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August 5, 2002 marks sixty years since the birth of Jan Heinrich Mayer, President of the Society of Friends of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, a non-commercial charitable organisation founded in 1992 at his initiative. Jan Mayer was born in Darmstadt during the Second World War, in those dark times of Nazi Germany which could bring his family nothing but calamities. His mother's uncle, Colonel-General Ludwig von Beck, one of the participants of the 1944 anti-Hitler conspiracy, perished following the conspiracy's failure, while her sister was compelled to flee her home and to move from place to place because of her husband's Jewish descent, until, at last, she had to settle down in the United States of America. Darmstadt, this cosy old city, the former capital of the Hessen-Darmstadt duchy, whose ruler, the Great Duke Ludwig IV, is known to have married his two daughters, Alix and Elisabeth, into the Russian Tsar's family, was almost wholly destroyed by the Anglo-American air raids in 1944. The family house of Jan Mayer, whose maternal grandfather, Dr. Draudt, was physician at Darmstadt court, and most probably knew little Alix, the future Russian Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna, remained unreconstructed (only family graves have survived). Jan Mayer's mother, with her three children, had rescued almost miraculously from air bombarding, and ultimately found refuge in the Alps, where Jan had lived in a country house for a long time. Hence his love of mountains and mountain-skiing.

Jan Mayer's father has left his family, and all his three children had to build up their lives themselves. One of Jan's elder sisters became an artist, the other — an art critic, an expert in the history of weaving (today she works at the Chicago Textile Museum). Jan Mayer, who, like his elder sisters, is a personality with artistic leanings, has, however, chosen as his speciality a more "earthly" profession of economist. Until 2002, he worked in a governmental Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau and was busy in particular with crediting operations linked to the pure drink water supply in the African and Asian countries where the problem of water supply is especially acute. With his inspection tours he visited almost entirely all the countries of the "third world". For this reason, he even had to start studying the Swahili. However, his old penchant for the arts appeared to

have been too strong: for some years Jan Mayer has been director of the Frankfurt am Main International Theatre, on whose stage various actors' companies and musicians' bands from different countries appear. Under the roof of this cosy theatre in the midland of Germany, one can hear French, English or Russian tongue, and flamenco music followed by Polish jazz melodies. Jan Mayer's theatre vocation, as he says himself in his interview for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, revealed itself quite unexpectedly for him himself, however, it can be traced back to his voluntary work as the Theatre's economist. But at first his trip to Russia was.

In June 1992, Jan Mayer, together with a group of the friends of the Schirn Museum (Frankfurt am Main), and with the then Museum's managing director, Christoph Vitali, a descendent of the famous sculptor I. Vitali who worked in Russia in the mid-nineteenth century, visited for the first time St. Petersburg and Moscow. It should be noted that before the Iron Curtain's fall, modern Russia was largely terra incognita to the young Western intellectuals. After the 1968 events, the USSR lost many of those who considered themselves his friends. The perestroika, or restructuring of the Soviet economic and political system, and the revolutionary overcoming of the famous putsch, known under the name GKChP, in August 1991, were therefore met with utter enthusiasm in the West. Many people there wanted to help Russia, and all of us remember how great the need for this help was. Jan Mayer's great service was his youthful eagerness to help. One must confess that he did his best: it is at that time that the Society of Friends of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies was founded by him. The Society has done much to help the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies to carry out its research programs by technical supporting the works to preserve its rich manuscript collections.

The Society has been especially crucial for the Branch's restoration programs. Without exaggeration, one can say that in recent years the Society's funds have been the main source for acquiring materials that are unavailable in Russia, yet indispensable for restoring the unique manuscripts and xylographs in the Branch's collection. Without this support, the Branch's exhibition programs would simply not be possible.

Supported by many people in Germany, the Society represents a generous gesture of friendship towards Russian scholarship and Russian scholars.

The Editorial Board of **Manuscripta Orientalia** and all of the staff of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies warmly congratulate Jan Mayer on his 60th birthday and wish him happiness and luck in all his activities, so that his joyous creative attitude to life with which he has been living all these years will never leave him.

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

S. E. Grigoryev

AFGHAN HISTORICAL SOURCES ON THE *KHIRQA* OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD

The halting, gradual spread of Islam in Afghanistan, spaced over nearly a thousand years, led to an abundance of popular Islamic forms of worship there. Because of Afghanistan's distance from the Islamic centres of Arabia, Syria, Iraq and other regions of the Near East, it was not visited by any of the four so-called Rightly-guided caliphs or other great saints of Islam. Yet the country is bursting with graves, *mazārs*, the *ziyārat*s of caliphs and Muslim saints who, however, never saw those places, local saints, *shahīd*s, *hadrat*s, *mūllā*s, *hājjī*s, etc. The population venerates various passes, mountain summits, valleys, rivers, cliffs and rocks, groups of trees and simply spots on the map. Today they are linked with the activities of local or pan-Islamic saints; in fact, they are usually throwbacks to past beliefs held by the inhabitants of this poly-confessional and poly-ethnic country.

Afghanistan contains an enormous number of sacred objects linked by the local population with one of the four Rightly-guided caliphs — 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, traditionally called there Shāh-i mardān (Lord of Mankind). Among the holy places considered by the Afghan population to have a sacred tie with the Prophet Muhammad, two stand out. These are the Friday mosque in the southern Afghan city of Jalalabad, with its hair from the beard of Muhammad, and the *mazār* of *khirqa-yi sharif* in the city of Qandahar (see *fig. 1*), which holds one of the greatest holy relics in Islam, the *khirqa* (cloak, hair-shirt) of the Prophet (see *fig. 2*). Ahmad-shāh Durrānī — founder of the Durrānī empire and one of Afghanistan's most brilliant rulers — was buried in the *mazār* in 1773.

Here is how the well-known Afghan historian 'Azīz al-Dīn Wakīl Pupālzayī describes the *khirqa* of the Prophet: "The *khirqa* is of thick wool, with two short sleeves that are shorter than the flaps. It is made of fine, shining bluish camel's wool. It fits a short man. It has no lining. The two front panels are moth-eaten and hemmed" [1]. According to Afghan legend, the *khirqa* was made by the Prophet himself with the help of his family. The Prophet wore the *khirqa* during his fatal illness. Before his death Muhammad bequeathed it to 'Umar b. al-Khattab al-Farūq, the future sec-

ond caliph, as well as to his father-in-law, the future fourth caliph, 'Alī b. 'Abī Tālib. After the latter's death in 661, the *khirqa* was given to *sayyid* 'Umar b. al-'Amr al-Quranī. The *khirqa* was later taken to Yemen, then to Baghdad, and then to Central Asia. Wherever it was taken, the *khirqa* was usually kept in a specially constructed house that almost immediately became a place of worship.

A number of motifs connected with the appearance of the *khirqa* of the Prophet Muhammad in Afghanistan are, in my view, of special interest. Local Afghan historical sources contains a wealth of information about the complex fate of this relic, which the Afghans so revere. The most important among them is considered the *Sirāj al-Tawārīkh* ("Lantern of History"), which contains the main explanations for the appearance of the *khirqa* of the Prophet in Afghanistan. It is the official historical chronicle of Afghanistan, written by Fayd Muhammad-Khān Kātib, court historiographer to the *amīr* Khabīballāh-khān, who reigned in the early twentieth century. This three-volume work describes the history of Afghanistan from 1747 to 1896; it was published in Kabul in 1913—1915. The second — most significant and valuable materials on the odyssey of the *khirqa* in Afghanistan — are found in the historical manuscript *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān* ("History of Badakhshān"), written by the Badakhshān authors Sang Muhammad Badakhshī and Mīrzā Fadl 'Alī-Bek Surkhafsar at the turn of the nineteenth — twentieth century. It is held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number B 2311). A facsimile edition of the manuscript text, a work of regional Afghan history that narrates the history of Badakhshan, an inaccessible mountainous region in north-eastern Afghanistan, was published in 1959 by Professor A. N. Boldyrev (Leningrad State University). In 1997, a facsimile of this manuscript with a translation from the Persian, introduction, notes and appendices was published by Professor Boldyrev and by the author of the present article.

We read the following about the appearance of the *khirqa* in Afghanistan in the first volume of *Sirāj al-tawārīkh*:

"In 1172 (1758) Ahmad-shāh sent the *wazīr* Shāh Walī-khān with a force of six thousand to Balkh and Badakhshān, where the local populace had revolted. Murād-Bek, the ruler of Bukhara, went to help the inhabitants of Balkh and Badakhshān. The Afghan forces moved from Herat to Bukhara through Meyman, Balkh, Andkhoi and Shibergan (cities in northern Afghanistan — *S. G.*).

Wazīr Shāh Walī-khān went on to Kunduz and Badakhshan. Ahmad-Shāh himself went to Bukhara, and Murād-Bek reached Karshi. Ahmad-Shāh decided not to fight, preferring to begin negotiations with the Bukharans on the question (origins — *S. G.*) of the border along the Jeykhun (Amu-Darya — *S. G.*). According to the author of the work *Tārīkh-i sulṭānī*, an accord was reached [between the Afghan and Bukharan rulers] that the blessed *khirqa* of the Prophet — peace be upon him and all his kin — which was held in Bukhara, should be with all necessary respect sent to His Majesty Ahmad-Shāh. The border between Afghanistan and Bukhara would run along the river Jeyhun. Ahmad-Shāh performed all [the necessary] religious actions [before the *khirqa*] and with complete respect brought it to the esteemed capital (of Afghanistan — *S. G.*), the city of Qandahar ...

The *khirqa* had been brought [earlier] from Mawerannahr to Samarqand, where they built for its storage a [special] building and chose several *sayyids* known for their [pious] ways from among the inhabitants of the village of Dakhbid (now a district of Samarqand — *S. G.*). They were given [land] as a *waqf* and *jāgīr* [to house the *khirqa* and themselves]. [To preserve the *khirqa*] they build a structure with a dome that exists to this day. It is called Hwāja hadrat. They then brought the sacred *khirqa* to Bukhara, and from there to Juzgun (in Afghan Badakhshan — *S. G.*) ... At the behest of Shāh-Walī, who ruled beyond the borders of Juzgun, they built [to house the *khirqa*] a structure with a dome and renamed the city to Fayzabad because of the goodness and grace (Fayzabad literally means "city of grace" — *S. G.*) that the *khirqa* brought from there.

The *khirqa* remained there until His Majesty Ahmad-Shāh brought it to Qandahar. It was conveyed [there] with such honour and nobility that at each stop where the *khirqa* was unloaded they wrote special notes and hung them on the necks of the camels [that had earlier carried the *khirqa*] that they then released. The

Fig. 1

camels stayed with whomever they chose to stop with. When they came to Kuhistan (a mountainous region to the north-east of Kabul — *S. G.*), the number of pilgrims compelled them to leave the *khirqa* in each stop for two—three days before moving on to the next *manzīl* (stop — *S. G.*).

They thus reached Kabul and stopped at a distance of two *kurūh* (a *kurūh* equals 2 km) to the north-west of the city and to the south of Aliabad (now a part of Kabul — *S. G.*) on the slope of a hill. They kept the *khirqa* there for eight—nine months. A great number of pilgrims gathered there and the *khirqa* was at times taken out of the chest and spread on a rock that later came to be called Qadamgāh-i Shāh-i Mardān (Footprint of the Lord of Men — *S. G.*). They later erected a domed *mazār* there (on that spot — *S. G.*).

Then, at the behest of His Majesty Ahmad-Shāh, the *khirqa* was taken to Qandahar, where they began the construction of a large *mazār* [to house the *khirqa*]. Ahmad-Shāh Durrānī himself was buried there..." [2].

The *khirqa* of the Prophet Muhammad is to this day held in the city of Qandahar. It is perhaps the most venerated religious relic in this southern Afghani city.

The authors of the "History of Badakhshān" describe the *khirqa*'s stay in the city of Badakhshan (see also *fig. 3*):

"...several respected people from among the Samarqand *hwājas* took with them the blessed, noble, esteemed *khirqa* of the Prophet [Muhammad] and set off for India through Chitral and Badakhshan. After they had [already] left Badakhshan and drawn near the Du Rah pass (the highest pass in the Hindukush; it connects Badakhshan and Chitral — *S. G.*), news of this event reached the ears of the *amīr* [of Badakhshan, Yari-Bek] (the *khān* who ruled Badakhshan in the second half of the seventeenth century — very beginning of the eighteenth century — *S. G.*).

Without delay the *amīr* sent people in pursuit. After bringing the *hwājas* back from the peak of the Du Rah pass, they brought [them] to the *amīr*. After that, they were not permitted to bring the blessed *khirqa* to India and it was de-

cided that the blessed *khirqa* should remain in Badakhshan in a place of worship and a sacred *mazār*.
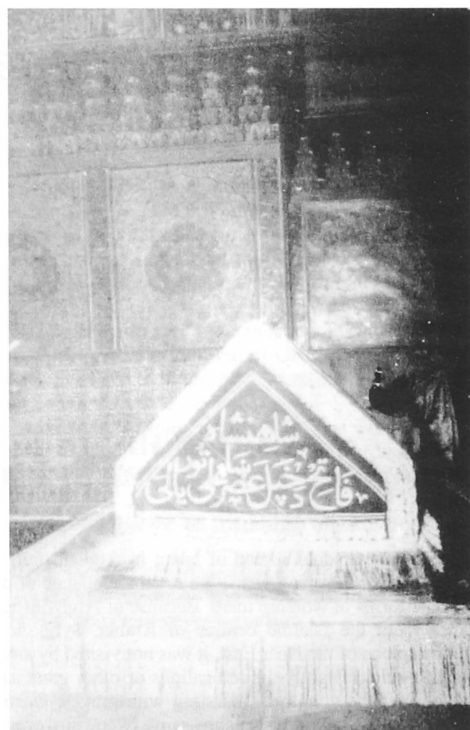
The *hwājas* who had carried the *khirqa* to Badakhshan were given a place to live, land, and gardens. They settled [there]. A fine, high building was constructed in the city to house the sacred *khirqa*; it became a place of worship for the faithful. The Samarqand *hwājas* who had brought the *khirqa* were raised at this sacred threshold to the level of *shaykhs*, guardians and preachers. To this day they pass on from father to son [the title of] *shaykh* and guardian at the high threshold. Since the sacred *khirqa* was held in the city of [Juzgan], by that kindness they called the capital of Badakhshan Fayzabad" [3].

As presented in the two Afghan historical works, the descriptions how the *khirqa* of the Prophet Muhammad arrived in Afghanistan are by and large the same, but differ noticeably in the details. This seems quite natural, as the history of the numerous sacred Islamic objects and relics that have appeared in Afghanistan is shrouded in legend, discrepancy, and contradiction.
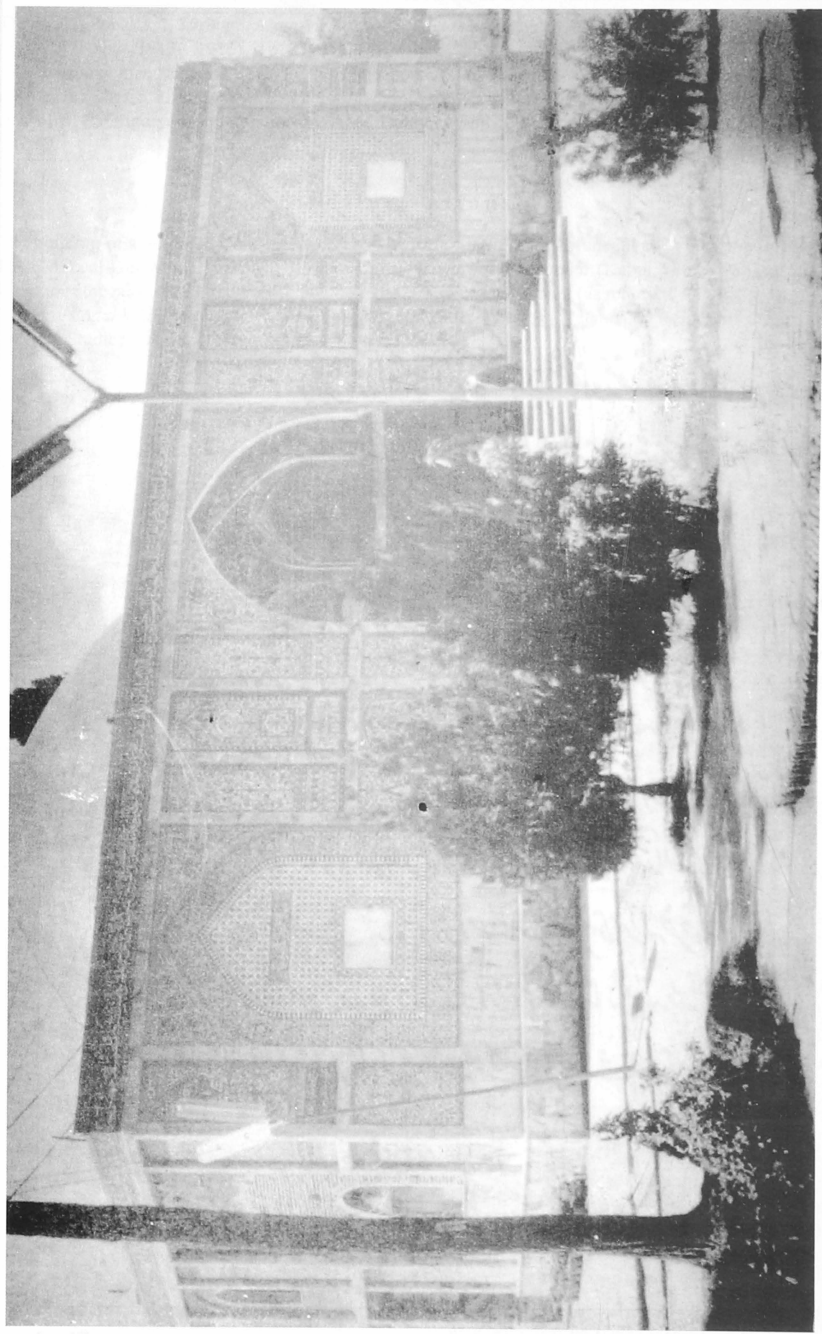
Fig. 2

بكوشش دوراه قريب مى‌ساينند كه ضرورت آنقه بكوشش ميريزننتا

وآمير يلا توقف آدمان متعقب فرصى ده خواجهكان را

از سركوتل م دوراه كردانيده و وارد حضور نمودند وبولان

خرقهٔ مباركه را بطرف هند بردن نكذ اشتنه مصلحت

بران قرار دادندكه خرقهٔ مباركه درخط بدخشان محل

زيارت ومزار متبركه باشد لنذ اخواجهكان خرقه

برنده را در بدخشان جاى سكونت زمين وخانه

وباغ مهربانى كرده متمكس ساخته و اندرشه مبحل خوب

را محفر نهادن و ماندن خرقهٔ مبارك كه عمارت عاليه

وزيارتكاه بكنينيس كردانيده وخرقه را در آنعمارت

غذاشتنذ وخواجهكان بشينمرى راكه خرقه را

آنها اوركده بودنذ دران آستانهٔ مقدسهٔ تيهٔ

شينخى ومتولى كرى و صاحب البعوتى بخشيدند تا هذاالان

دران

Fig. 3

Notes

1. 'Azīz al-Dīn Wakīl Pupālzayī, *Tārīkh-i khirqa-yi sharifa-yi qandahār* (Kabul, 1367/1988), p. 12.
2. *Sirāj al-tawārīkh* (Kabul, 1913—1915), i, p. 27.
3. *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān*, manuscript B 2311 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 1325/1907, Qandahār, fol. 6b. Cf. also *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān*, manuscript facsimile. Text, translation from the Persian by A. N. Boldyrev with the assistance of S. E. Grigoryev, introduction by A. N. Boldyrev and S. E. Grigoryev. Notes and appendices by S. E. Grigoryev (Moscow, 1997), p. 29.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The building of a *mazār* in Qandahār where the *khirqa* of the Prophet Muḥammad is preserved. Reproduced from 'Azīz al-Dīn Wakīl Pupālzayī, *Tārīkh-i khirqa-yi sharifa-yi qandahār* (Kabul, 1367/1988), p. 56.
Fig. 2. Interior of the *mazār*, with the chest containing the *khirqa* of the Prophet (as represented *ibid.*, p. 149).
Fig. 3. *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān*, manuscript B 2311 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 6b, 20.5×12.5 cm.

E. A. Rezvan

ON THE HISTORY OF 'ISHQIYYA BROTHERHOOD SACRED RELICS. I:
THE *KHIRQA* OF THE PROPHET*

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, reports from Afghanistan speak of a Muslim holy relic, the *khirqa-yi mubārak* ("blessed mantle"). Perhaps the only known images of Ṭālibān leader Mūllā 'Umar are the internationally famous pictures of him receiving the *khirqa* of the Prophet, which sanctifies his power and underscores the messianic role assigned to him and the *ṭālibhaye karam* ("merciful *ṭālibs*"), chosen to carry out the mission of the *farishta-yi najāt*, angels who liberate the world's Muslims from the godless West. The very appearance of the Ṭālibān was called an *'urūj* (raising) [1]. The Emirate they created was only the first step on the path to creating a world-wide caliphate, a task they stressed with their ritual "coronation" and ceremonial presentation of the blessed *khirqa* to the "renewer of the faith" (*mujaddid*), Mūllā 'Umar.

This use of holy relics was traditional for medieval Islam. According to legend, Muḥammad presented his *burda*, a piece of woollen cloth, which was worn as a cloak by day and used as a blanket by night, to Qa'b b. Zuhayr as a reward for a poem that eulogised the Prophet. Later it was bought by Mu'āwiya, and then preserved in the treasury of the 'Abbāsid caliphs, who treated it together with the warder and seal of the Umayyads as the symbols of caliph's power and dignity. The fame of the legendary relic reached nearly all outposts of the Muslim world after the appearance of *Qaṣīdat al-burda* by Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Buṣīrī (1212—1294) [2].

According to some sources the *burda* perished during the Mongol siege of Baghdad, but in the early sixteenth century, when a new Islamic dynasty, the Ottomans, claimed power over *dār al-islām*, a very similar relic found its way to Istanbul together with the key of Mecca and other Islamic relics. *Khirqa-yi sharīf* or *khirqa-yi sa'ādat*, one of the mantles ascribed to the Prophet, was brought to the Ottoman capital by Muḥammad Abū Numayy, son of the *sharīf* of Mecca, after the conquest of Egypt in 1517 by the Ottoman ruler Selim I (r. 1512—1520). It immediately became one of the symbols of Ottoman power (sward-girding and oath of allegiance ceremonies) and the alleged

sacred source of their military successes. Today the 1.24 cm-long black mantle with wide sleeves and a cream-coloured woollen lining is preserved at the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul "wrapped in seven silk velvet cloths, embroidered with gold thread; these in turn are protected by a gold box with a double lid, which is given further protection by a gold casket... This is then placed on a silver table in the silver throne" [3].

Another *khirqa* of the Prophet appeared in Istanbul in 1617—1618. We note that this *khirqa* was believed to have been sent by the Prophet to the famous Ṣūfī Uways al-Qaranī. Now it is preserved in one of the Istanbul mosques and displayed to the public every year between 15 Ramaḍān and Laylat al-Qadr.

Two years ago I published an article on the so-called "'Uthmānic Qur'ān" from Katta Langar (now in Uzbekistan) [4]. At the turn of the fifteenth — sixteenth centuries, such a copy appeared among the sacred relics of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood. The latter also included such significant items as a *tasbīh*, a string of yellow rosary beads which allegedly belonged to Muḥammad himself (they were stored in the Katta Langar mosque and shown to those who performed the *ziyāra*, but no one was allowed to hold them); *muy-i mubārak*, sacred hairs from the beard of Muḥammad [5]; and, finally, a *khirqa* or *janda-chapan*, which was also supposed to have belonged to Muḥammad.

The *khirqa* was of light-brown camel skin. The fabric was covered in yellow, blue, and red decorations. Some felt that the *khirqa* was made from the skin of the sheep sacrificed by Ibrāhīm. According to tradition, it had no seams and was miraculously created for Muḥammad. It was also said to possess a special quality: it appeared to be of varying colours to all who succeeded in seeing it [6].

There is also an interesting legend about how the *khirqa* made its way to Māwarā'al-nahr. According to tradition, Muḥammad bequeathed it on his deathbed to the Yamanī Uways al-Qaranī, one of the first Ṣūfīs to convert to Islam in the spirit of the Prophet. The latter is said to have lived in a cave not far from "Northern Langar".

E. REZVAN. *On the History of 'Ishqiyya Brotherhood Sacred Relics. I: the Khirqa of the Prophet*

11

Muḥammad charged Abū Bakr and two of his military leaders with delivering the *khirqa*. According to another version, the *khirqa* was brought to Yemen by the future caliphs 'Uthmān and 'Alī, where they presented it to Uways; much later, one of the latter's pupils took it to Māwarā'al-nahr. Others believed that the *khirqa* was brought there by Uways himself.

In the present issue of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, you will find an article of one of the leading Russian experts on Afghan history, Prof. Sergei Grigoryev, on the accounts of Afghan historical sources on the history of the Prophet's *khirqa* preserved now in Kandahār. According to him, the appearance of the holy *khirqa* in Kandahār took place in the mid-eighteenth century and is connected with the activities of Aḥmad-shāh Durrānī (d. 1773), the first of the Sadūzay rulers of Afghanistan and founder of the Durrānī empire.

Those times political instability and military raids on nearby cities also affected Katta Langar. Constant internal strife led to the appearance of Kazakhs, who in 1723 were brought there by one of the contenders for the *khān*'s throne. But their obedience soon ended, and with truly catastrophic consequences: surrounding towns, including such large centres as Samarqand and Shahr-i Sabz, were completely deserted. Groups of Kazakhs roamed the region. On occupying Katta Langar, they turned the mosque and *mazār* into a cattle-pen; on leaving, they took with them everything of value. The population hid in the mountains, spiriting away their sacred relics; they were not soon to return [7].

The *khirqa* thus departed from Katta Langar and found its way back to Afghanistan, whence it came at the turn of the sixteenth century [8]. The description of the Kandahār *khirqa* is very close to that of Katta Langar. According to the Afghan sources, it was brought from the region of Bukhara-Karshi and is also connected with Yemen and a certain 'Umar b. al-'Amir al-Quranī (Uways al-Qaranī?). It seems to me that the Afghan historical sources supply the missing pages in the history of the Prophet's *khirqa*, which for at least two centuries belonged to the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood. It is the relic that was used by Mūllā 'Umar to sanctify his power and underscore his messianic role as the new caliph, legatee of the Umayyads, 'Abbāsids and Ottomans.

Notes

1. R. R. Sikoev, "Ot ėmirata do khalifata (o messianskikh ambitsiiakh rukovodstva talibov)" ("From emirate to caliphate: the messianic ambitions of the Ṭālibān leaders"), in *Musul'manskie strany u granits SNG* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 144—5.

2. Al-Buṣīrī's famous *qaṣīda* was dedicated to self-deprecation, as well as to praising the Prophet and his miracles. According to tradition, the partially paralysed poet composed it and loudly recited it after praying. Once, in a dream, al-Buṣīrī saw Muḥammad, who, by dressing him in his cloak (*al-burda*), healed the poet. Word of the miraculous healing soon spread. The story tells that the poem became extremely popular and was regarded as possessing supernatural power. It came to be used in amulets, it adorned the walls of public buildings, it was read along with *sūra*s of the Qur'ān at burial ceremonies. Late Ṣūfī authors composed in abundance commentaries on al-Buṣīrī's poem. These works frequently became independent theological treatises. See R. Basset, *La Bordah du cheikh al-Busiri, poème en l'honneur de Mohammed* (Paris, 1894); see also I. Goldziher's review of the work by R. Basset in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XXXI (1896), pp. 304—11.

3. N. Atasoy, "Khirḳa-yi sherîf", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM edition, v. 1.0 (Leiden, 1999). See also Tahsin Öz, *Hirka-i Saadet dairesi ve emanat-i mukaddese* (Istanbul, 1953) and Kemal Çığ, *Relics of Islam* (Istanbul, 1966).

4. E. Rezvan, "Yet another "'Uthmānic Qur'ān" (on the history of manuscript E 20 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VI / 1 (2000), pp. 49—68.

5. According to the accounts of long-time residents, the hair of the Prophet was red or light-brown. This occasionally startled pilgrims who believed that Muḥammad was dark-haired.

6. M. E. Masson, "Katta Liangar v oblasti srednevekovogo Kesha" ("Katta Langar in the region of medieval Kesh"), *Trudy Tashkentskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. V. I. Lenina*. Fasc. 295: *arkheologiia Srednei Azii*, VII (Tashkent, 1966), pp. 96—7.

7. Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93—6.

8. Rezvan, *op. cit.*, pp. 52—3.

Val. V. Polosin

'UNWĀN ILLUMINATIONS IN ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS (PART 1)

Unlike miniatures, which are for well-known reasons un-usual in Arabic manuscripts [1], artistic *'unwāns* are among those adornments which became an organic part of the Ara-bic manuscript book. Despite this, however, the number of Arabic manuscripts adorned with *'unwāns* is likely not very large. While we lack any broader statistics, we present the results for the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: among 10,822 descriptions of manuscripts in the published catalogue [2] there are fewer than 200 copies with artistic *'unwāns*; no more than 1.8% of the entire collection.

Despite these modest indicators, the amount of study accorded artistic *'unwāns* does not at present correspond to their significance in the Arabic manuscript tradition. The only specialized study remains Cl. Huart's entry in the "Encyclopaedia of Islam" [3], which contains but a few lines and is entirely outdated. It is likely thanks to the pres-tige of the Encyclopedia of Islam that the term "*'unwān*", used by Huart to designate this particular phenomenon, has been adopted in the literature [4], despite the inconven-iences it causes [5]. In recent decades, however, many au-thors have taken to avoiding it, replacing it — with some justification — with the term "headpiece" (Russian *zastavka*, German *Kopfstück*) [6].

In general, in works on manuscripts or the art of the manuscript book, artistic *'unwāns* are mentioned rather frequently, but these mentions are, unfortunately, usually in passing, and fail to add anything essential or new to this rather interesting topic. The only exceptions I know of are the descriptions of the artistic *'unwān* given by A. B. Khalidov [7], L. V. Dmitrieva [8], and O. F. Akimushkin and A. A. Ivanov [9]. They are appar-ently the first attempts to describe the *'unwān* as a type of manuscript book decoration typical of Muslim art; they merit interest not only because they are constructive, but because they are, paradoxically, mutually non-coincident and non-contradictory [10].

As concerns the illustrative material on artistic *'unwāns*, it has remained exceptionally thin and infrequent. Moreover, it is spread over many editions. The description of Arab manuscripts is still dominated by a tendency to-ward palaeographic appendices, and catalogues, which are the main sources of information for manuscript scholars, traditionally present illustrative material in keeping with this *idée fixe*. We provide two examples over a broad chronological spectrum: the catalogue of W. Ahlwardt [11]

and the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [12], the appendices of which contain, respectively, 63 and 96 photo reproductions, do not give a single artistic *'unwān*. The codicological orientation among archaeogra-phers is only beginning to take root, and in G. Schoeler's 1990 catalogue, for example, 7 of 129 photographs repro-duce *'unwāns* [13]. A notable number of *'unwāns* have been published by D. Duda [14], but the explanation there is somewhat different (she has described only illuminated manuscripts). The *'unwāns* published outside of catalogues have been few and far between.

