume work and their compilers were recognized in 1999 — after the closure of the Institute of Manuscripts — with an award from the International Charitable Foundation of Kuwait.

The manuscript collection at the Institute of Manuscripts provide rich material for studying the reading preferences, aesthetic tastes, and biblio-psychological profile of Central Asia in the fifteenth — twentieth centuries. The manuscripts are awaiting their researchers whose interests focus on the history and literature of Central Asia.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

E. A. Rezvan

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL FABERGÉ. III: BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS AND PORTRAITS (PART 2)

Before moving to the subject of this article, I would like to return to my "Oriental manuscripts of Karl Fabergé. II: *rāgamālā* miniatures of the Album (*muraqqa'*) (part two)", published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VII/3, September 2001, pp. 39—45. I noted there (p. 41) that one of the miniatures in the Album (*Plate 4*) is evidently also part of a *rāgamālā* series. I was, however, unable to identify it. I am sincerely grateful to Prof. R. W. Skelton for commenting on my conclusion. I quote here from a letter I received from him after the publication of my article:

> "You are right that this appears to refer to a Ragini, namely Jogi Asavari, which is presumably a mixed Raga found in the Deccan. In his index, Ebeling (p. 302) has 'Joga, Asavari' which he cites as being in Ragamalas 70 and 71 described on pp. 194—5, though in his descriptions for those two sets he mentions 'Asavari' only and does not illustrate their iconography or say whether they are really inscribed as 'Jog (or Jogi) Asavari'. It would require a thorough search of the literature on Ragas to determine the truth of this — so far I have only consulted books by Waldschmidt and Kauffman without finding Jogi (or Yogi) Asavari. Certainly your plates 1, 3 & 4 are all in 18th century Deccani (probably Hyderabadi) style as are Ebeling's Ragamalas 70 & 71. I have a theory about these 18th century Hyderabadi sets that the iconography was almost certainly introduced from the North (eg. sets from Delhi or Awadh) but that the Hyderabadi painters may not have had a full set of examples to follow. They obviously knew the names of the Ragas and Raginis followed in the North Indian plains and presumably made guesses about the subject matter of drawings (cartoons) found in their portfolios, which were copied and substituted for the missing compositions. In at least one of the sets published by O. C. Gangoly, Persian inscriptions describing the paintings were added and then translated for him in the belief that they were genuine Raga dhyanas".

We now turn to the subject at hand. Karl Fabergé's collection of Eastern manuscripts includes a copy of yet another biographical work held in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection of Eastern manuscripts (call number C 1684) [1]. This work, entitled *Manāqib-i Murtazawī*, treats the life and virtues (*al-*

manāqib) of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. It was written by Amīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī al-Tirmidhī who bore literary pseudonyms (*takhallus*) Kashfī, Subḥānī, and Sujān (d. 1650 or 1651). A poet, literary figure and calligrapher, he occupied high posts in the court of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (1592—1666; r. 1628—1657). In 1646, he was appointed keeper (*dāragāh*) of the court library. Amīr Muḥammad hailed from the lineage that gave the Muslim world Shaykh Ni'matallāh Walī, the famed poet renowned for his piety. As the son of a noted calligrapher and poet, Mīr 'Abdallāh Tirmidhī, who bore the *takhallus* Waṣfī and was also known as Mushkīn Qalam (d. 1616), Amīr Muḥammad was distinguished by his fine hand, and especially his beautiful *nasta 'līq*.

Both of the main works by Kashfī that have come down to us deal with the early history of Islam and the biographies of noted figures from that period. *Manāqib-i Murtazawī* [2] is a Shī'ī and Ṣūfī interpretation of the life of 'Alī. His another unfinished work, written in prose and poetry, *I'jāz-i Muṣṭafawī*, details the biographies of the Prophet, the "Rightly-guided" caliphs, and the early *imām*s. The parallel titles, common sources, and similar approach to the material reveals a single conception behind both works.

Manāqib-i Murtazawī consists of 12 chapters and testifies to the author's outstanding knowledge of the sources on the early history of Islam that were most widespread in India during his time. It also displays his close familiarity with the works of such renowned poets as 'Aṭṭār, Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, Khwāja Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz, Khwāja Mu'in al-Dīn Chishtī, Sana'ī, Niẓāmī, and, of course, his glorious ancestor, Ni'matallāh Walī, as well as many other Ṣūfī poets [3].

Manuscript C 1684 in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies was copied in Indian ink in a lovely *shikasta-nasta 'līq* and *naskh* on glossy crème-coloured paper of Eastern origin. It contains 127 folios. The folio dimensions are 17.2×27.6 cm; 15 lines. The text is enclosed in a blue-black-gold border; text dimensions are 11.5×21.8 cm. Red ink was used for chapter (*bāb*) divisions and smaller divisions. A number of proper names and quotes are highlighted with red dotted overlines. Quotes in Arabic are copied in *naskh*. The *ḥāfiz* — pagination "holders" — consist of the first word on the next page and are placed in the lower left corner of each even page.

The manuscript is a fragment of the work. Of the 12 chapters, we find the end of chapter five, chapter six (beginning on fol. 5a), chapter seven (beginning on fol. 12a), chapter eight (beginning on fol. 50b), chapter nine (beginning on fol. 107b). One should indicate a lacunae after fol. 3. To make the fragment more presentable, it was camouflaged as a whole manuscript. To this end, the *'unwān* to one of the poems in the manuscript (fol. 1b—3a) was presented as the *'unwān* to the entire work, and fol. 1a was effaced (*fig. 1*). Thanks to the outstanding work of the Russian Academy of Sciences Laboratory for the Conservation and Restoration of Documents (henceforth LCRD) in St. Petersburg, headed by Dmitriy Erastov [4], it became possible to read the text [5], which was almost entirely obliterated. *Fig. 2* shows the results of the LCRD's work.

The manuscript is richly illuminated. As was mentioned above, fol. 1b is decorated with a colour *'unwān* (*Plate 1*). Folios 13b, 40 and 95a contain colour miniatures that illustrate the text. Each of the miniatures presents *imām* 'Alī: fol. 13b (*Plate 2*) contains a miniature "*Dīwān* of 'Alī" (10. 7 × 16.2 cm). Fol. 40b (*Plate 3*) has a miniature "'Alī and the petitioner" (10.7 × 16.0 cm), and the miniature "'Alī on the march" (10.7 × 17.2 cm) on fol. 95a (*Plate 4*) illustrates the story of one of the *imām*'s campaigns.

The manuscript is held in a lovely leather binding of Eastern manufacture. The outer covers (*fig. 5*) are made of green-brown leather and embossed in gold: three vertical medallions in the centre and four decorative "corners". The inner sides of the binding are made of red-brown leather. Around the perimeter we find traces of a border in gold and an ornament. Both the manuscript and its binding could be dated by the first half of the eighteenth century.

Continuing our description of the miniature portraits in the Album from the Fabergé collection, we turn to two miniatures that depict concrete historical figures. The miniature from our collection (fol. 1b, see *fig. 4*) contains two sketches (or copies of fragments) for a later portrait of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb (1618—1707; r. 1658—1707) reading the Qur'ān. This common image of a pious emperor (see, for example, *fig. 3*, a tracing of a miniature from the collection of the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art) [6] was possibly selected by Awrangzīb himself as best reflecting the essence of his rule, which was characterised by idealism in carrying out the tasks of state, a pronounced orientation toward Islamic values, a disturbance in the delicate balance between various ethnic and confessional groups in the Mughal state, and the breakdown of economic, financial, and administrative mechanisms and rising corruption.

The miniatures (5.9 × 7.8 cm — upper miniature; 5.8 × 8.3 cm — lower miniature) rest in a complex yellow-green border adorned in gold (17.0 × 33.0 cm). The middle part of the border contains a Persian inscription in large-scale *nasta'līq*, groups of words are separated by areas of gold pigment decorated with a floral motif (*tarsī' wa taḥrīr*). The margins display a dark-blue background with large flowers in delicate gold.

The Persian text around the perimeter:

بحرمت سيّد المرسلين صلعم
در قلت سخاوت
درقدرت عفو تقصيرات
الهى مرا توفيق رفيق ده
در شهوت عفت

در دولت تواضع
شش امر در انسان لازم

"In the name of grandeur of the leader of the prophets — may Allah bless him and greet — in insufficient generosity, in the strength of forgiving sins — oh, Allah, give me a companion for help — in passion toward chastity, in wealth of humility, there should be six commands in a person".

The reverse of the folio (*fig. 6*) contains a calligraphy sample (*qit'a*): five diagonal lines in Arabic (large-scale *nasta'līq*) written into a central rectangle (7.3 × 13.7 cm) in a complex border (16.0 × 22.6 cm). The outer part of the border contains texts in Persian (*nasta'līq*). The groups of words, as on the reverse, are enclosed in a thin black line (*tarsī' wa taḥrīr*). The gold background bears a gold ornament of small blue, red and pink flowers identical to that on the reverse side. The margins display a green background with medium-size leaves in delicate gold.

The Arabic text in the central cartouche:

هو المعز
على حبة الجنة
قسيم النار و الجنة
وصيّ مصطفى حقا
امام الانس و الجنة

"He is the one who loves by the love of paradise, distributing the fire [of hell] and paradise [among people], who bequeathed to Muṣṭafā in truth, leader of the people and the spirits (*jinns*)".

The calligrapher's signature is in the lower left corner:

العبد جعفر نبيره معجز قلم

"Slave Ja'far, grandson of Mu'jaz Qalam (Miracle Qalam)".

The upper line of the perimeter seems to present text in Urdu (?), which I was unable to translate now. The Persian texts are as follows:

يا محمود
شده آسمان از رهن کينه جو
با وحيد
خود شناسى سرمايه بررگ دان
يا موجود
زبالا و پائين و وصف روبرو
يا احد
من امشب برايشان شبيخون کنم ز خون دشت را همچو
جيحون کنم
يا واحد
رويت همه سال لاله کون
يا حميد
ترا هر جاهل اعتقاد مکن
يا مجيد
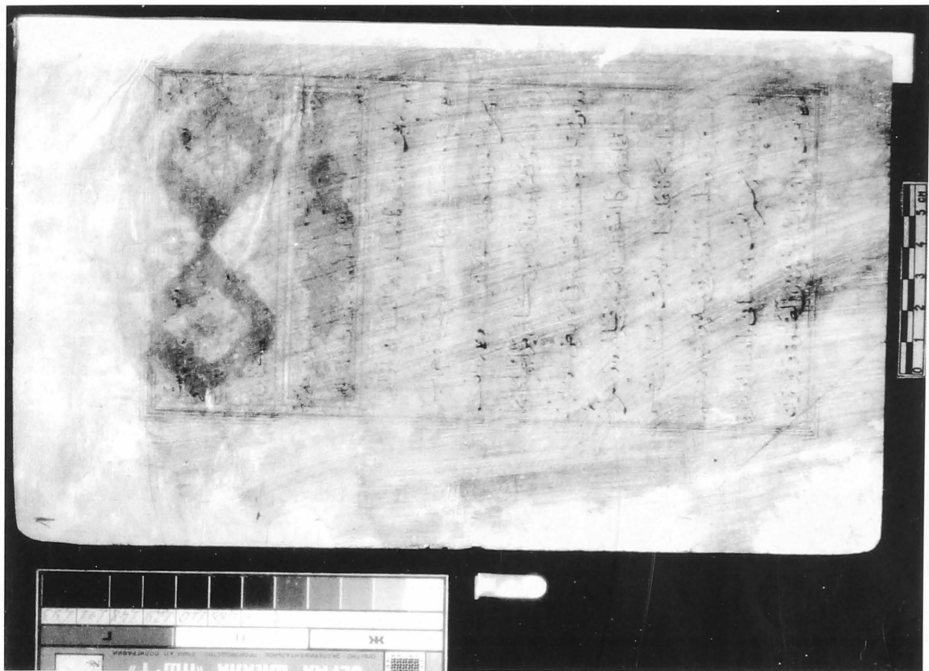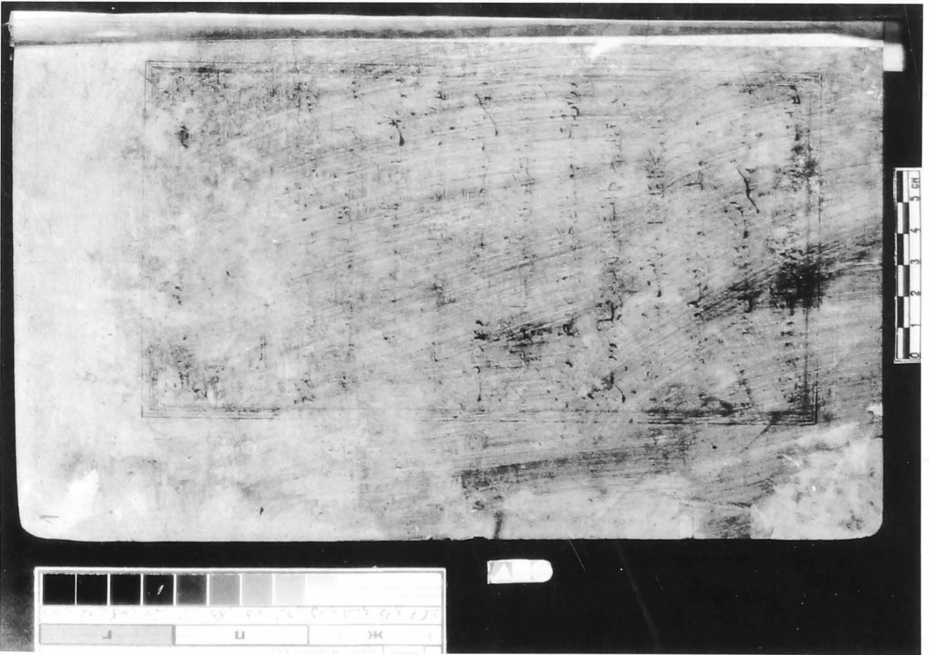حسن تو هميشه در افزون باد
يا احمد
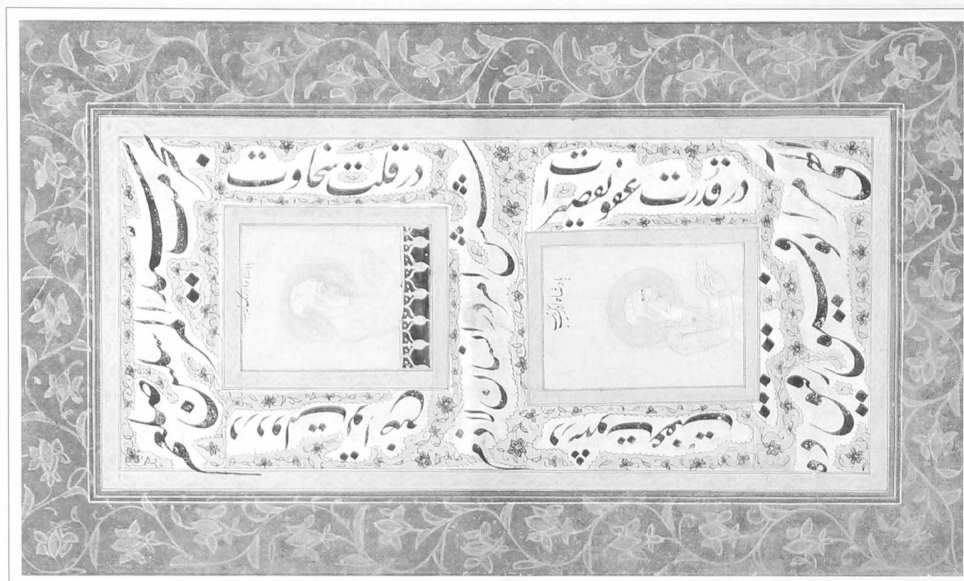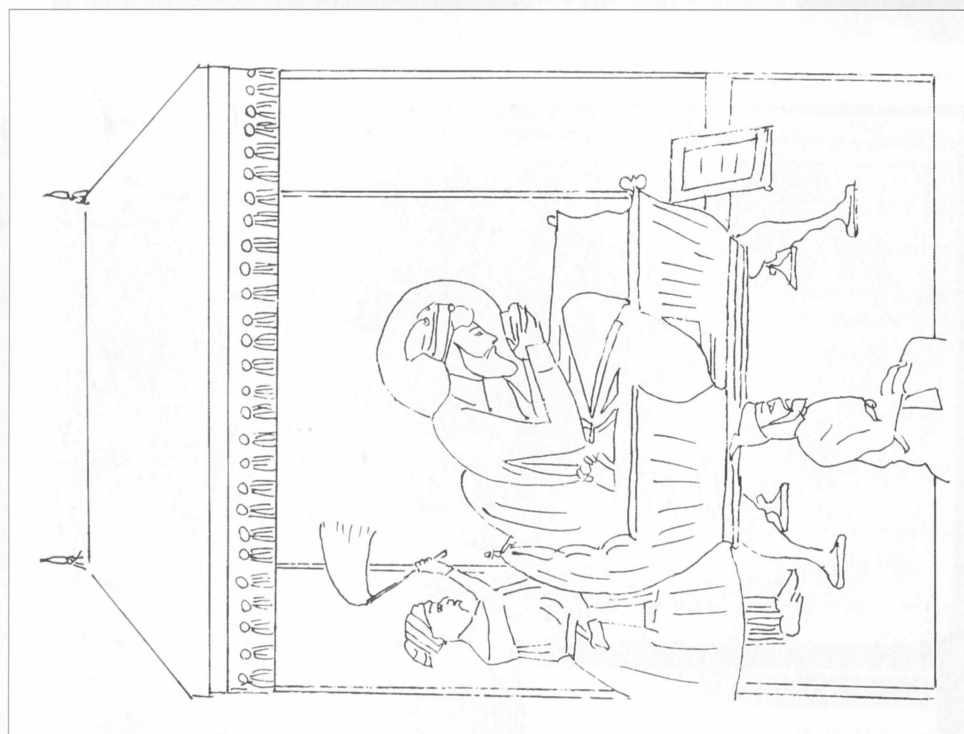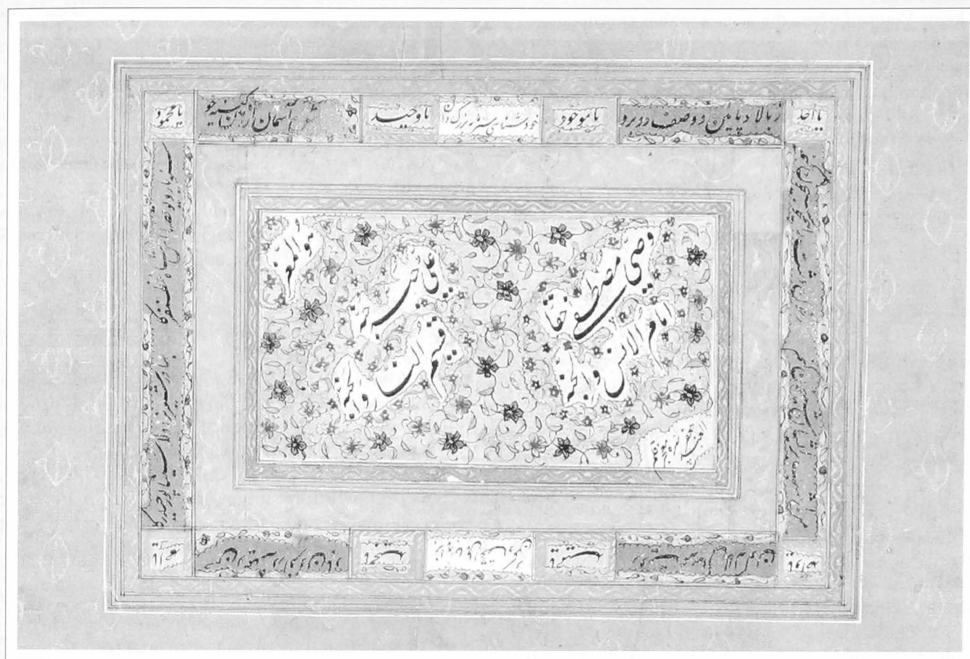
Fig. 2

