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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

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THE *DARBAND-NĀMA* ON HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD
AND A NEWLY DISCOVERED ARABIC INSCRIPTION FROM A. H. 176

Among the vast manuscript legacy of the peoples of Daghestan, of especial historical interest is the well known sixteenth — seventeenth century work *Darband-nāma* by Muḥammad Awwābī Aqtāshī [1]. In his work, the author refers not only to Arab and Persian writers of the ninth — tenth centuries (al-Balādhurī, al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Kūfī, etc.), but local medieval chronicles that have not come down to us. The *Darband-nāma* contains important historical information. Of special note is its treatment of the activities of caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786—809) and his Caucasian governors in Derbent (Arab. Bāb al-abwāb). The text runs that "when the date reached the one hundred seventy-third year (A. D. 789/90), Hārūn al-Rashīd sent Khuzayma ibn Ḥāzim out with an army. He restored the ruined places in Derbent, provided Derbent with running water, built bridges in various places, and improved and developed Derbent. He sent to Hārūn al-Rashīd those people who had committed unseemly deeds. When Hārūn al-Rashīd himself arrived in Derbent, he did much to build up [the city]. He ran irrigation trenches to Derbent, built mills, [and] gave orders to plant many orchards and gardens. He also ordered that [funds] be collected [for] maintaining the irrigation trenches from profits from agriculture and orchards. He freed the residents of Derbent from mill fees. Expenses (*kharj*) for the maintenance of mills were [to come] from profits from agriculture and orchards. He built granaries and mosques in each neighbourhood. [As a result of his activities] Derbent became a comfortable place to live. Hārūn al-Rashīd gathered the inhabitants of Derbent, when he arrived from the capital of the caliphate to this city, gave them instruction and came back [to the capital]" [2].

The text also provides valuable information about the distribution of powers and obligations between the ruler of Derbent and the commander of the troops gathered there. In addition, we have here, in fact, the earliest legal document to record the rights and legal status of city-dwellers. They would later (in the tenth — eleventh centuries) resort to the chronicle's authority to regulate their relations with Derbent's ruling elite [3] as the author of the Derbent chronicle *Ta'rīkh Bāb al-abwāb* (compiled in the late eleventh — early twelfth century) relates: "When the one hundred eighty — seventh year (A. D. 803) began, [Hārūn al-Rashīd] appointed Hafz ibn ʿUmar the ruler of Derbent and instructed him: 'Fear Allah and make justice [your] habit, perform the Friday prayer in the central mosque (*masjid jāmiʿ*), do nothing without seeking counsel. Legal decisions, the command of the cavalry and administration are in your jurisdiction. Guarding the waterways that lead into the city, maintaining the inns and the mills are the responsibility of the population. The *qāḍī*s, *khaṭīb*s and theologians are under your power. The sustenance of *qāḍī*s, *khaṭīb*s and theologians is [also] your responsibility. If you turn traitor or show a predisposition to the *kāfir*s, or carelessness in the conduct of the Holy War, or if you become an oppressor and tyrant, [know that] I have given permission to the population of Derbent to depose you. The command of troops, monitoring the state of the city, the position of *darugh*, the investigation of your state, [as well as] that of the population of Derbent [are all] in the hands of the son of ʿAbd al-Malik" [4].

The cited excerpts enable us to draw some exceptional information about Hārūn al-Rashīd's activities in the Eastern Caucasus and in Derbent in particular. The report of Hārūn al-Rashīd's visit to Derbent is not confirmed by other reliable sources: al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Aʿtham al-Kūfī in their treatment of the Arab conquest of the Caucasus say nothing about Hārūn al-Rashīd visiting Derbent (Bāb al-abwāb). According to al-Ṭabarī, in 183/799—800 caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed governor (*wallā*) of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Shirvan and Derbent Yazīd ibn Mazyad Shaybānī [5], who later founded the Yazīdī dynasty that ruled Shirvan. The *Darband-nāma* is silent about him. With reference to Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, al-Ṭabarī reports that Khuzayma ibn Ḥāzim, who was later sent off to Nisin, was sent with him to the Caucasus to deal with the Khazar invasion. Al-Yaʿqūbī and al-Kūfī are unanimous in showing the designation of Khuzayma ibn Ḥāzim al-Tamīmī as governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan in 186/802 [6]; this appears in the *Darband-nāma* under the year 173/789—90.