The reproduction source material for the study of *'unwāns* is still in a state of infancy. While this process continues, and with much of the accumulated material still unstudied, we must apparently deal with the difficult task of treating verbal descriptions of *'unwāns* in catalogues and in the scholarly literature. The timely creation of a technical language for this, currently lacking, would lessen authors' dependence on the troublesome and costly inclusion of photo reproductions. This is one of the tasks that the present article aims to perform.

A careful study of reproductions and unpublished origi-nals from the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies has shown that the external decorative diversity of artistic *'unwāns* conceals a comparatively simple composition common to all or most *'unwāns* in Arab, Persian, and Turkic manuscripts.

It is this compositional structure, which displays some variation, that could provide the basis for classifying *'unwāns* and for a formal verbal description in catalogues and sec-ondary literature. All of the necessary terminology we cur-rently lack could be developed in the course of studying and describing concrete examples, for we will need such terms as soon as *'unwāns* become the object of the greater attention they warrant.

The generalized image of an *'unwān* resembles a verti-cal cross-section of a well. This comparison — only one, of course, of several analogies that come to mind — allows us to develop the necessary terminology for our descriptions. The outline (O), or contour, of the well is a key element in the composition of an artistic *'unwān* and the main criterion for the formal classification of *'unwāns*. As numerous ex-amples suggest, one can identify three more elements in the well: its cup (C), an indispensable element in *'unwān* com-position, and its base (B) and foot (F), which are common, but optional (either together or individually). The outline

(O) holds together the elements employed by the artist (C, B, F) and forms a figure that is the compositional structure of the *'unwān*.

In the second and third varieties (*figs. 2* and *3*), the outline (O) gradually expands (in comparison with the first variety) to include the perimeter of B and F.

Now that they have been described, these three compositional elements are easy to identify in the majority of *'unwān* illuminations [18]. But without this preparatory step, it would likely be difficult to see their presence and repetition. This is hindered to some degree by the elaborate adornments that cover the entire *'unwān* with their distracting abundance of colour and variety. The decorations, which usually entwine the outline (O), are, however, a separate component, which camouflages the standard figure. They require special analysis and will receive minimal treatment here.

On the whole, the ornamental-decorative component in *'unwāns* forms a structured adornment in accordance with the basic compositional elements identified here. In other words, each of the three elements receives its share of ornamentation; together they make up either an ornamental ensemble or an composite ornamental composition. Thus, in the cup (C) of the well, which is sometimes left "empty," one usually finds a domical decorative composition or a "domical triptych" decorative figure with many variants (*figs. 4, 6*). Such figures often receive additional adornment in the form of stem-like vertical lines equidistant from each other and rising upward from the surface of the domes (*figs. 5, 7*) [19]. Such decorative stems can be the basic (or even the only) adornment in the hollow of the cup, rising directly from its bottom.

The base of the well (B) and the foot (F) are horizontal extended rectangles decorated — especially the base — with straight lines that form a series of concentric borders of various colours. They are usually imaginatively filled in with ornamental arabesques. The decorative fabric of any of the three elements examined here (C, B, F) may contain a cartouche with text (the name of the work or the *basmala*).

This is the principal means of structuring any *'unwān*. Its simplicity — even a certain primitiveness, if one ignores the decorative-ornamental camouflage — suggests that this was, in a fashion, a set pattern that likely did not evolve. As concerns its evolution, it is difficult to judge it because of the paucity of dated material. But the examples known to me are dated across a wide spectrum ranging from the mid-fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries; they display no changes in the basic structural pattern described above (I note that I omit here a discussion of the decorative-ornamental elements).

Moreover, an examination of *'unwāns* in actual manuscripts casts unexpected light on the likely reason for this structural conservatism. "Live" manuscripts helped us to reveal the irreproducible physical evidence of limitations with which the copyist (or manuscript itself) may have imposed on the artist, spurring him to use standard rules or means to structure *'unwāns*. The special technique of lining paper for text that was used by the copyists of Arab (and, in general Muslim) manuscripts seems to be such a limitation.

This technique involved the use of a stencil (*misṭara*) for lining. It had a raised rectangular border that set the format and dimensions of the text to come. The area within the border was divided into lines, also upraised, for the desired number of text lines [20]. The stencil was placed beneath the paper, the latter was smoothed out by hand, and an embossed, colourless print resulted. This provided identical lining for the text throughout the manuscript [21].

As it turns out, the structure of the *'unwān* illumination above the text was closely connected with this stenciled lining of the paper. Perhaps this connection can clarify the origins of *'unwān* illuminations in Arab manuscripts. We base this supposition on the existence of a special category of manuscripts that is known, but practically unstudied —
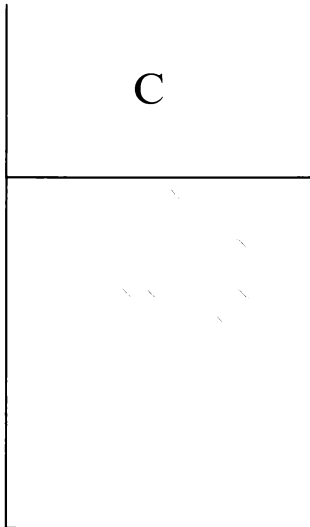

Fig. 1 The well as such together with the cup (C). The outline here coincides with the perimeter of the well [15].
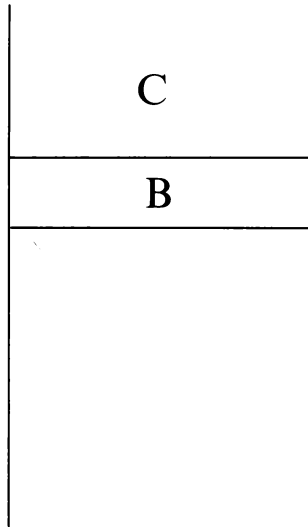
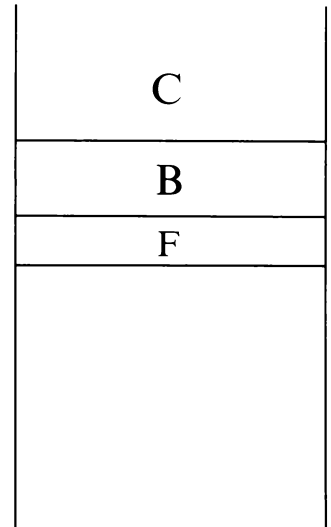*Fig. 2* The cup of the well and its base (C+B) (see *figs. 4—6*) [16].

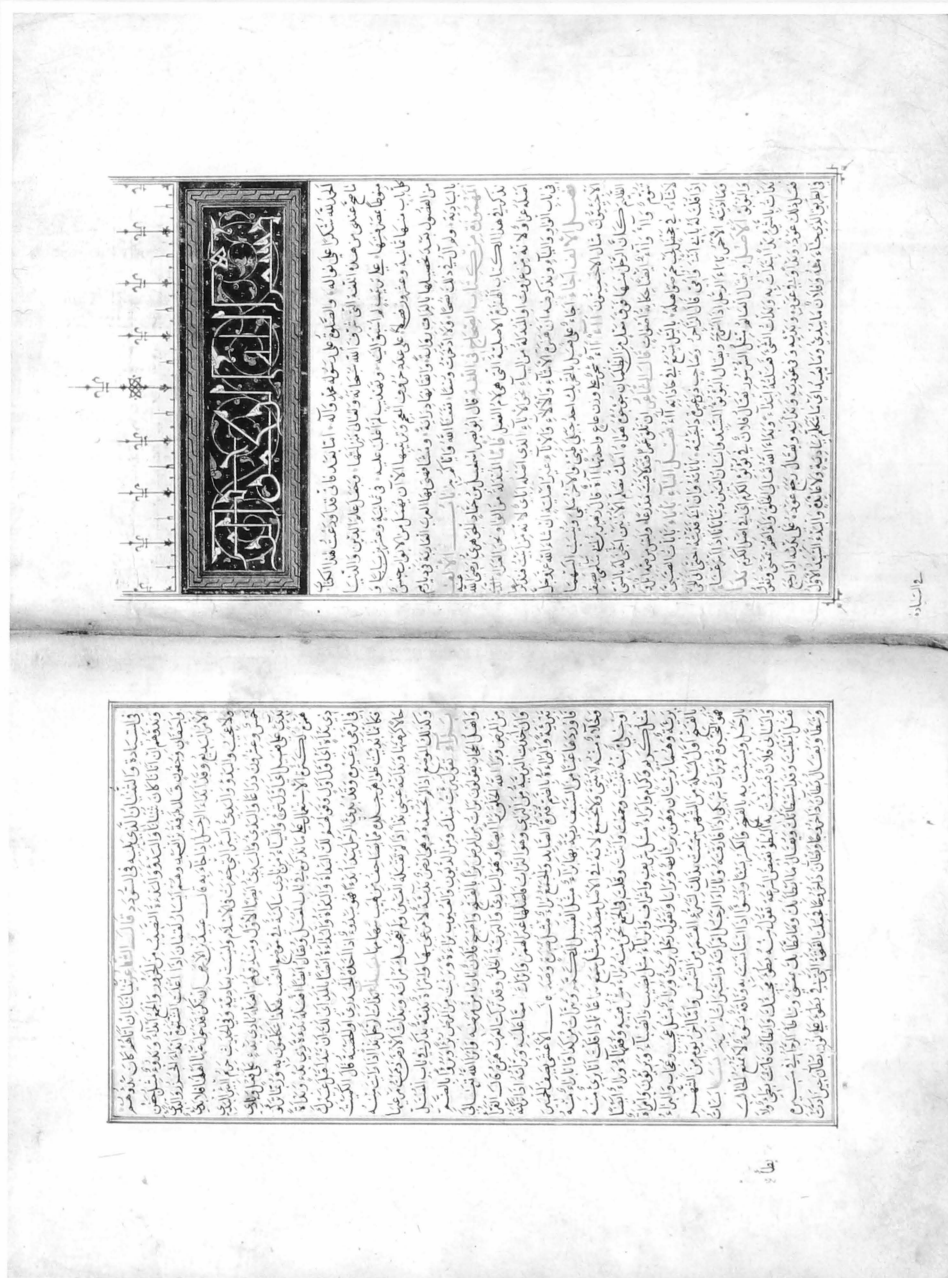*Fig. 3* Cup, base and foot (C+B+F) (see *fig. 7*) [17].
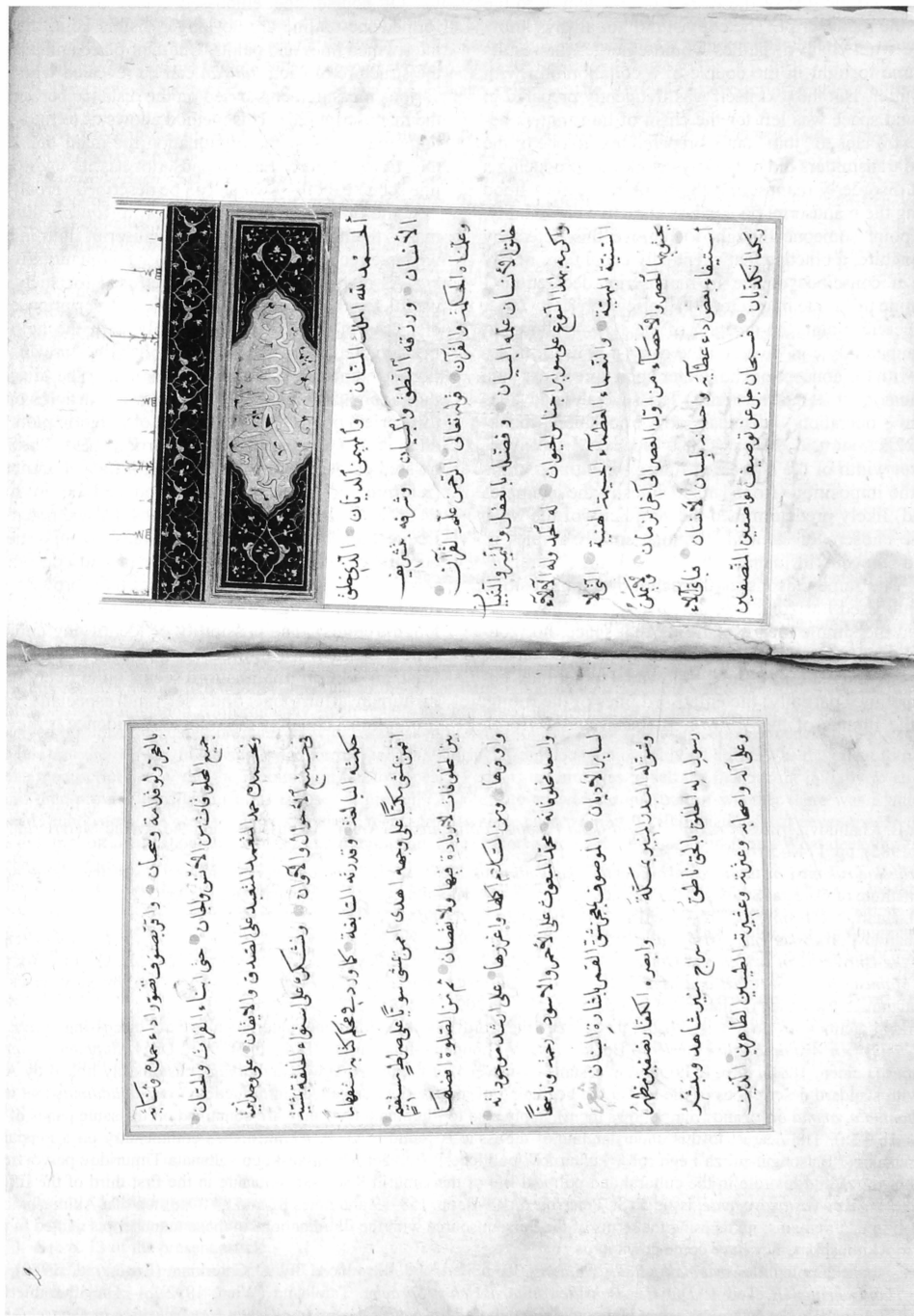
Fig. 4

Fig. 5

manuscripts exclusively for scholars that observe certain rules for the written transmission of knowledge. A characteristic of such manuscripts was the enumeration of people who transmitted the text of the work from the author to the copyist of the manuscript. The copyist did not always know in advance what chain of names would emerge; the results usually came to light in the course of a collaboration with the transmitter. But the text itself was frequently prepared in advance, and space was left for the chain of transmitters before the text. Plans to "join" one's prepared text to one of the recognized transmitters did not always work out, producing a somewhat disorderly manuscript: the blank ruled lines stood out, making the manuscript book a less attractive commodity. At some point someone thought to remove this defect by adding a picture, a practice that eventually caught on, finally becoming a conscious device in manuscript decoration. I shall examine this issue in greater detail elsewhere.

At a certain point, the creation of the *'unwān* illumination was apparently conceived by the copyist himself. In accordance with his conception, he (either upon agreement with the illuminator, or at his own risk) left several ruled lines blank, an operation identical to imposition bookprinting [22].

The set width of the embossed ruling (*mistara*) and the depth of the imposition (from 1 to 17 lines in the examples I reviewed) likely predetermined the simplicity of the welllike figure chosen for *'unwān* illuminations. Examples of unfinished *'unwān*s in manuscripts ground this natural assumption. The same reasons — the depth of the imposition and the embossed horizontals of *mistara* — must have predetermined the simple means of filling that space: horizontally extended rectangles (one or two, depending on the depth of the imposition). They followed (sometimes entirely, sometimes partially) the embossed lines of the ruling, forming the figures of the *'unwān*: B (base) and F (foot).

Everything else in the *'unwān* sprang from the individual artist's imagination, which may have reflected local artistic schools and the tastes of the era [23].

Of course, the embossed traces of the *mistara* that formed the outline are no longer visible amid the complex, intertwined lines and paints. But their place and actual role in the structure of each *'unwān* can be revealed with the aid of various measurements based on the distance between lines in the manuscript [24]. This method allows us to find among the numerous lines of the illumination the main lines that form the *'unwān* figure. Each manuscript has its own colour and line scheme, both of which can be described verbally.

The presence of line schemes in *'unwān* illuminations makes them part of a group of manuscript illuminations that we have recently proposed for studying quantitatively.

As always, the measurements used for such study are useful for the subsequent numerical description of various elements in the *'unwān*. It is only with the help of these measurements that we can establish in *'unwān* illuminations geometric harmonization zones. The discovery of these zones (we plan to publish several articles on them in this series) points to the existence of numeric plots based on an already known group of proportions [25]. They can now be studied. Measurements are useful for yet another reason (returning to a theme I have touched on in my earlier work [26]): the stem-like decorations that we noted above as frequent additions to domical decorative compositions in the cup of the well (C) are possibly more than just decorative.

At least in several manuscripts they provide measurements of width that correlate with historical Arab units of length (cubits). The possibility of identifying cubit units as a new element for the localization of a manuscript (or, at least, an *'unwān* illumination) seems quite likely. For where in human affairs one finds set (and especially canonical) proportions, concrete metrological evidence is inevitable.

Notes

1. A. B. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia* (Arabic Manuscripts and the Arabic Manuscript Tradition) (Moscow, 1985), pp. 174—5.

2. *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR. Kratkiĭ katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. A Brief Catalogue), ed. A.B. Khalidov, pt. 1 (Moscow, 1986), pp. 38—522.

3. Cl. Huart, " *'Unwān*", *EI*, Bd. 4 (Leiden—Leipzig, 1924), p. 1109.

4. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia*, p. 174; J. J. Witkam, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, fasc. 4 (Leiden, 1986), p. 424 (Ms. Or. 14.276); *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in SS Cyril and Methodius National Library, Sofia, Bulgaria. Hadith Sciences.* Comp. by Stoyanka Kenderova. Ed. by Muhammad Isa Waley (London, 1995), pp. 88—9, 96—7, 200—1, 288—9.

5. Arabic dictionaries do not establish a tie between the word *'unwān* and the book adornment we are discussing. See E. W. Lane, *Madd al-Qāmūs. An Arabic-English Lexicon.* Book 1, vol. V (London—Edinburgh, 1874), p. 2179; R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), ii, p. 183. One can assume, however, that the terms *'unwān* and *dībāja*, customarily linked by Arabic philologists with standard descriptions of the text at the beginning of manuscripts (so-called "introductions" or *muqaddima*s that include the *basmala, hamdala, amma ba'd*, and what follows them), apply also to illuminations if they are contained on the same pages of the manuscript (fols. 1b—2a). The nearest to this understanding of the issue is found in O. F. Akimushkin's commentary on a Persian text: see O. F. Akimushkin, "Baĭsongur-mirza i ego rol' v kul'turnoĭ i politicheskoĭ zhizni Khorasanskogo sultanata Timuridov pervoĭ treti XV v." ("Bāisunghur-mīrzā and his role in the cultural and political life of the Tīmūrid Khorasan sultanate in the first third of the fifteenth century"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, issue 5 (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 158—9 and notes 82 and 84. One step that Akimushkin for some reason failed to take remains: juxtaposing the terms of the Persian source with the illuminations in those manuscripts named in the source; according to Akimushkin, they have come down to us.

6. See, for example, *Mawarannahr Book Painting*, compiled and introduced by O. Galerkina (Leningrad, 1980); D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II. Teil 1: Die Handschriften in Arabischer Sprache.* Tafelband (Wien, 1992). — Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 5; *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland.* Bd 17: *Arabische Handschriften.* Reihe B. Teil 2. Beschrieben von G. Schoeler (Stuttgart, 1990) (Kopfstück; verzierte Anfangsseite). These selective examples can now be augmented with two comments made by M. I. Waley and F. Déroche in the book *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe* (Paris, 2000): "Selon certains, le *sarlowh/sarlawh* serait un panneau enluminé d'assez grandes dimensions placé au début d'un texte ou d'une section de texte; il s'opposeraita *'unwān*, qui ne s'appliquerait qu'a des bandeaux occupant

moins d'un quart de la surface de la page. Ici, le mot *sarlowh* est appliqué à un bandeau de titre" (p. 246, n. 4) and "... il faut souligner derechef que tous les termes qui seront employés ne sont pas universellement admis, tant en ce qui concerne leur sens que leur application. Le mot *'unwān*, par exemple, désigne souvent un bandeau de titre enluminé, mais des historiens de l'art et des auteurs de catalogues l'emploient, eux, pour un décor en pleine page, avec ou sans l'incipit; d'autres préfèrent, dans ce cas, parler de *sarlowh*" (p. 259).

7. A. B. Khalidov, "Knizhnaia kul'tura" ("Book culture"), in *Ocherki istorii arabskoĭ kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Moscow, 1982), p. 292; *idem, Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia*, p. 174; *idem*, "Rukopisnaia kniga v arabskoĭ kul'ture" ("The manuscript book in Arab culture"), in *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka. Ocherki.* Book one (Moscow, 1987), p. 293.

8. L. V. Dmitrieva, "Turetskaia arabopis'mennaia rukopisnaia kniga" ("The Turkish Arabic-script manuscript book"), *ibid.*, pp. 468—9.

9. O. F. Akimushkin and A. A. Ivanov, "The art of illumination", in *The Art of the Book in Central Asia: 14th—16th centuries.* Gen. ed. B. Gray (Paris—London, 1979), pp. 35—57, especially pp. 38—46.

10. Cf. *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren...* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 18—9.

11. W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, Bd. 1—10 (Berlin, 1887—1899). — Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Bd VII—IX, XVI—XXII.

12. *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia. Kratkiĭ katalog*, pp. 237—335.

13. *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland.* Bd 17: *Arabische Handschriften.* Teil 2.

14. Duda, *op. cit.*

15. The following published examples fall into this category: S. Dahan, *Le Diwan d'Abu Firas al-Hamdani.* No. 1 (Damas, 1944), pp. 40 ff.; O. F. Akimushkin, "Persidskaia rukopisnaia kniga" ("The Persian manuscript book"), in *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka. Ocherki.* Book one (Moscow, 1987), ills. 47; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte.* Teil 2 (Stuttgart, 1987), Taf. 18, Abb. 26; *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Abb. 110 and 123; Duda, *op. cit.*, Abb. 167, 175, 176, 194, 205; U. N. al-Naqshbandī and Z. M. 'Abbās, *Makhṭūṭāt al-adab fī-l-maṭhaf al-'Irāqī* (*Adab* Manuscripts in the Iraqi Museum) (Kuwait, 1406/1985), ill. 12.

16. Examples: *Mawarannahr Book Painting*, p. 27 and ill. 2; R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Teil 1 (Stuttgart, 1976), Taf. 48, Abb. 58; *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Abb. 96, 99, 121; al-Naqshbandī and 'Abbās, *op. cit.*, ill. 9.

17. *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Abb. 111.

18. It is possible that in some cases the individual characteristics of illuminations will require the addition of some terms, and some illuminations may go by a different name. With the extension of quantitative analysis to *'unwān* illuminations we will need new terms. Whatever they may be, they are indispensable, if only to distinguish between the quantifiable and unquantifiable elements of illuminations.

19. A special album published in Turkey treats this type of decoration in *'unwān* illuminations: see *Tezhip sanatında tıg* (Ankara, 1991).

20. On the *mistara*, see Val. V. Polosin, "Arabic manuscripts: text density and its convertibility in copies of the same work", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/2 (1997), pp. 4 ff.; *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, p. 117, n. 20; also pp. 118, 175—8, 185.

21. For a page ruled in this fashion, see *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, p. 174, ill. 63.

22. In this regard I would like to draw attention to the rather large number of manuscripts where we find space left for an *'unwān* illumination but no illumination. Unfortunately, such details are not noted in manuscript descriptions. But this evidence of a plan that was conceived but never executed provides us with essential information on the history of manuscripts production. For example, these cases suggest that the copyist, in leaving space for the *'unwān*, "infringed" on cooperation with the artist. Was the intent to raise the sale price of the manuscript? Why did the illumination fail to appear? Perhaps the aim was to sell the manuscript initially to an illuminator who would then provide the illuminations and sell it himself? In order to answer the question of whether there was a union between copyists and illuminators, we need to investigate those manuscripts where space was left for illuminations that never appeared. Given the existence of a proportional canon, did copyists and illuminators agree beforehand on the textual imposition? What does this "imposition" mean in the context of a proportional canon?

23. In general, *'unwān* illuminations are, in the context of codicology, a part of the "organization of text on the page". This type of illumination does not, for all practical purposes, exist outside of this context. This is why it makes sense to show *'unwān* illuminations as part of an entire page; ideal would be a two-page display. Even art historians, I believe, would be dissatisfied with a "cut-out" of an illuminated page, especially in a black-and-white reproduction: both the composition on the page and colour scheme are lost. What remains to study?

24. For more on this unit of measurement, see *Manuel de codicologie des manuscrits en écriture arabe*, pp. 172—3.

25. See, for example, Val. V. Polosin, "'All is numbers'? An unknown numerical component in the design of medieval Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/1 (1999), pp. 7—11; *idem*, "Unknown numerical aesthetics in the design of Turkish manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VII/4 (2001), pp. 30—6.

26. *Idem*, "Frontispieces on the scale canvas in Arabic manuscripts", *ibid.*, II/1 (1996), pp. 5—19.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. See p. 13 of the present article.

Fig. 2. See p. 13 of the present article.

Fig. 3. See p. 13 of the present article.

Fig. 4. *Qur'ān, sūra* 6, manuscript A 133 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 16th century, fols. 1b—2a.

Fig. 5. *Tāj al-lugha wa ṣiḥāḥ al-'arabiya* by Ismā'īl al-Jawharī (d. 393/1002—03), manuscript C 735 in the same collection, 887/1482—83, fols. 1b—2a.

Fig. 6. *Mi'at kalimāt*, manuscript B 900 in the same collection, 956/1549, fols. 1b—2a.

Fig. 7. *Laṭā'if al-inshā'*, manuscript B 584 in the same collection, 925/1519, fols. 1b—2a.

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI.
II. *AVADĀNA* AND *JĀTAKA* (PART 7)

The publication of new folios from the Bairam-Ali manuscript with a continuation of the texts of *avadāna*s and *jātaka*s must begin with several additions to the preceding publication (see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, VIII/1, pp. 18—26). We have shown that the top layer of birch-bark — half of the folio numbered 20 — was missing and was found later among the folios that contains quotes from *sūtra*s and apparently were also paginated from fol. 1. The text of fol. 20b continues the text of fol. 20a we have already published and allows us to introduce certain corrections and additions. We repeat here the final line of fol. 20a, which runs as follows:

5. *lakuṃcika iti śrāvastyāṃ a[nya]-*

The text continues on fol. 20b. The story "Lakuṃcika" is here quoted in some detail. It is a brief reworking of *avadāna* No. 88 from *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 152—60. The last story — "Eru" — which, according to the *uddāna* on fol. 17a (4), should have concluded this group of tales, is missing on fol. 20b. After the *avadāna* of "Lakuṃcika"

begins the *uddāna* for the next group of stories. The first two stories — "Maitrābala" and "Sārtha" — bear the same titles on fol. 21a. The story "Maitrābala" (cf. "Maitrābala" in our text) is found, along with *Jātaka Mālā*, in the Gilgit manuscripts see "The story of Maitrabala", *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. 2, pp. 20—1.

The third story in the *uddāna* is entitled "Kkrīḍitaṃ" ("Play"). In the text on fol. 21b (5) it is called "Kīṭīka iti" ("Worm"), and, as we have already shown, contains a story about worms that have attached themselves to a turtle that sacrifices itself to save them from starvation. The fifth story, which in the *uddāna* is called "Sinha" ("Lion"), on fol. 22b (3), bears the name "Sinhasenāpati", which is the proper name of the hero of *jātaka* No. 246.

The following story — "Āraṇyaka" (see *uddāna*, fol. 20b (5)) — is in the text on fol. 22b (4) given the same title and contains praise for the life of a hermit in the forest that recalls the text of *jātaka* No. 480 and the *Avadāna* of Agastya (see *Jātaka Mālā*, No. 7).

FOL. 20b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *tarasya brāhmaṇasya putro jātaḥ kṛśako[1] durbalaśca. yada mahaṃtakaḥ saṃvṛttaḥ (sa) [bhagava]-*
2. *cchāsane pravrajitaḥ yāvad arhatvaṃ prāptaṃ yāvad ekaṃ bhaktacchedam akārṣī[2] yāva parini-*
3. *rvṛtaḥO pūrvayogaṃ bhūta mūrddhaṃ[3] praduṣṭacittena mātā gaṃje prakṣiptā praduṣṭacittena*
4. *evā ca ābhastā[4] bhasma āhāram āhārayasyeti[5] sā ca kāla gatā evaṃ vistareṇa vaktavya-*
5. *m iti ¶ Ø ¶ maitrābalo ca sārtho ca kkrīḍitaṃ kuṃjareṇa ca sinha āraṇyako thero brāhma-[6]*

TRANSLATION

1. To a certain *brāhman* a son was born, thin and feeble. When he had grown up[1] [and] filled out in the shoulders[2],
2. it was received by him as *arhatva*. How for one day he was cut off from food by fasting[3]. How

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[1] Instead of *kṛśalaka* "guant, thing"? Cf. Skt. *kṛśa*, *pāli kiso lukho* (2 words). See *BHSD*, p. 191.

[2] Instead of *akārṣīt*, aorist sigmatic, 3 sg.

[3] Instead of Skt. *mūrdhana*? Loc. sg.

[4] Instead of *ābhāṣṭā*.

[5] Instead of *āhārayasye iti*, conditionalis, 1 sg. ātm.

[6] The *uddāna* consists of four eight-syllable lines; the poetic meter is octosyllabic *anuṣṭubh*.

3. he departed for *nirvāṇa*. In a previous incarnation, having lost his senses, he threw his mother into the pantry [4]. Because he had lost his senses

4. he said crudely: "I will give [the poor] food of ashes!" And [his mother] died. Thus must one tell in detail.

5. "**Maitrābala**"; and "**Useful**"; and "**Play**"; together with the "**Elephant**"; "**Sinha**"; "**Āraṇyaka**"; "**Thero**"; "**Brāhman**";

Commentary

[1] *mahaṃtaka, mahantaka* — "the great".

[2] *saṃvṛtta* — lit. "became round"; in Buddhist texts this word forms part of the term *susaṃvṛttaskandha*, lit. "with well-rounded shoulders". The term indicates the 20th sign (*lakṣaṇa*) of an unusual person. An enumeration of these signs can be found in *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. 1, p. 51.

[3] In the text of the *avadāna* the *parinirvāṇa* began only after a fast that lasted for six days — "*ṣaḍbhaktacchedāḥ kṛtāḥ*"; see *Āvadānaśataka*, pt. 2, p. 156, l. 10.

[4] In the text of the *avadāna* the mother's kindness was the cause of the harsh treatment she received — she gave alms to monks and *brāhman*s.