Fig. 1

Fig. 4
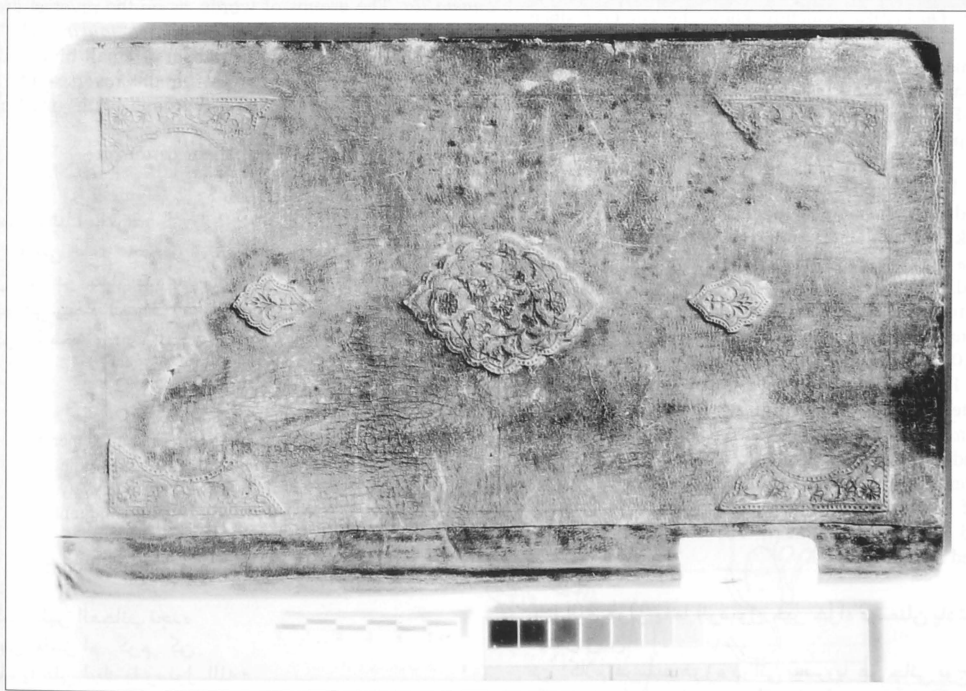

Fig. 3

Fig. 6

Fig. 5

"Oh, Glorious One!
The heavens have become vengeful from the pledge.
Oh, Single One!
You know Yourself where the great wealth is stored.
Oh, Existing One!
Above and below — antipodes face to face.
Oh, Single One, Only One!
I shall tonight slaughter them — from [an abundance] of
      blood the steppe will be like the Amu Darya.
Oh, Single One!
Your visage is all year like a tulip.
Oh, Highest-praised, Most-praiseworthy!
Do not trust every ascetic ignoramus.
Oh, Glorious One!
May Your beauty always grow greater!
O most Glorious One!"

Fol. 6a (see front cover of the present issue) shows the popular image of the Mullā Du-Piyāza, famed for his wit and resourcefulness. According to tradition, the second Mughal emperor, Humāyūn (1508—1566; r. 1530—1566) [7], forced in 1544 to request the hospitality of the famed Ṣafawīd Shah Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524—1576), "borrowed" from the latter a group of intellectuals and artists who founded the Mughal miniature school. Among them was an intelligent and eccentric Arab who became one of the stars of the court under Humāyūn's son Akbar, the greatest Mughal emperor (1542—1605). Mullā Du-Piyāza (his real name remains unknown; his sobriquet means "two onions" and refers to his acerbic wit), together with the noted wag Bīrbal from Jaipur and the renowned poet Fayẓī (1547—1595/6), was part of the emperor's intellectual circle; Du-Piyāza evidently knew the emperor since childhood.

The image of a witty and resourceful advocate of truth was well-known in the Muslim East. In Iran, in addition to Mullā Du-Piyāza, he was embodied by Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn, the most popular such figure [8], Shaykh Buhlūl, Mullā Mushfiqī; in Arab lands it was Sī Juḥa; in Turkey — Nasreddin Hoca; in Muslim India — the above-mentioned Bīrbal; and in Malaysia and Indonesia — Pak Pandir and Pak Kadok. The Italian Bertoldo perhaps belongs to this category, a possible example of Islamic cultural influence on the Mediterranean [9].

The miniature (15.0×23.0 cm, inside the frame) rests in a complex yellow-green border adorned in gold (20.0×28.0 cm). The middle, and widest, part of the border contains a Persian inscription in *nasta'līq*, groups of words are separated by areas of gold pigment decorated with a floral motif (*tarsī' wa taḥrīr*). The margins display a dark-blue background with large flowers in delicate gold.

The Persian text written around the perimeter presents maxims of Mullā Du-Piyāza some of which we can hardly understand without the context. The calligrapher several times added meaningless ال.

[ال] الله خوان يغما الرسول خير خواه دشمنان پادشاه
كاهل زبان
من كلام هرسبد هرزه درائى بيسرويا هر جائى پوچ
كوئى غوغائى مجتهد معر كه رسوائى
مبارز ميدان لطيفه كوئى كو كناريان را
خميازه اخوند ملا دوپيازه عليه الثر والعز [ال] بى حيثيت درپى

سفارش نويساندن
الوزير تير نشانه بيجاگير ال زن وفادار بدشكل به از
پرى صفت بيوفا
[ال] [...]
دشنام [ال] خويش مفلس در پهلو خار الفرج خدا بخانه امائى

"Allah is a banquet served to all; the Messenger is a well-wisher [for] enemies, but the *pādishāh* is careless with his words.
From [his] words: empty basket that can speak; a wanderer where they speak haughtily; a *mujtahid* on the field of dishonour; a fighter on the battlefield of wit; amid the opium-smokers [...] [10].
Dreams of the *akhūnd mullā* Du-Piyāza — glory and honour unto him — the infirm hand will write only following the order.
The *wazīr* is an arrow [that...?]. Faithful, [but] ugly, woman, better than unfaithful, but as beautiful [in qualities] as a *peri*. Unfaithful [woman] is fifty curses. [...?] is near the thistles. The joy of Allah into the home of a hope".

The original satiric miniature that gave rise to an entire series of imitations (see the tracing of a miniature from the collection of the Berlin Museum of Islamic Art, *fig. 7*) is generally ascribed to Farrukh Beg [11].

The reverse of the folio (*fig. 8*) contains a calligraphy sample (*qiṭ'a*): seven diagonal lines in large-scale *nasta'līq* written into a central rectangle (8.5×15.3 cm) in a complex border (20.0×27.0 cm). The central part of the latter also contains a Persian text in even larger *nasta'līq*. The groups of words, as on the reverse, are enclosed in a thin black line (*tarsī' wa taḥrīr*). The gold background bears a gold ornament of small blue, red and pink flowers identical to that on the reverse side. The margins display a green background with middle-size leaves in delicate gold.

The Persian text in the central cartouche:

هو
الهى مرا بيشك مغفرت   كن
جعفر عاصى است عاصى را رحمت لازم است
مراعزت در دو جهان بده بده و بده
گر خواهى بده و نخواهى هم بده
بده خواه] مخواه بده و بده

"He.
Oh, Allah! Without doubt forgive me!
Ja'far is a sinner. A sinner must be granted mercy.
Grant me greatness in both worlds, grant, grant,
if you wish, grant, if you do not, grant anyway.
Whether you wish or do not, grant, grant, grant!"

The Persian text written around the perimeter:

ناد عليا مظهر العجائب تجده
آلهى من عاجز ام كرم كن
بولاتيك يا على لبيك يا رسول الله
آلهى مرا حرمت آخرت بده
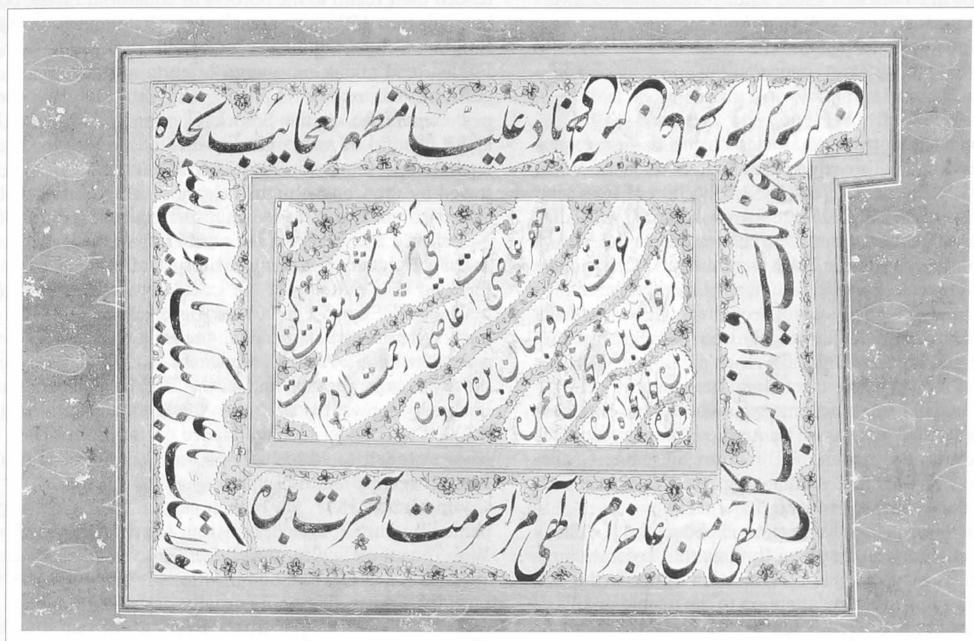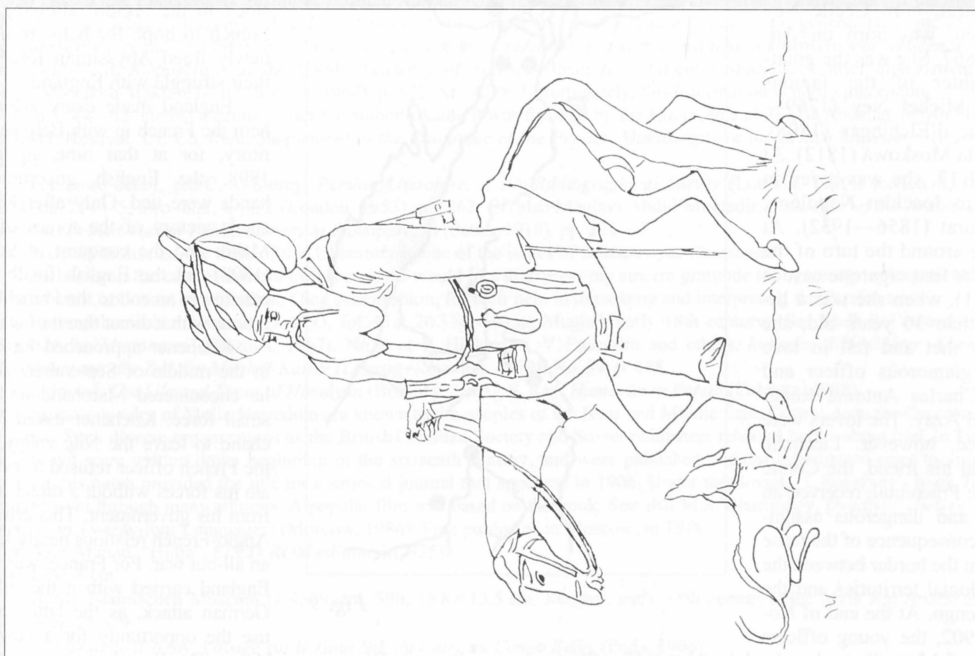آلهى من عاجز ام
عونالك فى النوائب كل

Fig. 8

Fig. 7

"The prayer of ʿAlī is the manifestation of wonders.
Oh, Allah! I am infirm. Bless me with Thy bounty!
With thy sanctity, oh ʿAlī! I am here, before You, oh
messenger of Allah!
Oh, Allah! Grant me eternal life!
Oh, Allah! I am weak.
He is your helper in all misfortunes.
Give me the dew of forgiveness!"

Readers of this series of articles on the Eastern manuscripts of Fabergé will recall the romantic tale mentioned in the first article. In the early 1960s, a collection of exquisite, enamel-encrusted gold cigarette cases adorned with diamonds, sapphires, and rubies was bequeathed to the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris. They were the gift of an elderly man. Nearly every cigarette case bears a strange Arabic inscription. Many of them were decorated with ornaments based on Islamic art traditions. Only later did it emerge that this was a gift received by the French intelligence officer Luzarche d'Azay, whose work was connected with the Near East and Africa, a testimony of the French Princess Cécile Murat's love for him. The Arabic letters on the cigarette cases are easily combined to form the name Cécile. The series was apparently created in the early twentieth century in the workshops of Karl Fabergé.

The manuscripts I treat here appeared in the jeweller's collection at virtually the same time as this order was received, which may indicate a connection between the two events. All of this drew my attention to the people involved. My Parisian friend and colleague Dr. Mondher Sfar recently supplied me with some additional information about them. Princess Cécile Murat, born Cécile Ney d'Elchingen, was born on August 28, 1867. She was the great-granddaughter of the famous Maréchal Michel Ney (1769—1815), Duc d'Elchingen (1808), Prince de la Moskowa (1812). At the age of 17, she was given in marriage to Joachim Napoléon, Prince Murat (1856—1932). At some time around the turn of the century (the first cigarette case is dated 1901), when she was a little more than 30 years old, she apparently met and fell in love with the glamorous officer and Marquis Charles Antoine Roger Luzarche d'Azay. The lovers were soon parted, however. Luzarche d'Azay and his friend, the Comte Armand de Pracomtal, received an important and dangerous assignment as a consequence of the tense situation on the border between the French colonial territories and the Belgian Congo. At the end of November, 1902, the young officers sailed out of Marseille and arrived in Alexandria, then in Cairo. Moving down the Nile to the Belgian-controlled lands, they surveyed a triangle, the apex of which was Gondokoro and the base formed by Mechra-er-Rek and Nasser.