The *Darband-nāma* adds significantly to the information provided by Arab authors about military and political

events in the region; it enriches the reports of Arab authors with important data on the activities of caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd's governors in the Caucasus, and specifically in Bāb al-abwāb. One may say that the Arab sources and local chronicles (*Darband-nāma* in particular) complement each other, forming a single group of sources on the history of the Eastern Caucasus at the time of the Arab conquests.

This group of narrative sources on the activities of Hārūn al-Rashīd in the Eastern Caucasus has now been expanded to include an important epigraphic text. We refer to a large official inscription discovered near Derbent in 2001 by the Derbent archaeological expedition of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Daghestan Research Centre (Russian Academy of Sciences) and Daghestan State University. The expedition was headed by M. S. Gadjiev [7].

One of the expedition's tasks was to investigate the Mountain Wall (Dag Bari), an integral part of a sixth-century Derbent defensive complex. Research was conducted on an initial 15-kilometer segment of the Mountain Wall, from fort 1, located near the city citadel and identified as the Sul Fortress (Qal'a Sūl) in the chronicle *Ta'rīkh Bāb al-abwāb* and the Sul Gate (Bāb Sūl) by Ibn Khurdādhbih [8], to fort Zeveri-Qala (Tat for Upper Fortress) in the village of Zidian. The research aimed to a better understanding of fortifications in Sasanian Iran and Caucasian Albania, allowing for the study of the architectural principles and construction features of the defensive line on the border of the settled agricultural and nomadic livestock-breeding worlds. The work produced valuable historical and archaeological data, and plans of this segment of the Mountain Wall, forts and towers were drawn up. Previously unknown fortifications, masons' marks,

Middle-Persian (sixth century) and a few early Arabic inscriptions from the eighth — twelfth centuries, and unique merlon battlements (sixth century) were discovered. Stratigraphic digs, set up at forts 5, 6 and 7, made it possible to determine when this defensive system functioned. It is comparable with such fortifications as the Great Wall of China, the Wall of Alexander the Great, the Roman limes on the Danube, the Wall of Hadrian in Britain, and other long walls. Research extended to areas that adjoin the Dag Bari in order to identify other archaeological objects and historical relics.

The Mountain Wall passed through the village of Mitagi. Nearby stood the fort Qala Kejer, or Kejerli Qala (lit. "Moss Fortress", or "Fortress overgrown with moss"), where research was conducted on an old Muslim cemetery (*ca.* 30×50 m) located on the southern outskirts of the village. The cemetery contains, in particular, long (up to 2.3 m) hollow half-cylindrical stone sarcophagi on rectangular plinths (eleventh — twelfth centuries) and diverse medieval rectangular, anepigraphic stelas with inscriptions and epitaphs in *Kūfī* and *naskh*. They display carved geometric ornaments with a central anthropomorphic field and disk-shaped top.

Of especial historical value is a large rectangular slab, the only one of its type, with a dated Arabic inscription (see *figs. 1—2*). It was reused as a gravestone; the slab was set up vertically in the cemetery and affixed with two rectangular stones. The slab's dimensions are 154×73×10 cm. Its sides are adorned with a 3.5—4 cm-wide border. The inscription dimensions are 147×64 cm. The inscription is in Kūfic script, eight lines long, high-relief (h=1 cm), letters 2.5—6 cm high.