FOL. [23a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *prav[i]śat[i] ka[r]ma k[ā]śyape saṃ[m]yaksaṃbuddhe pracyuto babhūva nevāsikaḥ tatra paṃca māts[a]-*
2. *ryāṇi niṣevitvā narakeṣu upapannaḥ tataḥ cavitvā manuṣyeṣu upapannaḥ jātismaraḥ*
3. *tataḥO taṃ smaritvā saṃsarga bhīruḥ || bhikṣuṇī iti bhikṣuṇī nāma dhvāna pratipannānāṃ* [7]
4. *bhikṣuOṇī pṛthivyā[ṃ] utpatitā bhītā sā kathayati mā bhavatheti* [8] *mānuṣa aha-*
5. *m iti yāva tā bhikṣuṇī bhagavata* [9] *ārocayaṃti bhagavān āha pravrājayatheti*

TRANSLATION

1—2. He was tied up [5]. [His] *karma* [was such]: during the time of the wholly enlightened Kāśyapa he was a monk [and] strayed from the righteous path. At the same time, being susceptible to the five forms of jealousy [6], he was born in hells. Having thus fallen [7], he was [then] born among people, remembering his reincarnations [8].

3. Then, recalling that [reincartion], [he began] to fear earthly life [9]. **[Tale] of the nun** [10]. Then, how the nuns heard the whisper: "Nuns!" —

4. the nuns fell to the ground in fear [11]. That [12] [voice] uttered: "Fear not, I am a human

5. being". How those nuns asked the Bhagavan [about the voice]. The Bhagavan replied: "Perform [on this being] the ritual of initiation.

Commentary

[5] The root *viś* + *pra* here means "be dedicated to something".

[6] On the five forms of jealousy, see *Dharmasaṃgraha*, ed. M. Müller (Oxford, 1885), section 78.

[7] The absolutive form *cavitvā* in Buddhist Sanskrit means "having fallen even lower" (see *BHSD*, p. 226). For analogous contexts, see *Mahāvastu*, III, 42, 18: "*manuṣyeṣu cavitvā narakeṣūpapadyati*"; *ibid.*, 43, 10: "*manuṣyeṣu cavitvā iha narakeṣūpapannaḥ*".

[8] *jātismaraḥ* as a compound word of the *bahuvrīhi* type means: "having memory of [one's] reincarnations".

[9] *saṃsarga* is here used in the meaning "life in the world, worldly life" as opposed to *āraṇyaka* — "life in the forest, a hermit's life".

[10] In the *uddāna* on fol. 20 b (5) this story is called "*Thero*", Nom. sg., masc., a Pāli form. *Thero* is definitely used here in place of *therī*, *meter causa*. The Sanskrit form of this word in the masculine is *sthavīra* ("elder", usually among monks). Certain details in the story coincide with several *avadāna*s from the *Avadānaśataka*, but the text cannot be entirely identified.

[11] *pṛthivyā[ṃ] utpatitā bhītā* — lit. "fell to the earth, frightened".

[12] *sā kathayati* in the text, where *sā* is the Nom. sg. fem. agreeing with *mānuṣā* ("human being of the female sex").

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[7] Instead of *dhvānaṃ pratipannaṃ* or *dhvāna pratipanna*.

[8] Cf. *BHSG*, where we find the ending: imperative 2 plr. — =*tha*, p. 147, § 30, 12. The same is found throughout the text.

[9] Instead of *bhagavantam*.
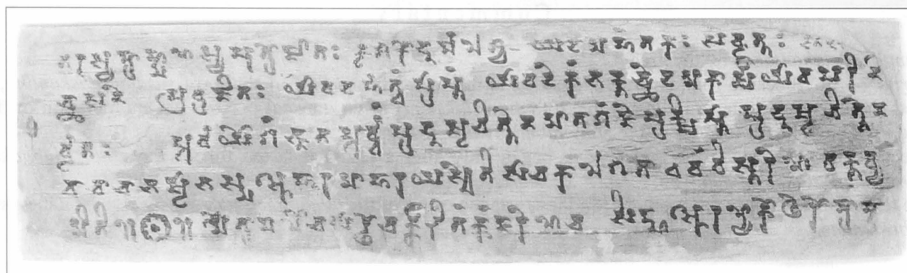
Fig. 1
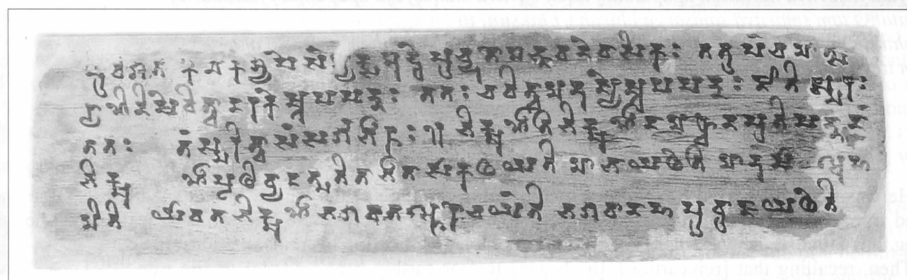
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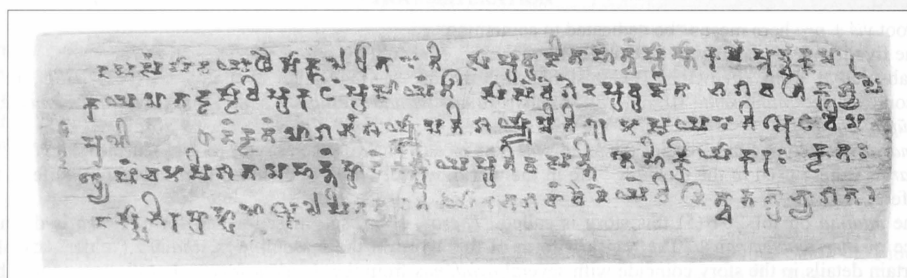
Fig. 3

FOL. 23b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *upasaṃpādayathaiṣā*[10] *kūladhītā*[11] *iti sā pravrajitā arhatvaṃ prāptā karma pūrvvaṃ kumā[ra]-*
2. *kāya mātā dṛṣṭā viprakaṭaṃ prajāyaṃtī*[12] *sā saṃvegena pravrajitā bhagavati kāśyape*
3. *praṇiOdhānaṃ kṛtaṃ mā garbha[ṃ] śayyāmati*[13] *śayyaṃ iti*[14] *|| ṛṣaya iti aṭavīma-*
4. *dhye paṃca ṛṣi śatā mahantaṃ hradaṃ [niśra]ya prativasanti tehi kkriyākāraḥ kṛataḥ*
5. *na asmābhir abrāhmaṇa ālapitavyam iti yāva bhagavāṃ vaineyaṃ vinītvā tatra ābhyāgataḥ dhītā*

TRANSLATION

1. [and] *upasaṃpāda*! This is a girl from a noble lineage!" In a previous incarnation she received initiation and attained *arhatva*.
2. She was the mother of a young boy [13], to [whom] she gave birth in secret. Soon [after the Bhagavan's explanation] she underwent the ritual of initiation. In the time of the Bhagavan Kāśyapa
3. a passionate desire was expressed [by her]: "May I not remain infertile!" **[Story] about *ṛṣis*** [14]. In the forest grove
4. lived five hundred *ṛṣis*, having built a dwelling near a large lake. They made a decision:
5. "We will not engage in idle chatter unworthy of a *brāhman*!" How the Bhagavan, performing the ritual of initiation on someone awaiting conversion, went in there.

Commentary

[13] *pūrvvaṃ kumārakāya mātā dṛṣṭā* — lit. "they saw her earlier as the mother of a boy".
[14] We were unable to identify the plot of this story, although the idea has a number of parallels in European and Russian folklore. In the *uddāna* on fol. 20 b (5) this story is called "*Brāhmaṇaḥ*".

FOL. [24a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *te buddhaṃ bhagavantaṃ na ālpaṃ(ti kṣa)triya iti kṛtvā bhagavāṃ taṃ hradaṃ gataḥ te tato 'p[āṃ]*
2. *hradātaḥ*[15] *saṃjñayā vārayaṃti [bha]gavatā śuṣko hrado nirmitaḥ yāva sarve ṛṣayaḥ*
3. *samāOgaṃmya japaṃti upavāsaṃ kalpayaṃti na ca vāri saṃbhavati yāva bhagavantaṃ*
4. *kṣamāpayanti bhagavatā teṣā ddharmadeśanā kṛtā yāvad anāgāmi phalaṃ prāptaṃ yāva*
5. *bhagavan[t]aṃ keśa nakhaṃ yācanti yāva bhagavatā dattaṃ te satkaronti kiṃ karma kāśyape saṃmya-*

TRANSLATION

1. They did not converse with the Buddha Bhagavan. In keeping with the custom of the *kṣatriyas* [15], the Bhagavan went to that lake [to wash his face]. Later,
2. when he was refreshing himself in the water [16], they forbade [him this] with a gesture. [Then] Bhagavan made the lake dry. How all of the *ṛṣis*,
3. having gathered together, read prayers, fasted, but water did not appear. How they appealed to the Bhagavan
4. for forgiveness. The Bhagavan taught them to follow the *dharma*. How the [*ṛṣis*] received the fruit of one who does not return [to the world][17].
5. they implored the Bhagavan in every fashion [18]. How the Bhagavan gave [water] [and] they honoured [the Bhagavan]. What was [their] *karma*? In the time of the wholly enlightened [19] Kāśyapa

Commentary

[15] *kṣatriya iti kṛtvā* — lit. "having done as a *kṣatriya*".
[16] *ap[āṃ] hr[ā]dataḥ* — "at the time that he was refreshing himself" — Genetivus absolutus construction.

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[10] *upasaṃpādayatha eṣā.*
[11] Instead of *kūladuhitā.*
[12] Instead of *prajāyati.*
[13] Instead of *śayyam iti.*
[14] Instead of *śayyam iti.*
[15] Instead of *hrādataḥ.*

[17] *anāgāmi phalaṃ* — "fruit of one who does not return [to the world]" — the final incarnation before *parinirvāṇa*.

[18] *bhagavantaṃ keśa nakhaṃ yācanti* — lit. "implored the Bhagavan in his entirety, beginning with a tuft of hair on his head to his nails".

[19] The second half of the term *saṃmya[ksaṃbuddha]* — "wholly enlightened" — on fol. 24b(1).

FOL. 24b

TRANSLITERATION

1. [k]sa[ṃ]buddh[e] śaraṇagamana nigṛh[i]tā na śikṣāpadeṣu ca pratiṣṭhāpitā || **pitā iti** śrāvastyā[ṃ]
2. anyataraḥ śreṣṭhiḥ sa putra pātra parivāro udyāna bhūmi nnirgataḥ sa tatra buddhaṃ bhagava-
3. ntaṃ aOdya śāsi[16] tataḥ sa gṛhapatiḥ sa putra bhrataraṃ[17] kathayati etha[18] buddhaṃ
4. bhagavantaṃ paryupāsiṣyāmaḥ tatas te sarve upasaṃkkrāntā bhagavatā teṣā ddharmodeśitaḥ
5. yāva sarvve dṛṣṭasatvā saṃ[vṛttā] yāva buddhaṃ sarvopakaraṇaiḥ pravārayaṃti yāva taṃ

TRANSLATION

1. In Śrāvastī they undertook a departure under the [Buddha's] protection, but did not persevere in following the moral rules. **[Tale] of the father** [20]. In Śravastī

2. there lived a certain head of merchants. His son left for the park Udyāna with a *pātra* and in monastic garb. There he from the Buddha Bhagavan

3. today receives instruction. Later that head of the household said to the brother of that son: "Here the Buddha Bhagavan shall we venerate!"[21] Later they all came [to the Bhagavan] and the Bhagavan proposed that they follow

4. the *dharma*. How they all acquired [the four] noble truths. How they gave gifts to the Buddha [in the form of varied] food. How in that

Commentary

[20] In the *uddāna* on fol. 21a(1) we find mention of a story (?) called "*Karṣika*" (Skt. *karṣaka*) — "The Ploughs-Man". The story is absent in the text. In this story the main characters are: Vipaśyin (fol. 25a(1)) and his father Bandhuman (fol. 25a(2)). See "The story of Vipaśyin" in *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. 2, pp. 147—9.

[21] "Here" in the sense "in this incarnation", cf. later, where the story tells of the hero's previous incarnations.

FOL. [25a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. gṛham udapāna bhūtaṃ saṃ[v]ṛt[taṃ] kiṃ karma ete ekanavatime kalpe vipaśyī saṃmya[k]s[saṃ]-
2. buddho loke uduvāsi[19] sa bhagavāṃ sakalaṃ buddhakāryaṃ kṛtvā parinirvṛtaḥ tasya bandhumatā
3. rajñāO stūpaṃ kārāpitaṃ yojanāyāmavistāraṃ caturaṃ namayaṃ[20] tatra yaṣṭyāropa-
4. ṇaṃ kartavyam iti tena yaṣṭyāropyamānāya udghoṣāpitaṃ kaḥ kiṃ prayacchati iti ||
5. (a)nyatareṇa gṛhapatinā[21] putra[22] bhrātaram avalokitaṃ yāva ṣaṣṭi hiraṃnya koṭīya[23]

TRANSLATION

1. house a spring appeared. What [was their] *karma*? In the ninety-first *kalpa*, [counting back] from this [one], [the first son] like the wholly enlightened Vipaśyin [22]

2. lived in the world. [As] the Bhagavan, he carried out all of the Buddha's obligations and retreated into *nirvāṇa*. For his [remains] Bandhuman

3. *rājā* ordered a *stūpa* built. "An [innumerable] amount of *yojana*s in circumference, four [*yojana*s] high there a *yaṣṭi* [23] banner

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[16] Instead of *śāsyate*?

[17] Instead of *tasya putrasya bhrataram*.

[18] Instead of *ettha*.

[19] Instead of *udavāsi*.

[20] Instead of Skt. *catvāri [yojanāni] namayat*?

[21] Instead of Skt. *gṛhapateḥ*? or *gṛhapatinā* is correct and we have here Instrumentalis absolutus?

[22] Instead of Skt. *putreṇa*?

[23] Instead of Skt. *ṣadbhi hiraṇya koṭībhi*?

4. should be raised up!" — thus [did he command]. Thanks to this, who asks who should be proclaimed the man to raises up the banner of *yaṣṭi*?

5. How by another son of the head of the household, thanks to the example of his brother [24], sixty million in gold

Commentary

[22] Cf. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 271, ll. 5—8: "*bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavaḥ atītamadhvānaṃ itaḥ ekanvatime kalpe rājā abhūṣi baṃdhumo nāma... rājño khalu punaḥ bhikṣavo bandhumasya vipaśyī nāma putro abhūṣi*" ("In earlier times, monks, in the past, in the ninety-first *kalpa*, beginning with this one, there lived a ruler by the name of Bandhuman ... And also, monks, the *rājā* Bandhuman had a son by the name of Vipaśyin"). The same text is found at the beginning of *jātaka* No. 547 (*Vessantara-jātaka*). In their earlier incarnation, the heroes of the story in the manuscript were: the Buddha Vipaśyin (the first son), the *rājā* Bandhuman (the father) and *Anaṅgana* (Jyotiṣka, the second son). The latter is the subject of a *jātaka* from the *Mahāvastu*, II, pp. 271(3)—276(15).

[23] For a more precise description of the banner *yaṣṭi*, which according to Buddhist tradition adorned the capitals of the first five Buddhas, see *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 229, ll. 12—14: "*...yaṣṭi abhūṣi citrā darśanīyā saptānāṃ varṇānāṃ ... dvādaśa yojanāni uddhedhena catvāri yojanāni. abhiniveśena*" ("there was the banner *yaṣṭi*, motley, of seven varied valuables, ... 12 *yojana*s high and four *yojana*s in circumference"). Edgerton translates "in diameter" (see *BHSD*, p. 445). In another part of the *Mahāvastu* (III, p. 238, ll. 12—13) there is a similar description, closer to the one in our text in its vocabulary: "*... dvādaśa yojanānyamena sapta yojanāni vistareṇa...*" ("...12 *yojana*s high and 7 *yojana*s in width").

[24] *bhrātaram avalokitaṃ* — lit. "in keeping with the observation of a brother".

FOL. 25b

TRANSLITERATION

1. [*d*]*v*[*i*]*t*[*ī*]*yā v*[*iṃ*]*ś*[*a*]*t*[*i*] *y*[*ā*]*va rājā prīt*[*a*]*ḥ t*[*e*]*na mahatā dhanena sa vibhaktaḥ bhagavān āha sa e-*
2. *ṣa gṛhapati iti* || Ø || ***kacaṃgalā ca nāgā ca vivāhaṃ chedanena ca khājjate nandikā***
3. ***piṇḍī***O ***brāhmaṇam karṣakam pitā*** 24 || Ø || ***kacaṃgala*** 25 *iti vistareṇa yāva bhagavato*
4. *pānīyāṃ dattaṃ yāva bhagavacchāsane pravrajitaḥ* 26 *sūtrāṃta vibhaṃgikānāṃ agro nirdiṣṭaḥ*
5. *karma paṃca janma śatā mātā babhūva kāśyape saṃyaksambuddhe brahmacaryaṃ cīrṇṇaṃ* || ***nāgā iti***

TRANSLATION

1. another time — two hundred [million in gold] was given with pomp to the *rājā* [25]. Thanks to this that [*rājā*] was endowed with great wealth. The Bhagavan said that he was in fact this

2. head of the household. [Tales entitled]: "**Kacaṃgalā**" [26]; and "**Nāgās**"; "**Entering into Marriage**"; "**Division**"; and "**It is Devoured**"; and "**Nandikā**"

3. "**Dumplings**"; "**The Brāhman Ploughs-Man**"(?); "**The Father**". **[The Tale] of Kacaṃgalā** in detail. How Bhagavan

4. was given something to drink [27], how at the Bhagavan's behest [Kacaṃgalā] undertook the ritual of initiation. [Her name] was mentioned first among those who had learned the *sūtra*s and the commentaries on them [28].

5. [Her] *karma*: five hundred incarnations [ago] she was the mother [of a *bodhisattva*]. In the time of the wholly enlightened Kāśyapa she led a virtuous life **[Tale] of the *nāgā*s** [29].

Commentary

[25] *rājā prītaḥ* — lit. "the *rājā* was honoured".

[26] Beginning with this word on ll. 2—3 we find an *uddāna* for 9 new stories. The last two titles coincide with the text of the *uddāna* on fols. 20 b(5)—21 a(1). The stories themselves are different, however. The story "Kacaṃgalā" has the same title in the *uddāna* and in the text. In content, the story is a brief exposition of the *avadāna* with the same title from the *Avadānaśataka*, II, pp. 41—4. Textological parallels are noted below. For the Pāli version of the story, see *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, V, XXVII. The Pāli title of the *jātaka* is "Kajaṅgalā".

[27] In the manuscript — "*yāva bhagavato pānīyaṃ dattaṃ*"; in the *Avadānaśataka*, II, p. 41, ll. 8—9 — "*yāvatka-cahgalā pānīyaghaṭaṃ pūrayitvā bhagavantaḥ sakāśaṃ gatā*" ("How Kacaṃgalā, having filled the pitcher with water, approached the Bhagavan").

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24 The *uddāna* consists of four eight-syllable lines; the poetic meter is octosyllabic *anuṣṭubh*.

25 Slip of the pen: *kacaṃgalā*.

26 Instead of *pravrajitā*.
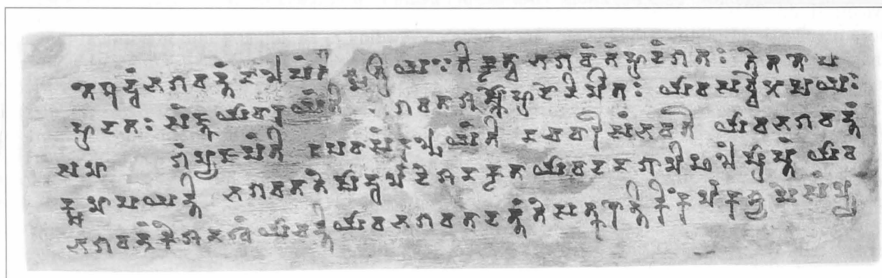
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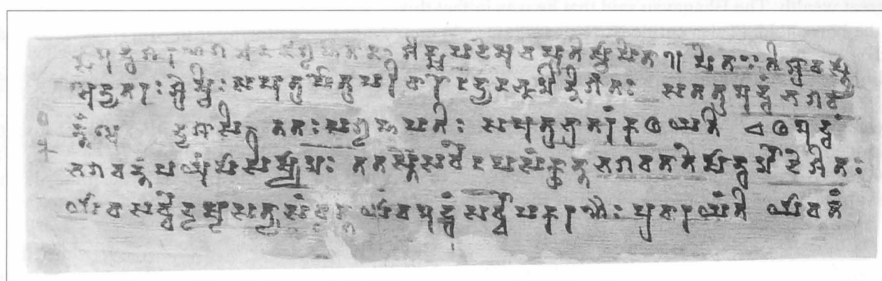
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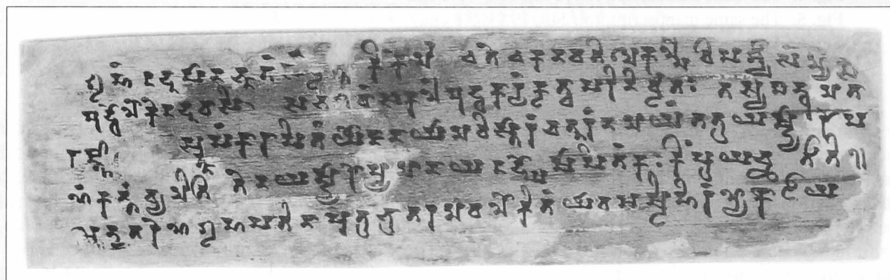
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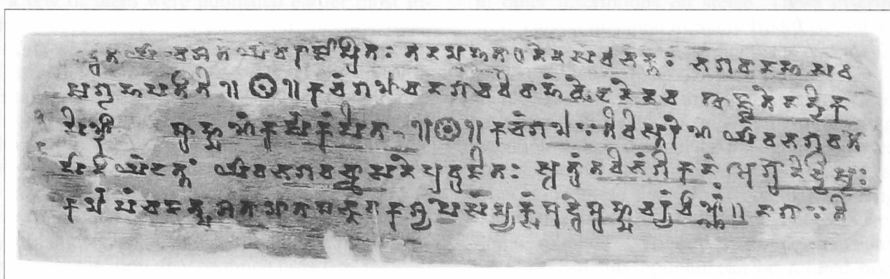
Fig. 7

[28] In the manuscript — "*yāva bhagavacchāsane ptavrajit*[*ā*] *sūtrāṃta vibhaṃgikānāṃ agro nirdiṣṭaḥ*"; in the *Avadāna-śataka*, II, p. 43, ll. 10—12: "*kiṃ bhadanta kacaṅgalayā karma kṛtaṃ yena vṛddhā pravrajitā ... pravrajyā cārhattvaṃ sākṣat kṛtaṃ sūtrāntabibhagakartṛīṇāṃ cāgrā nirdiṣṭā*" ("How, noble person, is the *karma* of Kacaṃgalā, that in old age she undertook the ritual of initiation? ...Received *pravrajyā* and *arhatva*. She is dubbed the first among the experts on *sūtras* and commentaries on them".

[29] In the *uddāna* (l. 2) the story has the same title.

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. 20b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. [23a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. 23b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. [24a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. 24b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. [25a], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 7. The same manuscript, fol. 25b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

I. T. Zograph

MONGOLIAN BORROWINGS
IN DOCUMENTS OF YUAN CHANCELLERY

Scholars studying Chinese literature of the Yuan (i.e. Mongol) period often stress the point that Baihua (the written language of that time) is strongly influenced by Mongolian, the fact, which, in their opinion, is responsible for great difficulties in reading and understanding the Yuan texts. Some sinologists believe that Chinese transcriptions of loanwords, including many administrative and technical terms (often corrupted beyond any recognition), are to be found not only in the Yuan official documents, but also in plays and novels of the period. They also consider it rather interesting for historical linguists to collect and to study this lexical material in order (i) to trace the origins of numerous "barbarisms" in Baihua, and (ii) to estimate the effect they have had on the present-day Chinese language [1]. To answer these questions, two groups of Yuan texts — Chinese translations from Mongolian and original Chinese writings — can be drawn on.

The present research is based on a collection of inscriptions which was published by Cai Meibiao in 1955 [2]. Since only a few of them were published earlier most inscriptions have become open to public for the first time. The bulk of these inscriptions (engravings) are official documents translated from Mongolian. Their contents is reproduced from the prints of original Chinese stelae. Some of the prints have been produced directly from the stelae still available. However, the overall number of surviving stelae is very small, so the rest of the prints have to be looked for in different libraries or storehouses. From the linguistic viewpoint, the documents are of primary interest to the study of languages in contact, although the sphere of their linguistic investigation may be much broader.

The question of Mongolian borrowings in Chinese is directly connected with a wider problem of interaction between the two languages different in their structure. The Mongolian-Chinese interaction was not so much the result of a natural process of everyday oral contacts of the two languages, as was provoked by the language policy of Mongolian rulers in China. The language of Mongolian conquerors became the main official language of the country: Mongolian officials commonly communicated with the local population with the aid of interpreters to a great many of whom Chinese was not a mother tongue.

The interference process influenced but a narrow stratum of the Chinese language — the official speech — which developed in the womb of the Mongolian chancellery in Yuan China (1280—1368), in other words, a language style used for translating documents from Mongolian into Chinese. (In other spheres of usage only traces of the Mongolian influence can be noticed.) The process of "mongolization" of the Chinese language was thus largely compelled, and it was no mere chance that this process considerably affected only those fields of written activities which were completely under Mongol control. However, this fact by no means diminishs the schorlarly interest to the phenomenon, instead it makes it stronger, since the "mongolization" of Chinese presents an excellent example of a language interference which, due to legislative acts, established a "social hierarchy" of the conqueror's language and that of the subjugated local population. It is also important that a great deal of documents coming from the Yuan chancellery have survived, providing a broad field for study [3].

The same type of the language is presented in grants of the Mongolian court to temples and monasteries as well as in other inscriptions on stelae. These inscriptions, which were carved on stone in many Buddhist and Taoist shrines, were collected by Chinese linguists, and the Corpus of this palaeographical materials was published by Cai Meibiao in 1955 (see n. 2). The inscriptions have not been subjected to a thorough linguistic study hitherto, although they drew attention of historians and palaeographers as early as in the mid-nineteenth century. All the researches who have worked on these texts point out that the language of the documents is very peculiar and not easy to understand. Some scholars ascribe this to the translators' carelessness [4]. But this opinion can be refuted because, on the one hand, the style of the documents' language shows that it has to do with more than a single copyist or translator — materials of this kind were widely spread throughout the period — and, on the other, deviations from the Standard Chinese are not chaotic; they are instead rigidly regular. Strictly speaking, the language of the documents can be regarded as a variant of the language with its own norm since its formulae of a standardized character cannot be traced to any individual "creative" activity of a particular translator or copyist.

Specific features of the language of the Yuan documents can be explained if examined from the viewpoint of language interference. To this question my book "Mongolian-Chinese Interference" [5] is dedicated. For studying

grammatical issues of the Mongolian-Chineese interference it appears quite sufficient to base on the language of the documents collected by Cai Meibiao. The material collected by him is both representative and homogeneous and at the same time is limited in volume, which makes it easy to use [6]. However, a serious shortcoming of Cai Meibiao's material is numerous errors and misprints [7]. To characterize properly the lexical interference under discussion in my work I had to employ additional data from other sources: in order to demonstrate Mongolisms in Yuan Chinese I base my study mainly on data provided in the Index to "A Code of Yuan" by Paul Ratchnevsky [8].

Available Mongolian texts written in square script (originals of documents) are also of use for such kind of investigation, although they are less in number. The comparison between them and the Chinese versions permits us to elucidate the principles of translation applied at that time and to see how close a Chinese translation is to its Mongolian original. But what is more important, such a comparison can help to elucidate the very mechanism of interference [9].

The language of the Yuan official documents reveals a strong Mongolian influence. As was mentioned above the traces of the interference are noticeable not only on the lexical level (vocabulary is usually subject to external influence), but on the grammatical level as well. The grammatical influence of Mongolian on Chinese is mostly seen in word order: Chinese inscriptions which contain decrees of the Yuan emperors generally follow the rules of the Mongolian syntax. Among the most typical features of this kind we can list the following [10]:

1) the object takes a position preceding to the predicate (no matter what kind of a verb is used for the latter) and it doesn't need any special formant or suffix. The only exception is the indirect object denoting a person to whom something is given (an addressee) or a person from whom something is taken away (a giver). In both cases, the indirect object, standing before the verb, may take the postposition 根底 (的) *gendi*;

2) phrases of existential nature usually have the word order reverse to that of Standard Chinese, i.e. the verb 有 *you* 'to be' goes after, not before, the nominal subject;

3) a "locative" construction to denote a person or a thing according to their location is built with the aid of the verbs 有 *you* 'to be', 'to be situated', 屬 *shu* 'to belong', 住 *zhu* 'to live";

4) in some cases a personal pronoun functioning as an attribute is positioned not before the determined word but after it.

Because of the political prestige of the Mongolian language in the Chinese society lexical interference was rather great. In the Chinese documents of the period one can find three main types of borrowings: (i) direct lexical borrowings (loan-words), (ii) calques, (iii) semantic borrowings [11]. The first type is predominant. In the process of direct lexical borrowing, both the meaning and the sound of a borrowed word are copied. It is not infrequent that the sounds of a borrowed word deviate from the strict phonetic form of its original: a speaker not accustomed to the phonetics of an unknown language reproduces a word in accordance with his native language. Phonetic changes, which

a borrowed word undergoes in the process of adaptation, are sometimes so drastic that the speaker of the borrowed language fails to recognize in it the word from his own language [12].

Loan-words are adapted to Chinese grammar, in particular, they take the plural suffix 每 *mei* and the postposition 根底 (的) *gendi*. Besides, there exist hybrid lexical formations, with one element belonging to Chinese and the other taken from Mongolian. For example, along with the word 奥魯 *aolu* (= *a'urug*) 'the lower (i.e. basic) camp' one can see 奥魯官 *aolu guan* 'an officer of the lower camp' and 奥魯萬戶府 *aolu wanhu fu* 'governing board of camps containing ten thousand [men]'.