It should be noted that in those time not satisfied with the vast territory annexed to the Congo at France's expense, the Belgians of the Independent Kingdom dreamed of extended their realm to the borders of equatorial Egypt. At the beginning of 1893, they reached the Nile and founded the Belgian Congo region. Securing an agreement with the English and taking advantage of certain geographic ambiguities in the treaty of April 29, 1887, the Belgians continued to impinge on the French Congo. In 1891, Leothard and a handful of marksmen were able to return the French territories to the north of the fourth parallel. This was followed by the Congo-English treaty of May 12, 1894. In it, Great Britain leased to Belgium the entire left bank of the Nile from Lake Albert to the northern part of Fashoda, giving the Belgians Egyptian territory that did not belong to England and cutting off all contact between the French realms and Egypt. France and Germany protested strenuously. Alarmed by the scandal, the Belgians decided to sign a treaty with the French (August 14, 1894). The linkage of the Nile and the question of the Belgian annexation undoubtedly shows that even then the French government had decided to conduct reconnaissance on this river. They may have intended to raise before Europe the question of the English occupation of Egypt.

In March, 1897, the French captain Marchand, accompanied by only 150 men, left from Brazzaville for Ubangi. With great difficulty the French traversed 500 km of swamps, reaching Fashoda on the Nile (July 12, 1898) to raise the French flag on a partially destroyed Egyptian fortress. Beating off an attack by 1,200 dervishes, they cleared the area they had won. The Italian defeat in Abyssinia raised France's stock in the region, allowing the French to hope for help from the newly freed Abyssinian forces in their struggle with England.

England made every effort to hem the French in with Belgian territory, for at that time, up until 1898, the English government's hands were tied. Only after Kitchener's victory of the forces of the Mahdi and the conquest of Sudan (1898) did the English finally decide to put an end to the French ambitions with a direct threat of war.

Kitchener approached Fashoda in the middle of September. There he encountered Marchand and his small force. Kitchener asked Marchand to leave the Nile valley, but the French officer refused to evacuate his forces without a direct order from his government. This crisis in Anglo-French relations nearly led to an all-out war. For France, war with England carried with it the risk of German attack, as the latter could use the opportunity for a new assault on its Western neighbour. The French government capitulated. London and Paris soon reached an accord on the division of Africa. France found itself entirely cut off from the Nile basin, receiving some compensation in return. The border
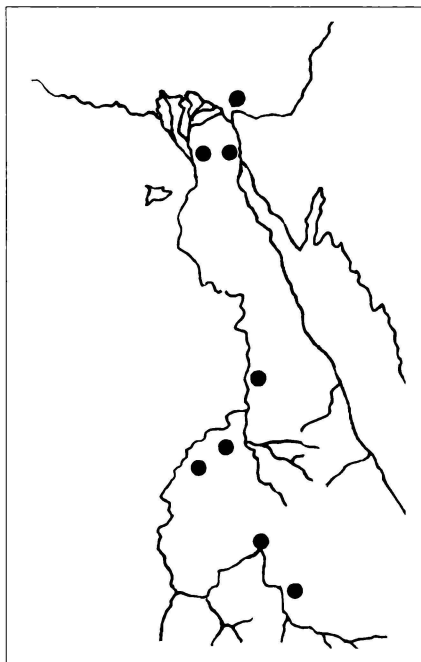

Fig. 9

was set down in the main along the watersheds of Lake Chad, the Congo, and the Nile. For giving up the Nile river basin, France received Lake Chad and the previously contested Vadai region.

The preceding demonstrates the complex and delicate nature of the mission that the French officers undertook. Upon his return, Luzarche d'Azay published a book on his journey [12]. His beloved gave him a cigarette case that bore her name in Arabic letters and a map of the expedition (see *fig. 9*) — the Nile Valley in three shades of gold. Eight places on it were marked by precious stones (rubies, sapphires, emeralds, diamonds) [13].

Another cigarette case, given as a gift to Luzarche d'Azay on January 1, 1905, contains the entire service career of a French officer who fought in all the major colonial campaigns and battles of the First World War. The list ends with snowy Murmansk in Russia. The French disembarked there in the early spring of 1918. The dates coincide: this was when Fabergé was compelled to leave Petersburg and relocate to Riga. The following inscriptions were made on the gold surface significantly later than 1905:

> "4e Houzard, 1er Chasseur d'Afrique, 1er Senegalais, 32e Dragons, 10 Dsion d'Infac". "22e Dragons /1894/, Afrique /1895/, Madagascar /1908/ Maroc /1914—1918/ Argonne / Vauquois / Verdun / Avocourt / La Somme / Bouchavesnes / St. Pierre Vast / L'Aisne / Roucy / Craonne / Route 44 / Italie / Mourmansk / Spa" [14].

The gap between 1895 and 1908 is apparently connected with Luzarche d'Azay's role in the dispute over the territories at the base of the Nile.

Each of these cigarette cases was linked in some way to important events in the life of Princess Cécile and Luzarche d'Azay. We find there a chronicle of their relationship. One of the cases, bears the imprint of a man and women walking in a forest and their carriage (with a monogram inside: May 21, 1901 — the first meeting?) [15]; the other with a surface fashioned to resemble a gold nugget has a secret compartment containing a portrait of a woman and a date: "XXXI JUILLET MCMIV " [16].

They lived a long life. In 1932 the Princess became a widow and there may still be Parisians of long standing in the vicinity of Messine square who remember the old Marquis, who each day walked down Rue Messine to visit his beloved. She died in 1960; he followed two years later. Immediately after her death, the Marquis gave the Museum several cigarette cases. The remainder entered the collection two years later.

I am near the end, but I cannot rid myself of a strange feeling that the events discussed here belong to an entirely different world: the Second Empire, the Belle Époque, the struggle for Africa… Still, if at three years of age I had been brought to Paris to admire the Opéra, I could have seen there two elderly people whose love spanned their entire life. That love is immortalised in a series of astounding cigarette cases, created in St. Petersburg and deeply influenced by Muslim manuscripts.

Notes

1. A description was, unfortunately, not included in the appropriate catalogue prepared by N.D. Mikluhko-Maklay, see his *Opisanie tadzhiksikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta Narodov Azii* (Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts at the Institute of the Peoples of Asia). Issue 2: biographical works (Moscow, 1961). Some information can be found in the general catalogue of Persian and Tajik manuscripts in the Institute's collection. See *Persidkskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta 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-Maklay, i—ii (Moscow, 1964), p. 572, No. 4288. Unfortunately, this information is partly misleading.

2. In 1744—45, almost a century after the author's death, it was finished by the Khorasan author Mīr 'Abdallāh b. Mīr Hāshim Shāh Ni'matallāh Ḥusaynī. Cf. Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, i (London, 1895), No. 154 a.

3. For more detail, see C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1935), section II, fasciculus 1, No. 274, pp. 214 —5; also *ibid.*, i, pt. 2 (London, 1953), p. 1262. Cf. also Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, vi (Patna, 1918), pp. 121 —3.

4. We plan to discuss the work of this laboratory in one of the issues of *Manuscripta Orientalia*.

5. As has been the case elsewhere in this series, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my young colleagues Maria Rezvan and Boris Norik, and most of all to Prof. Oleg Akimushkin, for their help in translating and interpreting the Persian texts.

6. Berlin Islamischen Museum (J. 4593, fol. 45 a, 20.3 × 14.4 cm, Mughal, early 18th century). See Mulk Raj Anand and Herman Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen* (Drezden, 1967), No. 8 or R. Hickmann, V. Enderlin and others, *Indische Albumblätter. Miniaturen und Kalligraphien aus der Zeit der Mughal-Kaiser* (Leipzig—Weimar, 1979), No. 39, p. 158.

7. I. Prasad, *The Life and Times of Humāyūn* (Bombay, 1955); S. Ray, *Humāyūn in Persia* (Calcutta, 1948).

8. Humorous tales of Mulla Nasreddin are known to the peoples of the Near and Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Eastern Europe. Such diverse organizations as the British Christian Society and Soviet publishers released books about him. In Turkey, jokes about this wit were written down beginning in the sixteenth century, and were published without interruption since the nineteenth. In Azerbaijan, his name provided the title for a satirical journal that appeared in 1906. Under the Soviets, L.Solovyev's book *Tale of Hoja Nasreddin* went through many editions. A popular film was based on the book. See also M.S. Kharitonov, *Dvadtsat' chetyre Nasreddina* (Nasreddin in Twenty-four Languages) (Moscow, 1986). First published in Moscow, in 1978.

9. Aziz Ahmad, "Hidja", *EI CD-ROM edition*, iii, 325 b.

10. Line is cut.

11. Berlin Islamischen Museum (J. 4589, fol. 39b, 18.8 × 13.5 cm, Mughal, early 18th century). See Mulk Raj Anand and Herman Goetz, *op. cit.*, No. 9.

12. R. Luzarche d'Azay, *Voyage sur le Haut Nil: du Caire au Congo Belge* (Paris, 1904).

13. Alexandria, Cairo, Suez, Aswan, Wadi Khilfa, Aqasha, Abu Hamid and Verber on the modern map. Musée des Arts Décoratifs (call number 38340). Photo see in Géza fon Habsburg, Marina Lopato, *Karl Faberzhe: pridvornyĭ iuvelir* (Karl Fabergé: the Court Jeweller) (St. Petersburg, 1993), No. 283.

14. Musée des Arts Décoratifs (call number 39447). Photo see *ibid.*, No. 282.

15. Musée des Arts Décoratifs (call number 39440). Photo see *ibid.*, No. 284.
16. Musée des Arts Décoratifs (call number 39448). Photo see *ibid.*, No. 295.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"Mullā Du-Piyāza", watercolour, gouache on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. Miniature in Album (*Muraqqa'*)
X 3, in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 6a,
15.0 × 23.0 cm (inside the frame).

Back cover:

Plate 1. *Manāqib-i Murtazawī* by Amīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī al-Tirmidhī, manuscript C 1684 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1b, 17.2 × 27.6 cm.
Plate 2. "*Dīwān* of ʿAlī", miniature in the same manuscript. Watercolour, gouache on paper, first half of the 18th century, fol. 13b, 10.7 × 16.2 cm.
Plate 3. "ʿAlī and the petitioner", miniature in the same manuscript. Watercolour, gouache on paper, first half of the 18th century, fol. 40b, 10.7 × 16.0 cm.
Plate 4. "ʿAlī on the march", miniature in the same manuscript. Watercolour, gouache on paper, first half of the 18th century, fol. 95a, 10.7 × 17.2 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. General view of fol. 1a, with the smudged text. Manuscript C 1684 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.
Fig. 2. The same page. Text developed on a special photograph (infrared luminescence, D. Erastov).
Fig. 3. "Awrangzīb", tracing from Mulk Raj Anand and Herman Goetz, *op. cit.*, No. 8. Miniature in a manuscript preserved at the Berlin Islamischen Museum (J. 4593), fol. 45a, 20.3 × 14.4 cm, Mughal, early 18th century.
Fig. 4. "Awrangzīb", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. Miniature in Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1b, 5.9 × 7.8 cm (upper miniature), 5.8 × 8.3 cm (lower miniature), cartouche size — 17.0 × 33.0 cm.
Fig. 5. Binding of the same manuscript. Special photograph (indirect illumination by parallel light bundle at a 30-degree angle, D. Erastov).
Fig. 6. Calligraphic sample (*qiṭ'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. 1a.
Fig. 7. "Mullā Du-Piyāza", tracing from Mulk Raj Anand and Herman Goetz, *op. cit.*, No. 9. Miniature in a manuscript preserved at the Berlin Islamischen Museum (J. 4589), fol. 39b, 18.8 × 13.5 cm, Mughal, early 18th century.
Fig. 8. Calligraphic sample (*qiṭ'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. 6b.
Fig. 9. Map of Luzarche d'Azay's trip as reconstructed from the cigarette case cover. Musée des arts décoratifs (call number 38340).

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

Thomas Milo

AUTHENTIC ARABIC: A CASE STUDY.
RIGHT-TO-LEFT FONT STRUCTURE, FONT DESIGN,
AND TYPOGRAPHY*

As the most elaborate of all of right-to-left scripts, Arabic script presents an unusual challenge. The present article focuses on an interaction between text encoding and font technology against the background of understanding the structure of Arabic script. The oldest known Arabic scripts consist of a single layer of ambivalent or multivalent letters. An additional script layer, similar to vowel signs, gradually emerged (with regional variations) to disambiguate letters. Understanding how Arabic script emerged and evolved provides clues both to encoding and rendering issues of Arabic or related scripts. We deal here with a previously underestimated but very powerful aspect of Arabic script which makes it fundamentally *archigraphemic* in structure.

An archigrapheme occurs when the distinction between two or more letters is neutralized. The archigrapheme is a graphic unit that consists of the shared features of neutralized letters minus the features that differentiate them. In the archigraphemic analysis of Arabic script, vowels and dots are different layers of additional, variable features.

These issues are relevant in the context of Unicode-related discussions, because (i) today the Unicode Standard assumes limited, grapheme-based (i.e. explicit) use of Arabic script; (ii) grapheme and ligature-based legacy technologies have led to misconceptions and inconsistencies both in the code structure and visual rendering of the languages written in Arabic script; (iii) archigraphemic encoding of scripts like Arabic is the key to sophisticated operations on computerized Arabic text corpora and addresses apparent regional and diachronic variation; (iv) the archigraphemic approach is fundamental to proper Arabic font technology; (v) archigraphemic font technology creates optimal conditions for contemporary Arabic font design; (vi) operating systems need to specify the open architecture required to facilitate the optimal technology for rendering a given script, to give the user access to existing and future expert font rendering and layout mechanisms.

Phoneme vs. grapheme

Script terminology is partly inspired by and derived from the linguistic doctrine of *phonology*. Linguistics defines a *phoneme* not as sound, but as *a bundle of distinctive features* in the context of a given language. By analogy the grapheme should not be considered a visible sign, but *a bundle of distinctive features* in the context of a given script.

The linguistic relevance of a feature is established by isolating it from semantically different minimal word pairs, which can be represented as in *Table 1* (see below). This finds a close parallel in the structure of Arabic writing system as represented in *Table 2* (see below).

Table 1

Feature Phoneme	Labial	Dental	Nasal	Word
/m/	+	–	+	"map"
/n/	–	+	+	"nap"
The phoneme /m/ differs from the phoneme /n/ in the features of dentality and labiality in a contrastive opposition.				

*This article has grown out of the papers read by the author at MELCOM XXIII, May 2001, St. Petersburg, Russia, and at the 20th International Unicode Conference, Washington, D.C., January 2002.

Table 2

Feature / Grapheme	Single dot below	Double dot above	Tooth	Letter
ب	+	–	+	*bā'*
ت	–	+	+	*tā'*
The Arabic letter *bā'* ب differs from the Arabic letter *tā'* ت in the features of *a single dot below* and *a double dot above* in a contrastive opposition				

For the convenience of further representation of the matters under discussion here, we show below 5 different letters of "*bā'*-class" graphemes whose skeletons are identical, while the attachments are different (see *fig. 1*).
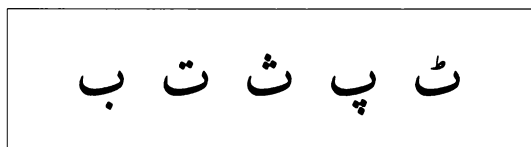
Fig. 1

Allophone vs. allograph

The physical realization of the sound of a phoneme falls outside the scope of linguistics proper; we leave it to the discipline of *phonetics* to analyze and describe it. The sound of a phoneme has many subtle context-determined variations that do not affect the linguistic meaning and, therefore, escape the native speaker — the *allophone*s. For the phoneme /n/ they can be illustrated as represented in *Table 3*. There are also subtle variations in shape that usually escape the attention of a non-sophisticated reader. See *Table 4*.

Table 3

Phoneme	Contextual positions of allophones
/n/	[n- | -n- | -n]
A phoneme can occur in the initial (n-), medial (-n-) and final (-n) position. In each position, there are variations of the actual sound caused by modulation as a result of the surrounding sounds influence — allophones.	

Table 4

Grapheme	Contextual positions of allographs
Arabic letter *bā'*	[ب -ب- -ب]
The contextual positions – initial, middle and final — are the allographic categories. The actual allograph is the result of interaction with the allographs of any adjacent graphemes.	