TEXT

(1) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم

(2) يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد محمد رسول الله ارسله

(3) بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشر كون صلى

(4) الله على محمد و سلم ما بنا[ه] كسرى و امر ... عبد الله هرو

(5) ن امير المؤمنين ا كرمه الله فى ولاية الامين محمد بن امير المؤ

(6) منين ولى عهد المسلمين ا كرمه الله ... و اهله و بنى

(7) ... ال

(8) ... ا كرمه الله على يد محمد بن عبد الله فى سنة ست و سبعين و ماية

TRANSLATION

(1) In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Say: "He is God, One, the Everlasting Refuge, who has not

(2) begotten, and has not been begotten, and equal to Him is not any one"[1]. Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah, who sent him

(3) with knowledge along the right path and the faith of truth to reveal to him all faith, though this be hated by the polytheists. May [Allah] bless

(4) Muḥammad and greet [him]. Kisrā built this and commanded [later that it be reinforced (restored?)] servant of God (*'abd Allāh*) Harū-

(5) n, commander of the faithful (*amīr al-mu'minīn*), may Allah ennoble him, on the appointment of (variant: administration, guardianship) (*fī wālayat*) al-Amīn Muḥammad, son of the commander of the faith-

(6) ful, as heir to the throne of the Muslims (*walī 'ahd al-muslimīn*) — may Allah ennoble his [lineage?] and his family. He built:

(7) : [...]

(8) : — may Allah ennoble him. [Written] by the hand of Muḥammad, son of 'Abdallāh (variant: 'Abd al-Malik) in the one hundred seventy-sixth year.

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[1] The Qur'ān, Sūra 112, translated as in *The Koran Interpreted* by Arthur J. Arberry (London, 1955), ii, p. 361.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

The date A. H. 176 corresponds to 792/3, making this the oldest dated official Arabic inscription in the Caucasus. The inscription mentions Kisrā, that is Khusraw I Anūshīrwān (r. 531—579), the "commander of the faithful" Hārūn, that is the famed caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, and "the heir to the throne" al-Amīn Muḥammad, the eldest son of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Al-Amīn was born in 170/786—87, appointed heir in 175/791—92, and became caliph in 809. He was murdered in 813 in the course of a succession struggle with his brother, al-Ma'mūn [9]. The inscription was created soon after Muḥammad al-Amīn was proclaimed the heir to the throne. Taking this into consideration, lines 5 and 6 may be translated, "on the appointment of al-Amīn Muḥammad, son of the commander of the faithful, heir to the throne". Now that we have in our disposal the dates of Muḥammad al-Amīn's appointment to the post, 175/791—92 and 176/792—93, an assumption can be made that this event most likely took place in A. D. 792.

The lost text — at the end of line 6 and in line 7 — clearly referred to a construction project, the construction director, or the actual architect. The text may have mentioned Khuzayma ibn Ḥāzim al-Tamīmī, who arrived in Derbent, according to the *Darband-nāma*, in 173/789—90, some two to three years before the inscription was created. As is stated in the *Darband-nāma*, Khuzayma ibn Ḥāzim "restored the ruined places in Derbent, provided Derbent with running water, built bridges in various places, and improved and developed Derbent". The relative chronological overlap between the time of the inscription and the chronicle's reference to Khuzayma's activities provides indirect confirmation.

The information found in the *Darband-nāma* (*figs. 3—4*) in the list presented in Kazem-Beg [10], as well as in modern authors, Abbas-Quli-Agha Baqikhanov and Hasan-efendi Alqadari, is significant in light of Muḥammad al-Amin's appearance in this inscription. We read in the Kazem-Beg list: "The narrator recounts: 'There is a crypt (*gunbedh*) on the exterior side of Kyrkhlar-kapu. There rests the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd'" [11], while Abbas-Quli-Agha Baqikhanov remarks that "one tradition holds that beneath the stone vault across from the Kyrkhlar gates is buried the son of Hārūn al-Rashīd" [12]. Hasan-efendi Alqadari, who relies on information cited in the *Darband-nāma* and Baqikhanov, provides a somewhat different account: "Tradition holds that he (Hārūn al-Rashīd — *M. G., A. Sh.*) was accompanied on his journey (to Derbent — *M. G., A. Sh.*) by his wife Zubayda, the daughter of Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, and that two of Rashīd's sons died in the city of Derbent. They were buried on the northern side of the gate to the Kyrkhlar cemetery in an area enclosed by a stone wall. It is now called the 'place of prayer'" [13]. It is difficult to say how accurate this information is. It seems that we cannot, however, rule out the possibility that one of Hārūn al-Rashīd's sons was in Derbent.