The semantic field of borrowings from Mongolian can be deduced from the examples listed below (here we reproduce nearly all the Mongolian loan-words which can be found in the above-mentioned "Index" to Ratchnevsky's work) [13]:

andaxi 按打奚 (按答奚) ⟵ *aldaɣi* (*andaɣi*) 'to make a mistake, error, blunder';

aolu 奥魯 ⟵ *a'urug* 'lower (i.e. basic) camp';

aolu guan 奥魯官 ⟵ 'an officer of a lower camp';

aolu wanhu fu 奥魯萬戶府 ⟵ 'governing board of camps containing ten thousand [men]';

balahachi 八剌哈赤 ⟵ *balaɣači* 'guard at the gates of the inner wall of the Emperor's City';

bicheche 必徹徹 ⟵ *bičēči* 'clerk', 'scribe', 'secretary';

bielige 別里哥 ⟵ *belge* 'sign', 'mark', 'token', 'symbol';

bolanxi 字蘭奚 ⟵ bularɣu 'stray';

daluhuachi 達魯花赤 ⟵ *daruɣači* 'chief', 'superior', 'governor';

dashiman 答矢蠻 ⟵ *dašman* 'Moslem clergyman';

hahan 哈罕 ⟵ *qaɣan* 'Great Khan', 'emperor', 'king';

huoerchi 火兒赤 ⟵ *qorči* 'archer';

kuoduanchi 闊端赤 ⟵ *kötölči* 'guide', 'escort', (a servant who accompanies an official envoy);

molunchi 莫倫赤 ⟵ *morinči* 'herdsman of horses', 'stableman';

qielimachi 怯里馬赤 ⟵ *kelimeči* 'translator', 'interpreter';

qiexie 怯薛 ⟵ *kešig* 'emperor's guard';

qiexiedai (*qiexietai*) 怯薛歹 (怯薛台) ⟵ *kešigtei* 'a soldier of the emperor's guard';

qiexiedan 怯薛丹 ⟵ *kešigten* 'soldiers of the emperor's guard';

saoli 掃里 ⟵ *sa'uri* 'place to sit', 'seat', 'dwelling', 'residence', 'lodging';

suerma 速兒麼 (*suoluma* 唆魯麼) ⟵ *surma* (*sorma, sörme*) 'wine';

tanmachi 探馬赤 ⟵ *tamači* (*tammači*) 'irregular troops recruited from nomadic tribes';

tuotuohesun 脱脱禾孫 ⟵ *toqtoɣasun* (*totɣosun*) 'a relay officer obliged to control official messengers and couriers';

wulachi 兀剌赤 ⟵ *ulāči[n]* 'relay coachman', 'relay service attendant';

xibaochi 昔寶赤 ←— *šibaoči* 'falconer';

yeke 也可 ←— *yeke* 'great', 'big', 'large';

yeke qiexie 也可怯薛 ←— *yeke kešig* 'the first of four corps of the emperor's guard';

yeke zhaluhuchi 也可札魯忽赤 ←— *yeke ǰaryuči* 'great judge';

yelikewen 也里可溫 ←— *erke'ün* 'Christian' (the name of Christians, mainly Nestorians, used during the Yuan dynasty);

yunduchi 云都赤 ←— *üldüči* 'sword-maker', 'sword-bearer', 'swordsman';

zhalichi 札里赤 ←— *ǰarliqči* 'Mongolian editor responsible for writing emperor's edicts';

zhaluhuchi 札魯忽赤 ←— *ǰaryuči* 'judge', 'lawyer';

zhan 站 ←— *ǰam* 'postal relay station';

zhanche 站車 ←— *ǰamče* 'coach of relay service';

zhanchi 站赤 ←— *ǰamči* 'relay serviceman';

zhanchi guan 站赤官 ←— 'relay service officer';

zhan guan 站官 ←— 'relay service officer';

zhanhu 站戶 ←— 'peasant's homestead put down in the list of relay service';

zhier 枝兒 ←— *ǰi'ür* 'wing', 'flank', 'side';

zhier toumu 枝兒頭目 ←— 'chief of the corps (?)' [14].

To make a calque means to have the structure and meaning of a foreign compound or derivative word reproduced in a target language, with all its morphemes being replaced by those from this language. Calques, in their turn, are divided into three types:

1) calques in the strict sense, or loan translations, which reproduce a source language pattern accurately in an element-by-element mode;

2) loan renditions, in which case a complex unit of a source language model gives only a general stimulus for the process of reproducing;

3) loan creations which are generated to obtain notations equivalent to those already existing in a language-"receiver" rather than to give names to some innovations of cultural level from a "language-giver" [15].

The number of calques in Ratchnevsky's "Index" is less than the number of direct loans, but the very list of them is a convincing evidence that this method of enriching the lexicon of official documents was far from being occasional. However, most of the words given here are represented not by calques in the strict sense (i.e. by loan translations), but exactly by loan renditions and loan creations. In addition, some words marked by Ratchnevsky as calques (he names them "traduction" to differentiate from "transcription", by which direct loan is meant) can be encountered even in texts of the pre-Yuan times. For example, the word 聖旨 *shengzhi* 'emperor's decree' is recorded in a Song collection of stories [16]. Nevertheless, words of that sort could be specially coined anew just in the Yuan epoch to convey some specific concepts, thus giving rise to argument about their origin.

Among grammatical and lexical calques we can mention the following:

baijian sahua 拜見撒花 'to give a gift' (cf. *sauqa*);

baijianwu 拜見物 'donations at the audience' (= *a'uljarin*);

bozao 撥槽 'wine' (= *surma*);

changsheng Tian qili-li 長生天氣力裏 'by the Power of eternal Heavens' (= *mongke tengri-yin küčün-dur*);

chengzi-li guanren 城子裏官人 'governor of a city' (*balaqadun daruqa*);

cishe 次舍 'dwelling', 'residence', 'lodging' (= *sa'uri*);

duanshiguan 斷事官 'officer whose task is to solve a case', 'judge' (= *ǰarguči*);

fuma 尉馬 'son-in-law of an emperor, prince or nobleman' (Class. Mong. *körgen*; Modern Mong. *tabunan*[g]);

kelian 科斂 'tax' (= *qubčiri*);

lanyi 闌遺 'to take care of things lost' (= *bularyu*);

lu 路 'road', 'circuit' (= *čölge*);

madao 麼道 'so to say' — at the end of direct speech or quotation (= *ge'eju* [17]);

paitou 牌頭 (*paizitou* 牌子頭) 'chief of ten men' (= *arabad-un noyan*);

qieliankou 怯憐口 'slaves in family services' (= *ger'ün ke'üt*);

qinjuan 親眷 'relatives', 'close relatives' (= *ursatun*; Class. Mong. *uruq satun*);

shangtou 上頭 'for', 'for the sake of', 'in consequence of', 'as', 'because' (= *tula*);

shengshou 生受 'suffering', 'torment', 'sadness', 'hardship' (= *jobalang*);

shengzhi 聖旨 'emperor's decree (order)' (= *jarliy*);

tili 體例 'generally accepted rule', 'traditional custom', 'habit of common usage', 'principle' (= *yosu*[n]);

toumu 頭目 'chief of an ethnic or professional group' (= *ötögüs*);

ye-zhe 也者 — modal particle at the end of a phrase (= *-aya*/-*eye*);

yi tili 依體例 'according to a custom, rule or law' (= *yosu'ar*);

you lai 有來 — modal particle at the end of a phrase (= *bülü'e*) 'was', 'were', 'has/have been' — past tense of *bü* 'to be');

zhangyinguan 掌印官 'officer who keeps the seal' (= *daruyači*).

In the case of semantic borrowings the meaning of a word is shifted under the influence of a foreign language, that is, a word obtains some new meaning owing to its semantic and phonetic similarity to a word of the language in contact. If a bilingual speaker identifies semantically a word of his native language with some word of a second language, he may, furthermore, use the two in identical syntactic positions, though for the borrowing language such a usage have not been registered before. The character of semantic borrowings used in documents can be illustrated by the verbs 別 *bie* 'to break', 'to violate', 有 *you* 'to be', 'to be situated', and by the preposition 裏 *li* which is used in introductory formulae of a decree, as well as by some other features [18].

As far as original Chinese literature is concerned, at present we can talk only about the lexical interference, and

so the problem in question is reduced to studying the character and amount of loan-words in the texts. From this viewpoint, Chinese literature of the Yuan period looks relatively homogeneous, with some exceptions though. As an example we can mention hybrid Chinese-Mongolian texts discovered by A. Waley. Among them of special interest is an anonymous collection of songs called "Hunting" (14th century) from the poetical anthology 詞林摘艷 *Ci lin zhe yan* ("The Most Beautiful from the Ci Forest"). As Waley notes, some parts of the collection so abound in Mongolisms that it is difficult to catch the structure of the phrase and to understand the meaning [19].

Many dramatic works of the very same period demonstrate an absolutely different picture: mongolisms they contain are not so numerous. Our analysis of the collection "Selected Yuan Plays" [20], containing more than 500 pages, and of the data extracted from the article "Some loan-words in the language of Yuan plays" by Cai Meibiao [21], made it possible to complete a list of no more than a dozen of Mongolian words: 把都兒 *baduer* (= *baɣatur*) 'hero', 'knight', 'brave'; 撒敦 *sadun* (= *sadun*) 'relative', 'friend'; 哈喇 *hala* (= *ala-*) 'to kill', 'to murder'; 虎剌孩 *hulahai* (= *χulaɣai*) 'robber', 'thief'; 米罕 *mihan* (= *miχa-[n]*) 'meat'; 撒因 *sayin* (= *sain*) 'good', 'fine', 'nice'; 鐵里溫 *tieliwen* (= *tolugai*) 'head'; 兀剌赤 *wulachi* (= *ulāči[n]*) 'relay coachman', 'relay service attendant' [22]. The postposition 裏 *li* is found here as well, e.g. 暗地裏 *andi-li* 'secretely' (along with *andi*), 倒處裏

daochu-li 'everywhere' (along with *daochu*), 自小裏 *zi xiao-li* 'since childhood' (along with *zi xiao*), etc. These and some other Mongolian words occur quite regularly in the texts, however, their role in them is but insignificant. Waley explains this by the fact that specialists in Chinese studies have at their disposal relatively late versions of the plays, which date back to the Ming period, i.e. to the epoch when mongolisms had already been out of use for some time. By that time the Chinese had not been able to understand them, and, therefore, the mongolisms must have been replaced by their Chinese equivalents. We can hardly share this point of view. The comparison of the Ming versions of some plays with their Yuan originals, which recently became available, demonstrates that they are similar in lexicon. (By the way, this comparison permits us to suggest that both the Ming plays and the Yuan ones are variants of texts which co-existed in the Yuan period.) Such a negative attitude of Chinese playwrights towards mongolisms can be satisfactorily explained by what one can name a "language loyalty", a phenomenon which came into existence under the threat of a deep foreign influence. Being a reaction to the language interference, such a "loyalty" turns the mother tongue in its standard form into a symbol and "common cause".

Exceptions to the above-mentioned general rule are very rare. As an example, let us consider the following lines from a play by Guan Hanqing [23]:

CHINESE TEXT

米罕整斤吞　　抹鄰不會騎　　弩門並速門
弓箭怎的射　　撒因答剌孫　　見了搶着喫
喝的莎塔八　　跌倒就是睡　　若說我姓名
家將不能記　　一對忽剌孩　　都是狗養的

TRANSCRIPTION

Michan zheng jin tun. Molin bu hui qi. Numen bing sumen. Gong jian zendi she. Sayin dalasun. Jianliao qiangzhao chi. Hede suotaba. Diedao jiushi shui. Ruo shuo wo xing ming. Jiajiang bu neng ji. Yi dui hulahai. Du shi gou yang di.

TRANSLATION

'[We] can eat a whole *jin* of meat. [We] cannot ride a horse. [We have] bows and arrows, but [do not know] how to shoot. If [we] find good wine, [we] vie with each other in lapping [it]. [We] get drunk and, having tripped [over something], [we] fall asleep. If [we] tell our names, even the servants do not remember [them]. [We are] a couple of robbers, sons of a bitch'.

In this short passage eight Mongolian words are used: 米罕 *mihan* (= *miχ-a[n]*) 'meat'; 抹鄰 *molin* (= *mori[n]*) 'horse'; 弩門 *numen* (= *numu[n]*) 'bow'; 速門 *sumen* (= *sumu[n]*) 'arrow'; 撒因 *sayin* (= *sain*) 'good', 'fine', 'nice'; 答剌孫 *dalasun* (= *darasu[n]*) 'wine'; 莎塔八 *suotaba* (= *soɣtaba*) 'to be[come] drunk', 'drunk' (past from *sogta-*); 忽剌孩 *hulahai* (= *χulaɣai*) 'robber', 'thief'.

This excerpt seems to be a deliberate parody or an attempt to express stylized speech of the characters rather than a regular application of foreign words in the Chinese language.

So we can talk of a deep Mongolian influence upon Chinese only in connection with the texts translated directly from Mongolian. In original Chinese literature, or, at least, in most part of it, Mongolian influence is far less if any. As for the "hybrid" works presented by Waley, their authors are likely to have followed a certain social task and this made their language sound a bit unnatural or artificial.

The variant of the official language produced by the Yuan dynasty went out of use with the dynasty's decay, and the phenomenon which we call the Mongolian-Chinese interference proved to be short-lived.

Notes

1. I. de Rachewiltz, "Some remarks on the language problem in Yuan China", *Journal of the Orinetal Society of Australia*, 5 (1967), Nos. 1—2, p. 80.

2. Cai Meibiao, 蔡美彪, *Yuan dai baihua bei jilu* 元代白話碑集錄 (Collection of Baihua Inscriptions on the Yuan Stelae) (Peking, 1955).

3. Most of the documents are published, see 大元聖政國朝典章 *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dian zhang* (or 元典章 *Yuan dian zhang*) (Decrees of the Yuan Dynasty) and 通制條格 *Tong-zhi tiao-ge* (Codified Rules from "Universal Laws"). Cf. also P. Ratchnevsky, *Un code de Yuan* (Paris, 1937—1985), i—v. The monograph contains the translation of the section 刑法志 *Xing fa zhi* ("Criminal legislation") from 元史 *Yuan shi* (The History of Yuan Dynasty). The notes to the main text also contain translations of certain documents from *Yuan dian zhang*. The language of *Yuan dian zhang* is discussed in Abe Takeo 安部健夫, "*Doku Gentenshō sakki sansoki*" 讀元典章札記三則 ("Three occasional remarks when reading the *Yuan dian zhang*"), in *Ishihama sensei koki kinen tōyōgaku ronsō*", pt. 1 (Osaka, 1958), pp. 1—17; Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 and Tanaka Kenji 田中謙二, *Gentenshō no buntai* 元典章の文體 ("The style of *Yuan dian zhang*"), in Appen. to *Kōteibon Gentenshō keibu* 校定本元典章刑部 (Revised Text of "*Yuan dian zhang*. Criminal Legislation"), i, eds. Iwamura Shinobi and Tanaka Kenji (Kioto, 1964). The volume contains two articles published before: Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Gentenshō ni mieta kambun ritoku no buntai* 元典章に見えた漢文吏牘の文體 ("Chinese style of chancellery in '*Yuan dian zhang*'"), in *Tōhō gakuhō*, 24 (1954), pp. 367—96; Tanaka Kenji, *Gentenshō ni okeru mōbun chokuyakutai no bunshō* 元典章における漢文直譯體の文章 ("The style of literal translations from Mongolian in '*Yuan dian zhang*'"), *ibid.*, 32 (1962), pp. 187—224; and in *Tōyōshi kenkyū*, 19/4 (1961), pp. 483—501.

4. See, for example, Igor de Rachewiltz (*op. cit.*, pp. 68—9): "The *pai-hua* of most of these documents is simply atrocious; clearly they are the slipshod work of poor and hasty translators. Often the Chinese text is so literal a translation from Mongolian that even the Mongolian word order is retained. This fact shows that the translation was almost certainly dictated. However, by the end of the thirteenth century this language had to some extent crystallized into stereotyped formulas, the peculiarities of which were discussed for the first time by Edouard Chavannes in a series of masterly articles in *T'oung Pao*".

5. I. T. Zograph, *Mongol'sko-kitaĭskaia interferentsiia (iazyk mongol'skoĭ kantseliarii v Kitae)* (Mongolian-Chinese Interference: the Official Language of Yuan China) (Moscow, 1984). The book can be of use first of all for specialists in language contacts. The goal of the book is firstly to provide a description of the 1280—1368 Chinese language as presented in documents from the Yuan chancellery. Secondly, the book aims to show how language interference contributed to the emergence of this variant of the language. In the introduction, general observations concerning "languages in contact" theory are given. It is followed by a brief analysis of the linguistic situation in Yuan China and of the language policy of the Mongol rulers, characteristics of the source materials, and a survey of the results of the Mongolian-Chinese interaction. Due attention is also paid in the book to specific features of such an amorphous language as the Chinese, the features that can affect the lines of its borrowing from some other outer sources. Finally, an outline of grammar is given to present a systematic description of "empty words" and grammatical constructions with special emphasis on "irregularities" (from the viewpoint of Standard Middle Chinese), which must be taken into consideration for the correct reading of the texts of the Yuan period. As a specimen of the language, the texts of nine documents previously published by Cai Meibiao are given in the original, accompanied by the transcription and Russian translation with a commentary and glossary:

(1) the 1276 edict (令旨 *lingzhi*) by Mangala (the third son of emperor Qubilai), the king of Anxi 安西, for the Taoist temple Yuwangmiao 禹王廟 (or Shenyumiao 神禹廟), region Hanchengxian 韓城縣, province Shenxi 陝西, Cai No. 23 (p. 25); (2) the 1280 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Qubilai, for the Buddist monastery Feiquanguan 飛泉觀, region Lingxianxian 靈仙縣 in Yuzhou 蔚州 (now Yuxian 蔚縣, province Hebei 河北, Cai No. 27 (p. 29); (3) the 1311 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for the Buddist monastery Chongshengsi 崇聖寺, region Dalixian 大理縣, province Yunnan 雲南, Cai No. 59 (p. 61); (4) the 1314 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for the Taoist temple Dachongyang wanshougong 大重陽萬壽宮, region Zhouzhixian 盩厔縣, province Shenxi 陝西, Cai No. 64 (p. 66); (5) the 1314 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for Taoist temple Shanying chuxianggong 善應儲祥宮 (and its supervisor Chen Daoming 陳道明) in village Shanyingcun 善應村, region Anyangxian 安陽縣, province Henan 河南, Cai No. 65 (p. 67); (6) the 1321 decree (懿旨 *yizhi*) by the widow of the emperor of Dharmapāla (the grandson of Qubilai), for four Taoist groups in Longxingguan 龍興觀, Hongyuangong 洪元宮, Yanxiaguan 煙霞觀, Yuquanguan 玉泉觀, headed by supervisors Wang Jinshan 土進善, Zhang Yuanzhi 張元志, Song Daochun 宋道春, Wang Daoji 王道吉, region Yizhou 易州 (now Yixian 易縣), province Hebei 河北, Cai No. 75 (p. 78); (7) the 1324 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Yesün-Temür, for the Taoist monastery Dongyuemiao 東嶽廟 (and its supervisor Zhang Delin 張德璘) on mount Taishan 泰山, region Tai'anxian 泰安縣, province Shandong 山東, Cai No. 76 (p. 79); (8) the 1314 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Ayurbarvada, for the Buddist temple Kaihuasi 開化寺 (headed by His Holiness Jian 堅吉祥 and His Holiness Quan 詮吉祥) in region Yuanshixian 元氏縣, province Hebei 河北, Cai No. 63 (p. 65); (9) the 1326 decree (聖旨 *shengzhi*) by Yesün-Temür, for the Taoist temple Tianbaogong 天寶宮 (headed by the supervisor Wang Qinggui 王清貴) in Xuzhou 許州, province Henan 河南, Cai No. 77 (p. 80);

6. We have made use of only those documents from the Cai Meibiao edition, which were translated from Mongolian. The original Chinese documents, also represented in the edition but written in another variant of the language, were not drawn on by us. Cf. comments of Iriya Yoshitaka below, n. 7.

7. A detailed review of Cai Meibiao's edition is given in Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, "A critical review of Cai Meibiao's 'Collection of Baihua inscriptions on the Yuan stelae'", *Tōhō gakuhō*, 26 (1956). According to Iriya Yoshitaka, the work by Cai Meibiao contains so many weak points that they overweight its advantages. As a collection of documents edited with the purpose to provide basic material for scholarly research, the book is unfortunately not accurate enough. To correct Cai Meibiao's mistakes, Iriya Yoshitaka used mainly the following works: 金石錄; 地方志; 馮承鈞 "元代白話碑" (民國二十二年' 商務印書館刊), R. Bonaparte, *Documents de l'époque mongole des XIII et XIV siècles* (Paris, 1895); Ed. Chavannes, "Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole", *T'oung*

Pao, 5 (1904); 6 (1905); 9 (1908). His main claims are: (1) not for each text it is indicated whether the original stele still exists, and what script was used as the basic one; where the edition of the text used by the author can be found; (2) there are at least 30 inscriptions containing texts in the colloquial language not examined by Cai Meibiao in his book; (3) in order to unify the titles Cai Meibiao changed deliberately some of them; (4) when reproducing a text already quoted in Feng Chengjun, Cai Meibiao never checked the original, thus repeating the mistakes of Feng Chengjun; (5) it is not clear why Cai Meibiao included in his book texts Nos. 20 and 29 written in Wenyan. If he considered this style as deserving his attention, he should also have included other existing inscriptions in Wenyan; (6) there are many misprints and mere mistakes, e.g., related to the rules of punctuation, some words are missing in the Index, etc.

Independently of Iriya Yoshitaka we also pointed to some of Cai Meibiao's mistakes: see e.g. n. 11 on p. 23, n. 13 on p. 80, and notes to the texts in our *Mongol'sko-kitaĭskaia interferentsiia*. The documents reproduced in this book were compared with the corresponding texts published by Ed. Chavannes (with the exception of the last two, not found in any publications) and the errors were revealed by comparing them with other texts of similar contents. All detected mistakes and misreadings are indicated in the notes to the Russian translation of the documents. As for the criticism of Iriya Yoshitaka aimed at Cai Meibiao's edition in general, it has no direct relevance to purposes of our work, which is focused on the problems of language interference.

8. Ratchnevsky, *op. cit.*, iii (Paris, 1977), index by Paul Ratchnevsky et Françoise Aubin.

9. Such a comparison with the Mongolian original became possible thanks to the publications of A. M. Pozdneev, see his *Lektsii po istorii mongol'skoĭ literatury* (Lectures on the History of Mongolian Literature), pts. 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1896—1897); also N. N. Poppe, *Kvadratnaia pis'mennost'* (Square Script) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1941). Both the books contain transcriptions of texts and their Russian translation. We used two texts from the former book (texts Nos. 4 and 6 in our book, see n. 5 above) and four texts from the book by Poppe (our texts Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6). In some cases, we consulted a book by M. Levicky, who published a number of inscriptions in square script. See M. Levicky, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises de XIV-e siècle. Le Houa-yi yi-yi de 1389* (Wroclaw, 1949).

10. For more details see our book, cf. n. 5.

11. Some scholars tend to regard as borrowings words and expressions which are not borrowings in the full sense of the word but are actually a result of contacts with a foreign language and culture. Cf. e.g. E. Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America* (Philadelphia, 1953), ii, chapter 15 ("The process of borrowing"), pp. 383—411.

12. It is quite often that speakers of a foreign language considerably vary the pronunciation of separate phonemes and their sequences, in different ways substituting them with similar sounds from their native language. Below we give examples of proper nouns and some other words that occur in different spelling in Chinese documents:

Ögödei: 窩闊台 *wokutai*, 月古夕 *yuegudai*, 月古台 *yuegutai*, 月哥台 *yuegetai*, 月可台 *yueketai*, 月闊夕 *yuekuodai*, 月闊台 *yekuotai*;

Öljeitu: 完者禿 *wanzhetu*, 完者都 *wanzhedu*, 完者篤 *wanzhedu*, 完澤禿 *wanzetu*, 完澤篤 *wanzedu*;

Gegen: 格堅 *gejian*, 傑堅 *jiejian*, 潔堅 *jiejian*, 絜堅 *jiejian*, 皆堅 *zijian*;

dašman 'Moslem clergyman': 達矢蠻 *dashiman*, 大石馬 *dashima*, 達實蜜 *dashimi*, 達識蠻 *dashiman*, 答失蠻 *dashiman*;

bayatur 'hero', 'knight', 'brave': 把都兒 *baduer*, 把阿禿兒 *baatuer*, 拔突 *batu*, 巴圖魯 *batulu*, 霸都魯 *badulu*;

bičēči 'secretary', 'scribe', 'clerk': 必闍赤 *bishechi*, 闍者赤 *bizhechi*, 筆且齊 *biqieqi*, 必徹徹 *bicheche*;

jaryuči 'judge', 'lawyer': 札魯忽赤 *zhaluhuchi*, 札魯火赤 *zhaluhuochi*, 箚魯火赤 *zhaluhuochi*, 札魯花赤 *zhaluhuachi*, 撒魯火赤 *saluhuochi*;

daruyači 'chief', 'superior', 'governor': 達魯花赤 *daluhuachi*, 達魯合臣 *daluhechen*, 答剌火赤 *dalahuiochi*, 答剌花赤 *dalahuachi*;

kelimeči 'translator', 'interpreter': 怯里馬赤 *qielimachi*, 乞里覔赤 *qilimichi*, 克埒穆爾齊 *kelemuerqi*;

qorči 'archer': 火魯赤 *huoluchi*, 豁兒赤 *huoerchi*, 火兒赤 *huoerchi*, 火而赤 *huoerchi*, 貨魯赤 *huoluchi*.

The way these words were pronounced in the Yuan period can be reconstructed with the aid of dictionaries of rhythms dated back to the Yuan time. Their phonetic reconstructions in IPA transcription are given in the book by Zhao Yintang 趙蔭棠, *Zhongyuan yin yun yanjiu* 中原音韻研究 (Research into the Dictionary *Zhongyuan yin yun*) (Shanghai, 1956). The pronunciation but slightly differ from the modern reading of hieroglyphs.

13. Here and below Mongolian transcriptions are given in the form they are present in the sources used in our research. Sharing Ratchnevsky's view of transcription, we decided against unifying the transcriptions since it was not the aim of the study. In specifying the original meaning of Mongolian words, we followed the "Mongolian-English Dictionary" edited by F. D. Lessing (Berckley—Los-Angeles, 1960).

14. Among these lexems (as well as calques, see below) there are some hybrid formations. U. Weinreich considered hybrid compound words as a special case of interference between compound lexical units (cf. his *Languages in Contact*, The Hague, 1962; we used the Russian translation of the work *Iazykovye kontakty*, Kiev, 1979, p. 89). Some borrowings, which can be traced back to other languages (in particular, words of Iranian or Turkic origin), appeared in Chinese via Mongolian but we do not mark them. Cf. a remark by G. D. Sanzheev: "As for Turkic elements in Manchu, they, having appeared in that language through Mongolian and in Mongolian form, are considered as Mongolian ones" (*idem*, "Manchzhuro-Mongol'skie iazykovye paralleli" ("Manchu-Mongolian language parallels"), in *Izvestiia Akademii nauk SSSR. Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk*, vols. 8—9, (1930), p. 601).

15. Weinreich, *op. cit.*; Russian translation, Kiev, 1979, p. 88.

16. *Jing ben tongsu xiaohuo* 京本通俗小說 (Popular Stories Published in the Capital) (Shanghai, 1954), pp. 87, 91.

17. Ratchnevsky gives the form *kemen* ("Index", p. 87).

18. The problem of reverse influence of the Chinese language on the Mongolian also deserves attention. Our comparison of Chinese and Mongolian texts, represented only by four rather short documents of similar contents, has revealed in Mongolian as many as 14 Chinese words and expressions:

bav yuo hen jin yuŋ gev tay ši ⟵ 保和顯眞弘教大師 *bao he xian zhen hong jiao da shi* 'great teacher preserving the harmony, manifesting the truth, and spreading the doctrine';

c'an ←—— 倉 *cang* 'canary';

dèm ←—— 店 *dian* 'hotel';

gey dèn k'u ←—— 解典庫 *jiedianku* 'pawnshop';

guen ←—— 觀 *guan* 'monastery';

gün gon ←—— 宮觀 *gong-guan* 'monasteries', 'temples';

he uen ←—— 下院 *xiayuan* 'homestead';

hua ←—— 筏 *fa* 'raft';

ǰin žin ←—— 眞人 *zhenren* 'veritable man';

senšhiŋ ←—— 先生 *xiansheng* 'Taoist monk';

tidèm ←—— 提點 *tidian* 'supervisor';

yon t'ay yiv ←—— 皇太后 *huang taihou* 'widowed empress', 'mother of reigning emperor';

·am mèv ←—— 庵廟 *an-miao* 'shrine';

·iǰi ←—— 懿旨 *yizhi* 'decree of the empress'.

This list clearly shows that the Mongolians could not do without borrowings from the Chinese. The main reason was the absence in the Mongolian language of numerous words to denote things or concepts alien to the Mongolians. Exactly as Mongolian borrowings are changed in Chinese texts, Chinese words in the Mongolian acquire morphological features of the receiving language (e.g. pl. suffix *-ud*, suffixes of dative-locative *-da* and *-dur*, etc). Considering the Chinese-Mongolian interference of the Yuan period shows neither cultural affinity nor any other uniting factor between the speakers of both the languages. More than that, Mongolian lexicon was not quite adequate to meet the requirements of the languages' contact.

19. See A. Waley, "Chinese-Mongol hybrid songs", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XX (1957).

20. *Yuan ren zaju xuan* 元人雜劇選 (Selected Yuan *zaju*) (Peking, 1959).

21. Cai Meibiao 蔡美彪, "Yuan dai zaju-zhong-di ruogan yiyu" 元代雜劇中的若干 譯 語 ("Some borrowings in the language of Yuan *zaju*"), in *Zhonggo yuwen*, 1 (1957).

22. In our choice of Mongolian originals we follow here Chinese commentators. However, H. Franke believes (private communication) that the word 哈 喇 *hala* originates from Mongolian *qayala* (contracted form *qāla*) 'to break', 'to split' rather than from *ala* 'to kill', while the word 鐵 里 溫 *tieliwen* originates from *teri'un* 'head' rather than *toluyai* 'head'.

23. *Guan Hanqing xiqu ji* 關漢卿戲曲集 (Collection of Plays by Guan Hanqing) (Peking, 1958), p. 251.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

K. B. Kepping*

"THE AUTUMN WIND" BY HAN WU-DI IN THE MI-NIA (TANGUT)* TRANSLATION

In memory of my colleague and close friend Professor Marianna I. Nikitina

The love this woman had inspired in the sixth emperor of the Han dynasty, Wu-di (r. 140—87 B.C.), made her immortal as a symbol of passion that does not cease with death. According to Chinese sources [1], Li *furen* was a beauty and a perfect dancer. Her elder brother [2] Li Yuan-nian, a skilful singer and dancer, was Wu-di's favourite whose song about his sister's beauty, containing the lines —

"One glance would overthrow a city (Chin. *qing cheng*),
Two glances would overthrow a state (Chin. *qing guo*)"

— had the result that Wu-di took Li *furen* to his palace. She bore Wu-di a son, but passed away very young. Wu-di's grief over Li *furen*'s death was so great that he had her portrait be hung in the palace and even asked magicians to raise her spirit which appeared before him on a curtain as some vague shape of a beautiful woman resembling Li *furen*. Alas, this brought him no relief, and the tradition ascribes to him the following lines:

"Is it or isn't it?
I stand and look.
The swish, swish of a silk skirt.
How slow she comes!" [3]

After Li *furen*'s death Wu-di compiled a song (Chin. *qu*) "The Fallen Leaves and the Wailing Cicada". In terms of poetical images "the fallen leaves" stand for Li *furen*, while "the wailing cicada" — for Wu-di (see n. 50):

"The sound of her silk skirt has stopped.
On the marble pavement dust grows.
Her empty room is cold and still.

Fallen leaves are piled against the doors.
Longing for that lovely lady
How can I bring my aching heart to rest?"[4]

The whole story drew my attention when I worked on the Mi-nia translation of the Chinese *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" [5]. I then came across a poem which was indicated in an introductory note as a *mourning song* compiled by Wu-di for Li *furen*. The content of this poem in the Mi-nia translation in general coincided with the well-known poem "The Autumn Wind" ascribed to Wu-di. But this Wu-di's poem, a famous Chinese verse well known to western readers [6], in its present (traditional) version, actually has nothing to do with Li *furen*: as Chinese commentators state, Wu-di compiled "The Autumn Wind" being inspired by his journey to the east of the Huanghe, where he had made offerings to the earth goddess (see the text of "The Autumn Wind" in the Appendix).