Most simplified fonts have only *one* glyph of each position to cover allographs. Legacy typography incorporates a small, random selection of additional allographs in "nostalgic" *ligatures* (see *fig. 2*).
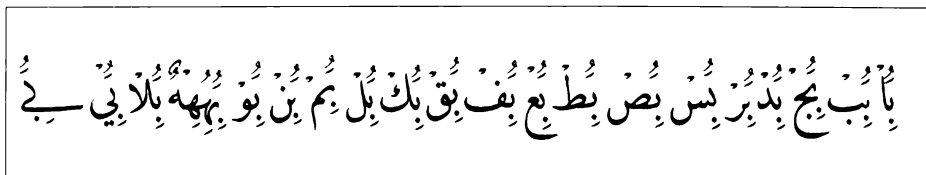
Fig. 2 A selection of "*bā'*-class" allographs in the initial position. The theme letter (*bā'* in this example) is surrounded by a double set of vowels and followed by a parade of final forms (generated by DecoType Arabic Calligraphic Engine).

Interestingly, there is no traditional pattern for listing the middle forms [1]. In the example below, the preceding selection of "*bā'*-class" allographs is expanded to show a small selection of these allographs in the middle position (see *fig. 3*).
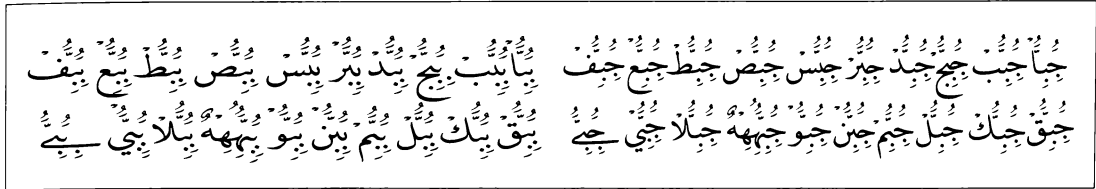
Fig. 3 The two examples of "*bā'*-class" allographs in the middle position in a quasi-traditional presentation showing all final forms
The block on the right shows an initial *bā'*, while on the left — initial *jīm* (generated by DecoType Arabic Calligraphic Engine).

The visual realization of graphemes falls outside the scope of Unicode. It is the field of expert technologies to handle the allographic level of the Arabic script and to create the right conditions for professional type design.

Archiphoneme vs. archigrapheme

In the sound system of Classical Greek — and that of most languages — there are no minimal word pairs with the opposition /n/:/m/ when these phonemes are followed by /b/ or /d/. In fact, while /mb/ and /nd/ exist, /md/ and /nb/ are ruled out [2]. See *fig. 4*.

Fig. 4 Combinations of /n/ or /m/ with following dental or labial consonant (classical Greek).

The functional difference between these phonemes disappears and results in a new phenomenon — *archiphoneme* (symbolized with a capital letter of one of the neutralized phonemes). See *Table 5*.

Table 5

Feature / Archiphoneme	Labial	Dental	Nasal	Example
/N/	(+)	(−)	+	em*bry*onic
/N/	(−)	(+)	+	en*dem*ic
Archiphoneme is a phonological concept that consists of the shared features of neutralized phonemes minus the features that differentiate them [3].				

In a large corpus of historical Arabic texts, the distinctive features is a rare thing, since they were employed rather sparingly. This enables us to make the analogy as presented in *Table 6*.

Table 6

Feature / Archigrapheme	Single dot below	Double dot above	Tooth	Example
ب	(+)	(−)	+	*bā'? tā'?*
ب	(−)	(+)	+	*tā'? bā'?*
Archigrapheme is a graphic unit that consists of the shared features of neutralized letters minus the features that differentiate them. In this analysis of Arabic script, vowels and dots are different layers of additional, variable features.				

Many important historical texts are known only in a "defective", i.e. archigraphemic script. Even if an old manuscript in *scriptio plena* exists, it often derives from an archigraphemic original, which implies that the layers of secondary script are later interpretations. These additional layers — both vowels *and* dots — are the ones most vul-

nerable to scribal errors. In fact, these documents are, strictly speaking, only truly original on the archigraphemic level. An academic analysis of the computerized versions of such corpora is frustrated by the present graphemic structure of Arabic in Unicode. Alternative archigraphemic encoding with roundtrip compatibility would be ideal.

Font structure's inadvertently effect on data structure

The adaptation of Arabic script to the typewriter was the ultimate step in the process of simplifying its morphology. It is a classical case of quality sacrificing to minimize design effort. To freeze this fluid writing system on just forty-four keys, it was stripped of all ligatures but one. *Alif* follows *lām* in such a way that this particular sequence of

two letters cannot be dissected. As a result, *one* key represents a curious ligature. With a bit of imagination, the *lām-alif* key is more than a permanent carry-over from typography. It can be regarded as a metaphor of the resilience of the Islamic writing culture against mechanical maltreatment, since in Arabic it means "no"! See *figs. 5* and *6*.
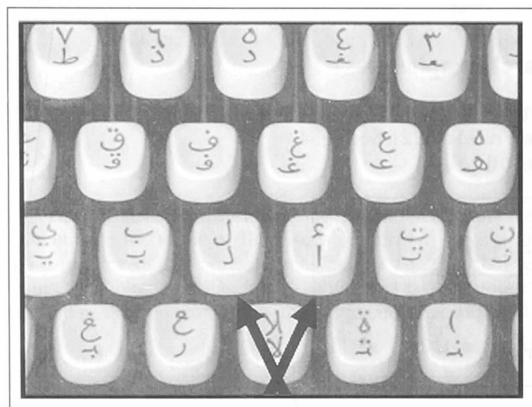
Fig. 5

Fig. 6

With the evolution of the keyboard into a data-entry tool, old typing habits create an interesting problem. In order to be linguistically consistent with the consonant-

plus-vowel structure, attachments should follow the governing letter directly (see *figs. 7, 8*).
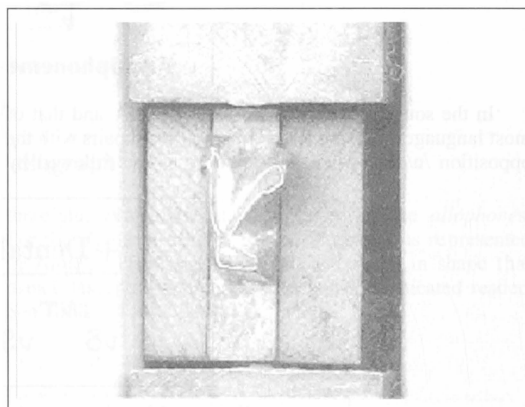
Fig. 7

Fig. 8
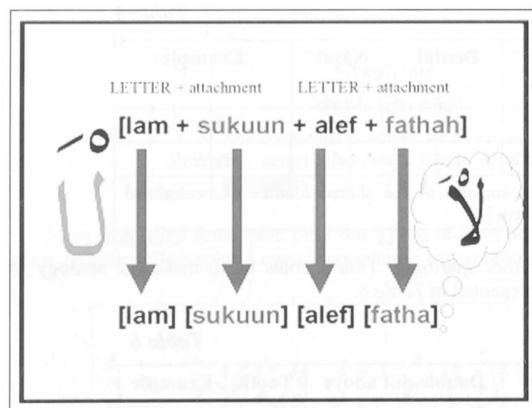
However, today the widely used table-driven Arabic script does not generate ligatures of letter groups when they are separated by attachments. Therefore, in the case of *lām-alif*, to achieve the correct visual result the writer is forced
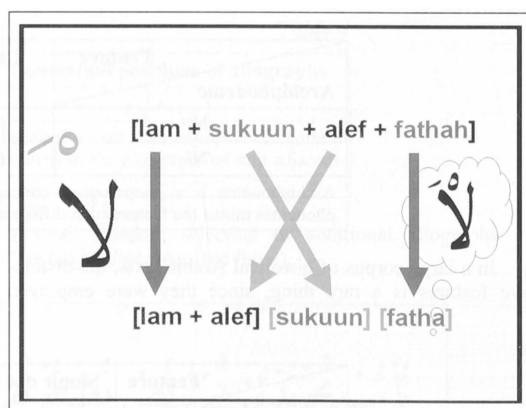
to rearrange the data in a manner that is graphemically incorrect — or just to forget about the diacritics. This is just one example of how defective font technology has created chaos in the world of computerized Arabic.

Data structure's inadvertent effect on font structure

In the post-1920s Arabic typography, a related problem with attachments can be observed. The type-setter has no means to insert attachments to letters that are part of a ligature, so he replaces them with individual "typewriter" glyphs in order to fit in the attachments, often "camouflaged" by an extra-carrier line. Mechanically, he has no other option but to sacrifice the typographically correct ligatures, and he assumes this is æsthetically acceptable.
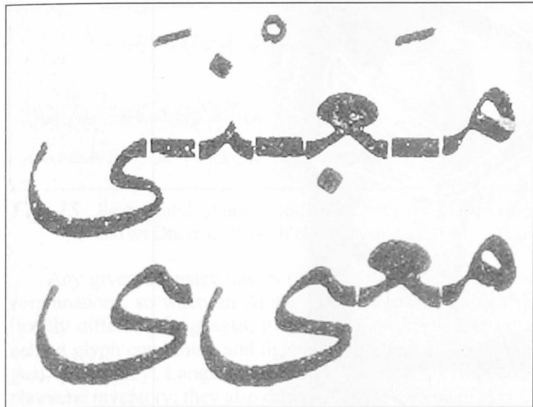
Fig. 9 English metal font (1950s) shows crude insertion of vowels with sacrificing a ligature (shown separately as well).

Fig. 10 Arabic computer typefaces accommodate for vowels by sacrificing ligatures (dimmed in the background).

In computing, the erroneous classification of ligatures as *optional* leads to shaping algorithms that allow falling back on "typewriting" when inserting vowels, with comical effects as described above. In properly designed Arabic font technology, the attachments would not influence the main script. To illustrate it, we present here the images, which were generated with the aid of the DecoType Arabic Calligraphic Engine technology, demonstrating the attaching of distinctive dots and vowel markers without affecting the skeleton text. See *figs. 11* and *12*.
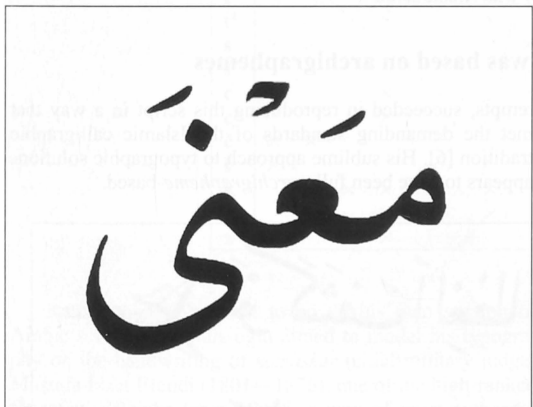
Fig. 11
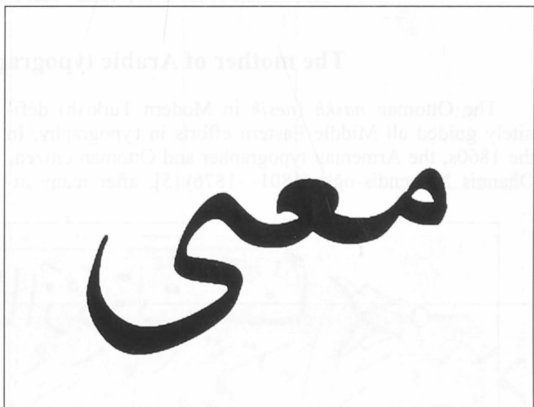
Fig. 12

At this point, it must be stressed that this type of defect hampers *all* sophisticated fonts that were conceived to function with ligatures and full vocalization. Technology has wreaked havoc under Arabic type instead of facilitating it. Even innovative design, simplification and restructuring of Arabic script as a conscious cultural choice is caught in a straightjacket of technical shortcomings. Operating systems need to provide the open architecture for expert systems to deal with such issues.

Grapheme-based legacy Arabic typesetting technology

Why vowels should affect the structure of the graphic skeleton can be understood from analysing the mock-up below. It shows *grapheme*-based Arabic typographic technology: it treats dot-attachments as integral part of the letter [4]. Interestingly, remnants of an earlier *archigrapheme*-based technology can be seen in this design as well: the ligature on the right allows the dots to be attached separately.
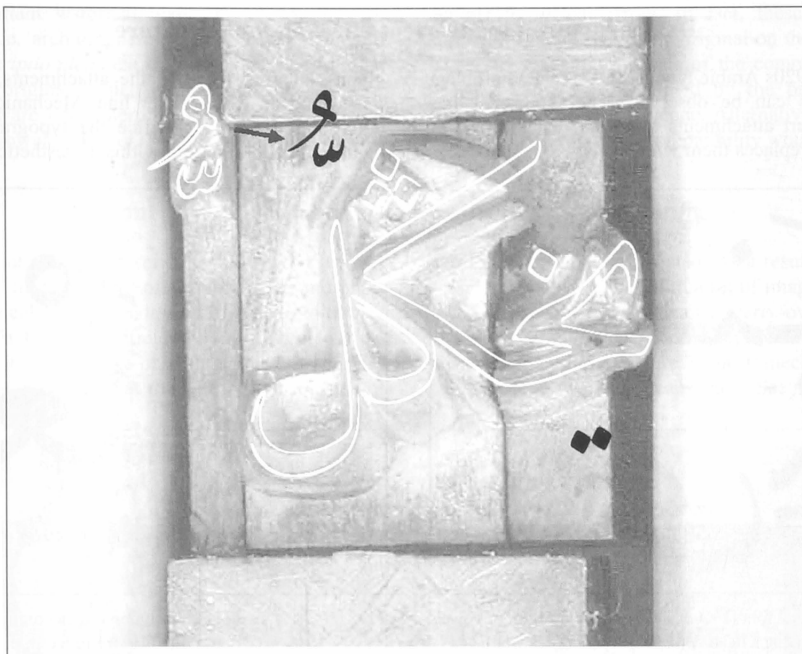
Fig. 13   The two main castings contain built-in attachments (one has a single and the other a triple upper dot). The ligature on the right is designed to allow an attachment to be packed under it, placing attachments over or under its extending pointed shape, e.g. *yā'-khā'*- (when two dots are added as in the example). The letter block on the left represents two attachments united in a ligature. This particular metal construction positions these attachments significantly away from the last letter. However, a natural place for them is above the last letter — *lām* with *shadda* and *ḍamma*. Because of the graphemic structure of the font, it cannot deal correctly with Arabic script.

The mother of Arabic typography was based on archigraphemes

The Ottoman *naskh* (*nesih* in Modern Turkish) definitely guided all Middle Eastern efforts in typography. In the 1860s, the Armenian typographer and Ottoman citizen, Ohannis Mühendis-oğlu (1801—1876) [5], after many attempts, succeeded in reproducing this script in a way that met the demanding standards of the Islamic calligraphic tradition [6]. His sublime approach to typographic solutions appears to have been fully *archigrapheme*-based.
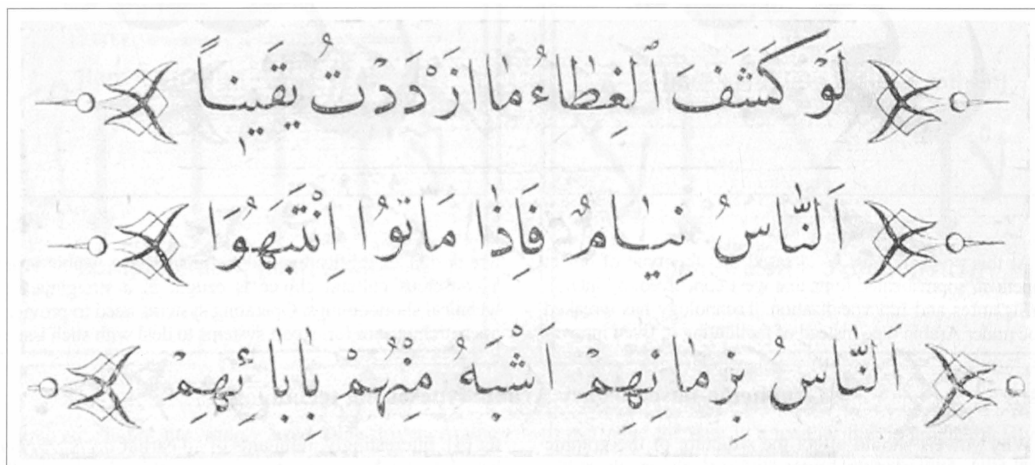
Fig. 14   Arabic phrases, typeset in metal, showing integral coverage of the Arabic script morphology and correct placement of the attachments.