The Kyrhlar-kapu gates (Turk. "Gate of Forty [*Shahīd*s]") are the central gates in the northern wall of Derbent. The Arabs called them *Bāb al-jihād* (Gates of the Holy War). The cemetery of Kyrkhlar (Pers. *chihil tanān*), a holy site venerated by Muslims, was located close to these gates. Tradition holds that it is the burial place of the military commanders and brothers Salmān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Rabī'a, who fell in battle against the Khazars, and their comrades-in-arms, the *shahīd*s. The sarcophagus gravestones, however, are dated to the twelfth — thirteenth cen-

turies. The *gunbedh* with one of Hārūn al-Rashīd's sons mentioned in the chronicle has not survived, but we note that the cemetery once contained several domed mausoleums. They are depicted, for example, in the 1842 illustration in a book by I. N. Berezin [14]. Unfortunately, even longtime residents of the city do not remember where the "place of prayer" mentioned by Alqadari was located. It does not seem possible at present to find the mausoleum.

Judging by the form of the slab, the inscription seems to have adorned some monumental structure. Its mention of Kisrā — Khusraw Anūshīrwān — and its reference to "Kisrā build this" suggests that it was part of the Mountain Wall or one of the forts in this defensive line. In the context of this discovery in Mitagi, we note the information the *Darband-nāma* provides about the village. According to the chronicle, Yazīd ibn Usayd al-Sūlāmī — "amīr" of the army" of al-Manṣūr (r. 754—775) — at the caliph's behest around 145/763—64 hoped to strengthen the northern borders of the Caliphate against "the evil doings and harm of the *kāfirs*" and "gave an order, built cities: first Duare, second Segna, third in the valley of Ben-Hashim, whence the *kāfirs* fled, [there] they built a sound fortress. After these they built Mitai and Kemakh. The *amīr* commanded that 300 men from Tabasaran be left in Mitai, and he appointed his brother the ruler of Tabasaran" [15]. The Kazem-Beg copy differs somewhat, reflecting, in particular, the existence there of fortifications in the Mountain Wall erected by the sixth century: "The caliph at the time gave orders [to build] new fortresses and to restore the old fortresses. They restored the fortresses of Suvar, Mitai and Kemakh, the fortress of Semnan, which are now called Cherki, Darvak, Yersi, and Khimeydi. Seven thousand families were brought from Sham and Musil (Mosul) to inhabit these fortresses" [16].

The fortress of Mitai can without doubt be identified as the contemporary village of Mitagi (more correctly: Mitahi, as this oekonym is written in the chronicle). The Mountain Wall passed through it along the Kamakh mountain range toward the village of Kamakh (Kemakh), located some 3.8 km away. The remains of the Mountain Wall that passed through Mitagi are shown on a map drawn up by Lieutenant-colonel Kotsebu in 1819—1820 [17]. The territory of Mitagi may have been home to a fort; longtime residents of the village may have seen the remains of its towers in the centre of town. The names of other fortresses given in the *Darband-nāma* should evidently be identified as specific forts in the Mountain Wall, but we are as yet unable to provide concrete identifications for all of the fortifications.