The Mi-nia text of Wu-di's mourning song for Li *furen* deeply impressed me: even a cursory acquaintance with it revealed its being a real masterpiece, and it seemed to me that the traditional Chinese text of the verse evidently yielded to the Mi-nia translation both in its perfection and overall completeness [7]. But what puzzled me was why the interpretation of the poem in the Mi-nia translation differed from that of the Chinese original. It seemed interesting to solve this problem. The aim of this essay is, therefore, to put into scholarly circulation the Mi-nia translation of Wu-di's mourning song for Li *furen* and to try to find out what stands behind the change of the interpretation of the poem, and which of the two interpretations (traditional Chinese or the one in the Mi-nia translation) is the original one.

The *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" in the Mi-nia translation

As is well known, the main bulk of Khara Khoto material housed in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is represented by Buddhist texts. At the same time, this material also includes numerous Mi-nia translations of Chinese secular writings [8]. Among them we find the Mi-nia translation of the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" [9] which is of special interest because the Chinese original has not come down to us: the Mi-nia translation of "The Forest of Classes" is thus the only source for reconstructing the vanished Chinese text [10].

Not a single fragment of this *leishu* is known to be held in any other Mi-nia collection in the world [11], so we may state that the St. Petersburg text of "The Forest of Classes" (Tang. 11, Nos. 125—131, 2625, 6444, 6686) is a unique block-print. The block-print is of a "butterfly" format. Each page (side) of the "butterfly" sheet — the right one (a) and the left one (b) — measures 25.5×19.5 cm; seven lines per page, each line containing 15—16 characters. Between the pages of the "butterfly" sheet, on the *bai-kou* (*hei-kou*), the title — {1} [12] *ndje mbo* "The Forest of Classes" and the number of the respective *juan* are indicated. (The title is given in Mi-nia characters, while the number of *juan* — in Chinese characters.) Then come two (sometimes three) Mi-nia characters indicating, in my opinion, the names of those who carved the wood-block [13]. The pagination is given in Chinese characters [14]. The extant Mi-nia text of "The Forest of Classes" consists of 212 "butterfly" sheets, plus two additional "butterfly" pages: the left parts of the last "butterfly" sheets — page b (in both *juan*s 7 and 8) — are not extant [15].

Originally the Mi-nia translation consisted of 10 *juan*s, but the first two *juan*s are missing in our block-print [16]: the first *juan* we have at our disposal is in fact the third one. The last, tenth *juan*, is present. Each *juan* includes four to six *pian*s (sections). Extant are *pian*s from the tenth up to the fiftieth. Some *juan*s (e. g. the fourth and the tenth) have a colophon stating that the wood-block was cut in 1181—1182. The surviving parts of "The Forest of Classes" lack any reference to the author (compiler) of the *leishu* [17].

The text of the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" includes a great many short stories: in the surviving parts of the *leishu* there are more than four hundred of them. The stories are grouped in *pian*s according to the subject. The number of stories in a *pian* varies from two to twenty-seven. The following headings of *pian*s may be cited as examples: "Just Officials", "Cruel Officials", "Wise Men", "Hermits", "Magicians", "Literary Writings", "Drunkards", "Very Poor People", "Perfect Archers", "Good Omens",

etc. After the heading of a respective *pian* comes the table of contents — the names of the heroes (heroines) of the stories [18].

The Japanese scholar Kawaguchi Hisao, who stressed the significance of "The Forest of Classes" for the history of Chinese literature, as well as for Japanese *kambun* literature, remarked that for both this *leishu* served as the source of plots [19]. That is why the Mi-nia translation of "The Forest of Classes", one of the earliest *leishu*s now not existing in Chinese, is of great importance for the investigation of the history of Chinese literature. However, being not an expert in Chinese literature, I do not step into this domain, limiting myself to the examination of the Mi-nia translation.

In the Mi-nia translation of "The Forest of Classes" to Li *furen* is dedicated a special story registered under her name in the forty-fifth *pian* entitled "Beautiful Persons" (*juan* 9) [20]. It is a touching story (regrettably, the Mi-nia text has lacunae) which runs that when Li *furen* was lying in her deathbed, Wu-di visited her [21], but the young woman concealed her face with the blanket: being terribly emaciated, she wanted Wu-di to remember her a beautiful woman. When her brothers and sisters asked why she did so, Li *furen* answered that if Wu-di saw her in her present state, he would inevitably feel hatred to her and, as a result, would subsequently not give his respect and promotion to her brothers and sisters. The story goes on that Li *furen*'s elder sister judged her explanation reasonable. After Li *furen*'s death Wu-di recollected her beauty and missed her so much that he invited a magician to arouse her spirit; the spirit appeared in some distance from him in his chamber, but Wu-di was unable to come nearer to his beloved.

Li *furen*'s brother, Li Yuan-nian, is also one of the heroes to whom a special story is dedicated in the Mi-nia translation of "The Forest of Classes" (*juan* 9, *pian* 43 entitled "Dancers, Singers and Musicians") [22]. As was already said (see n. 2), contrary to Chinese sources, the Mi-nia translation indicates Li Yuan-nian as Li *furen*'s **younger** brother, who was a skilled singer and dancer. The same story cites a popular folk song about a pair of birds (female and ·male, i.e. Li *furen* and Li Yuan-nian) flying into Wu-di's palace. This story also mentions another Li *furen*'s brother, military commander Li Guang-li. According to Chinese sources, he was Li *furen*'s elder brother, but the Mi-nia text indicates him her younger half-brother (by father). The story tells that he was the author of the song dedicated to the Heavenly Horse.

Wu-di's mourning song for Li *furen* in the Mi-nia translation

In the Mi-nia translation of the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" Wu-di's mourning song [23] appears twice: in the *pian* "Literary Writings" (*juan* 7) [24], and in the *pian* "Dancers, Singers and Musicians" (*juan* 9) [25]. In the table of contents of both *pian*s the story is registered under Wu-di's name [26]. In both cases the text of the poem is preceded by an introductory note qualifying the verse as

a mourning song by Wu-di, dedicated to Li *furen*. Both variants consist of two quatrains (the poem has eight lines in all), seven characters in a line. The caesura is after the fourth character.

Below are given both Mi-nia translations of the mourning song as they appear in the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes".

Wu-di's mourning song I

TEXT

TRANSLITERATION

xan 'u ndzwi 'in ngi mbin lį̧e zįə xu żèn 'in ngą ngą ndzu wę̧ ku xu żèn lįwų lin nįuo rįę 'u ndzwi lhi kįą rįə vįe kįą ngwu

1. *tsə̧ lįə mu żįę nị phôn ngu*
2. *si sįə nę żįę ndze zįə lhįo*
3. *śia śįə nwi żįę nia via mbê*
4. *si ldiu sin żįę?* [27] *tįei ndżįo*

5. *tsi xwen żįę kha ndżįə ndu ndżiwon*
6. *ldįwų ngu rąi żįę mbu pa sou*
7. *lįwu mba ngəu żįę ndżįə kįą tśįwu*
8. *ne rąi si żįę 'a nįe śįo*

TRANSLATION

"Han Wu-di loved very much his wife, lady Li (Chin. Li *shi*) *furen*. Later, when [Li] *furen* passed away, Han Wu-di compiled the [following] mourning song:

1. The autumn wind is blowing, and white clouds are going away.
2. Grass and trees have withered, and geese are returning south.
3. Fragrant grass is blossoming, and flowers of the frost [season] are opening.
4. The beautiful woman [I] love — ... [she] left [28].

5. On the [Ji]fen [29] River a tower-boat has emerged.
6. It is serene amidst the river current, and heavy waves are thundering [around].
7. Flutes and drums are sounding, and the rowers' song is heard.
8. Joy and happiness have gone away, and anguish grows [in my heart]".

Wu-di's mourning song II

TEXT

TRANSLITERATION

xan 'u ndzwi ngi mbin ḷie zi̯ə 'i̯e ni̯uo lhi ki̯a ri̯a vi̯e ki̯a ngwu

1. *tsə ḷi̯ə mu źi̯e ni̯ phôn ngu*
2. *si si̯ ne ni̯uo ndze zi̯ə mbie*
3. *śia śi̯ə wai nwi nia vi̯a mbê*
4. *si ldiu sin lə? ti̯ei min*

5. *tsi xwen źi̯e ngu ndźi̯ə ndu ndźie*
6. *ldi̯wu ndźi̯ə rạ ki̯ai mbu pa ndźi̯won*
7. *ḷi̯wu mba ngaɯ źi̯e ndźi̯ə ki̯a tśi̯wu*
8. *ne rại si źi̯e siwə rại śi̯o*

'i thi ndạ śie xan śi̯ei 'i̯wə kha tshie

TRANSLATION

"When Han Wu-di's wife, lady Li, died, [he] compiled a mourning song. The song runs as follows:

1. The autumn wind is blowing, and white clouds are going away.
2. After grass and trees have withered, geese are leaving for the south.
3. When fragrant grass is blossoming, flowers of the frost [season] are opening.
4. The beautiful woman [I always] think about [I] am unable to forget.

5. Upon the [Ji]fen River a tower-boat is sailing.
6. It wants to cross the current, [but] heavy waves start to rise.
7. Flutes and drums are sounding, and the rowers' song is heard.
8. Joy and happiness have gone away, and great sorrow grows [in my heart].

This story is told in *Qian Han shu*".

Table 1

List of differences between the two Mi-nia translations

Number of line and character	Mourning song I	Mourning song II
line 2, character 1	{2} *si* [30]	{3} *si*
line 2, character 4	{4} *źie*	{5} *niuo*
line 2, character 7	{6} *lhio*	{7} *mbe*
line 3, character 4	{4} *źie*	{8} *nwi*
line 4, character 4	{4} *źie*	{9} *lə*
line 4, character 5	{10} ? [31]	{11} ? [32]
line 4, character 7	{12} *ndźio*	{13} *min*
line 5, character 4	{14} *kha*	{15} *ngu*
line 5, character 7	{16} *ndźiwon*	{17} *ndźie*
line 6, characters 2, 3, 4	{18} *ngu rại źie*	{19} *ndźie rạ kậi*
line 6, character 7	{20} *sou*	{16} *ndźiwon*
line 8, character 5, 6	{21} *'a nie*	{22} *siwə rại*

Judging by the divergences found in the two translations cited above (see *Table 1*), it was not one and the same Chinese text which served as the original for these two variants of the mourning song. Importantly, a different imagery is used in line 6: the tower-boat is **not moving** (not sailing), it is "serene" [33] amidst the current while heavy waves "are thundering" around (Wu-di's mourning song I); in the second variant the tower-boat is **moving** {17} *ndźie*, wishing to sail across the current, but heavy waves "start to rise" (Wu-di's mourning song II). All leads me to conclude that the two Mi-nia translations of the poem were made from two different Chinese variants of the mourning song. Moreover, these two variants, in my opinion, were not translated into the Mi-nia language by one person. It is clear from the different approach to the translation of the character *xi* (a meaningless character indicating the caesura, which stands as the fourth character in each line): in all the lines of Wu-di's mourning song I instead of *xi* we find the subordinating conjunction {4} *źie* "when", with one exception, in line 5 stands the postposition {14} *kha* "in", "on", "upon", whereas in Wu-di's mourning song II the fourth

character in lines 1, 2, 7, and 8 is expressed by subordinating conjunctions {4} *źie* "when", {5} *niuo* "after", {4} *źie* "when", {4} *źie* "when" respectively, and in lines 3, 4, and 6   by the verbs {8} *nwi* "to blossom", {9} *lə* "to miss" (= "longing for") and {24} *kậi* "to want" respectively; in line 5 we have the postposition {15} *ngu.*

The different rendering of the name — Li *furen* — corroborates my idea that it was not one and the same person who translated both variants of the verse. Actually "*furen*" means "wife". One of the translators knew it and his translation is quite correct — "Han Wu-di's wife, lady Li" (Wu-di's mourning song II). The other one, seemingly ignorant of such meaning of the word *furen*, translated the same collocation as "Han Wu-di's wife, lady Li *furen*", i. e. as "Han Wu-di's wife, lady Li wife" (Wu-di's mourning song I).

Thus, my supposition is that there existed two Chinese variants of the mourning song represented by the two Mi-nia translations treated in the present article as mourning song I and mourning song II. Seemingly, these translations of the two variants were made by different persons.

The Chinese original of Wu-di's mourning song

As to the Chinese original of the mourning song, the Mi-nia translation indicates the *Qian Han shu* as the source where the verse is to be found. However, as we already know, the "History of the Han Dynasty" does not contain Wu-di's *wange* (mourning song) dedicated to Li *furen* [34]. The Chinese text is included in Ding Fu-bao's anthology of Chinese poetry [35], and what is striking about the anthology variant of the verse is that it is shown not as a mourning song dedicated to a beloved woman: the commentary in the anthology states that Wu-di wrote the poem (*ci*) "The Autumn Wind" being inspired by his journey to the east of the Huanghe, where he made offerings to the earth goddess. Describing Wu-di's feelings, the commentators even use the word *huan* "happy" [36], and one immediately feels a cer-

tain discrepancy between this word and the feeling of sorrow which permeates the whole of the poem in Chinese.

The Chinese text of "The Autumn Wind" in Ding Fu-bao's anthology does not fully coincide with the Mi-nia translation: the Chinese verse has (i) an **extra** character, namely, *luo* "to fall off", which stands in the middle of the second line before the meaningless character *xi*, and (ii) an **extra** line (line 9).

It is to be noted that in the Chinese text this extra line consists of eight characters. Line 2, too, after inserting the additional character, has eight characters (mind that all other lines have seven characters), and in both line 2 and line 9, there are four characters before the meaningless character *xi* (not three as in all other lines of the Chinese

text). This extra line runs as follows: *shao zhuang ji shi xi, nai lao he.* Waley translates it as

"Youth's years how few! Age how sure!"

Owen's translation is

"how long does youth's prime last? —
no hope against old age".

Both English translators of the poem are quite correct in perceiving this extra line as Wu-di's laments on the brevity of life, which tally well with Chinese commentators' assessment that the idea of the poem is to show Wu-di's sorrow because of the brevity of life, the feeling inspired by the special charm of the moribund nature of autumn.

One can only regret that the completeness of the text as presented in the Mi-nia translation is broken by this additional line present in the Chinese text. Seemingly, when the text was re-interpreted by Chinese commentators, they felt the necessity to put in some corrections in keeping with its new interpretation. And, in contrast with the other lines of the poem, each of which consists of seven characters, both "corrupted" lines (lines 2 and 9) got eight characters. Was it possibly a special invention to mark the innovations made?

It seems that Waley while translating "The Autumn Wind" also got an impression that the text of the poem is somewhat inconsistent with its commentary. In the introductory note to his translation he writes: "[Wu-ti] regrets that he is obliged to go on official journey, leaving his mistress behind in the capital. He is seated in his state barge surrounded by his ministers" [37]. Waley does not mention Li *furen*'s name, but, in any case, he feels the special mood of the verse. However, it is difficult to say whether he knew the story or it was just his guess (it is also possible that he had at his disposal another text of the poem which I failed to find).

As is known, all Chinese early writings have come down to us in the editions made in the times of the Song dynasty (960—1279), and I thought it natural to try to look for the Chinese original of the Mi-nia translation in the pre-Song anthologies. The Chinese original of the mourning song for Li *furen* was found by me in the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes. Mixed Stories" (*Lei lin za shuo*) [38]. The work was compiled under the Jin (Jurchen) dynasty (1115—1234) [39]. The poem is included in *juan* 7 in the section "Literary Writings". Similarly to the Mi-nia translation, the original consists of eight lines and it is preceded by an introductory note which is in full accord with the text of the Mi-nia translation.

CHINESE TEXT

漢武帝愛李夫人。夫人亡。帝自作挽歌曰。

1. 秋風起兮白雲飛。
2. 草木黃兮雁南歸。
3. 蘭有芳兮菊有菲。
4. 思佳人兮不可依。
5. 泛樓船兮濟汾河。
6. 橫中流兮揚素波。
7. 簫鼓鳴兮發棹歌。
8. 歡樂盡兮哀情多。

TRANSLATION

"Han Wu-di loved Li *furen*. [Li] *furen* died. The emperor himself compiled a mourning song.

1. The autumn wind is blowing, white clouds are flying.
2. Grass and trees are yellow, geese are returning south.
3. Orchids are fragrant, chrysanthemums are opulent.
4. [I am] longing for the beautiful woman, being unable to accept [her death].

5. A tower-boat has emerged and is crossing the Fen River [40].
6. [It] is moving across the middle of the current, raising white waves.
7. Flutes and drums are sounding, and the rowers' song is heard.
8. Joy has gone away, and great sorrow grows [in my heart]".

Having at our disposal the Chinese text of the mourning song, which served as the original for the Mi-nia translation, we may now turn to the Mi-nia translation itself in order to analyse its content more attentively.

Poetic images in the Mi-nia text of the mourning song

First some general remarks on the Mi-nia translation of the mourning song should be made. It appears that the Mi-nia seemingly had no idea of such flowers as orchids (Chin. *lan*) and chrysanthemums (Chin. *ju*). (The names of both flowers are missing among the flowers listed in the Mi-nia-Chinese dictionary entitled "The Pearl in the Palm" [41].) Both extant Mi-nia translations (Wu-di's mourning song I and II) render the names of these flowers as "fragrant grass" (= orchids) and "flowers of the frost [season]" (= chrysanthemums). This translation was not casual: orchids belong to the class of grasses, and the Chinese character *lan* has also the meaning "fragrant grass" [42], whereas the collocation "flowers of the frost [season]" usually stands for chrysanthemums in Chinese poetry. This means that tropes and metaphors used in Chinese poetry were familiar to the translators of the mourning song. The names of the flowers are translated in the same way in both Mi-nia translations. This may mean that when the Mi-nia translators were working on the translation of the mourning song (early or mid-12th century, see below), some of the images common in Chinese poetry had already been fixed in Mi-nia translations as conventional.

If we now turn to the textual difference between the Chinese original and the Mi-nia translation, we will notice at once that the pre-caesura and post-caesura parts of line 5 in both Mi-nia translations are given in reverse order: the river is mentioned here in the first part of the line, whereas in the Chinese original the name of the river stands after the caesura. In the mourning song I it is: {25} *tsi xwen źię kha ndźịə ndu ndźiwon* ("On the [Ji]fen River a tower-boat has emerged" — line 5), while in the mourning song II we find {26} *tsi xwen źię ngu ndźịə ndu ndźie* ("Upon the [Ji]fen River a tower-boat is sailing" — line 5). The Chinese original (*Leilin za shuo*) runs: *fan louchuan xi, ji fen he* ("A tower-boat has emerged and is crossing the Fen River" — line 5). It seems rather doubtful that the Mi-nia translators have put in reverse order the pre-caesura and post-caesura parts of line 5 of the Chinese original. It is more likely that that was the order in the Chinese original they had.

Besides the difference in the sequence of the pre- and post-caesura parts of line 5, there is even a more striking divergence between the original and the translation: the Fen River is rendered in the Mi-nia translation as the [Ji]fen River. One may regard it as a mere mistake of the Mi-nia translators (I have encountered a number of similar mistakes among Mi-nia renderings of Chinese names, toponyms, etc.). If so, it would mean that the Mi-nia translators have rendered the **reading**, not the meaning of the Chinese verb *ji* "to cross the river", since the Mi-nia character {27} *tsi* "wet" could render the reading of this very Chinese character [43]. And, therefore, they translated this Chinese collocation as the "[Ji]fen River".

But what if it was not a mistake? A closer examination of the line shows that, faithfully following the sequence of Chinese words in the collocation *ji fen he* "to cross the Fen River", the Mi-nia translators render it as {28} *tsi xwen źię*. However, according to the Mi-nia grammar, the Mi-nia col-

location *tsi xwen źię*, standing at the beginning of a line, is to be translated only as the river's name (mind the SOV order in the Mi-nia language — if {27} *tsi* were the predicate, it would necessarily stand at the end of the collocation). Moreover, after the collocation {28} *tsi xwen źię* one finds the postposition with the meaning "on", "upon" (in the mourning song I it is {14} *kha*; in the mourning song II stands another postposition — {15} *ngu*). This means that what stands before the postposition is undoubtedly a noun phrase.

It is also to be stressed that line 5 in the mourning song I is the only one where a postposition stands instead of the subordinating conjunction {4} *źię* — in the other lines *źię* stands for the caesura marker. One may suggest that such a change in the rendering of the caesura marker was made for the sake of the correct understanding of the collocations {29} *tsi xwen źię kha* "on the [Ji]fen River" (the mourning song I) and {30} *tsi xwen źię ngu* "upon the [Ji]fen River" (the mourning song II). The presence of a postposition excludes other explanations of these collocations. Be that as it may, it seems that the translation "the [Ji]fen River" was made quite consciously. I must confess, however, that at present I have no explanation of the river's name (the [Ji]fen River) in the Mi-nia translation.

As was mentioned above, the Mi-nia translation of the mourning song is in full accord with an explanatory note it is provided with. The poem admits no other interpretation than an expression of love and longing for a beloved woman who died. The key-image of the poem is the tower-boat on the [Ji]fen River in line 5 (line 1 of the second quatrain), which, I believe, symbolizes the author, Wu-di. The masculine origin of the boat is seen in its characteristic as a tower [44]. This idea is supported by the choice of the Mi-nia character which stands for "tower" — {31} *ndu*: the dictionary "The Sea of Characters" explains that the character {31} *ndu* consists of the entire character {32} *mbin* "high", "lofty" and the right part of the character {33} *ndu* "quiet", "calm" [45]. On the other hand, we know [46] that the character {32} *mbin* "high", "lofty" often stands for its homophone, {34} *mbin*, which means *membrum virile.*

To continue, there is an interesting observation concerning the meaning of the collocation "crossing a river" (if a boat, bridge, etc., i.e. any means of ferry, used for that purpose), made by the distinguished Russian scholar, Professor M. I. Nikitina. Among her fascinating discoveries concerning Far Eastern imagery is her finding that "crossing a river" implies [47] conjugal union, the connotation shared by all agrarian cultures [48]. In our case, line 5 of the mourning song states that the boat with a protruding tower is unable to cross the river because of the heavy thundering waves. I believe that here we have, in terms of metaphor, the idea of impossibility of conjugal union with the deceased beloved.

From the outset the Mi-nia text of the mourning song creates an impression of overall sorrow: (line 1) autumn has come, cold wind is blowing, the white (mourning colour) clouds are flying away (sic!) [49]. In line 2, we are told that grass and trees have already withered, and geese are flying

away. At first glance, line 3 stands somewhat apart: it runs that fragrant grass (orchids) is in blossom and flowers of the frost season (chrysanthemums) are opening, which is seemingly not in keeping with the mood of sorrow. But orchids and chrysanthemums are known to be autumn flowers. The coldness of the season is also expressed by means of the collocation "flowers of the **frost** season". (Mind the white, or mourning, colour of frost.)

Line 4 (the poem turns here from nature to man) openly states that the beloved woman has left the hero (the mourning song I) and that it is impossible to forget her (the mourning song II).

In the Mi-nia translation of the first quatrain, the last word in lines 1, 2, and 4, renders the idea of "a loss" — "flying away" (line 1), "leaving" ("returning home") (line 2) and in line 4 — "leaving", "parting" (the mourning song I); we have also a negation {13} *min* "not to have" (Chin. equivalent *wu*) (the mourning song II). Such choice of words was obviously intended to express the state of loneliness of the author (mind that the Chinese original lacks such illustrative syntax).

The second quatrain of the mourning song (lines 5—8) depicts Wu-di and his loneliness, thus continuing the theme which was touched upon in the last line of the first quatrain:

line 1 (5) — a tower-boat emerges on the [Ji]fen River;

line 2 (6) — the tower-boat wants to cross the river, but heavy waves hinder its sailing (the line, in terms of metaphor, shows the impossibility of the conjugal union with the beloved woman);

line 3 (7) — flutes and drums are sounding, the rowers are singing (it may seem that the mentioning of music in this line, like the mentioning of flowers in blossom in line 3 of the first quatrain, contrasts with sorrow. However, it may hint at a mourning ritual accompanied by the sound of flutes and drums);

line 4 (8) — sorrow grows in the heart of the author; there is no more happiness.

The analysis of the mourning song shows that its two quatrains are written in a parallel fashion being connected with Li *furen* and Wu-di respectively. The first two lines of the first quatrain have to do with the beloved woman, to be more precise, with her absence, which is stressed by the usage of the words expressing "a loss". The first two lines of the second quatrain metaphorically depict Wu-di, showing his loneliness. The third line in the first quatrain points to the woman (fragrance) and the respective line in the second quatrain — to the man (sound) [50]: the correlation between fragrance as manifestation of the female principle and sound — as manifestation of the male principle was established by Professor Nikitina [51]. In line 4 of the first quatrain the noun "woman" is used, while line 4 in the second quatrain turns openly to Wu-di, precisely, to his feelings.

An interesting question is whether the Mi-nia translation of the mourning song can be ascribed to the rhymed poetry. The rhyme occurs here not between the finals (end of the syllables), as in Chinese; in keeping with the Mi-nia tradition [52], the rhymed characters stand at the beginning of the lines and rhymed are the initials (beginning of the syllables).

In *Table 2* are given the readings of both the first character in a line and the first character after the caesura (the mourning song I).

Table 2

Line	First character in a line		First character after the caesura	
1	*tsə*	tone 1, rhyme 68	*ni*	tone 2, rhyme 55
2	*si*	tone 1, rhyme 30	*ndze*	tone 1, rhyme 8
3	*śia*	tone 1, rhyme 19	*nia*	tone ?, rhyme ?
4	*si*	tone 2, rhyme 10	?	
5	*tsi*	tone 2, rhyme 10	*ndźi̯ə*	tone 1, rhyme 69
6	*ldi̯wu*	tone 1, rhyme 59	*mbu*	tone 1, rhyme 3
7	*li̯wu*	tone 1, rhyme 2	*ndźi̯ə*	tone 1, rhyme 69
8	*ne*	tone 2, rhyme 7	*'a*	tone 1, rhyme 17

If we turn to the mourning song II, we, however, will find that a different character stands in the second line (first character), it is {3} *si* "tree" (tone 1, rhyme 11); however, it does not violate the rhyme. Regrettably, the reading of the character {11}? "to forget" is not known (cf. n. 32), therefore, I have no idea of the reading of the first post-caesura word in line 4.

From *Table 2* it is quite evident that in the Mi-nia translation there is a certain similarity between the initials of the words standing at (i) the beginning of a line, and (ii) the beginning of the post-caesura part of a line, which proves that the mourning song represents a rhymed verse wholly in keeping with Mi-nia poetical rules.

The possible reason for the re-interpretation of the mourning song

Trying to understand the reason for the re-interpretation of the mourning song, I have turned again to the works of Professor Nikitina, in particular, to her idea concerning the representation of space in Korean poetry

(*sijo*) [53]. My supposition was that this idea would work on Chinese material as well, since images of Chinese origin are common in Korean poetry. In brief, Nikitina's idea is as follows: space in the verse may be represented by means of

two sets of poetical images, which stand for "the horizontal" (the bottom) and "the vertical" (the top) respectively. The spatial "framework" of the verse is represented by juxtaposing "the horizontal" and "the vertical". Nikitina defines **water** as the **bottom**, as contrasted with all other poetical images belonging to the **top**. Water is "**the horizontal**", and what is important, it is the main horizontal in the verse. It is in correlation with the **top** -- heaven (moon, clouds, sun), a pine-tree or a mountain, all representing "**the vertical**". This is, so to say, the "spatial hierarchy" of poetical images.

In the mourning song, the first two lines in both quatrains point to the spatial framework of the poem representing "the vertical" and "the horizontal" respectively: in the first quatrain the top of the vertical is shown by "clouds" and "geese", whereas in the second quatrain the horizontal (the bottom) is indicated by means of "the [Ji]fen River" and the "tower-boat". Trees, grass and flowers extend "the vertical" down to the bottom, where "the vertical" and "the horizontal" meet. The "spatial hierarchy" in the mourning song may be, therefore, represented as follows:

clouds
geese
trees and grass
flowers
                    the [Ji]fen River and the tower-boat

As was said above, the tower-boat personifies Wu-di, who, recalling his beloved deceased woman, raises his head, looks upward and watches the disappearing clouds and geese (both evidently associated with the woman). In effect, the emperor Wu-di is at the **bottom**, looking upward at the **top** and longing for his mistress, a **common** woman. But the whole situation contradicts to Chinese traditional notions: one looks upward only at those whose rank is higher than one's (those may be gods and goddesses, emperors, fathers, teachers, etc.).

Thus, the image of the emperor raising his head and looking upwards at the personification of his mistress was absolutely unacceptable for the Chinese world-view. However, the artistic value of the mourning song was so great that the commentators in their attempt to preserve the poem made corrections in the text in order to bring it to a "norm" the Chinese reader was accustomed to. Since it was quite clear that the mourning song implied a woman (the first quatrain is completely devoted to a woman — remember

flowers and their aroma), the mourning song was reinterpreted by the Chinese commentators as a sacrificial song dedicated to the earth **goddess**. Still some inconsistency remained — it was a **mourning song** which hardly fitted to be perceived as a sacrificial song. This point was "improved" by means of adding an extra line — the laments it contained were "shifted" to the brevity of life. And, finally, in keeping with the new idea, the mourning song was given the title "The Autumn Wind".

Regrettably, as a result of the re-interpretation of the main idea of the poem and respective corrections, the Chinese text of "The Autumn Wind" had lost its completeness and perfection, while the Mi-nia translation, fortunately, retained both.

However, the speculations on the re-interpretation of the mourning song I offer here do not pretend to be final: other explanations are not excluded, and the whole problem, no doubt, deserves a special study.

Translations from the Chinese in the Mi-nia state

The Mi-nia translation of Wu-di's mourning song is one among numerous poetical translations from the Chinese into the Mi-nia language. Today almost nothing is known about the translations of Chinese writings in the Mi-nia state. Therefore, it seems necessary to give some general remarks on the subject.

The analysis of Mi-nia translations from the Chinese shows that during all the time of the existence of the Mi-nia state the work on translation from Chinese was unceasingly going on. Since Buddhism formed the ideological foundation of the Mi-nia state, there was nothing strange in the fact that the Mi-nia started their translation activities with the translation of the Buddhist Canon. This work began in 1038, to wit, immediately after the invention of the Mi-nia indigenous script (1036). The translation of the whole Buddhist Canon into the Mi-nia language was completed, as the Mi-nia themselves claimed, in 1090 [54]: the translation was consequently done in a record short time of fifty-three years [55]. (To compare, in China the work

on translation of the Buddhist Canon took almost a millennium.)

That the Mi-nia had the Buddhist Canon in their own script testifies to their highly developed culture. Of the three non-Han states of the time (the two others are the Khitan Liao and Jurchen Jin), which created their own script, only the Mi-nia state felt cultural necessity to undertake such a translation and to publish the Buddhist Canon in their own script [56]. Obviously, Buddhist texts were considered as sacred and, consequently, the Mi-nia translation of these texts from the Chinese [57] was made especially careful. As a rule, these texts were translated *verbatim* (i.e. a corresponding Mi-nia character was put instead of a Chinese character). Seemingly, Mi-nia translators followed the Chinese text too faithfully: the Mi-nia grammar in translations of Buddhist texts in some cases turns to be "sinicized" [58]. However, Nishida Tatsuo holds that the Mi-nia language "has not been so thoroughly sinicized as to distort basically the original characteristics of the Hsi-Hsia language" [59].