The previous illustration (see *fig. 14*) shows close-ups from brilliant typesetting by Mühendis-oğlu in the *Yeni Hurufat* [7] in the three main languages of the Ottoman Islamic world — Arabic, Persian and Turkish.
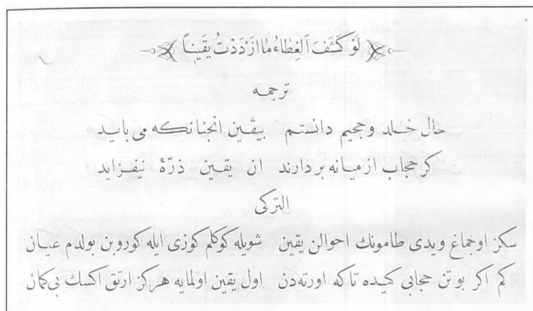
Fig. 15 Each Arabic phrase is followed by a Persian translation and an Ottoman Turkish explanation.
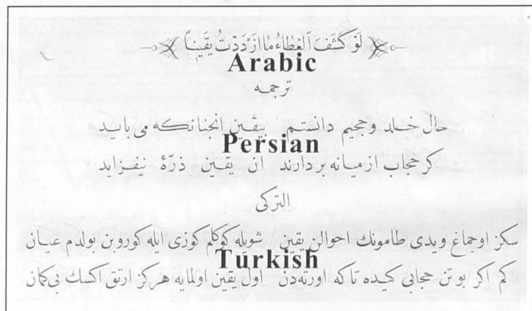
Fig. 16 The same trilingual text with our indication of the language used.

Any given language has its own distinct pattern of sound combinations, so when an Arabic font is used for two extra-(totally different) languages, it exposes more of the structure behind glyph combining and ligature using than any monolingual typography. Languages do not just differ in respect of phoneme inventory; they also differ in phoneme usage. *Fig. 17* (see below) shows that "permissible" combinations of a certain language [8] produce a unique "fingerprint". Another example can be seen in English which happens to differ from Greek in the distribution pattern of the cluster /ps/: in the borrowing *ellipsis*, /ps/ can be matched with English phonemes, but not in the word *psyche*. If English had been spelled morpho-phonologically — like Arabic — we would have never seen the letter group *ps-* in the initial position: *sykee*.

The phonological system																
***Bulgarian* Initial Clusters of two Consonants**																
	p	f	t	s	c	č	š	k	x	b	d	z	ž	g	v	m	n
p				×			×										
p'				×													
f				×													
t	×	×		×		×											
t'				×		×											
s	×	×						×									
s'		×															
c				×													
c'				×													
č	×	×															
š	×																
k			×	×		×											
k'				×		×											
x				×													

Fig. 17

Rather than to attempt to create his own version of Arabic script, Mühendis-oğlu aimed to model his typography on the handwriting of *kaziasker* (chief military judge) Mustafa İzzet Efendi (1801—1876), one of the high-ranked Ottoman officials. İzzet Efendi, a man of great authority, was also a composer of Ottoman classical music and the leading calligrapher of his time. Among his numerous calligraphic works are inscriptions inside the Aya Sofya Mosque, the main sanctuary of Istanbul. This lofty man certainly was not the type to be involved in *type design*, and it can be ruled out that the craftsman and the calligrapher ever met. Below, we present the *meşk murakka'i*, or writing exercise, by İzzet Efendi, elaborating the shapes of the letter *kāf*, in the *naskh* style, the artistic equivalent of the *étude* of the Western musical tradition (see *fig. 18*), and the interior of the Aya Sofya Mosque in Istanbul, decorated with circular calligraphic inscriptions by İzzet Efendi, containing the names of the Caliphs 'Uthmān and Abū Bakr (see *fig. 19*).
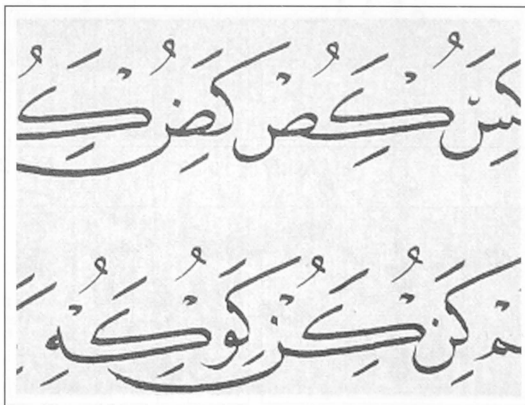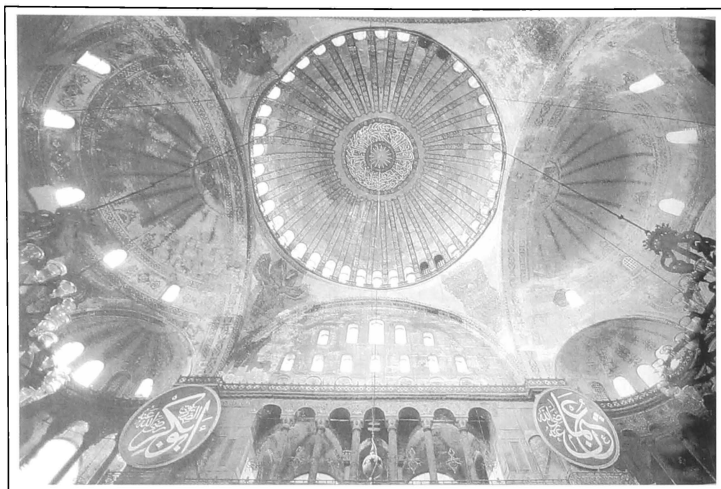

Fig. 18

Fig. 19   ***Fig. 20*** Mühendis-oğlu

Mühendis-oğlu's adaptation of İzzet Efendi's calligraphy is the starting point of all later Arabic *naskh* typefaces. The font was graphically extremely sophisticated as it was designed to follow all the *allographic* rules of *naskh* in the tradition of copyists, the professional book producers before the advent of typography. The essential feature is that it deals with both dot and vowel attachments as separate horizontal layers above and below the main script. In other words, the design was *archigraphemic*. However, the seeds of decay are already present in this 40-page booklet. The initial pages immaculately implement every rule with the correct glyph. As the page numbers go up, so goes the number of calligraphic typos: the zenith of Arabic typography stands at the beginning of erosion rather than evolution of *naskh* script [9]. This is an extremely good design, but it should have had a computer program to support it!

Allographic decay

All contemporary fonts show considerable simplification that leads to a drastic change in the appearance of Arabic script. Below, step by step, using a minimal selection of glyphs from the *Yeni Hurufat*, the road to the currently widespread font type is reconstructed. The "*bā'*-class" had been provided with a special initial curve assimilated to the archigrapheme *qāf*/*fā'* (see *fig. 21*). We show also (see *fig. 22*) a specialised "*bā'*-class" allograph which occurs only when it is preceded by certain inverted "*bā'*-class" allographs. In simplified typography it is used as a generic middle form. Finally, a curved "*bā'*-class" allographs are represented in *fig. 23*, in a word composed by Mühendis-oğlu as (i) designed (above) and (ii) as composed with out-of-context borrowings from the same design. The result is modern typography! Even the best-designed font becomes pedestrian when generic forms are used. In *fig. 24*, *thā'-rā'* is shown in the context position (above) and when composed with out-of-context elements. It should be noted that the combination of new generic initial and middle forms cannot be used without breaking the rules of the traditional allographic system (see *figs. 25—28*).
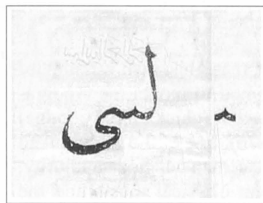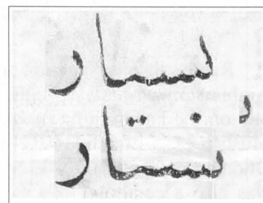
Fig. 21   ***Fig. 22***   ***Fig. 23***   ***Fig. 24***
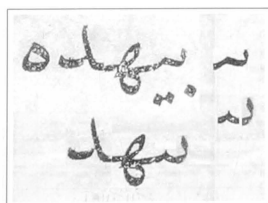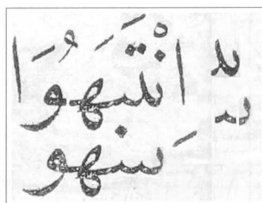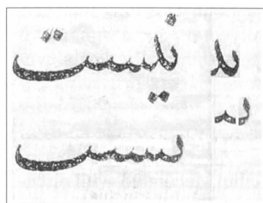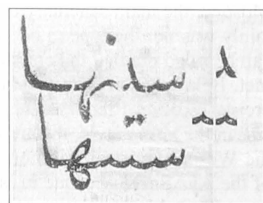
Fig. 25   ***Fig. 26***   ***Fig. 27***   ***Fig. 28***

An interesting example of the lost know-how is two "*bā'*-class" allographs' occurring between dissimilar letters; for this particular case Mühendis-oğlu cut a special double-pointed curve ligature. However, this typesetting method must have been very tiring to be handled in the booklet, judging by the fact that Mühendis-oğlu applied the correct form only twice. As a matter of fact, even his sublime *naskh* design cannot implement this rule in all contextual situations, because in a metal font boundaries are necessar-ily on the graphemic level, while the underlying calli-graphic mechanism operates on the level of pen strokes regardless of the graphemic status of the larger unit they build. The illustrations below (see *figs. 29—31*) show a special ligature for *-bā'-bā'-* in the middle position (mod-ern fonts glyph sets do not include this feature). The double curve ligature crosses grapheme boundaries: one part be-longs to the (archi-)grapheme *bā'* and the other part belongs to the following or preceding (archi-)grapheme.
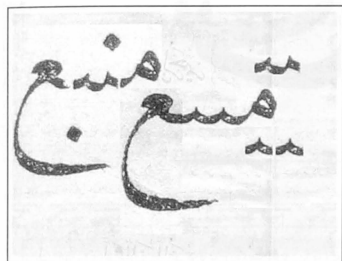
Fig. 29
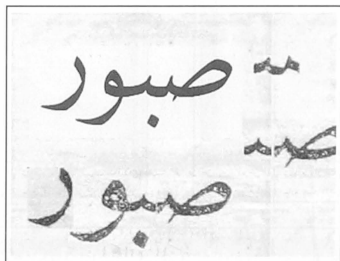
Fig. 30
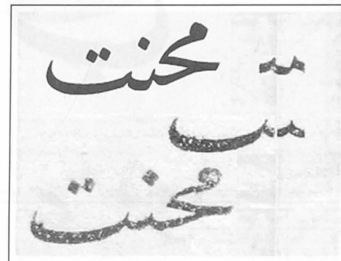
Fig. 31

The use of the archigrapheme concept in font technology

The Operating Systems provide new font technologies in the wake of the emerging Unicode Standard. In the case of Arabic, they can be put to good use for building graph-eme-based fonts for optimal Unicode coverage. However, the Unicode Standard has no provision for archigraphemic Arabic yet. Nevertheless, this fundamental structure of Arabic script can be exploited at least in the design phase: one can build an automated Arabic-specific font tool.

FontLab, the most up-to-date font-designing software, has been adapted jointly by its designers and DecoType to produce simple OpenType fonts for Adobe InDesign and WindowsXP. This tool also provides an efficient interface to build legacy style ligatures of up to 4 graphemes.

The archigraphemic structure implies that Arabic graphemes share many structural elements. This phenome-non was exploited here to the maximum. We show below the examples of using "*bā'*-class" graphemes: the skeletons (archigraphemes) are *identical* and the attachments (distinctive features) are *different*. Some letters share the same sub-letter element (see *fig. 32*) and some — the same attachment (see *fig. 33*). This forms the basis of the automa-tion process.
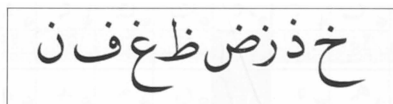

Fig. 32

Fig. 33

If the repetitive nature of Arabic writing is exploited, only the outline paths of a limited set of sub-letter elements need to be drawn. The printable glyphs are composed by references to these base glyphs (see *figs. 34—43*). The practical result is an extremely small font easy to be de-signed and maintained (see *fig. 44*).
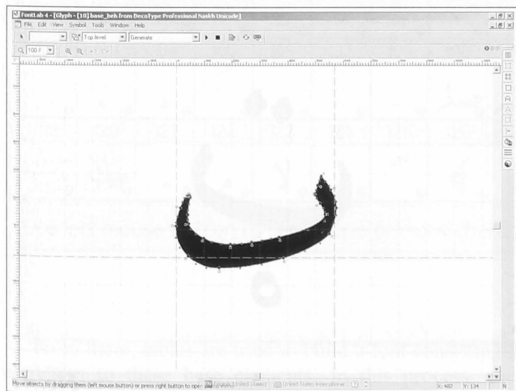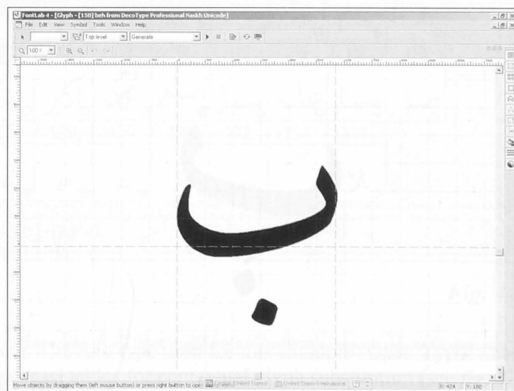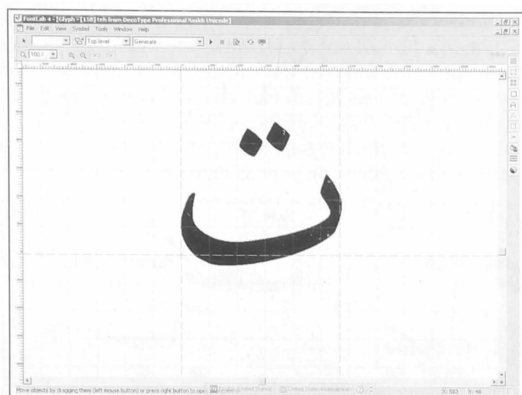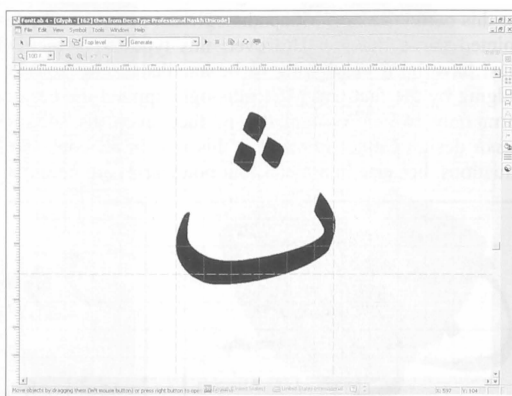