The Arabs who established themselves in Derbent (Bāb al-abwāb) and the surrounding area after the campaigns of al-Jarrāḥ and Maslama (brother of the caliph Hishām; r. 724—743) in the early eighth century made active use of this powerful defensive system, created under Khusraw Anūshīrwān, in their conflict with the Khazars. Excavations conducted at a number of forts have shown that they functioned from the sixth to the twelfth century. Evidence of this is found in the numerous Arabic inscriptions in *Kūfī* and *naskh* script discovered not only on Derbent's defensive walls, but also on the fortifications of the Mountain Wall. Further proof is provided by the recently discovered official Arabic inscription of 176/792—93, and several passages cited here from the *Darband-nāma*. To conclude, the new discovered inscription has been delivered to Derbent to be exposed it the museum of the Naryn-kala citadel.
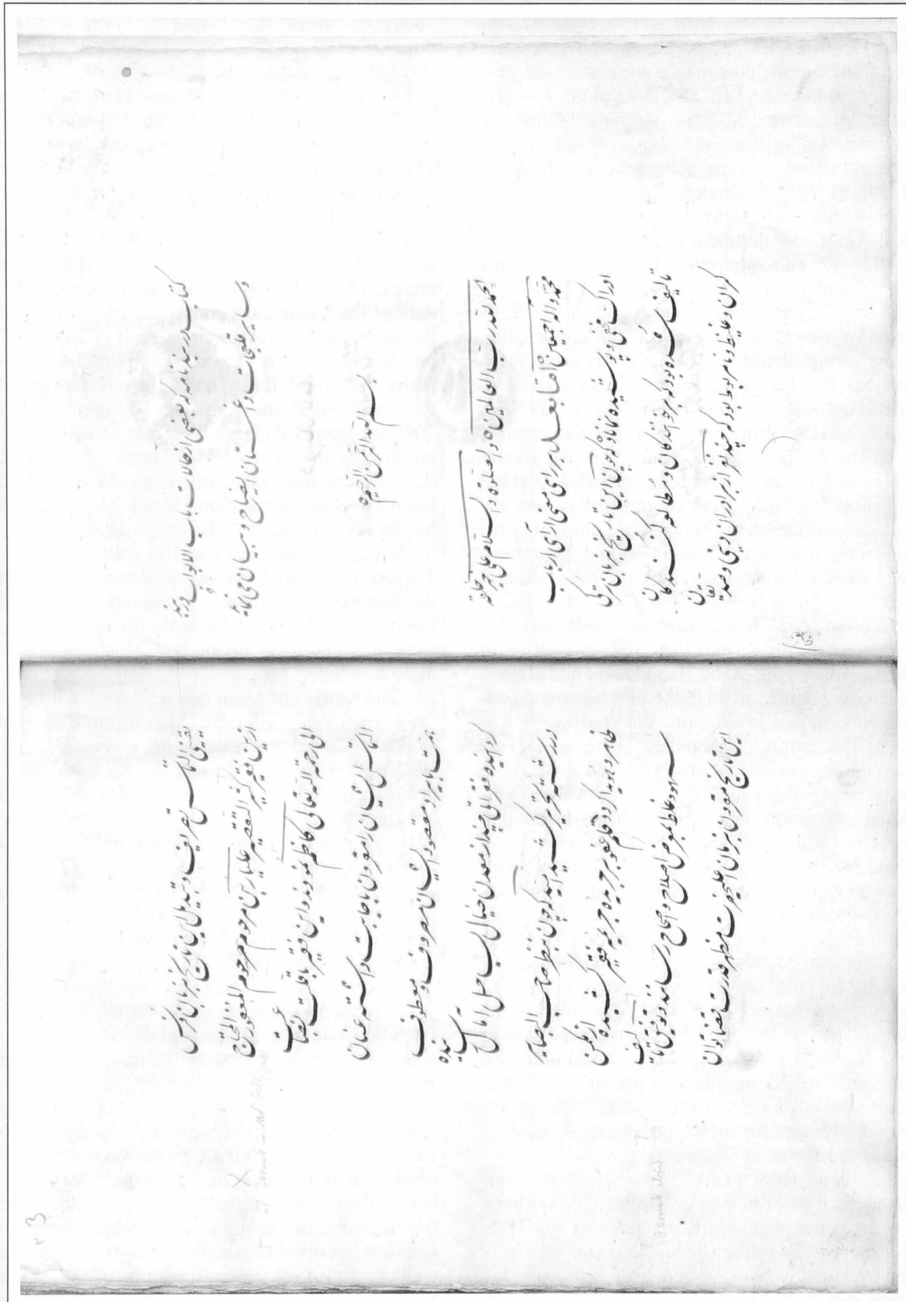