Fig. 1

The preparations done by the Mi-nia for the translation of the Buddhist Canon were really impressive. First of all, the Mi-nia compiled two lists of special Mi-nia characters, one for rendering the reading of Sanskrit syllables (we may name these Mi-nia characters as transcription characters), the other — for Sanskrit words (terms). This is proved by the material of the famous Mi-nia dictionary "The Sea of Characters", where some characters are defined as "Sanskrit letters" [60], while the others are explained as "a Sanskrit word used in *sūtra*" [61]. The two lists were compiled because of the necessity to render (as it had been earlier done by Chinese translators of the Buddhist Canon) Sanskrit names and terms according to both their meaning and their reading (i. e. phonetically). As in Chinese translations of the Canon, there are sometimes more than one phonetic rendering of a Sanskrit word (e. g. *vajra*). Some examples are given in *Table 3*:

Table 3

Sanskrit name/term	Translation	Phonetic rendering
Vairocana	{35} *mə sweɯ ndzu* Chin. *guangming bian zhao*	{36} *phi lu tśia no*
samadhi	{37} *lə ndie* Chin. *deng chi*	{38} *san mwei*
sūtra	{39} ? [62] *rại* Chin. *jing*	{40} *su ti rịa*
vajra	{41} *kẹi ndźịa* Chin. *jingang*	{42} *mba ndzi rịa*
		{43} *mba ndzi rịe*
		{44} *mba ndzi rạ*

It goes without saying that such work could be performed only by very learned and experienced monks (experts in Sanskrit), but such people were hardly to be found in the newly born Mi-nia state. In this connection it seems quite probable [63] that Yuan-hao, the first Mi-nia emperor (r. 1032—1048), in 1036 (sic!), the year when the indigenous Mi-nia script was created, detained (Shi Jin-bo even writes "arrested" [64]) a group of nine Indian monks who, on their way home from China, had been passing through Mi-nia lands [65]. One may suppose that the aim of such detention of Indian monks was the urgent need of experts in the Sanskrit text of the Buddhist Canon for translating the Canon and, first and foremost, for compiling the two above-mentioned lists of Mi-nia–Sanskrit equivalents.

It seems that after the completion of the translation of the Buddhist Canon, the Mi-nia turned to the Chinese secular writings since the colophons in the wood-block prints containing these translations, as a rule, indicate the end of the eleventh century [66] or (more often) the twelfth century [67]. The list of these translations includes Chinese classics [68], Chinese treatises on the art of war, such as *Sun zi bing fa* [69], *San lue* [70] and *Liu tao* [71], *Lei Lin* ("The Forest of Classes"), etc.

In the text of the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" one finds Chinese verses in Mi-nia translation scattered in various sections of the *leishu*. What is really fascinating is that despite the fact that Mi-nia indigenous poetry is quite a special phenomenon not similar to Chinese in shape, images, rhyme, etc. [72], the Mi-nia translators managed to reach such high level that some Chinese verses in the Mi-nia language represent real pieces of art.

While translating Chinese secular writings, Mi-nia translators were not so much bounded by the text of the original as in the case of the Buddhist Canon. It does not mean, however, that these translations lack exactness or

clarity. In general, the Chinese text was rendered into the Mi-nia language quite correctly: only sometimes one notices that the translation was made by a person not quite familiar with some minor features of the Chinese language, e. g. two-syllable family names, such as Zhuge, were often "split" in Mi-nia translations. Some Chinese characters were mistakenly read [73], etc. One may suppose that such kind of mistakes reveal the Mi-nia ethnicity of the translators.

But on the whole the Mi-nia translations of Chinese secular writings were made very skilfully (it is especially obvious in case of poetry). It is interesting that sometimes a passage is more transparent in the Mi-nia translation than in the original. (The reason is probably that the Chinese text in the course of time was sometimes re-interpreted or simply corrupted.)

The work on the translation of Chinese secular writings also demanded special preparations. Thus, there was compiled a special list of the Mi-nia correspondences of Chinese family names (84 Chinese family names in all) [74]. For Chinese names, toponyms and other words, which were to be rendered according to their reading, special transcription characters were created. These characters lack lexical meaning [75]. However, as the list shows, sometimes meaningful characters were also used for rendering the reading of a Chinese character, e. g. the adjective {27} "wet" *tsi* [76] renders the second syllable of the name Wang Ji, {45} *'ion tsi* ({27} *tsi* is the character used in the name of the [Ji]fen River [77]), etc.

It is to be noted that the list of Mi-nia transcription characters compiled for rendering the reading of Chinese words does not coincide with the list of Mi-nia transcription characters which render Sanskrit syllables. So far I can make only one observation: the reading of Sanskrit syllables are often rendered by means of Mi-nia grammatical morphemes, such as, for example, perfective aspect mark-

ers {46} *a*, {47} *ki*, {48} *tha*, {49} *ndi*, {50} *rịə*, agreement marker {51} *ni*, etc., while grammatical morphemes seemingly were not used for rendering the reading of Chinese words (at least they are lacking in the "List of Tangut-Chinese phonetic equivalents" [78]).

Conclusion

The Mi-nia translation of Wu-di's mourning song is a literary brilliance. Not a single superfluous word is to be found here, and the poem flows from image to image, leaving an impression of overall completeness. Importantly, the translation not only renders adequately the content of the Chinese verse as a mourning song, but, by means of a set of expressive images, fully conveys the emotions — love and sorrow for the beloved woman who has passed away.

It is necessary to stress that in conveying the idea of mourning, the Mi-nia translators use a set of **Chinese** poetic images, though following the **Mi-nia** pattern of a rhymed poetry, so that the Mi-nia reader could enjoy a Chinese verse shaped according to Mi-nia poetic rules.

The extant Chinese traditional text lacks both the beauty and the completeness of the Mi-nia translation. In my opinion, the Mi-nia translation is of higher artistic value than the Chinese text, perhaps, because the Chinese text of the verse known to us today, in the course of the two millennium, had been pondered over and re-interpreted as Wu-di's laments on the brevity of life, whereas the Mi-nia text of the verse has preserved its original vein. The reason for the re-interpretation of the mourning song seems to be connected with the abnormal for Chinese world-view arrangement of the "spatial hierarchy" of the verse where the emperor, at the "bottom", is looking at the heavens (i.e. the "top"), recalling his mistress, who was a common woman.

It is also important that in the case of "The Autumn Wind" we have one more example of the phenomenon I have discussed elsewhere [79]: sometimes Mi-nia translations from the Chinese may serve as a source for reconstructing the original Chinese text.

Obviously, such a piece of art as the Mi-nia translation of the mourning song could be produced by those who possessed not only considerable poetic mastery and creativity, but had great experience in doing such work. It means that by the second half of the twelfth century the Mi-nia had already worked out a stable tradition of translating Chinese writings, in particular, Chinese poetry, and we may assert that the art of translation from the Chinese became an integral part of the Mi-nia culture.

Appendix

"THE AUTUMN WIND" [80]

CHINESE TEXT

秋風辭

漢武帝

漢武帝故事曰.帝行幸河東。祠后土。顧視帝京。
忻然中流。與羣臣飲燕。帝歡甚。乃自作秋風辭。

1. 秋風起兮白雲飛。
2. 草木黃落兮鴈南歸。
3. 蘭有秀兮菊有芳。
4. 懷佳人兮不能忘。
5. 汎樓船兮濟汾河。
6. 橫中流兮揚素波。
7. 蕭鼓鳴兮發櫂歌。
8. 歡樂極兮哀情多。
9. 少壯幾時兮奈老何。

VARIANTS OF ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF WU-DI'S "THE AUTUMN WIND"

A. Waley variant [81]	S. Owen variant [82]
The Autumn Wind	**Song of the Autumn Wind**
"By Wu-ti (157—87 B.C.), sixth emperor of the Han dynasty. He came to the throne when he was only sixteen. In this poem he regrets that he is obliged to go on an official journey, leaving his mistress behind in the capital. He is seated in his state barge surrounded by his ministers.	
Autumn wind rises: white clouds fly.	"Autumn winds rise, white clouds fly,
Grass and trees wither: geese go south.	plants turn brown and fall, wild geese go south,
Orchids all in bloom: chrysanthemums smell sweet.	the orchid has its bloom, chrysanthemum its scent,
I think of my lovely lady: I never can forget.	my thoughts are on the fairest, her I can't forget.
Floating-pagoda boat crosses Fēn River.	I sail in a great galley [83] across the River Fen,
Across the mid-stream white waves rise;	we breast the midstream current, raising white waves;
Flute and drum keep time to sound of the rowers' song;	drums and fifes sing out, a rowing song begins,
Amidst revel and feasting, sad thoughts come;	at pleasure's height, many a sad thought comes:
Youth's years how few! Age how sure!"	how long does youth's prime last? —
	no hope against old age".

List of Mi-nia Characters

Notes

1. *Han shu bu zhu*, Wang Xian-qian *bu zhu* (Peking, 1959), viii, pp. 5571-—7.

2. In Chinese sources Li Yuan-nian is shown as Li *furen*'s elder brother (Chin. *xiong*), but in the Mi-nia translation he appears as her younger brother. See K. B. Kepping, *Les kategorii — utrachennaia kitaĭskaia leĭshu v tangutskom perevode* (The Forest of Classes — the Lost Chinese *Leishu* in Tangut Translation) (Moscow, 1983), p. 514.

3. A. Waley, *Translations from the Chinese* (New York, 1941), p. 49.

4. *Ibid.* In his translation, Waley does not mention the title "The Fallen Leaves and the Wailing Cicada".

5. See Kepping, *op. cit.*

6. There are at least two English translations of the "Autumn Wind", one made by A. Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 36, and the other by S. Owen (see *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, New York—London, 1996, pp. 277—8). There is also a Russian translation of the verse: see V. M. Alekseev, *Kitaĭskaia literatura* (Chinese Literature) (Moscow, 1978), p. 163.

7. Regrettably, while preparing for publication the text of "The Forest of Classes" I could not pay much attention to a particular story in the *leishu*: my work-schedule gave me only one year to complete the list of contents of the whole *leishu* (the Mi-nia text of the *leishu* contains several hundreds of pages and more than four hundred stories). As a result, I had to postpone a detailed study of some interesting stories, among which was "The Autumn Wind". For a brief description of the Mi-nia translation of "The Autumn Wind", see K. B. Kepping, "Tangutskiĭ perevod 'Pesni ob osennem vetre'" ("The Tangut translation of 'The Autumn Wind'"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. XXII godichnaia nauchnaia sessiia LO IV AN SSSR (doklady i soobshcheniia)*, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 36—41.

8. See, for example, V. S. Kolokolov and E. I. Kychanov, *Kitaĭskaia klassika v tangutskom perevode* (Chinese Classics in Tangut Translation) (Moscow, 1966); K. B. Kepping, *Sun' tszi v tangutskom perevode* (Sun zi in Tangut Translation) (Moscow, 1979) and *idem*, *Les kategorii*.

9. See Kepping, *Les kategorii*.

10. According to Professor Kawaguchi Hisao (for details, see Kepping, *Les kategorii*, pp. 10—2), some Chinese fragments of "The Forest of Classes" were found among Dunhuang material (now they are held in St. Petersburg, Paris, and London).

11. One may hope that the missing parts of "The Forest of Classes" will be found among the thousands of so far not identified Mi-nia fragments housed in the Stein Collection in London, since both collections — in St. Petersburg and in London — have originated from one and the same source — the famous Khara Khoto *suburgan* (see K. B. Kepping, "The Khara Khoto suburgan", in *Preservation of Dunhuang and Central Asian Collections. Fourth Conference. St. Petersburg, 7—12 September*, pp. 8—10). Such precedents are already known: for example, a single Mi-nia Buddhist text with interlinear Tibetan transcriptions is held partly in St. Petersburg, partly in London (G. van Driem and K. B. Kepping, "The Tibetan transcriptions of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) ideograms", *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 14/1 (1991), pp. 119—22); a missing page from the St. Petersburg block-print *Sun zi bing fa* is housed in London, see Kepping, *Sun' tszi v tangutskom perevode*, p. 11.

12. The number in {} brackets corresponds to the number in the "List of Mi-nia Characters" at the end of this essay.

13. See K. B. Kepping, "Rezchiki tangutskikh ksilografov" ("The carvers of Tangut wood-blocks"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik. 1975* (Moscow, 1982).

14. That both the number of the *juan* and the pagination are in Chinese seemingly implies the Chinese origin of those who carved the wood-block sheets and later bound them.

15. For the Mi-nia translation of "The Forest of Classes", see Kepping, *Les kategorii*, pp. 147—572.

16. There is only one "butterfly" sheet preserved from the second *juan* (*ibid.*, pp. 147—8).

17. Three different texts of the *leishu* "The Forest of Classes" ascribed to different authors are registered in bibliographical sections of some Chinese dynastic histories. So far it is not clear which one of them served as the original for the Mi-nia translation (for details, see *ibid.*, pp. 9—10).

18. For a complete list of these names, see *ibid.*, pp. 106—20.

19. For the bibliography of his works concerning "The Forest of Classes", see *ibid.*, p. 10, n. 14.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 118, No. 358, Mi-nia text on pp. 537—9.

21. The story about Li *furen*'s refusal to meet Wu-di, when she was ill, is contained in *Han shu bu zhu*, pp. 5572—3.

22. Kepping, *Les kategorii*, p. 117, No. 329, Mi-nia text on p. 514.

23. Mind that the title "The Autumn Wind" does not occur in the Mi-nia translation.

24. Kepping, *Les kategorii*, No. 216, Mi-nia text on pp. 244—5; henceforth cited as mourning song I.

25. *Ibid.*, No. 334, Mi-nia text on p. 519; henceforth cited as mourning song II.

26. *Ibid.*, Mi-nia text on pp. 243 and 504.

27. Here stands the character {10}, which I have not found in the Mi-nia dictionaries known to me.

28. The translation "... [she] left" is tentative, since one of the characters in this line is not translated (see n. 27).

29. A Chinese toponym in [ ] brackets indicates that, being unable to identify it, I give its supposed reading.

30. The characters {2} *si* and {3} *si* are not homophones: see M. V. Sofronov, *Grammatika tangutskogo iazyka* (Grammar of the Tangut Language) (Moscow, 1968), ii, p. 297, No. 0849 and p. 298, No. 0881.

31. See n. 27.

32. Sofronov, in his *Grammatika tangutskogo iazyka*, p. 367, No. 4094, does not give its reading.

33. Here in the Mi-nia text is used the word {23} *rai* "calm", "serene". This word is to be found in the title given to Bai Light of Wisdom, who, as the head of the translators' team, completed the translation of the whole Buddhist Canon — {59} *rai nguo* "Calmly completed [the translation of the whole Buddhist Canon]". For details, see K. B. Kepping, "The famous Liangzhou bilingual stele: a new study", *T'oung Pao*, LXXXIV (1998), pp. 361 and 363.

34. *Han shu bu zhu*, p. 5574.

35. Ding Fu-bao (bian), *Quan Han San guo Nan Bei chao shi, shang ce* (Peking, 1959), p. 2. For the Chinese text of Wu-di's "The Autumn Wind" from Ding Fu-bao's anthology and its two English translations, one by Waley and the other by Owen, see Appendix of the present article.

36. The last sentence in the commentary runs as follows: *di huan shen, nai zi zuo qiu feng ci* ("The emperor was very happy and himself compiled the poem 'The Autumn Wind' ").

37. Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

38. This book is registered in *Leishu liu bie* (Zhang Di-hua, *Leishu liu bie* (Shanghai, 1958), p. 53) as the only *leishu* survived from the Jin dynasty.

39. Microfiches of the block-print *Lei lin za shuo* were kindly sent by Professor Kawaguchi Hisao to me in the late 1970's.

40. The Fen River is situated on the territory of modern Shansi province.

41. See Nishida Tatsuo, *A Study of the Hsi-Hsia Language* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1964), i, p. 200.

42. See, for example, *Kang-xi zidian*, (Peking, 1958), p. 998.

43. Cf. Wang Ji, see p. 47 of the present article.

44. The corresponding word in Chinese is *louchuan* "boat with a watch-tower" (sometimes up to thirty meters high).

45. K. B. Kepping, V. S. Kolokolov, E. I. Kychanov, A. P. Terent'ev-Katanskiĭ, *More pis'měn* (The Sea of Characters). Facsimile of Tangut xylographs, translation from the Tangut, introductory articles and appendices (Moscow, 1969), i, p. 57, No. 173.

46. See, for example, K. B. Kepping, "The name of the Tangut Empire", *T'oung Pao*, LXXX, fasc. 4—5 (1994), p. 368.

47. There are also other interpretations of "crossing a river" — for example, in terms of Buddhist teaching it means "reaching *nirvāṇa*".

48. M. I. Nikitina, *Drevniaia koreĭskaia poėziia v sviazi s ritualom i mifom* (Ancient Korean Poetry: Myth and Ritual) (Moscow, 1982), p. 71.

49. Instead of Chinese word *fei* "to fly", which does not specify the direction, the Mi-nia word {52} *ngu* is explained in the dictionary "The Sea of Characters" as {53} *riə* (see Kepping *et alii*, *More pis'měn*, i, p. 221), which stands for the Chinese *qu* "go", "leave".

50. We may remember here that the name of the great conqueror Genghis Khan — Temujin — in the Mi-nia language means "Black-smith Thunder-clap" (K. B. Kepping, "Secrets of the Tangut manuscripts", *Newsletter of the International Dunhuang Project*, No. 19 (2001), to wit, his name implies a very loud sound. The same manifestation of the male principle is to be observed in the title of Wu-di's verse "The Fallen Leaves and the Wailing Cicada": cicada (Wu-di's personification) is an insect which makes long, loud, shrill noise.

51. Personal communication of Professor M. I. Nikitina, spring, 1999; see also her *Mif o zhenshchine-solntse i eē roditeliakh i ego "sputniki" v ritual'noĭ traditsii drevneĭ Korei i sosednikh stranakh* (The Myth of the Sun-woman and Her Parents and Its 'Companions' in the Ritual Tradition of Ancient Korea and of Neighbouring States) (St. Petersburg, 2001), pp. 24 and 65.

52. E. I. Kychanov, "Krupinki zolota na ladoni — posobie dlia izucheniia tangutskoĭ pis'mennosti" ("Grains of gold in the palm — a manual for studying the Tangut script), in *Zhanry i stili literatur Kitaia i Korei* (Moscow, 1969), p. 221.

53. M. I. Nikitina, *Koreĭskaia poėziia XVI—XIX vv. v zhanre sidzho* (*Sijo* Genre in the Korean Poetry of XVI—XIX Centuries) (St. Peterburg, 1994), pp. 177—98.

54. Shi Jin-bo, *Xi Xia fo jiao shilue* (Inchuan, 1988), pp. 317 and 336.

55. For some details see Kepping, "The famous Liangzhou bilingual stele", p. 359.

56. One can appreciate the full scale of this endeavour if one remembers that in the eleventh century neither Japan, nor Korea or Vietnam revealed any intention to translate the Buddhist Canon, being quite content with its Chinese version. (In Japan and Korea the Buddhist Canon was translated only in the twentieth century.)

57. There were also Mi-nia translations of Buddhist texts made from other languages, at least from Sanskrit and Tibetan, but these translations go beyond the limits of the present essay.

58. Nishida Tatsuo, "Outline of the grammar of the Hsi-Hsia language", in *A Study of the Hsi-Hsia Language* (Tokyo, 1966), ii, pp. 562—5. Nishida Tatsuo cites some examples of such "sinicization" of the Mi-nia grammar. Thus, the Chinese collocation *you ren* "a man" (lit. to have + man) is translated as {54} *ndziwo ngiu* "man + to have", whereas in keeping with the Mi-nia grammar it should be translated as {55} *ndziwo ngi* "a man" ({56} *ngi* corresponds to the indefinite article of European languages).

59. *Ibid.*, p. 563.

60. See, for example, Kepping *et alii*, *More pis'měn*, i, p. 421, No. 2583; p. 451, No. 2783, etc.

61. See *ibid.*, p. 419, No. 2575; p. 450, No. 2777, etc.

62. Sofronov in his *Grammatika tangutskogo iazyka*, p. 378, No. 4600, does not give the reading of this character.

63. However, some scholars doubt the historicity of this story: see, for example, R. Dunnell, *The Great State of White and High. Buddhism and State Formation in Eleventh-Century Xia* (Honolulu, 1996), p. 34.

64. Shi, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 334.

66. The preface to the Mi-nia translation of *Xiao jing* dates from 1095 (see Kolokolov and Kychanov, *op. cit.*, p. 10), to wit, five years later the officially announced completion of the translation of the Buddhist Canon.

67. For example, the colophon in the block-print "The Forest of Classes" states that the wood-block was cut in 1181—1182 (see Kepping, *Les kategoriĭ*, p. 24). Seemingly the text of *Sun zi bing fa* was cut in the twelfth century as well (Kepping, *Sun' tszi v tangutskom perevode*, p. 10).

68. Kolokolov and Kychanov, *op. cit.*

69. Kepping, *Sun' tszi v tangutskom perevode*.

70. Tang. 9, Nos. 578, 715, 716.

71. Tang. 8, Nos. 139—142, 768—770.

72. I have already touched upon Mi-nia indigenous poetry, {57} *ndzio* "ode" and {58} *kiə* "ritual song" (see K. B. Kepping, "The 'Black-Headed' and 'Red-Faced' in Tangut Indigenous Texts", forthcoming), but this subject obviously needs a special and detailed study.

73. For details, see Kepping *Les kategorii*, pp. 33—4.

74. See the section "Chinese family names" in A. P. Terent'ev-Katanskiĭ, *Tangutskiĭ slovar' Ideologicheskaia smes'* (Tangut Dictionary "Ideographic Miscellany"), forthcoming.

75. The great majority of them are included into the "List of Tangut-Chinese phonetic equivalents" in Kepping, *Les kategorii*, pp. 131—9.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 358—9.

77. *Ibid.*, No. 318, Mi-nia text on p. 357.

78. See *ibid.*, pp. 131—9.

79. Kepping, *Sun' tszi v tangutskom perevode*, p. 17.

80. Ding Fu-bao (bian), *op. cit.*, p. 2.

81. Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

82. Owen, *op. cit.*, pp. 277—8. I would like to thank Professor G. Dudbridge for sending me by e-mail S. Owen's translation of "The Autumn Wind".

83. Regrettably, this translation lacks the expressive image of the boat with a protruding tower: *louchuan* is rendered here as "a great galley", i.e. a **flat** ship.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Engraving from Khara Khoto, X 2520, 79.0×34.0 cm, 13th — 14th century, the State Hermitage Museum. All inscriptions are in Chinese. The engraving has the title (at the top): "Models (Chin. *biaozhun*) of attractiveness for all dynasties. Fragrance (lit. 'fragrant appearance') [that can] overthrow states". (I would like to thank Professor S. E. Yakhontov, St. Petersburg University, for his generous help in translating this inscription). Vertical inscription: "[Master] from Ji workshop [in] Pingyang has cut and printed [this]". The figure of each woman is accompanied by her name in a cartouche. From right to left: "Lü-zhu (Jin dynasty), Wang Zhao-jun, Zhao Fei-yan (both Early Han dynasty), Ban Ji (Late Han dynasty)". Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum.

E. A. Rezvan

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL FABERGÉ. IV: POETRY AND MINIATURES (PART 1)

World literature has chapters that can vie in popularity with the legend of Khusraw and Shīrīn. The prototypes for the tale were provided by one of the last Sassanid emperors, Khusraw II Parwīz (Pehlavi *Abharvēz* — the Victorious) (590—628) and his Christian wife, Shīrīn (Pehlavi *Shīrēn* — the Sweet). It soon became a legend and spread throughout the folklore of the Near and Middle East, Transcaucasia, Central Asia, and India. It is possible that one of the initial reasons for the tale's popularity was that it combined the eternal charm of romance, loyalty and betrayal with memories of a vast and wealthy empire, its traditions and culture, all virtually eliminated by the expansion of Arabic-speaking Muslim civilization.

The story appears in Byzantine (Th. Simocatta), Armenian (Sebeos) and Syriac historical chronicles of the seventh century; a century later it finds its way into a work by al-Jāḥiẓ (773—869), the famed chronicle of al-Ṭabarī (838—923), and later a number of other historical and geographic works. The eighth and early ninth century witnessed the rapid growth of folkloric variants of the legend, as well as literary versions, which reached their heights in the works of Firdawsī, Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī and ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’ī. The legend of the beautiful Shīrīn, her beloved Khusraw, the architect Farhād — Persian Hercules and craftsman whose image first appears in works of the late tenth century but goes back to a cycle of stories rooted in the most ancient Babylonian strata [1] — becomes an integral part of international culture.

This poetic tradition continued without interruption for nearly eight centuries up through the twentieth century, when the Iranian author Zabih Behruz published the screenplay "The Iranian Shah and the Armenian Queen". In 1942 the Azerbaijani poet Samed Vurgun created the romantic drama "Farhād and Shīrīn" using a number of motifs from the poem by Niẓāmī. Six years later, Nazım Hikmet wrote the play "Legend of Love", based on a Turkish folkloric version of the legend. In 1961 Leningrad Kirov's Ballet hosted the lovely premiere of an eponymous ballet created in a collaboration between the composer Arif Melikov, choreographer Yury Grigorovich, and artist Simon Virsaladze. In late April 2002, the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow presented a new choreographic treatment of the ballet.

Numerous issues related to the legend itself and its historical, folkloric, literary and artistic incarnations have given rise to a vast scholarly literature [2].

Among the Eastern manuscripts in the Fabergé collection, a lovely codex of the Qājār era in an adorned lacquer binding is especially elegant. The codex (call number A 910) [3] contains a romantic poem *Farhād wa Shīrīn* by Kamāl al-Dīn Bāfiqī Waḥshī (born in Bāfiq, Kirmān, spent nearly the whole of his life in Yazd, died in 1582) and Muḥammad Shafī‘ al-Shīrāzī Wiṣāl (1783—1846), a great cultural figure in Iran during the nineteenth century. The former began the work, a *mathnawī* in the metre of Niẓāmī's *Khusraw wa Shīrīn* with the details taken from Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [4], and left us 1,000 *bayts*. In general, it "is lyrical rather than narrative: the sentimental incidents are in some respects reminiscent of the inspirations of Western poets of love and chivalry" [5]. This is a rare example of a work which was completed (1,800 further *bayts*) over some two and a half centuries and presents a certain level of inner unity.

The manuscript (113 fols., 15.7×10 cm, text: 10.7×5.6 cm, 2 columns of 10—11 lines to the page), a beautiful example of a handwritten book from Iran in the second half of the nineteenth century, was copied probably in Shīrāz in Indian ink in a lovely *shikasta-nasta‘līq* on glossy thick crème-coloured paper of Eastern origin by Muḥammad Ismā‘īl al-Anjawī al-Shīrāzī, from the family of *sayyid* al-Ḥusayn, during Rabī‘ I 1284/July 1867. The *ḥāfiẓs* — pagination "holders" — consist of the first word on the next page and are placed in the middle of the lower margins of each even page.

It is richly illuminated: the text is separated by gilded areas in black bands (*tarṣī‘ wa taḥrīr*); fols. 1b—2a contain a Qājār style ‘*unwān* (14.3×8.8 cm) (see back cover of the present issue, *Plate 1*) are decorated over a gold and blue background with numerous interwoven motifs (*islīmī-i bargī, gul-i khaṭā‘ī*) and indentations (*shurfa*) on the margins.

Three folios contain colour miniatures illustrating the text. They were produced in the Qājār style with obvious traces of European influence. The miniature on fol. 48b (4.9×3.2 cm, see back cover of the present issue, *Plate 2*) presents Farhād in the castle of Shīrīn. The one fol. 51b (6.4×4.2 cm, see front cover of the present issue) is devoted to the scene of Shīrīn bathing in the river when Khusraw accidentally sees her half nude sitting on the bank and combing her long black hair (it became obligatory for every illustrator of the poem). In the miniature on fol. 65b (4.8×5.1 cm, see

back cover of the present issue, *Plate 3*) Shīrīn sees Farhād while coming to see the works at Mount Bīsitūn.

The manuscript is held in a lovely lacquer binding (16.0×9.2 cm) with a leather spine. The decorations on the outer covers (6 loops of convolvulus and a plant motif in gold, as well as flowers — *islīmī-yi bargī* — against a dark green background, see *fig. 1*) match in their execution the high quality of the calligraphy and miniatures.

Our collection holds yet another manuscript of a poem by Waḥshī, but without the continuation by Wiṣāl. The manuscript (call number A 69, 51 fols., 15.2×9.8 cm, text: 11.5×6.5 cm, 2 columns of 10—11 lines to the page, decorated *'unwān*, see *fig. 2*) [6] is very similar in format and appearance, which suggests the existence of some kind of canon for copying such works.

Incidents taken from the legend of Khusraw, Farhād and Shīrīn were among the most popular subjects of Muslim book miniatures. Shīrīn is the personification of the best that a woman can be as imagined by Muslim men. Her modesty and fidelity, reasonableness and patience, her beauty, gentleness and womanly weakness made her image irresistibly attractive to men, and we can easily feel this when looking at the splendid miniatures in medieval manuscripts. She is indeed *la belle Dame* of the Muslim East, and no painter could help expressing a truly male admiration of her female nature.

In this regard our attention is drawn by two miniatures from Album (*muraqqa'*) X 3 of the Fabergé collection. One of them (fol. 18b, 13.0×19.1 cm, in a frame) rests in a complex yellow-blue-orange border adorned in gold (outer dimensions: 25.7×19.0 cm). The middle, and widest, part of the border contains a Persian inscription in *nasta'līq*; groups of words are separated by areas of orange pigment with golden dabs. The margins display a yellow background with small flowers in white. The miniature (*fig. 3*) depicts a half-dressed young woman who has just emerged from the water. Two servant-girls assist her, while a young man on a horse observes them from behind a hill. In its iconography, the composition closely resembles standard miniatures that illustrate the episode where Khusraw observes Shīrīn as she combs her long hair after bathing (cf. *fig. 4*). But the upper right corner of the miniature contains an inscription: شمس تبریز (Shams Tabrīz), while a Persian inscription in *nasta'līq* encircles the border with a text about this person [7]:

عاقل آ کاه منم دورمشو دورمشو راح منم روح منم مطلق
مفتوح منم

"I am a wise man, do not leave, do not depart; I am joy, I am the spirit, I am perfection conquered".

شمس تبریز منم صبح سحر خیز منم غنی کن ز کنج قناعت
مراتو هستی نگهدار ایمان من

"I am Shams from Tebrīz; I am the early morning, enrich me with a snippet of pleasure; You are the guardian of my faith".

مطلق مصبوح منم دورمشو منم دورمشو یار منم غار منم
دلبر دلدار منم غنچه منم خار منم دورمشو دورمشو نفخ
نفخ منم صور منم قرب منم دور منم

"I am morning perfection; do not leave, do not depart; I am a friend, I am the universe (or: I am a loyal friend), I am a [brave] beloved, I am the bud and the thorn, do not leave, do not leave, I am a cheek full of breath and the horn [of Isrāfīl], I am near and far".