Fig. 34

Fig. 35

Fig. 36

Fig. 37
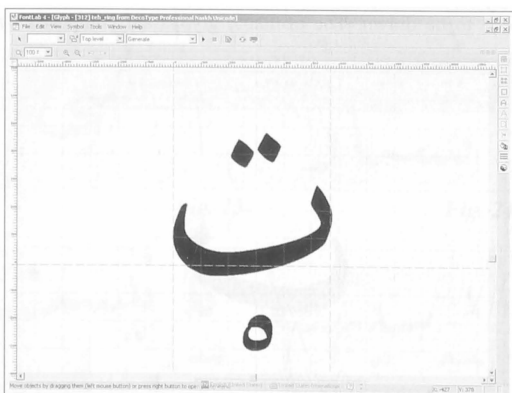

Fig. 38

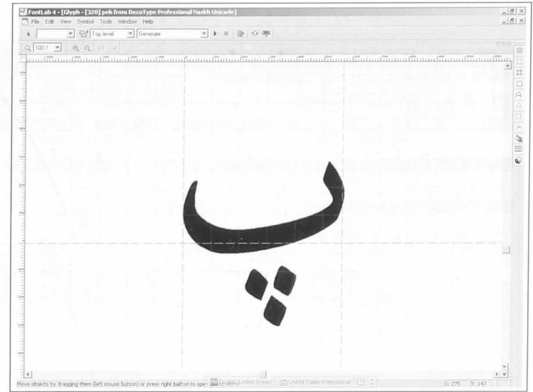*Fig. 39*

Fig. 40

Fig. 41
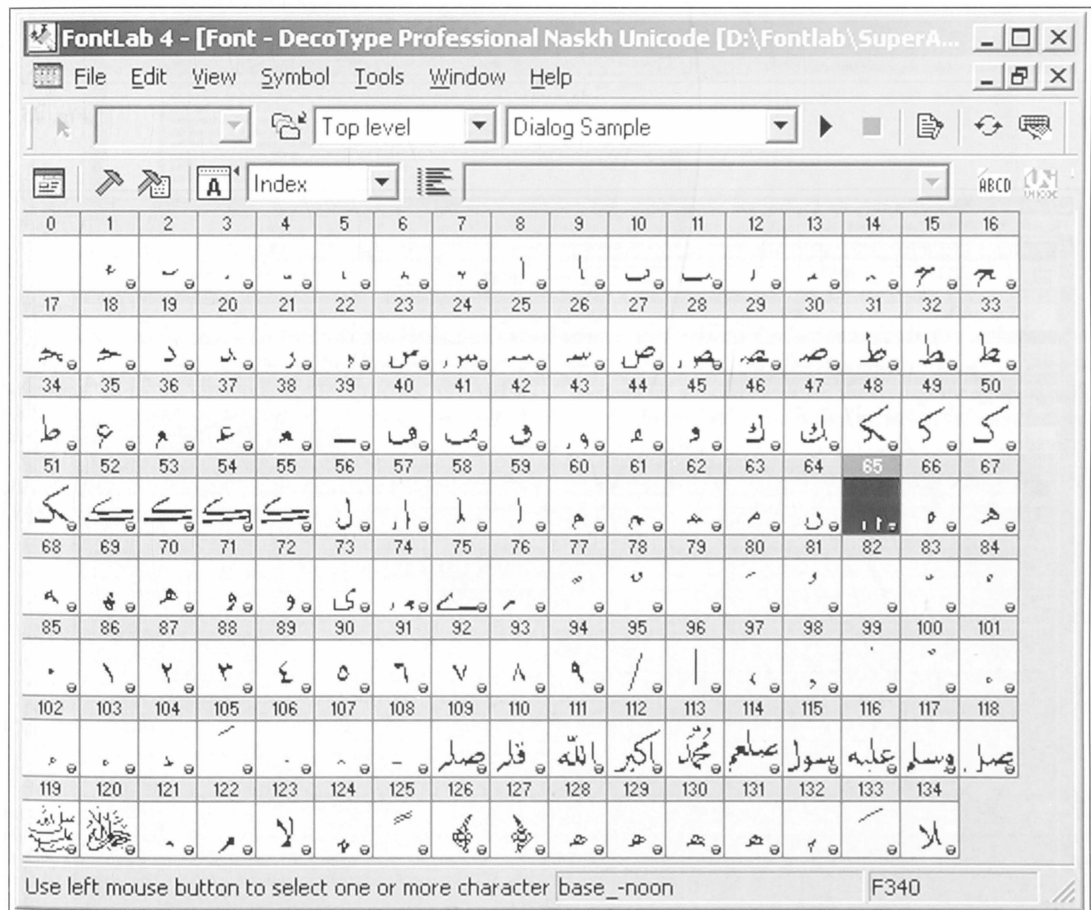
Fig. 42

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

From there, tables are used to build a font consisting of references to these base elements. In this process, each grapheme is to be expanded automatically into the full series required for contextual representation (see *figs. 45,* 46). The font type used for this example (Open Type) needs internal tables for contextual glyph substitution (see *fig. 47*). The new tool generates these tables dynamically.
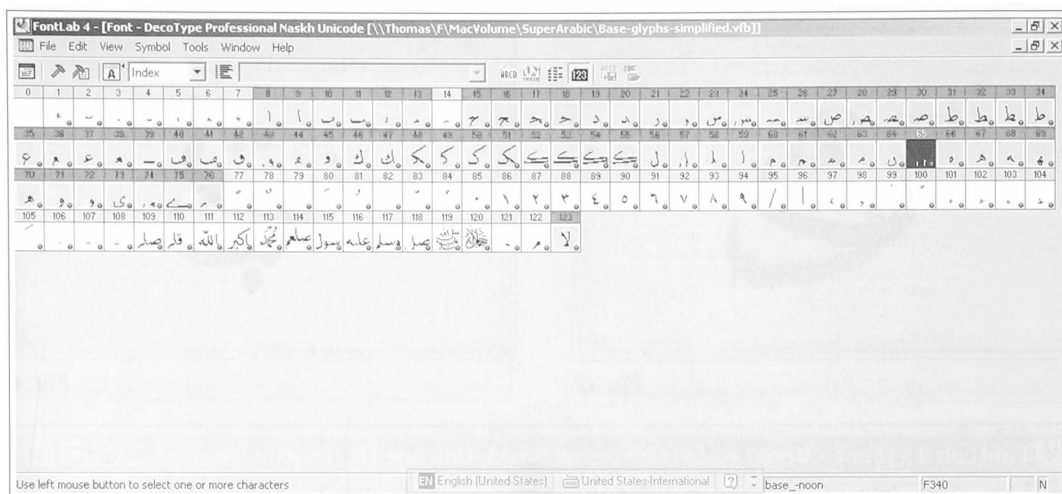
Fig. 45
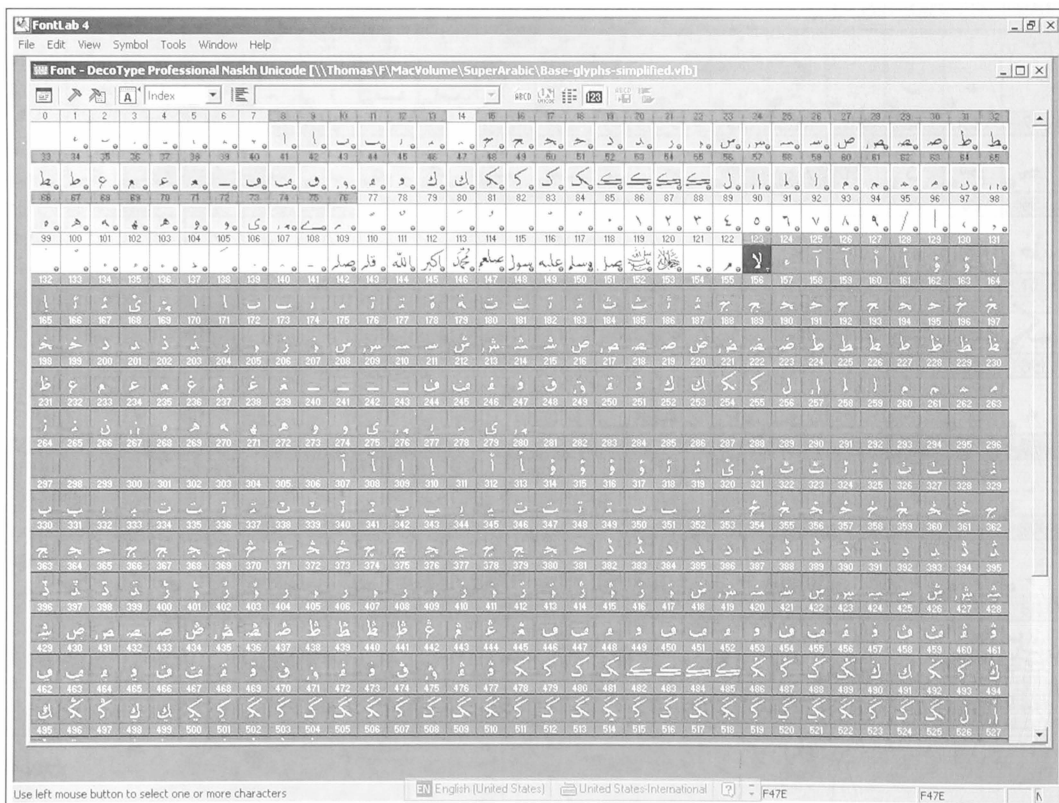
Fig. 46
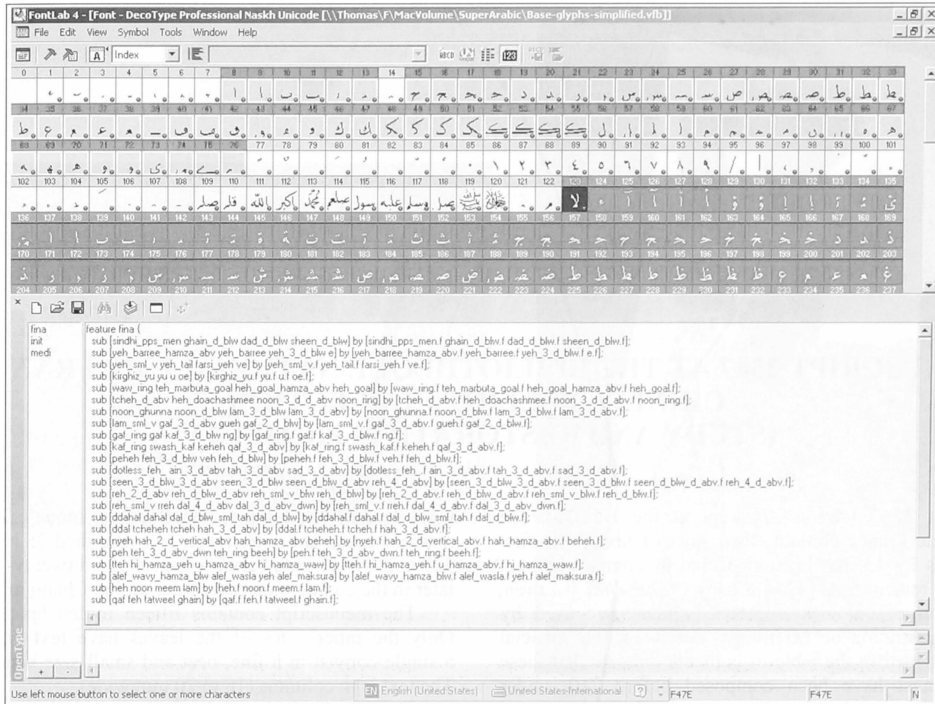
The method described above shows just one way of benefiting from the archigraphemic structure of Arabic script. The drawback of this table-driven paradigm is that it is archigraphemic only in the design phase.

To conclude, what is required in Unicode is a variant character-glyph model to handle these issues on the level of the Operating System. But it is not just that. For the end-user it would be a major improvement if Operating Systems in general facilitate the use of the optimal script system for a given script. This means the ability to switch between different Font Rendering and Layout mechanisms. An example of such modularity is Apples Open Font Architecture (OFA).

Notes

1. For modern tables, see *Writing Arabic, a Practical Introduction to Ruq'ah Script*, ed. T. F. Mitchell (Oxford, 1953). These tables cover only groups of two and three base letters, i.e. a fraction of the total required.

2. W. Brandenstein, *Griechische Sprachwissenchaft I. Einleitung, Lautsystem, Etymologie* (Berlin, 1954), § 50.

3. A. Cohen, C. L. Ebeling, K. Fokkema, A. G. F. van Holk, "Fonologie van het Nederlands en het Fries", *Gravanhage* (1971), p. 49.

4. The metal elements were once part of an Arabic font produced by the Dutch Tetterode company, from which I managed to salvage a few types. On the basis of the available forms, the example, therefore, has to be random. I mirrored it for the sake of comparison.

5. Mühendis-oğlu is the Turkish name (lit. "son of the land surveyor (or engineer)") of the Armenian typographer. We also find his name in its Ottoman-Persian (Mühendis-zade) and Armenian (Mühendisyan) form.

6. An *arzuhal* (petition) to the Ottoman Sultan dating by A.H. 1283 / A.D. 1865 came across me in 1983. Its author, Mühendis-oğlu, announces that for the first time a valid *naskh* typeface was designed by him. He describes how he used the handwriting of the late *şeyhülhattatin* (leading calligrapher), Mustafa İzzet Efendi, to accomplish this historical achievement. Uğur Derman, the leading specialist in Ottoman calligraphy, reports corroborating evidence to the Turkish Librarians' Association. See his "Yazı sanatının eski mat-baacılığımıza akisleri", in *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Basım ve Yayıncılığımızın 250. yılı Bilimsel Toplantısı. 10—11 Aralık 1979, Ankara. Bildiriler* (Ankara, 1980), pp. 97—118. In this essay, he also mentions the advanced *ta'lïq* typefaces designed by Mühendis-oğlu as early as 1840s. In spring 2001, I discovered two of only three surviving books ever printed in Mühendis-oğlu's *ta'lïq*.

7. According to the colophon, it was printed in Istanbul in 1869/70. In spring 2001, I made the sensational chance discovery of this rare book printed in the very same *naskh* typeface as the petition of 1865 (see n. 5).

8. Bulgarian consonant clusters at the beginning of a word were borrowed from H.I. Aronson, *Bulgarian Inflexional Morphology* (the Hague, 1968).

9. *Naskh, thulth, (naskh-i)taliq* and *ruq'a* (or *riq'a*) scripts are governed by well-organised and logical morphological rules, the knowledge of which is rare among typographers and type designers today. Even in the *naskh* typesetting of his first 1865 petition, Mühendis-oğlu makes two composition errors.

CONSERVATION PROBLEMS

Françoise Cuisance

MANUSCRIPT 2547 AT THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE: CHINESE PELLIOT COLLECTION (STUDY AND RESTORATION PROJECT)*

Manuscript 2547 (see *fig. 1*) kept at the Biblilothèque nationale de France contains three sets of texts. The first one (leaves 1—13) has been identified by comparing them with other manuscripts [1] as a copy of the *Zhai Wanwen*, a collection of eulogies, some of which were used by state administration on ceremonial occasions. The official titles mentioned in the table of contents indicate that these eulogies must have been composed before 710, under Zhongzong's second reign. The second text in the manuscript consists only of one leaf (leaf 14) [2] comprising eulogies for the use in the Area Administration office (*dufufu*) of Liangzhou; one of the eulogies can be dated to Xuanzong's reign, i.e. between the 17th and the 27th year of Kaiyuan (729—739). (The whole manuscript must have been copied at this time.) The third text on leaf 15 is a fu-

neral oration dedicated to the Buddhist monk Yixing [3], mathematician and astronomer [4], who died 25 November 727 and whose state burial was performed twenty-one days later in the countryside east of the capital Chang'an.

The manuscript contains fifteen folded leaves in all. Only the inner sides of the leaves have text written by a single copyist in a fine, neat and small-size handwriting. The text is in columns (18 to 20 mm wide).

The manuscript was repaired several times: it bears the signs of an old restoration (8th century). In our days it was restored twice, in 1954 and 1964, at the Bibliothèque nationale, when the leaves were lined with paper and chiffon without removing the binding. The study of the manuscript and its presentation became possible after partially removing the chiffon that came off without any difficulty.

Technical description of the manuscript

1. Leaves. Only the fragments of the manuscript's leaves are now surviving (see *fig. 2*). The paper is buff, fine (90 μ) mulberry paper [5] (see *fig. 3*), with laid marks discernible in oblique light. The original height of the leaves was 278 mm, which was established by the size of the guards which saw no restoration. Unfortunately, the guards are so badly damaged that their original length remains unknown, the longest surviving one measures 466 mm (the part to the right of the fold is only 54 mm long), but it is not the original length. However, it was suggested that the first leaf might have been 864 mm long [6].

The folded leaves are either a single piece of paper or two pieces with an overlap of three to seven millimetres. Unlike the "butterfly" or "flutter" types of manuscripts, the layout of our manuscript bears no resemblance to that usual in booklets: the text may be found either on the very fold of the leaf (see *fig. 4*) or very near the fold (see *figs. 5* and *6*). It makes us suggest that originally the manuscript was

a scroll which was later cut up into unequal segments. This is evident from the fact that the overlaps' place differs from leaf to leaf [7]. The cutting up of the original scroll became possible because of the small size of the writing. The transformation of the scroll into a booklet had demanded the folding of these segments and the mounting of the folded leaves on guards.