رکن منم راه منم صاحب در کاه منم شمس تبریز منم صبح
سحر خیز منم شهد وشکر ریز منم دورمشو دورمشو
دورمشو علاج وا

"I am a pillar, I am the way, I am the owner of the palace, I am Shams of Tebrīz, I am the early morning, I am a martyr and sweet-tongued [orator], do not leave, do not leave, do not leave, [I am] healing and..."

Shams of Tebrīz is an unusually vivid figure. The spiritual mentor of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, he was a decisive influence on the great poet's life and work. His influence was so profound that after Shams's death, Rūmī felt that he "lived on in him" and began to sign his poems with Shams's name. Shams Tabrīzī claimed to have reached the highest, third level of the spiritual hierarchy — *ma'shūq* or "the *quṭb* of the beloved ones". According to Annemarie Schimmel, "the world owes to his inspiration the collection of the most fiery mystical love lyrics, the *Dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīz* by Rūmī, and without his influence Rūmī's *Mathnawī* would not had been composed either, for he was the inspiring power behind every world that Rūmī wrote" [8].

The reverse of the folio (*fig. 5*) contains a calligraphy sample (*qiṭ'a*): four parallel lines in large-scale *nasta'līq* written into three cartouches (the background of a central one, which contains two lines, is orange, the background of the other two is light-yellow, outer dimensions: 20.0×3.9 cm).

The Persian texts are as follows:

الهی جعفررا در دو جهان عزت بده که ترا دریا بم بیابم مکن
کرمرد می بسیار خواری

"O God! Grant Ja'far greatness in both worlds, that I might find Thee, find Thee! Make not the people deaf who [dwell] in a most humiliated state".

یا علی مرا نصرت دوجهان را عطا کن

"O 'Alī! Grant me victory in both worlds".

محمد مهدی حسن حسین فاطمه است محمود محمد احمد
است علی ولی است محمد تقی

"Muḥammad Mahdī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, Fāṭima there are. Maḥmūd, Muḥammad, Aḥmad there is. 'Alī is the favorite [of Allah]". Muḥammad Taqī.

محمد تقی محمد نقی حسن عسکری

"Muḥammad Taqī. Muḥammad Naqī. Ḥasan Askarī [9]".

الهی من بنده ضعیف و کثیف ام چو تنپرور است اندر
فراخی

"O God! I am your infirm and unclean slave, slothful, lost in pleasures".
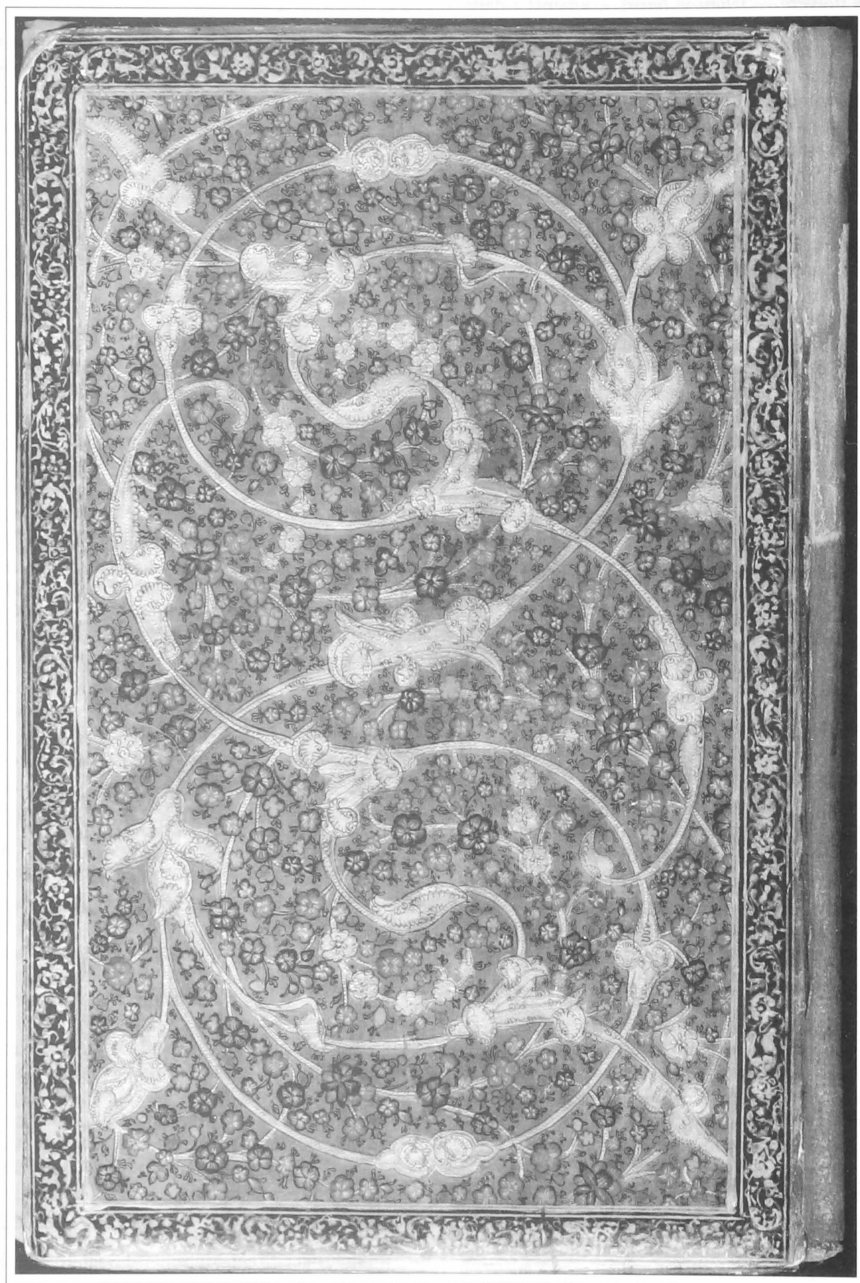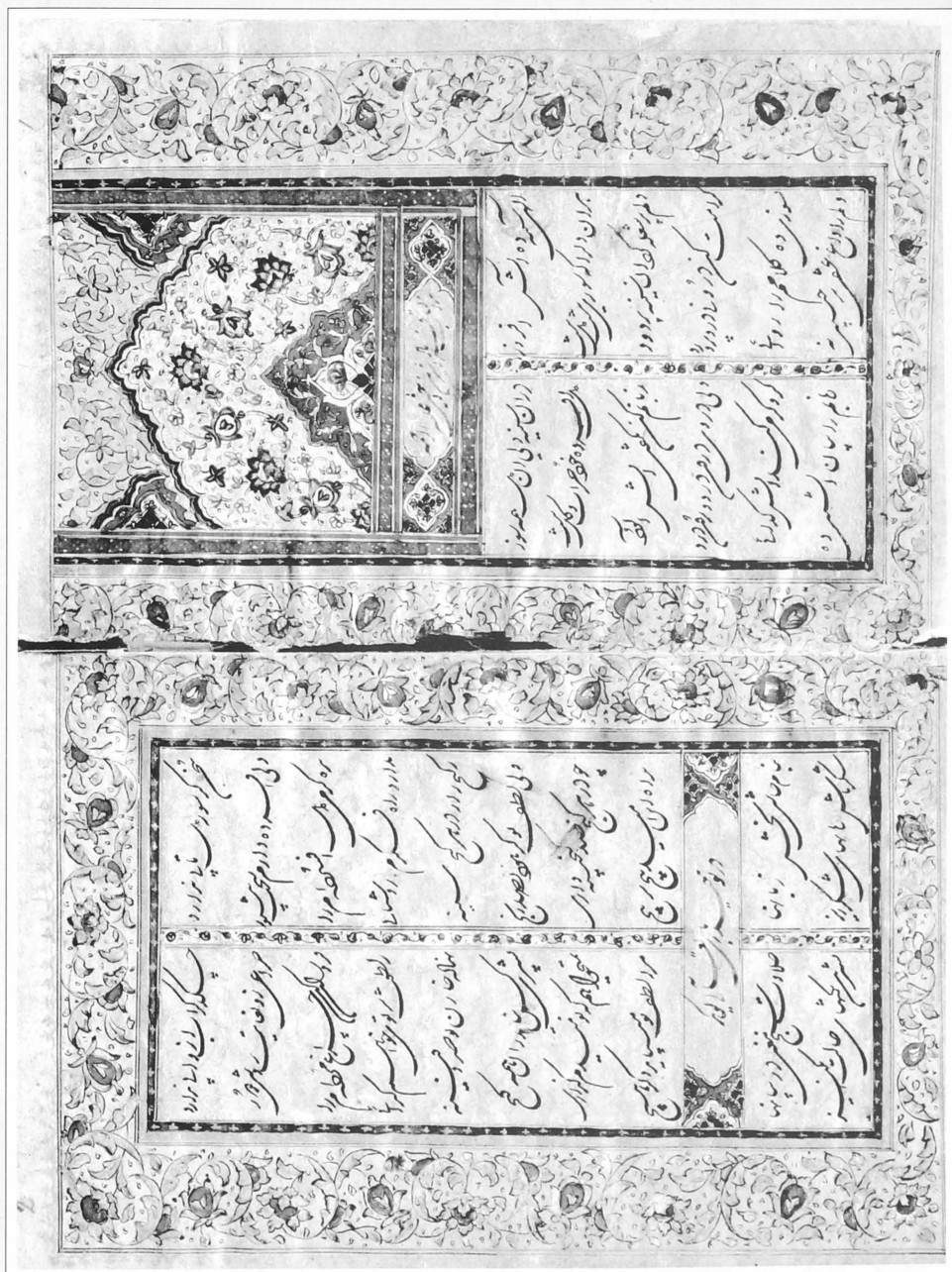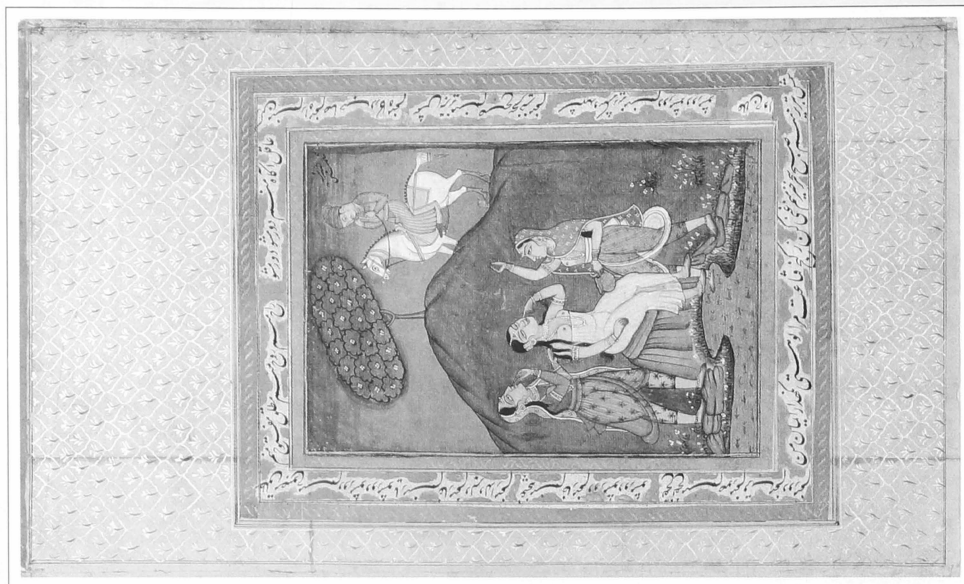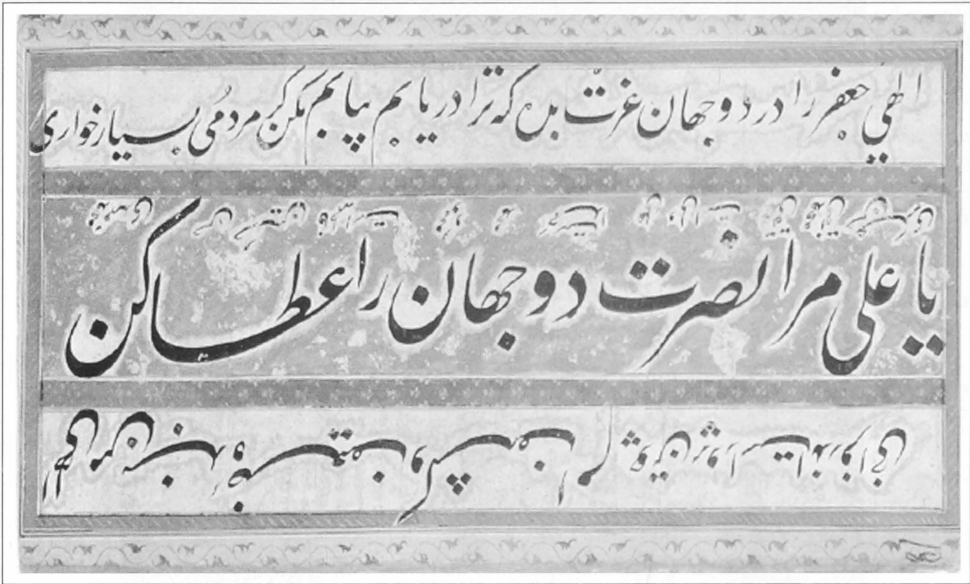
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

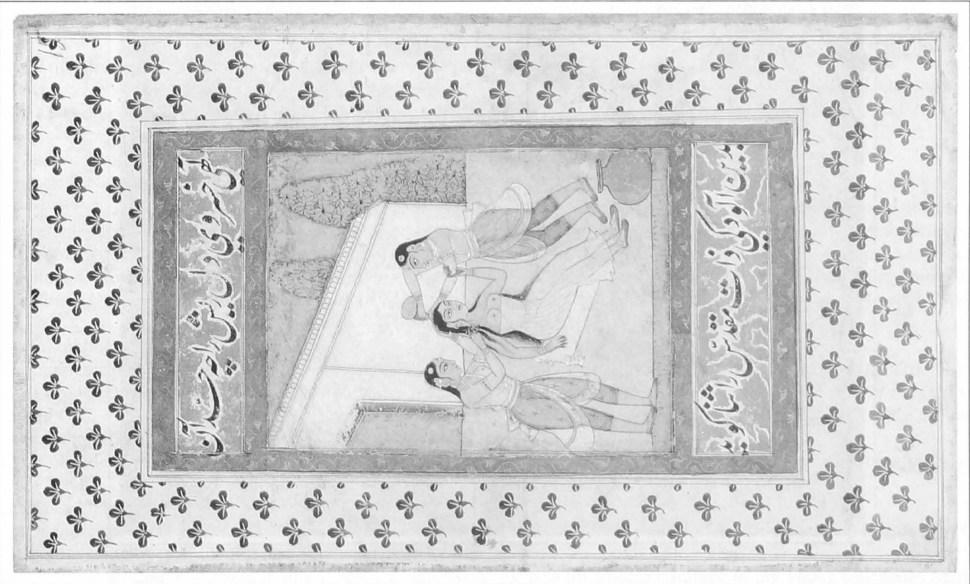*Fig. 4*

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

The miniature on fol. 15a (*fig. 6*) is a continuation of the miniature on fol. 18b described above. A young woman sits not on the shore, but in the courtyard of her home. Servant-girls busy themselves with her hair; one of them uses the contents of the vessel that she holds in the first miniature. Both folios are decorated by means of one and the same devices (for example, orange pigment with golden dabs).

The miniature (12.5×17.0 cm, in a border) rests in a complex green border adorned in gold (outer dimensions: 15.4×28.0 cm). Two cartouches above and below contain a Persian inscription in *nasta'līq*, groups of words are separated by areas of orange pigment with golden dabs. The margins display a light-yellow background with small flowers in green.

The Persian texts are as follows:

الهی خسروی دل ریش را چه حسدآن

"O God! Why should the king envy [a lover] with a broken heart?"

بدین الود کی ذات مقدس را ثنا گوید

"In [an atmosphere of] such immorality they praise the sacred essence (the soul)".

The reverse of the folio (*fig. 7*) contains calligraphy samples (*qiṭ'a*) written into 3 cartouches and a wide frame around the central rectangular cartouche. The central cartouche (8.2×15.3 cm) is enclosed in a yellow border with gold. It contains a text of 12 lines (*naskh*) on a light yellow background. The text is in Arabic and contains Persian words. It is a careless rough draft with numerous repetitions and corrections. Eliminating the latter, one can grasp the meaning of these religious and ethnical maxims, which were copied as an exercise in calligraphy. For example:

"Ja'far b. Muḥammad said — may peace be upon both of them —
'[...] Truly has Allah trained me through ordinary deeds and trained you through ordinary deeds. And I fear that He will remove ordinary deeds from me'".

The upper and bottom cartouches contain texts in Persian written against orange background with golden dabs:

خط خوب برادر دلپذیر است چو روح اندرش برنا پیر است

"[Lovely handwriting] brings joy; brother, in whom the spirit of a youth and wings are combined".

ا گر منعم شوی آرایش او اگر مفلس شوی دستگیر است

"If you become rich, you are His adornment; if you become poor, He is your defense".

Persian text written around the perimeter (against green background with golden dabs):

امامی گو امامت را حسن بود حسن آمد که جمله حسن ظن بود

"The *imām* like him adorned the imamate.
Ḥasan came (or 'good') that all might be benevolent (or 'reason correctly')".

هم حسن وهمه خلق وهمه حلم همه لطف وهمه جود وهمه حلم

"Striving toward beauty (good), toward all that has a good character, toward all dreams (and beauty, and good character, and all dreams), all mercy, generosity and humility (patience)".

الهی مرا در رحمت خویش نکه دار

"O God! Keep me in Your mercy!"

یا محمد الرسول اللّه فتح ده مرا

"O Muḥammad, messenger of Allah! Grant me victory!"

Notes

1. Key elements in the legend of Farhād are paralleled in the group of legends connected with Queen Semiramis, for whom the prototype was Sammuramat, wife of the Assyrian king Adadnerari III. By the hill of Bīsitūn, she ordered a castle and garden constructed; at her behest, the mount Oront was split in two and a canal dug to supply the city of Ekbatan with water. See G. Iu. Aliev, *Legenda o Khosrove i Shirin v literaturakh narodov Vostoka* (The Legend of Khusraw and Shīrīn in the Literatures of Eastern Peoples) (Moscow, 1960), pp. 56, 74, 82—4.

2. Useful bibliography could be found in the above-mentioned work by Aliev (see n. 1).

3. The manuscript was displayed at the exhibition "Pages of Perfection" ("De Bagdad à Ispahan" in Paris), Paris—New York—Salzburg—Lugano, 1995—1997, and described in details by Oleg Akimushkin in the exhibition's catalogue *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences*, ed. Yu. A. Petrosyan (Milano, 1995), pp. 298—9; there are also French, German and Italian editions of the catalogue.

4. For a detailed retelling of this narrative, see H. W. Duda, *Ferhad und Schirin. Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes* (Praha, 1933), pp. 110—4.

5. H. Masse, "Farhād and Shīrīn", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* CD-ROM edition v. 1.0 (Leiden, 1999).

6. The manuscript contains an owner's note dated A. H. 1315 (fol. 1a). In 1905, it was acquired for the Asiatic Museum by Orientalist Leonid Bogdanov, employee of the Russian-Persian bank in Tehran.

7. 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. O. F. Akimushkin, for their help in translating and interpreting the Persian texts.

8. A. Schimmel, "Shams Tabrīz", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* CD-ROM edition v. 1.0 (Leiden, 1999). The novel "Black Book" by Orhan Pamuk, the "Turkish Umberto Eco", which has been translated into many languages, gives some sense of the vibrant spiritual and intellectual impetus that Shams Tabrīzī left behind him and that still could be found in modern Turkey.

9. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh *imām*s of the Twelver Shī'a.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"Khusraw watching Shīrīn combing her hair after bathing", miniature from the manuscript *Farhād wa Shīrīn* by Kamāl al-Dīn Bāfiqī Waḥshī and Muḥammad Shafī' al-Shīrāzī Wiṣāl in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number A 910. Copied by Muḥammad Ismā'īl al-Anjawī al-Shīrāzī in Rabī' I 1284 / July 1867, fol. 51b, 6.4×4.2 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. *'Unwān* and page decoration, a Qājār style, the same manuscript, fols. 1b—2a, 14.3×8.8 cm.

Plate 2. "Farhād in the castle of Shīrīn", miniature, the same manuscript, fol. 48b, 4.9×3.2 cm.

Plate 3. "Shīrīn sees Farhād while coming to see the works at Mount Bīsitūn", miniature, the same manuscript, fol. 65b, 4.8×5.1 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. Lacquer binding with a leather spine, the same manuscript.

Fig. 2. *'Unwān* and page decoration, manuscript *Farhād wa Shīrīn* by Kamāl al-Dīn Bāfiqī Waḥshī in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number A 69. Copied in Persia, second half of the 19th century, fols. 1b—2a, 9.8×15.2 cm.

Fig. 3. "Khusraw watching Shīrīn bathing in the river", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper, miniature in *Muraqqa'* (Album), the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number X 3. Deccan, second half of the 18th century, fol. 18b, 12.5×22.5 cm.

Fig. 4. Tracing of miniature "Khusraw watching Shīrīn bathing" from *Khamsa* by Niẓāmī, manuscript 364 at the Victoria Museum, Calcutta. Isfahān, A. H. 1041 / A. D. 1631—1632, fol. 19, 16.0×28.0 cm. Cited from *Miniatures Illuminations of Niẓāmī's "Khamsa"*, compl. by Fazila Suleymanova (Tashkent, 1985), No. 83.

Fig. 5. Calligraphic sample (*qiṭ'a*), watercolour, ink and gold on paper, *Muraqqa'* (Album), the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number X 3. Deccan, second half of the 18th century, fol. 18a, 12.5×22.5 cm.

Fig. 6. "Servant-girls busy with their lady's hair after bathing", watercolour, ink and gold on paper, the same Album, fol. 15a, 12.5×22.5 cm.

Fig. 7. Calligraphic sample (*qiṭ'a*), watercolour, ink and gold on paper, the same Album, fol. 15b, 12.5×22.5 cm.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

W. John Tait

PAPYRI, DIGITISATION, AND THE WEB: ACCESSIBILITY AND MANAGEMENT OF COLLECTIONS

The aim of this paper is to examine the current state of affairs among collections of textual material from ancient Egypt preserved upon papyrus: the climate of management, and attitudes towards making papyri available upon the web. Do papyri present any issues or problems different from those we face in the case of other types of manuscript material?

Papyrus as a writing ground and Egyptian books

The "papyri" which I wish to discuss are documents and texts — any kind of written material — inscribed upon the traditional pharaonic Egyptian writing-ground, papyrus, manufactured from the central pith of the stalks of the papyrus sedge [1]. Sheets of papyrus were made by laying down side by side thin strips cut from the pith of the plant, and then adding on top of this a second layer of strips, this time running at right angles to the strips of the first layer. Pressure or hammering caused the two layers of strips to cling firmly together, as the individual cells of the papyrus pith possess minute hooks that mechanically interlock. This structure has implications for the way in which papyri survive from the ancient world. Papyrus was the standard writing material in Egypt from the early third millennium BCE, until it was gradually replaced by parchment and paper from the fifth century CE onwards. It was also widely exported, being for example the normal writing — ground for literature in classical Athens [2].

The traditional form of book in Egypt [3], until the rise of the codex book in the Christian period, was the papyrus roll, manufactured by fastening together a series of individual sheets, each sheet overlapping its neighbour by about 1 cm in a pasted join. This was done at the workshop, and papyrus was available only in roll form. A suitable quantity of papyrus for a document, or a letter, or a small slip (for example, in order to write a dinner invitation, or to submit a query to the oracle of a god) were cut from the roll by the user. Occasionally, papyrus rolls are preserved complete and in excellent condition. Copies of the funerary "Book of the Dead" [4] were prepared for the one purpose of being included in the burial of an individual, either within the coffin itself, or in a special container or hollow statuette nearby. Sometimes they were ruined by fluids or resins from the embalmed corpse, but they can survive intact.

When a collection or archive of texts or documents was hidden or carefully stored (sometimes a tomb provided a convenient store — sometimes a buried pot), and then forgotten or abandoned, papyri can be found undisturbed and complete. Papyri stored in antiquity could nevertheless suffer damage from insects or from damp. Papyri as we now recover them may merely show a few insignificant wormholes, or they may have been reduced to a lacework of fragile fragments (*fig. 1*).

The great majority of ancient papyri, however, have been found in deposits of rubbish. Thus they had mostly been discarded as damaged, or as no longer of interest. Before being finally thrown away, they had often been reused as "scrap paper", or as "wrapping paper". In dumps of rubbish, they have often suffered further physical or insect damage. Much less numerous — but very significant for their content — are fragments folded and cut up as a reinforcement to combine with plaster and glue in the manufacture of decorated mummy-casings (so-called "cartonage") (*fig. 2*). Such pieces overwhelmingly survive from the Ptolemaic Period (332—30 BCE). They are a major source for the economic and social history of Ptolemaic Egypt, as town rubbish-dump material becomes common only from the Roman Period. Carbonised rolls are an even rarer phenomenon. The most famous are those from Herculaneum in Italy, one of the towns overwhelmed by Vesuvius in 79 CE: in the eighteenth century a private library was uncovered there, most notably preserving philosophical works in Greek. Both old and recent excavations have found carbonised papyri at Tanis in the Egyptian Delta, although, otherwise, the damp conditions in the Delta have allowed very little papyrus to survive. Similarly, for climatic reasons, there have been very few finds of papyri outside Egypt [5].
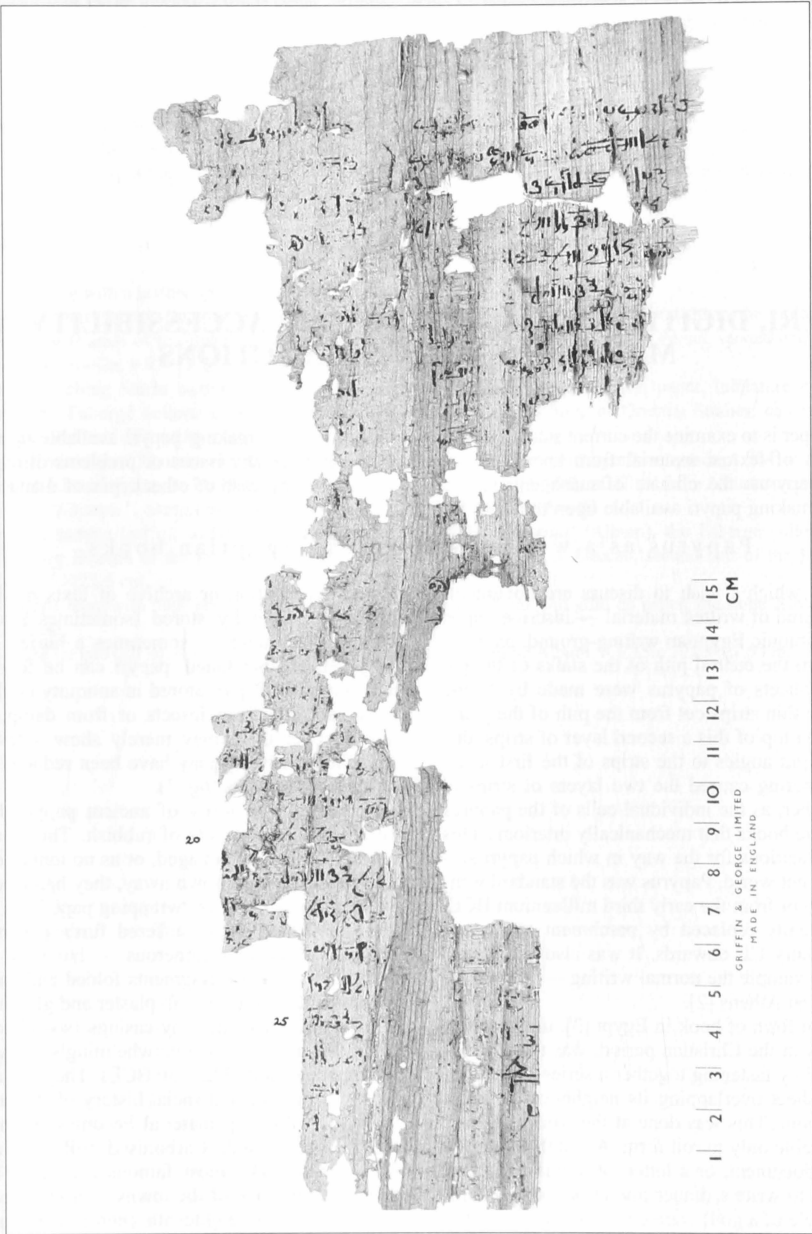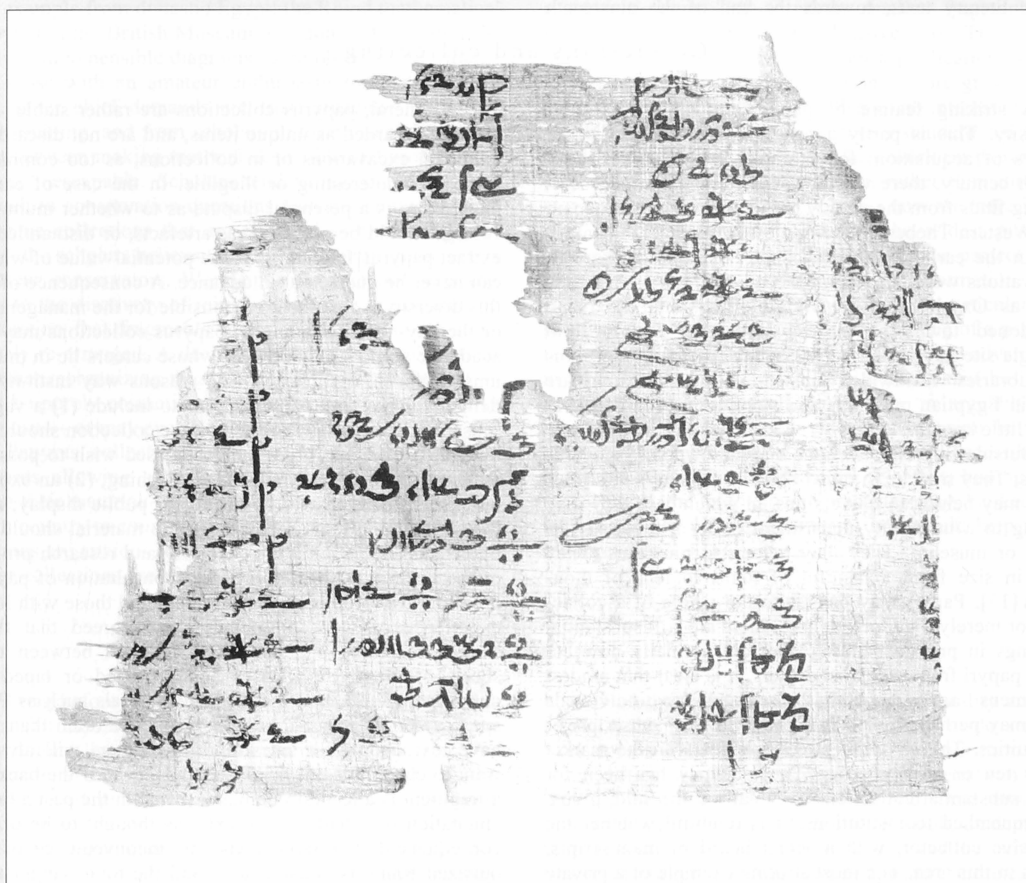
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

A large number of languages and scripts were used on papyrus in Egypt. The most numerous papyri are those in the native Egyptian language, whether in Hieroglyphic, Hieratic [6], Demotic [7], or Coptic [8] script; those in Greek [9], after Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 332 BCE; and those in Arabic [10], after the Islamic conquest in 640 CE. Perhaps the next largest group, and one intensively studied, is the Aramaic papyri [11], present because of the Persian occupations of Egypt (525—404 and 341—330 BCE) and the employment of Jewish and Aramean mercenaries.

The term "papyrology" [12] is an umbrella term, usually used to refer to the study of Greek papyri, ever since the scholarly and public excitement at the massive discoveries of papyri, including fragments of biblical and Greek literary texts, towards the end of the nineteenth

literary texts, towards the end of the nineteenth century. It is not a very useful term, as naturally the interests and methods of those studying the text of the Bible differ greatly from those of their colleagues, working, for example, upon Greek philosophy or literature, or social and economic history, or juridical studies. So-called "papyrologists" will naturally study similar texts written upon other writing — grounds than papyrus — for example, ostraca (fragments of pottery or limestone) or wooden boards. Some concentrate upon the skill of making out texts that are hard to read, or upon palaeography and scribal practice; others simply use the evidence of papyri because it is their best source.

Collections and collecting

A striking feature of papyrus collections is their diversity. This is partly a result of the several distinct phases of acquisition: for example, in the earlier nineteenth century, there was a western enthusiasm for collecting finds from the readily plundered tombs of Saqqara and Western Thebes; at the end of the nineteenth century and in the earlier twentieth century, large-scale foreign excavations were targeted at the rubbish dumps of towns such as Oxyrhynchus in Middle Egypt and the many abandoned towns of the Fayum oasis. Papyri from a single site have often been distributed among museums and libraries worldwide. Substantial finds of papyri are held in Egyptian museums and storerooms, and often remain little known.

Outside Egypt, collections may be owned by governments. They may be in either state or private institutions. They may belong to universities, in which case they may belong to a university department or to a university library or museum. They may belong to museums. They vary in size from a handful of items to tens of thousands [13]. Papyri may constitute the whole of a collection, or merely a minor sideline. There are still substantial holdings in private hands. Collectors normally now acquire papyri from specialist dealers. It is clear that modest specimens are frequently purchased by individuals who may perhaps own a mere handful of manuscripts or antiquities. This material often re-appears on the market every ten or twenty years. The tendency has been for more substantial collections eventually to be sold, given, or bequeathed to institutions. It is doubtful whether the reclusive collector, with a secret hoard of manuscripts, exists in this area. The most striking example of a private collection built up in the twentieth century is the Schøyen manuscript collection, which includes numerous papyri. Scholars have always been welcome to work upon the material, and the collection now has its own web-site.

In general, papyrus collections are rather stable. Papyri are regarded as unique items, and are not discarded, either on excavations or in collections, as too commonplace or uninteresting or illegible. In the case of cartonage, there is a perennial dispute as to whether mummy-casings should be preserved as artefacts, or dismantled to extract papyrus fragments — the potential value of which can never be guessed at in advance. A consequence of all this diversity is that those responsible for the management or the day-to-day running of papyrus collections may be academic staff or may be staff whose careers lie in museums, archives, or libraries. The reasons why institutions deliberately acquire papyri appear to include (1) a vague sense that a varied and representative collection should be built up — or possibly a more focussed wish to possess material that may be employed in teaching; (2) an expectation that the item will be useful for public display; and (3) an intention that an edition of the material should be published, maintaining the scholarly and research profile of the institution. The storage and consultation of papyri present a few problems. Conservators and those with long experience of work on papyri seem agreed that they should be stored and consulted mounted between two sheets of glass (the glasses being framed or taped or clipped together), and that lighter materials such as Perspex are potentially harmful. Papyri more often than not have text upon both sides, and researchers will always want to check this out for themselves, even if the back of a fragment is alleged to be blank (often in the past a brief annotation or a half-erased text was thought to be of no consequence). For large texts, the inconvenience of an outsized frame is considerable, and the total weight and bulk of a collection can be alarming. Long rolls have regularly been cut into sections for glassing, and there seems to be no realistic alternative.

Access

In museums, papyri may be publicly accessible in the sense that they are on display. The difficulties of studying a papyrus in a frame screwed to the wall in a busy gallery are obvious. The recently reorganized Egyptian displays at the Louvre in Paris imaginatively place papyri along-

side material culture: leases of land are part of the displays of objects relating to agriculture. In the past, there was little anxiety about exposing papyri to daylight or even direct sunlight over long periods; any conservator would now recommend strict control of lighting. Papy-

rologists, however, would argue that natural daylight is preferable when trying to read difficult papyri — but this fortunately need involve only short periods of exposure. Museums more and more lend items for temporary exhibitions, so that the visitor cannot assume that a text will always be available in its usual home. It is currently an issue in the museum world whether or not curators should be deciding what to put on display and what to hide in the reserves. Traditionally, museum displays are the end of a long line of decisions, made by a small number of people, as to what is important or interesting, and this is now being questioned.

In the case of papyri, who does want to see them? First, there is definitely a demand from the public. A single example from dynastic Egypt: the Rhind mathematical papyrus in the British Museum, London, with its immediately comprehensible diagrams, is an object of pilgrimage for those with an amateur enthusiasm for mathematics. The other chief demands are from students, as part of their training, and from scholars in their research. A conflict between making material accessible and protecting it seems inescapable. Scholars tend to adopt a cruder approach to conservation questions than do curatorial staff. In some collections that are operated as publishing projects, the scholars believe that they are competent to act as amateur conservators. Work upon fragmentary texts can lead to the discovery of joins between fragments, and the realisation that fragments under glass need to be completely re-arranged. A decision then has to be taken as to whether reorganizing fragments — at considerable cost — will be purely cosmetic, or will serve a serious scholarly purpose — or may even be damaging.

Papyrus collections have widely differing attitudes towards allowing scholars (let alone students) to work upon their material — and expectations seem also to vary from country to country. While the managers of some collections are anxious to be seen to be allowing free access, other collections are viewed as long-term publishing pro-

jects — a kind of research investment. In such cases the curators' attitude may appear almost secretive. If a collection includes unpublished groups or archives of connected material, there is often a real fear that unrestricted access will mean that the most attractive items will be seized upon for publication, leaving a rump of texts that no one can be persuaded to edit. A complication is that many coherent archives of papyri, whether discovered in the nineteenth or the twentieth century, have been scattered among a variety of collections, often world-wide. Working upon such bodies of material can involve negotiating a great variety of curatorial policies.

An expectation has grown up over the last hundred years that publications of papyri will more or less follow a standard format [14]. Even the smallest fragments are presented in the same comprehensive way. The advantages of this consistency — within a publication, and to a certain extent between publications — are great. However, the view that papyri are either of no interest and not worth publishing, or should receive a standardized treatment, is easily challenged. Scholarly work on papyri has often been driven by the evidence, rather than directed at a research question. Many scholars now are more interested in being able to interrogate the widest possible data-set of papyri. Perhaps for a particular project they may wish to extract just one item of information from each text (for example, the rate at which a particular tax-payment was set, or variations in the spelling of a particular personal name). Although there may be advantages in working from a full, published edition, that has been scrutinised by many colleagues, this is arguably not necessary. Thus there is an inevitable tension between the goal of comprehensive publication, and accessibility: a scholar who delays publication of a text, hoping first to solve all the problems it presents, may be keeping it from the attention of colleagues who could help in its interpretation.

The web

Long before the web was thought of, Greek papyrologists felt the need of tools to assist in finding their way among the great but scattered mass of material. For generations the subject has been very fortunate in the checklists of published editions, dictionaries, bibliographies, collected editions, collections of corrected readings, and prosopographies that have been published. Current versions of the first two of these have already migrated to the web. In the last decades, the complete Greek text of most published documentary papyri has been available on CD-rom, and this too is now an ongoing web project. These new resources mean that new research questions arise — or old questions may be addressed anew. The latest development has been an explosion of images of papyri on the web. Some collections offer only a few impressive examples; others show only items already published, while others again plan, at least, to put all their material on the web. These last tend to be institutions that feel a need to be seen to be providing wide access to their resources; of course, funding is available towards such projects. Sometimes a compromise

is adopted that images of relatively poor quality are offered on the web, so that anyone wishing to do serious work upon a text still needs to apply to the collection.

A difficulty is that very fragmentary material can be of little use until it has been worked on and some sense has been made of it. Providing long lists of small, unidentified fragments can even be counterproductive, and the same can be said of images. This was already apparent in the case of one or two published catalogues long before the computer age. It has to be said also that outside specialised research institutions, very few of us have the equipment to view images to good effect (for example, to check doubtful readings), never mind to manipulate them in the exciting ways that can aid the rearrangements of fragments and the reading of barely visible writing. The demand from scholars to see the actual text with their own eyes is not likely to evaporate.

Also, papyrus collections are moving in the same direction as museums in general: making papyri available on the web is seen as a way of saving staff time, and easing the burden of curating awkward material. It is paradoxical that

while many academics are anxious to bring their students more and more in contact with the original artefact, they are increasingly urged — instead — to use and develop web resources.

Web sites for papyrology

The list is deliberately highly selective, and concentrates upon (i) sites that provide numerous links to other relevant sites, and (ii) sites that have taken a particular initiative in placing images on the web — thus many excellent sites devoted to individual collections are not listed, as they may easily be accessed via those given here.

American Society of Papyrologists:	http://www.papyrology.org/
Apis: Advanced Papyrological Information System:	http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/
Arabic Papyrology:	http://www.princeton.edu/~petras/
Association Internationale de Papyrologues:	http://www.ulb.be/assoc/aip/
Berkeley — Centre for Tebtunis Papyri:	http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/APIS/
Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents (includes link to POxy — Oxyrhynchus Papyri Project):	http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/
Checklist: Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, Web Edition; by John F. Oates [et al.]:	http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html
Demotic Texts Published on the World Wide Web (Alexandra O'Brien):	http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/oi/dept/ra/abzu/demotic
Duke Papyrus Archive (Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri):	http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html
Egyptology Resources (Nigel Strudwick):	http://www.newton.cam.ac.uk/egypt/
Heidelberg Papyri:	http://rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/
International Association for Coptic Studies:	http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/~iacs/
The Leuven homepage of papyrus collections world wide, and the Leuven database of ancient books:	http://lhpc.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/; http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/
Michigan Papyrus Collection:	http://www.lib.umich.edu/pap/welcome.html
Perseus: 'an evolving digital library' (several mirror sites):	http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/
The Schøyen Manuscript Collection:	http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/

Notes

1. B. Leach and J. Tait, "Papyrus", in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, eds. P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 227—53.

2. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1974).

3. J. Černý, *Paper & Books in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1952); repr. (Chicago, 1977).

4. W. Forman and S. Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1996).

5. For a brief survey, see H.-A. Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt, 1994), pp. 7—10.

6. Both are attested from the early third millennium BCE: for a listing, see M. Bellion, *Catalogue des manuscrits hiéroglyphiques et hiératques* ([Paris], 1987).

7. From the eighth century BCE onwards. See M. Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (Bruxelles, 1997).

8. From the third century CE onwards. See M. Krause, "Papyrus discoveries", in A. S. Atiya (ed.), *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991), vi, pp. 1898—900; cf. preceding entries there.

9. See below under web sites: *Checklist*.

10. A. Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, 1 (Praha, 1954); *idem*, *Arabische Papyruskunde* (Leiden, 1966); R. G. Khoury, *Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe* (Leiden, 1993).

11. B. Porten, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 3 vols. (Winnona Lake, 1986—93); *idem*, *The Elephantine Papyri in English* (Leiden, 1996).

12. General introductions include: E. Gardner Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (Oxford, 1968). Rev. Paperback ed., 1980; O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Torino, 1973). Ristampa, riveduta e corr. [ed.] con addenda, Milano, 1988; and H.-A. Rupprecht, *op. cit.*

13. Possibly the most extensive holdings are those of the Vienna papyrus-collection: Helene Loebenstein, "Vom 'Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer' zur Papyrussaamlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: 100 Jahre Sammeln, Bewahren, Edieren", in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (*P. Rainer Cent.*) (Wien, 1983), pp. 3—30.

14. The first volume of the papyri from Oxyrhynchus — B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 1 (London, 1898) — has widely been seen as a model: yet in that first volume the editors included a section of "Descriptions of papyri not printed in full" (pp. 239—43), a style of publication now often designated "descripta", and occasionally imitated. Another admirable feature of that first volume was that, as the editors stated (p. v) "...we have, at the request of several subscribers to the Graeco-Roman Branch, in most cases given translations"; publishing editions of ancient papyri without a modern-language translation restricts access in yet another way.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Caption to image first sent "Inaros". Fragment of a papyrus roll, from Tebtunis (Fayum); fragments of this torn, rubbed, and worm-eaten roll are in at least two European collections, and several other manuscripts of the same text survive. P. Tebt. Tait 2 second century CE Egypt Exploration Society papyrus collection, housed within the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 28.5 cm high × 13.0 cm wide Demotic Egyptian narrative: the story of an 'epic' armed contest for possession of the sacred boat of the god Amun at Thebes (Upper Egypt).

Fig. 2. Caption to image sent second "cartonage" Papyrus fragment, possibly from Tebtunis (Fayum); the cuts, tears, and roughly semi-circular top strongly suggest that the piece derives from cartonage. P. Carlsberg 23 second century BCE Carsten Niebuhr Institute, University of Copenhagen 16.4 cm high × 19.75 cm wide Demotic Egyptian lexicographic text: a listing of temple and royal-court occupations; see http://www.hum.ku.dk/cni/papcoll/pc23.jpg

OUR ARCHIVE

A. D. Tsendina

A WORK ON THE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

The library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a typewritten manuscript in Russian (call number VII M 7 ж/эрд) entitled "What is the Cause of the Religions Professed by Mongol Tribes?". The author is Erdenipel (Tib. E-rte-ni-'phel), the translators into Russian Rinčen (Tib. Rin-chen) and Sambu (Tib. Bzang-po). The manuscript consists of 200 pages. The author, *gabju* (Tib. dka'-bcu) Erdenipel (1877—1960), was one of the most educated people in Mongolia and the first abbot of the Gandan Monastery (Tib. dGa'-ldan) in Ulan-Bator after the resumption of religious services there in 1944. He appears to have written his work in the 1930s, when he was compelled to leave the monastery because of the political persecution of Buddhist monks by the authorities in Mongolia. He may have undertaken his work at the behest of the Mongolian Scholarly Committee. Anyway, such a practice existed between the 1920s and 1930s. We know that the Scholarly Committee on several occasions commissioned works on the history of Mongolia by some learned *lamas* of name or secular writers. In discussing the construction of Erdeni Juu, Erdenipel remarks: "One can suggest that Erdeni Juu, from the day of its creation by Abatai Khan up to the 28th year of the Mongolian People's Republic, has been in existence as such for 353 years" (p. 156). He apparently takes here not the date of the Mongolian People's Republic's promulgation, 1924, but the date of Mongolia's attainment of independence in 1911, used in the past as a reference point for dates. This would mean that the work was finished in 1939, which correlates with the figure of 353 years that passed since the foundation of Erdeni Juu in 1586.

The reasons for the work's translation and its appearance in Moscow are enigmatic. The translation was made at the beginning of the 1940s, and we can name at least one of the translators. Judging by the spelling of his name and numerous remarks in the text, he was the well-known Mongolian scholar, Academician B. Rinčen. We know that B. Rinčen was employed as a translator of texts into Russian during his gaol in the early 1940s (he was charged with espionage for Japan). As for the second translator, Sambu by name, his identity can only be guessed at. The translation may have been sent to Moscow as material for a single-volume history of the Mongolian People's Republic under preparation at that time in the USSR. But this is a mere suggestion, as the manuscript contains no information on this account and I was also unable to find any data in other sources. The translation abounds in stylistic flaws and misprints; it also lacks an introduction and commentary. The Mongolian original has not yet been found, but we can have a good idea of it, since the Russian translation has preserved many features of the lost work. It is compiled in the genre of traditional Mongolian historiography, the so-called "histories of religion": the work includes the history of Mongolia from the most ancient times, the account of the ancient beliefs of the Mongols, of the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia, and the description of events linked with the inclusion of Mongolia into the Qing empire (17th century). The account breaks off in the second half of the seventeenth century, which leads us to conclude that this may be a first volume.

The manuscript is divided into 14 chapters. The division is conditional, and chapters often lack numbers, giving titles solely:

chapter 1. What is the final reason for the religions professed by the Mongol tribes? (p. 1);

chapter 2. On the Shamanist faith of the Mongols' ancient ancestors (p. 3);

chapter 3. The teaching of Śākyamuni and the spread of his Church in Mongolia (p. 15);

chapter 4. The acceptance of Śākyamuni's religion by the Eastern Mongols and its fall in Western and Eastern Mongolia (p. 38);

chapter 5. On religious matters among the ancient Mongols, beginning with the times of Genghis Khan up to the spread of the yellow religion (p. 49);

[chapter 6]. The era of the three khans after Genghis Khan (p. 66);

[chapter 7]. The age of Khubilai Sečen Qaγan (p. 78);

chapter 8. On the ten emperors of the Yuan dynasty after Khubilai (p. 88);

[chapter 9]. The era of the sixteen minor khans after Togon Temur (p. 95);

[chapter 10]. Ways the yellow religion spread in Mongolia and a general picture of its deep ties with the power of the Manchu (p. 104);

[chapter 11]. How the yellow religion became widespread in Mongolia. About how the yellow religion became widespread in Mongolia and came to have strong ties with the power of the Manchu;

[chapter 12]. The beginning of tumultuous times in Mongolia (p. 176);

[chapter 13]. The first cunning tricks employed by Tibetan *lama*s in order to subjugate all Mongols without exception to the yellow teaching and unite them (p. 188);

[chapter 14]. The first attempts by the Manchu to colonize fully all Mongols by using religion as a weapon (p. 198).

In the first part, which treats the ancient period and includes the book's first four chapters, Erdenipel employs materialist — more exactly, vulgar materialist — criteria to explain the emergence of religious beliefs as a result of ancient man's fear of nature's mysterious powers. "The roots of all religions lie in the imagination of timid, soft-hearted men", he writes (p. 2). He further details the origins of the Mongols, rejecting Chinese, Indian, and Turkic roots and insisting on origins in the Moghuls or Tajiks, i.e. on Persian roots. Erdenipel bases this idea on Tibetan records of the Khors, whom he considers a branch of the Moghuls, on accounts of Chinese and Tibetan travellers, and also on ancient Mongolian tales of the migration of the Mongols from West to East. Erdenipel thus posits a Western origin for Mongol Shamanism. He cites the pre-Buddhist Bon faith of the Tibetans as a possible source for ancient Mongol beliefs. Interestingly, this hypothesis matches the modern ideas of B. I. Kuznetsov and L. N. Gumilev, who locate the origins both of Bon and Mongol Shamanism in Persian Mazdakism. Erdenipel then moves to an account of the spread of Buddhism among the Mongols.

Erdenipel also recounts the information in Chinese chronicles on the spread of Buddhism in the Lao state. He derives the Khitans from a people of Mongol origin. Despite the fact that the Khitans were familiar with the Buddha's teaching, "the religion of Śākyamuni (in text, Shigimuni — *A. Ts.*) fell into deep decline in Mongolia during the heyday of the Khitan state", he writes (p. 45).

In the section devoted to Genghis Khan (chapter 5), Erdenipel once again returns to the historical traditions of the Mongols and provides a brief biography of Genghis Khan according to Mongol chronicles. Erdenipel also retells the well-known myth of Genghis Khan's establishment of relations of a khan-almsgiver and *lama*-teacher with the Sakyapa (Tib. Sa-skya-pa) *lama*. He is inclined to believe that the correspondence between the Mongol khan and head of the Sakyapa monastery actually existed, but suggests that Genghis wrote to Sakya-pandita Gungajalčan (Tib. Sa-skya-paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgual-mtshan), not to Sakya Gungga Ningbu, the founder of the monastery, as the majority of Mongol chronicles indicate.

Erdenipel includes a note on the invitation by Ugedei of the Tibetan *lama* Gungtangba (Tib. Gung-thang-pa) and his preference for Tibetan Buddhism over Islam and Christianity. The author analyses the contradictory information in Mongol chronicles, some of which indicate Ugedei as the person who invited Sakya-pandita, while others name Godan, the heir to the throne.

Erdenipel follows wholly the tradition in the section that deals with the rule of the Yuan khans. Faithful to the conventions of Mongolian religious history writing, as well as Mongolian chronicles, he cites a traditional set of episodes usually limited to the tale of the Yuan khans' adoption of Buddhism and their relations with their spiritual teachers. But he has important things to say about the stay of Pagba Lama (Tib. 'Phags-pa bla-ma) in Khubilai's headquarters.

In discussing the period after the fall of the Yuan dynasty up to Batu Möngke Dayan Khan, Erdenipel adheres to Mongolian chronicles, describing the long wars between the Eastern Mongols and the Oirats. He notes in passim that the Mongol khans returned to their old rites of venerating the Eternal Heavens, and began to worship the spirit of Genghis Khan. Erdenipel mentions an episode with Batu Khan who required the Russian prince Mikhail to venerate the spirit of Genghis Khan: Mikhail's refuse cost him his life.

In his work, the author also focuses on the spread of the "yellow religion" in Mongolia. He outlines the history of Buddhism in Tibet, providing exceptional detail on the teaching of Tsongkhapa (Tib. Tsong-kha-pa). For this he employs information extracted from Tibetan sources, describing the emergence of the institution of reincarnation in the sect of the Black Hat Karmapas (Tib. Karma-pa) and the borrowing of this institution by the Yellow Hat ones.

Information from sources on the formation of the seven *khoshun*s (*qosiɣun*) of Khalkha also attracts Erdenipel's attention. He asserts in his work that Khalkha emerged as a separate *tümen* long before the state of Batu Möngke Dayan Khan, and that the Khalkhas were the descendents of the Khitans. The author then recounts the tale of Altan Khan of Tümed's elevation and his adoption of the Buddhism faith from the third Dalai Lama; in this account the author provides many interesting details. He notes in particular that Altan Khan and Sečen Khungtaiji of Ordos in fact came into contact with Buddhism much earlier, during their campaigns against Amdo, stating that at this time the Mongols received not only the Gelugpa heirarchs, but also representatives of Sakyapas and Kargyudpas (Tib. bKa'-'gyud-pa).

The work also contains some curious accounts. To support the fact that the Mongols became Buddhists in the sixteenth century, Erdenipel writes that "the Tibetans were lovers of tea from ancient times. The Buddhist religion, which spread among the Tibetans, lovers of tea, was inseparable from tea-drinking. Tea was not consumed in Mongolia before the second half of the sixteenth century. Hence, when in 1577, or the fifth year of the Ming Shen-Zong reign, in the ninth moon, the Shanxi bailiff Ju-shi-shi-cheng reported that Gu-yuan-su-jun-fu Altan-khan had sent a Mongolian letter with a request to begin trading tea, the Chinese were surprised: why should the Mongols, who had never drunk tea, suddenly request it? What could this mean?" (p. 25). On the basis of this speculation, the author comes to the conclusion that Buddhism spread in Mongolia beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Erdenipel holds that Ming China aided the Mongol adoption of Buddhism, striving to pacify her militant and troublesome neighbours. To support this contention, he provides many quotations from Chinese works. Hence, as Erdenipel believes, long before the Manchu dynasty, usually credited with a policy of supporting the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia, this idea was made real by the authorities Ming China.

The narrative continues with the adoption of Buddhism by the Khalkhas. Erdenipel carefully analyses the date of

the meeting between the Dalai Lama and Abatai Khan. We know that the sources give either 1577 or 1586. Erdenipel prefers the latter date, underlining that the Khalkhas had been acquainted with Buddhism earlier and that Abatai Khan and his younger brother converted to Buddhism during their campaign against the Ölöt tribes, who came to profess Buddhism much earlier than the Eastern Mongols. Another interesting account concerns the Dalai Lama's dispatch of the Sakyapa *lama* to Khalkha to consecrate the Erdeni Juu monastery. After operating a great deal of information, Erdenipel concludes that the Dalai Lama "felt that Sakyapa law was no worse than the law of the yellow faith and was good as well ... The Erdeni Juu monastery at first apparently copied the Sakyapa one almost in all, holding in the main to its dogmas and injunctions" (p. 154).

Erdenipel then narrates the initial period of translating religious works into Mongolian, the war between the Khalkhas and the Ölöts, the elevation of Gushri Khan of the Khoshuts, the religious war in Tibet, Sain Noyon Khan's journey to Lhasa, the entrance of Western Mongolian forces into Tibet to support the Yellow Hat faction at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the election of the fifth Dalai Lama, Taranatha's intrigues against the Yellow Hat faction. In short, he focuses on Tibetan-Mongolian relations.

The last part of the work deals with the beginning of the Manchu era. Erdenipel shows how the Manchu conquest of the Mongols was eased by the latters' internal religious conflicts.

When compiling his work, Erdenipel seemingly made use of a large body of material, part of which has remained unknown up to the present, gathering it from numerous Mongolian chronicles, Tibetan historical works and Chinese chronicles. More often than not he does not indicate his sources, although there are exceptions. In particular, he cites the "Golden History" (*Altan tobči*), apparently by Lubsang Danzan, the "Yellow History" (*Sira tuyuji*), "Crystal Rosary" (*Bolor erike*) by Rashi Pungtsag, "Crystal Mirror" (*Bolor toli*) by Jamba Dorji, numerous Tibetan sources, for example, the *Deb-ther rgya-mtsho*, which he calls the *Debter-ün dalai*, and Chinese chronicles such as *Meng gu you mu ji*. Judging by the information he recounts, he also worked with Sagan Sečen's *Iledkel šastir*, Tibetan *'khungs-rabs*, *dkar-chags*, official correspondence, diaries, etc.

One gains a sense of the author's distant familiarity with European works and methods of historical inquiry. This combination of a profound knowledge of sources and traditional lore, with an attempt at the latest approaches' use, renders his work of interest both for historians and historiographers. Erdenipel may not set out to analyse events, but he does attempt to explain them, and this compels him to seek in the historical sources he knew new information, as well as to introduce into circulation unknown or forgotten works and sources peripheral to Mongolian history.

BOOK REVIEWS

Tatiana A. 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 — Описание маньчжурских рукописей и ксилографов Санкт-Петербургского филиала Института востоковедения Российской Академии наук. Вып. 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, 218 pp, plus facsimiles. — Aetas Manjurica, 9.**

T. Pang's work is a closing one which crowns years long labours of Russian specialists in Manchu studies who were engaged in the cataloguing and scholarly description of Manchu manuscripts and xylographs kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection. These materials are justly considered to be the richest in the world, not to count Manchu manuscripts and xylographs preserved in the collections of China. The catalogue is marked as Issue 2 to indicate that it is the continuation of M. P. Volkova's catalogues of Manchu manuscripts and blockprints preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection[1].

The "Descriptive Catalogue" under review includes an introduction, description of manuscripts and xylographs, and indices. The introduction (pp. IX—XXVII), which is very informative, provides a detailed account of the Manchu collection's formation, the beginning of which can be traced back to the early eighteenth century. The author gives her assessments of scholarly importance of the collection and the degree of its investigation. She also indicates the most valuable or rare copies, among which T. Pang names a few unique samples representing Manchu writings. In addition, the introduction includes the description of (i) seven Manchu manuscripts from the archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies; (ii) a rare four-language Peking xylograph from the Tibetan collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies; and (iii) four Manchu-Chinese xylographs from the Chinese collection of the Institute (pp. XXVII—XXXVI).

The main body of the catalogue contains a description of 411 Manchu manuscripts and xylographs not covered in the first issue, and a description of newly acquired Manchu books (pp. 1—172). The material in the catalogue is organised thematically, as in the previous catalogues of Manchu manuscripts and blockprints by M. Volkova (see n. 1). It

should be noted that such thematic catalogues and descriptions provided with alphabetical indices are most common reference-books easy to use.

Each item follows the scheme worked out at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies for other catalogues. For manuscripts, the scheme consists of the following points: each entry contains the title in Manchu, Chinese or other language. If Chinese, the title in Roman transliteration is accompanied by its Chinese equivalent in characters, then short description of the manuscript follows: information on the name of the author or those involved in the work, pagination, type of paper, size, ink, type of bounding, date, notes on introduction, marginalia, and colophon are given; condition of manuscript is also indicated. Entries are provided with information concerning previous owners. For blockprints, information on printing house is also present.

In our view, this scheme, as a whole, is good enough to enable the scholar to offer the reader all necessary information in a condensed form. The great majority of the materials in the catalogue are blockprint editions. Judging by the bibliographic notes at the end of the book, many of those are represented in other Manchu manuscript collections. But there is a great deal of them which are to be found only in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies. Most of them are manuscripts dealing with regulations in the Russian-Chinese border area (Nos. 87—102), imperial letters and memorials (Nos. 103—25), unknown Manchu translations of Chinese novels (Nos. 214—6), shaman prayers, collected by A. V. Grebenschikov in Manchuria (Nos. 339—44), geographical maps of the Qing empire compiled by Jesuits (Nos. 406—9), etc.

As a rule, xylographs well known to specialists and xylographs newly introduced into scholarly circulation are provided with brief annotations. Inexplicably, there are minor deviations from this scheme: in contrast with Manchu manuscripts, which are provided with annotations, the xylographs of Buddhist content have no, even brief, explanatory notes (Nos. 357—390).

Some manuscripts, with not very extended text, for example, imperial orders or patents, are given in the catalogue in full transliteration (Nos. 107, 109—116, 118—124). In all cases the description includes cited passages from the beginning and end of the text. The presence of such kind of

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[1] M. P. Volkova, *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii i Afriki* (Description of Manchu Manuscripts at the Institute of Asian and African Peoples) (Moscow, 1965); *idem, Opisanie manchzhurskikh ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Manchu Xylographs at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies), issue 1 (Moscow, 1988).

information in catalogues and descriptions may essentially facilitate the work of other scholars cataloguing other collections or studying Manchu texts.

It is very important that the edition under review is supplied with all necessary indices and concordances (pp. 173—217), for which we are especially grateful to the author. Among them we find the titles and names indices, an index of printing houses, a list of Manchu manuscripts' provenance. Also, one can find the concordance of call numbers and catalogue numbers, along with concordance of manuscripts and xylographs which were covered in the preceding descriptions of the collection.

The catalogue is illustrated by 16 fascimile reproductions of some folios from the rare Manchu manuscripts and blockprints in order to give the reader some general idea of the collection.

The catalogue by T. Pang is a well-organised, and well-done work, which meets all the demands of a modern catalogue of Eastern manuscripts. The edition is a major achievement, since it makes available the hitherto little-known collection. No doubt, the work describing one of the richest Manchu collections in the world will draw specialists' attention and will quickly establish itself as a constant resort for all those interested in the field of Manchu studies.

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Notes to Contributors

Submissions

Plate 1

Plate 2

Plate 3