2. Mounting on guards. In order to stack the leaves in such a way that the text should be not hidden at the folds, a guard was stuck on each folded leaf. The guards are seen in the upper and lower part of the manuscript if looked at the edges of the leaves; in the lower part they are visible between the sixth and ninth leaves where the guards escaped stitching. They are also visible if looked at the damaged back of some folded leaves. Each guard is an off-cut of about 50 mm wide and 278 mm long, the last measure corresponds the height of the leaves. Off-cuts are folded
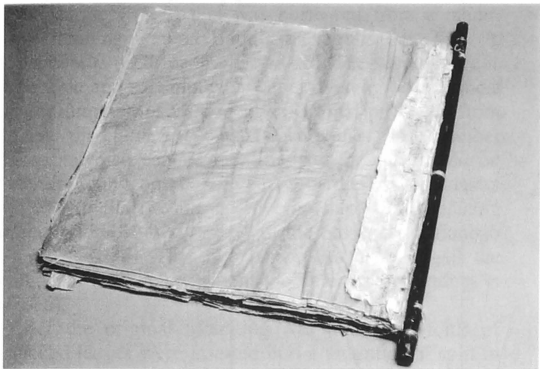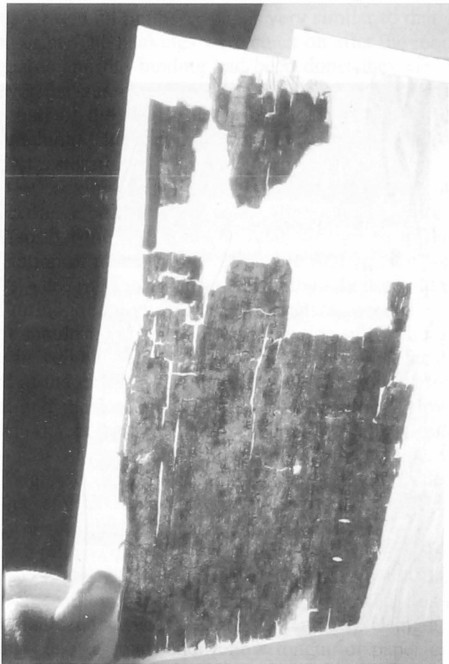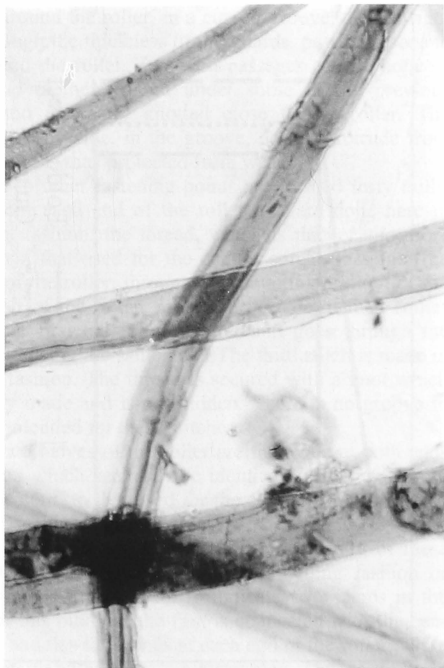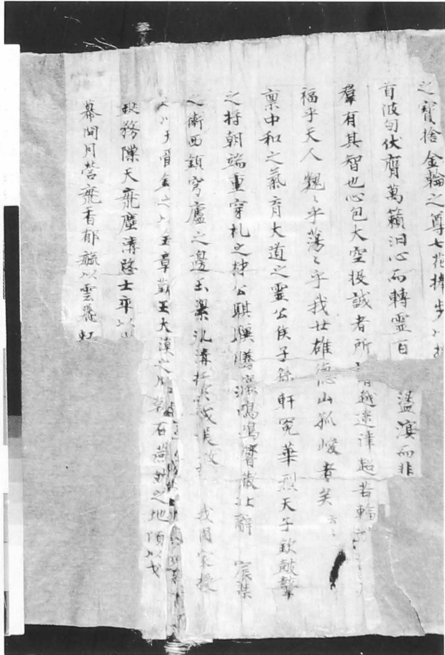
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 6

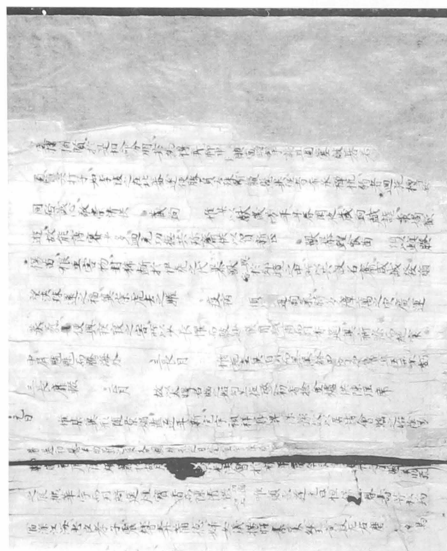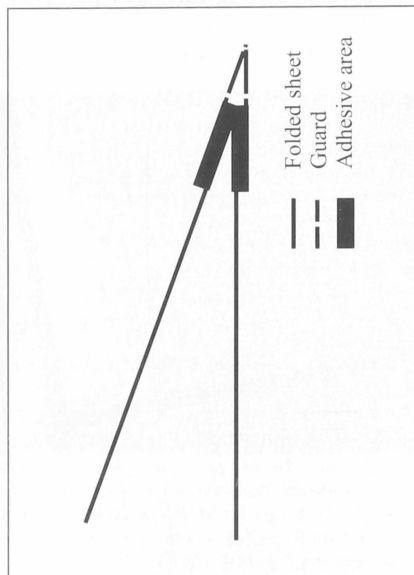*Fig. 5*

Fig. 8

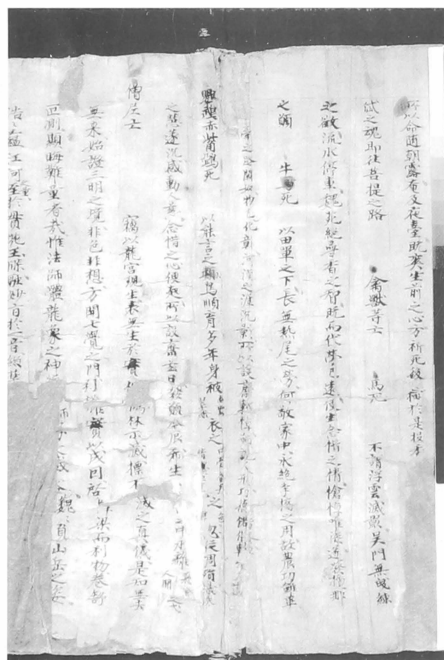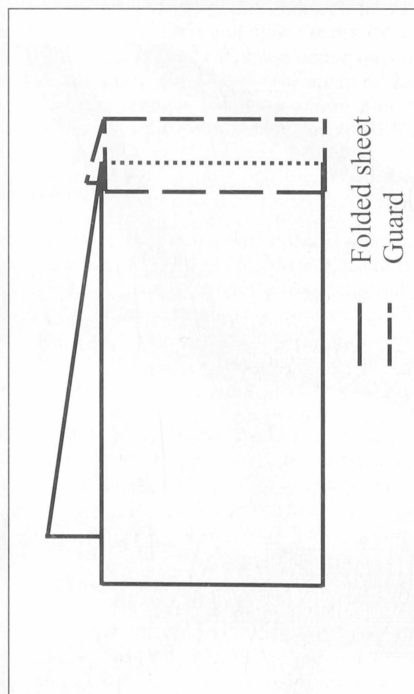*Fig. 7*

in half. Each half is stuck on about 15 mm on both sides of the fold, on the unwritten surface of each leaf (see *figs. 7* and *8*). This mounting is longer than the length of each folded leaf by about 10 mm where the stitching is present.

The paper used for the guards is of two types. The first one is buff, fairly coarse and thick paper with large laid marks. The microscope analysis showed that it is hemp (or flax) paper (see *fig. 9*) that was borrowed from a manuscript containing text on Buddhist exegesis (see *fig. 10*). This paper was used for the first guard. The second type is very flexible and soft mulberry paper dyed in yellow; most likely the pigment used is identical to that produced from *Philodendron amurensa*. This paper comes from another manuscript which can be identified by the inscription on an overlap found on the fifteenth guard. It is a cadastre compiled in the Military Governorship of Dunhuang (*Dunhuangjun*) [8] (see *fig. 11*) in the 6th year of Tianbao (747) (see *fig. 12*). This fine paper was used for all the other guards (see below where the date of the binding is discussed).

After the original mounting was done, the folds of the stacked leaves were inserted into a longitudinal split in a red-brownish wooden roller (10 mm in diameter and 326 mm long), lacquered or polished, to serve as the booklet's back (see *figs. 13* and *14*). The leaves are attached to the roller at five points: there are three stitches (in the centre and at the ends of the roller) and two ties fastenings (see *fig. 15*).

3. Stitching. The manuscript demonstrates two types of stitches (see *figs. 15* and *16*); one stitch, almost in the centre, is done with a thin slightly twisted yellowish thread; it is going around the roller, in a curved groove, then at right angle through the thickness of the guards, passing a second time around the roller. Ten such passages can be noticed. The thread is then passed under some of the previous stitches and discreetly knotted close to the roller. The stitches, side by side, in the groove, do not protrude from the roller and is thus protected from wear.

The two other fastening points are located forty millimetres from each end of the roller and are done here in a different fashion: the thread, which is thicker and more twisted than that used for the central stitch, goes into the first half of the roller, through the mounting and out of the second half of the roller, using a little hole; it then comes back to the first half of the roller and goes through the wood again using the same hole. The third stitch is made in the same fashion. The thread is secured with a knot which is coarsely made and is not hidden. There is no groove in the roller intended for these stitches.

The two halves of the roller are tightened at both ends by a thread which seems to be identical, in texture, thickness and colour, to that used for the central stitch; it is also embedded in curved grooves.

One may make suggestions about the nature of these similarities or differences in thread, stitching fashion or quality. Anyway, they seem to indicate two stages in the making of this binding: the first is connected with the central stitch and ties fastenings at each end of the roller, while the second — with two other fastenings. This assumption becomes even more likely if one takes into account that the stitchings belong to different hands. The second stage is most probably linked with reinforcing the stitches.

4. General remarks. As was said above, the backings in the manuscript originate from the administrative documents written on mulberry paper very similar to that of our manuscript. The backings were stuck on after the mounting on guards and the binding had been done; they are pasted on over the guard and leaf (see *fig. 17*), as is seen in the right half of the tenth folded leaf, and are always out of the stitching. The backings seem to have appeared during the first restoration.

The backings pasted on the sides of the leaves containing text have been unstuck at the Bibliothèque nationale in 1954 so that the text could be read. According to the first description of manuscript P.2547, the first and the last half leaves were reinforced almost over the whole of their surface, turning them into a sort of protective covers.

It should be noted that the mounting of all the guards dyed in yellow was made very neatly and regularly. The guard of the first leaf is wider than the other ones. Both the guard and the leaf are in a very bad condition. However, one can detect that the guard is wedged in the half-roller, in its uppermost part, along 35 mm only; in the middle, where it is roughly completed, the guard is stuck on the folded leaf without any connection with the half-roller and is not caught by the stitching (see *fig. 18*).

The following guard, also yellow, is partly crinkled and out of the roller. Between these two first guards there is a piece of yellow paper, twisted and cut up neatly, as if the guard had been torn out (see *figs. 19* and *20*). Using a magnifying glass, a small and yellow tongue of paper can be seen under the first half of the roller. All this lead us to conclude that the manuscript had undergone an early restoration. The first original guard, probably defective, was then replaced without removing the stitches. It must have been wider so as to restore the first leaf where a few columns are now missing. It would be tempting to relate this old restoration to the assumed second stage, taking into account the stitching mentioned above, but there is no clue clear enough to make such a suggestion.

One may suggest that the leaves of the manuscript were originally wound on the roller, as in the "flutter" booklets, since prior to any restoration the paper of the guards and leaves must have been fine and flexible. However, the suggestion is probably not correct, considering some stiffness at mid-height of the roller resulted from the ten stitches made; besides, the guards had been once inserted into the split of the roller. Moreover, whereas only the faces of scrolls' rollers were usually dyed, in the case of manuscript P.2547 the outer surface of the roller is dyed and lacquered (or polished). After reinforcing the leaves, the paper probably became too stiff to be rolled up. Finally, the whole surface of the first and the last leaf had been reinforced. All this makes us conclude that the manuscript's leaves were preserved flat.

We know no other example of a booklet whose binding would be done in exactly the same technique as in P.2547. However, comparison can be made with the bindings of two booklets where the leaves are fastened to a kind of a roller, though using different techniques: those are (i) a Sino-Tibetan glossary dating to the Tibetan occupation between 786 and 848 [9] — a Chinese manuscript from the mid-tenth century with the tables of agrarian measures (preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France) [10], and (ii) the famous "dragon-scale" binding for a beautiful ninth-century copy of a rhymed dictionary [11]; the binding was
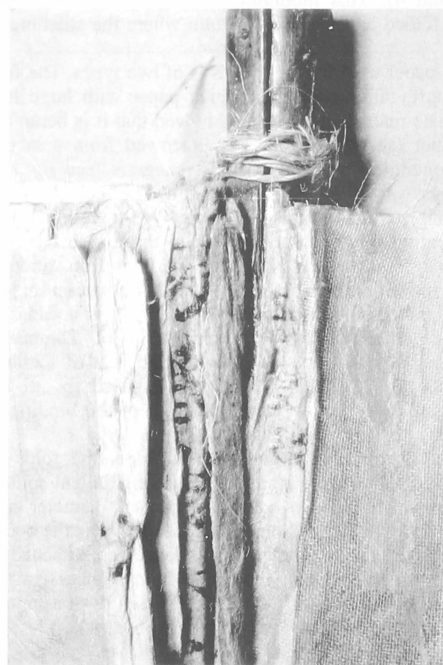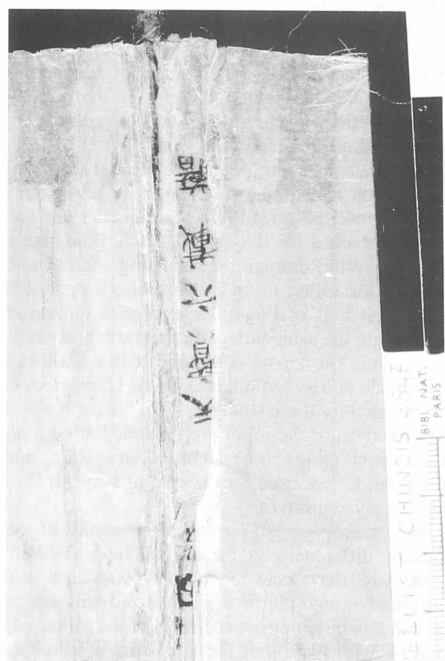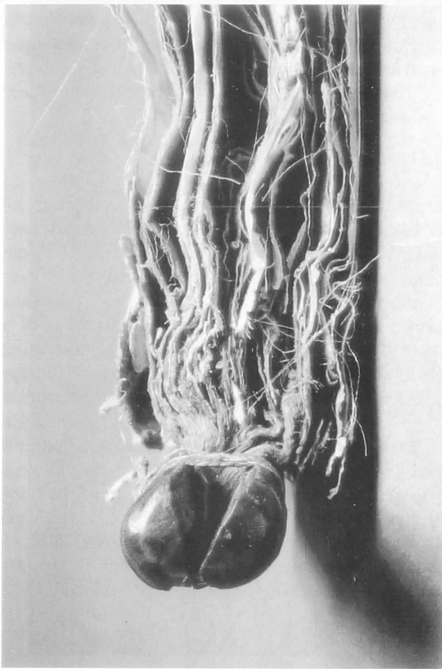
Fig. 10

Fig. 12
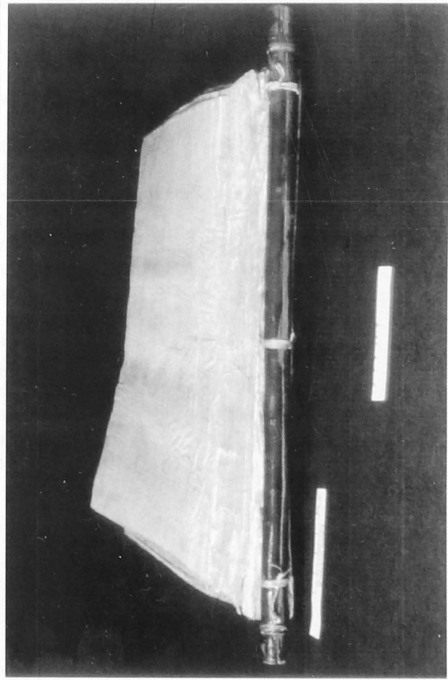

Fig. 9
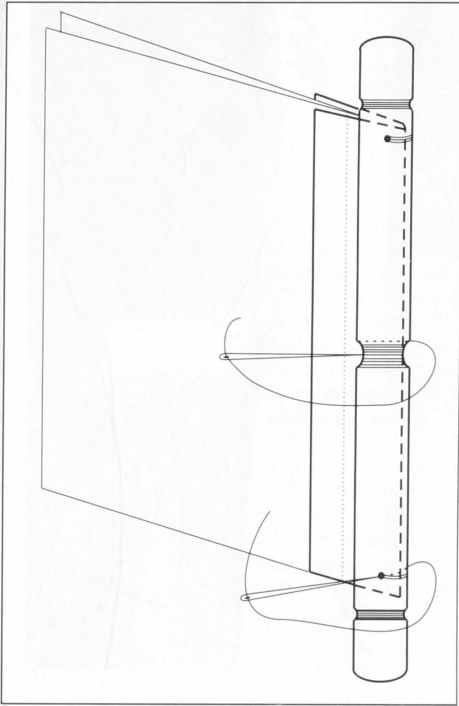

Fig. 11

Fig. 14

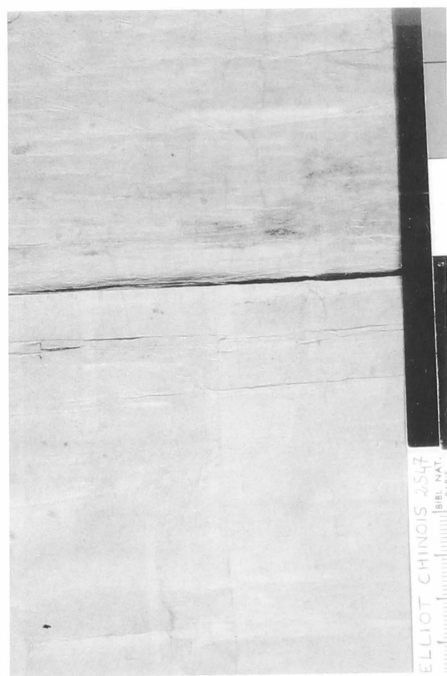*Fig. 16*

Fig. 13

Fig. 15
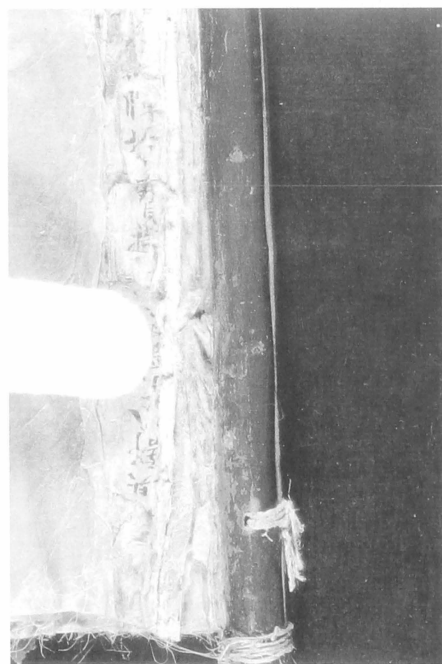
Fig. 18

Fig. 20

Fig. 17

Fig. 19

executed for the Song emperor Huizong of the Xuanhe era (1119—1125) [12] (kept in Beijing, at the Palace Museum). Note that all these bound booklets were intended for consultation: glossary, technical notes, dictionary, etc. Although only few such specimens have survived, the question remains whether the technique was invented especially for this type of manuscripts or it was applied because

this type of bindings was not durable enough to resist intensive using. In any case, manuscript P.2547 is a special case; the technique was used especially to transform a scroll into booklet. It might be one of the early examples of such transformation. The binding, not the text, has weathered the centuries.

Dating the binding

As was stated above, the paper for yellow guards was borrowed from a cadastre drawn up in the Military Governorship of Dunhuang in 747. Such documents had to be kept for fifteen years, therefore, the binding must have been made after 761, perhaps some time after the 5th month of the 2nd year of Yongtai (766), when the seat of the Area Administration office was officially transferred from Liangzhou (where the manuscript most likely was written) to Shazhou, formerly known as the Military Governorship of Dunhuang.

We have also said that the old restoration is subsequent to the binding. Among the backings, three belong to an ordination certificate form with several seal impressions belonging to the Office of Sacrifices at the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu zhi ci*), on a blank filled in later by a monk (or a nun) in Dunhuang between 30 October 756 and 18 March 758. Such documents had to be sent back to

the capital when the monk died or was defrocked. The fact that the document was cut up and used for backings shows that it was kept in Dunhuang during the eleven-years siege of Dunhuang by the Tibetans (776—786), when manuscript P.2547 was probably still in use, or after Dunhuang surrendered to the Tibetans in 786 and the eulogies the manuscript contained became of no use. The restoration of the manuscript may have occurred in this period. Thus, the binding might have been executed either between 761 and 786 or between 766 and 786.

This document is an exceptional study case. It is an early example, perhaps the first one of a scroll transformed into a book, evidently to make easier its handling, for which a special binding technique had been invented or adopted. So far no other wholly identical example has been found. This manuscript demonstrates the evolution of book form in China.

Restoration project

The binding's restoration presumes preservation of its current condition, without removing the stitching. At the first stage, it is necessary to undo earlier repairings. It is planned to eliminate the elements of the leaves' restoration (paper and chiffon lining), which took place in 1954 and 1964, to make the pages lighter and to ease reading the text. (The original restorations will be kept.) The black ink has preserved its colour perfectly and is very stable.

During the undoing of the 1954 and 1964 restorations and subsequent new restoring, it will be necessary to steady the booklet, without running the risk of damaging the roller. Each leaf will be treated one by one; sheets of mylar, for example, must protect the other guards not in work.

After usual dusting with a smooth brush, chiffon will be totally removed from the leaves, for which light moistening is sufficient. The surviving fragments of each leaf will be temporarily fixed, on the front side, with small off-cuts of very fine Japanese paper and maintained by a few touches of paste. Pure wheat starch paste will be used. Then unsticking is possible with the aid of a steam generator. For repairing clefts and gaps, as well as for assembling fragments, special sorts of high-quality paper are necessary.

The choice will be made among Japanese papers depending on thickness, flexibility and strength of the manuscript paper. The restoration paper selected, in off-cuts or pieces, may be first dyed to fit the tone of the manuscript paper. A thin layer of pure wheat starch paste is to be used; this sort of paste possesses good adhesion and is well reversible. We will avoid the lining.

After this first stage of the manuscript's restoration, other procedures are possible to ensure good preservation of the document. As a matter of fact, the manuscript, though rarely shown *de visu* as there is a microfilm of it, still sometimes needs to be consulted, therefore, the leaves cannot avoid being touched. But the booklet's leaves are very fragile and of different length (some have preserved their original length, many have not). For this reason, even a very careful reader may take by chance two leaves instead of a single one while turning the pages, thus bringing damage to them. Therefore, though no final decision has been taken yet, we think it would be useful to lengthen the leaves to the size of the longest one. Whatever the solution may be, a conservation case will certainly be made to preserve the document in flat position.

Notes

1. For the comparison, the following manuscripts were used: MSS P.2940 *verso* (incomplete copy), P.2867 and P.3535 (of only two paper leaves constituting a booklet), all at the Bibliothèque nationale de France; MS Flug 342 *verso* (incomplete copy), in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

2. See P.3535 (another leaf belonging to the booklet mentioned in n. 1).

3. See P.3535 V°, col. 9   39. The left part of leaf 15 was previously MS P.4072 (2).

4. See J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 3 (Cambridge University Press, 1959), under I-Hsing. Information in notes 1—3 was provided by Hélène Vetch.

5. The whole analysis was made on the basis of paper fragments (between 2 and 3 mm^2) taken from the leaves, guards and original restoration. As the paper of the fragments is very fragile, a few pieces detached from the margins were used.

6. This figure comes from the doubling of the presumed length (430 mm) of the right half of the first folded leaf. The following data were taken into calculation: rather spacious layout of the manuscript, the number of characters per column, the number of missing characters in the text's introduction as compared with those present in MS P. 2940. The leaves of P. 2867, P. 3535 and P. 3772 are less long (758—780 mm).

7. For example, at 125 mm, 88 mm, 131 mm, 165 mm from the fold.

8. The right half of these three characters is apparently rubbed off, being on the outer side of the fifteenth folded leaf.

9. The leaves are sewn and put between two boards of wood.

10. The leaves are attached to a rudiment of a roller.

11. The leaves with text on both sides are pasted, on the back of their right edge, to a supporting leaf of paper.

12. Cf. the colophon by Song Lian (1310—1381) in the manuscript.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Manuscript 2547, Chinese Pelliot collection, Bibliothèque Nationale de France.
Fig. 2. Fragments of a leaf, MS 2547.
Fig. 3. Structure of the manuscript's paper (under microscope).
Fig. 4. Text on the fold of a leaf.
Fig. 5. Text very near the fold of a leaf.
Fig. 6. Text near the fold of a leaf.
Fig. 7. Drawing demonstrating the fashion of sticking on both sides of the fold.
Fig. 8. Drawing demonstrating the fashion of sticking on both sides of the fold (another projection).
Fig. 9. Structure of the guard's paper (under microscope).
Fig. 10. The first guard's paper with Chinese text (Buddhist exegesis).
Fig. 11. Inscription (from Chinese cadastre) on paper used for most of guards.
Fig. 12. Fragment of the same inscription.
Fig. 13. The manuscript's roller with well visible split.
Fig. 14. The same roller (view of the face and bottom edges of the manuscript).
Fig. 15. View of the leaves' attaching to the roller.
Fig. 16. Drawing demonstrating two types of stitches.
Fig. 17. Backings' paper pasted on over the leaves' guards.
Fig. 18. View of a guard's sticking on the folded leaf.
Fig. 19. A piece of yellow paper seen between the guards.
Fig. 20. The same showing the absence of connection with the roller (blown up).

BOOK REVIEWS

K. S. Jachontov. *Katalog mandjurischer Handschriften und Blockdrucke in den Sammlungen der Bibliothek der Orientalischen Fakultät der Sankt-Petersburger Universität.* **Aus dem russischen Manuscript übersetzt und herausgegeben von Hartmut Walravens. Wiesbaden: Harrassowits Verlag, 2001. — Orientalistik Bibliographien und Documentationen. Band 14.**

St. Petersburg Oriental book and manuscript collections are known to be the richest in Europe. The Manchu materials are mainly divided between three depositories: the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences), the National Library of Russia and the St. Petersburg State University Oriental faculty library. Nowadays, all collections have scientific catalogues, and their publication was started by M. Volkova in 1965 with the *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of the Manchu Manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences). Later it was followed by two other catalogues of the Institute Manchu collection (M. P. Volkova, *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of the Manchu Blockprints of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences), issue 1, Moscow, 1988; and T. Pang, *Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences*, issue 2, Wiesbaden, 2001). There is also a catalogue compiled by K. S. Jachontov: *Man'chzhurskie rukopisi i ksilografy Gosudarstvennoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina* (Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints at the Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library), Leningrad, 1991. Thus, the catalogue under review can be considered as the final publication in a series of descriptions of Manchu holdings at St. Petersburg.

The Manchu collection of the St. Petersburg State University Oriental faculty library was officially started in 1856 when the Kazan University Oriental library manuscripts and blockprints were transferred to St. Petersburg. The collection already contained the books of the members of the Russian Ecclesiastical mission to Peking — Z. Leontyevsky (1799—1874), I. Voicekhovsky (1793—1850), as well as of O. Kovalevsky (1800—1778) and many others. Later it was systematically enlarged to meet the needs of professors and students of the University. For example, the first dean of the faculty, V. Vasilyev (1818—1900), who had spent many years in China, bought, on his own initiative, the samples of Chinese and Manchu literature in 5—10 copies which now constitute the so-called Vasilyev students fond. His personal interest was Buddhist literature, and thanks to him the library possesses a rich set of Buddhist texts in Manchu translation. The Manchu holdings also include private collections of the former professors of Manchu like I. I. Zakharov (1816—1889) and A. Ivanovsky (1863 1903). The students and professors of the Oriental faculty used to take part in annual expeditions to Manchuria, and China proper, and purchased there materials for the library.

The repertoire of Manchu manuscripts and blockprints in the St. Petersburg University collection is very similar to that of European collections and includes translations from Chinese of various historical, classical, religious texts and literature works, not to mention a rich set of teaching materials like dictionaries and readers. However, the collection stands out because of some rare samples it possesses. After the St. Petersburg collections had been described, it became clear that the St. Petersburg State University collection may be considered the second in size and importance (not the first as the author of the catalogue under review states on p. 9) in Europe after a big collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

It is a considerable step forward that this collection has finally got its printed catalogue. But the fate of the catalogue by Jachontov was not easy at all. It was made as a master degree work in 1986, and to this work of him he never returned. The translator and editor of the catalogue, H. Walravens, took the Russian manuscript from the author for probable future publication. Wholly understanding the importance of the material Jachontov's work contained, Walravens prepared its German translation in 1989. But because of some technical reasons the translation has not been published until 2001.

While working on the present publication, the translator faced several specific problems. In the preface, Walravens remarks that "this work could be defined as a 'youth work' of the author who today most probably would have changed several things. In spite of the irrelevant time problem, the catalogue is published without revising". He also notes that not being acquainted with the collection *de visu*, he corrects only evident mistakes in transcription and translation, using other published catalogues; he also adds that mistakes in the descriptions of rare editions can be found only by consulting them. "Nevertheless", the editor says, "the work attains the main aim of making the big St. Petersburg University Manchu collection accessible".

The catalogue includes 467 entries and the material is arranged according to 16 topics: classics, didactic texts, teachings of the emperors, philosophy and religion, history, law and administration, military works, geography, astronomy and calendars, medicine, dictionaries, grammars, readers, letters, exercise books, and literature works. Some entries, e. g. Nos. 156, 158, 230, include from 10 to 30 different texts. The main body of the catalogue is followed by 11 indices of Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit and other titles, index of languages, concordance, index of personal names, publishing houses and previous owners.

Every text is described according to the scheme which consists of 17 items. The entry description starts with a list of call numbers where only the first one indicates the actual number under which the document is kept in the library (marked by Md or Plg). All the other numbers, though given alongside, refer to the previous collections and are useful only for studying the history of acquisitions. A common practice is to indicate these numbers within a description text in order not to create confusion.

Unfortunately, the scheme is not strictly followed with concern to technical characteristics of the edition: the number of folios in fascicles and lines per page (number 16 of the scheme) is mentioned only in a few cases (see for example, description No. 30), although this information is rather important for the identification of copies of the same text, scattered in various libraries, and of its different editions in case the text was printed from different boards.

The dates are established by the author of the catalogue not always correctly, for example, on p. 17 "The Four Books" (No. 1) is given the date 14 December Ch'ien-lung 20 (1755), which is not December of 1755, but January 15, 1756. In the Russian original, Jachontov indicates "*14 chislo 12-go mesiatsa*" ("the 14th of the 12th month"), which I suggest to translate as "a moon", specifying that the date is given according to the lunar year.

Also, the author does not indicate the books which belonged to A. Ivanovsky, a student of I. Zakharov and later the University professor of Manchu. His books are marked with his personal four-character riddle *ex-libris* (description Nos. 36 and 329). The same *ex-libris* is found on the Manchu and Chinese books kept at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies; some of these books also bear the name of Ivanovsky. Since the author of the catalogue failed to identify the owner of these books, his name is absent in the index of owners.

Many texts described are lacking the title page; in this case the title is either reconstructed by the author or the edition is indicated as lacking a title. But in a number of cases the author just did not find it. It is now evident thanks to the multilingual editions listed in the recently published "Catalogue of the Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs in the St. Petersburg State University Library", compiled by V. Uspensky, Tokyo, 2001. Uspensky has consulted in his work the Manchu collection. For example, a reference book for the recitation of Sanscrit *dhāraṇi*s (No. 400) has

a Manchu title, *Han-i araha manju monggo tanggût hergen-i kamciha tarni hûlara arga*, as well as Mongolian and Tibetan titles (cf. Uspensky, *op. cit.*, p. 839). Further, a Buddhist text in four languages (No. 141) is described in Jachontov's Russian manuscript catalogue as having no title. Walravens reconstructs the title from other printed catalogues, while the original Manchu title is indicated by Uspensky as *Jalafungga sure-i cargi dalin de akûnaha niyaman sere ging* (see Uspensky, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

The text of No. 303 in two languages, Manchu and Mongolian, has a Manchu title — *Mujilen be dasara oyonggo hacin-i bithe* — translated in the edition as "Wichtige Abteilung der Heilung des Herzens". It is a collection of moral precepts, not a medical book as the author states, and should be listed in the other topic division (cf. Uspensky, *op. cit.*, p. 927).

A rare acupuncture text (No. 302), *Sabsire suiha sindara*, in the Russian manuscript and its German edition is given with a misprint. The text is in effect a version of an illustrated manuscript kept at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (see T. Pang, "A Manchu manuscript on acupuncture", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2, June 1999, pp. 65—70).

Every description of the edition is followed by bibliographical data and references to other printed catalogues. But the reader should bear in mind that Jachontov's catalogue was compiled 15 years ago, and it does not include references to many catalogues published since then in the USA, Europe, Russia, and China. The information contained in the catalogue does not reflect the modern state of our knowledge of Manchu books preserved in the world collections. It is worth noting here that the already cited catalogue by V. Uspencky on Mongolian materials and that of T. Pang on Manchu materials in St. Petersburg libraries were published earlier than the catalogue under discussion. They include information on Manchu materials listed in Jachontov's catalogue, with reference to the call numbers. Therefore, the catalogue would have benefited from the inclusion of a concordance of entry and call numbers.

The catalogue under review leaves a feeling that the author has not revised his manuscript version, which has the effect that many omissions are unfortunately present. The bibliographical information, although added by the translator, misleads the reader.

Despite all these omissions, the University librarians and scholars in general should thank both the author of the catalogue and its German editor and translator, H. Walravens, for their work. We are especially grateful to H. Walravens, who saw the importance of the University collection and made it available by publishing its German version. From now on the Manchu collection of the St. Petersburg State University is open not only to the immediate readers of the library, who could use Jachontov's Russian type-written catalogue, but to the international scholarly world as well.

T. Pang

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Notes to Contributors

Submissions

Plate 1

Plate 2

Plate 3

Plate 4