Fig. 3
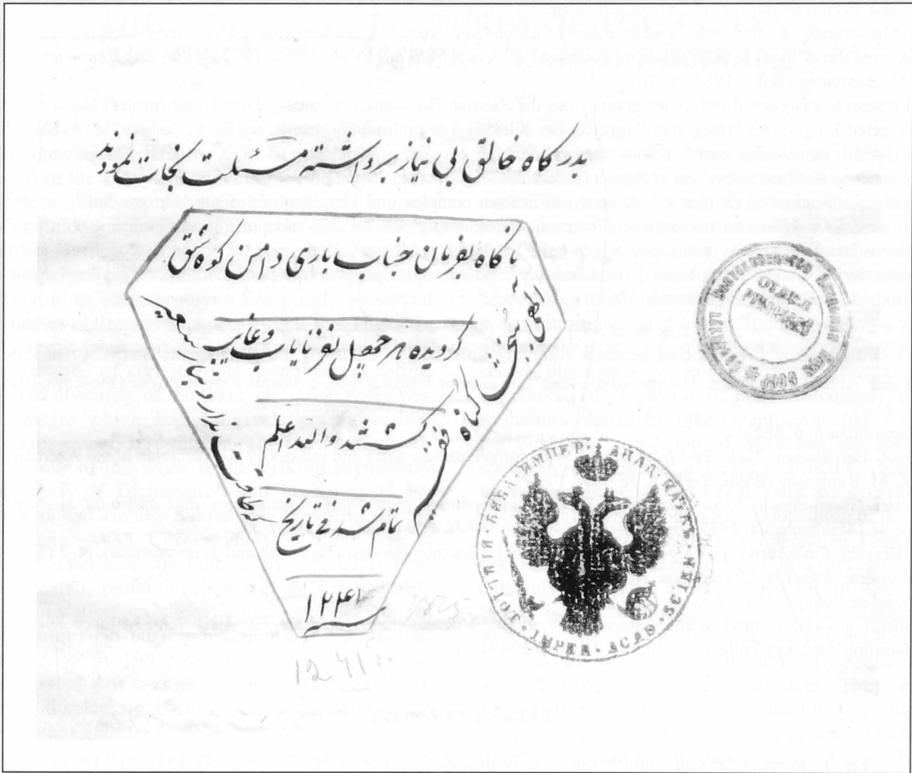
Fig. 4

Notes

1. *Derbend-nâmah, or the History of Derbent,* translated from a select Turkish version and published with the texts and with notes illustrative of the history, geography, antiquities & c. occurring throughout the work, by Mirza A. Kazem-Beg (St. Petersburg, 1851); Aqtāshī Muḥammed Awwābī, *Darband-nāma,* translation of Turkish and Arabic copies, introduction and bibliography by G. M.-R. Orazaev and A. R. Shikhsaidov. Commentary by G. M.-R. Orazaev (Makhachkala, 1992); A. R. Shikhsaidov, T. M. Aitberov, G. M.-R. Orazaev, *Dagestanskie istoricheskie sochineniia* (Daghestani Historical Works) (Moscow, 1993).

2. The translation of the text is here as presented in Shikhsaidov, Aitberov, Orazaev, *op. cit.,* p. 39.

3. See V. F. Minorsky, *Istoriia Shirvana i Derbenta X—XI vv.* (The History of the Tenth — Eleventh-century Shirvan and Derbent) (Moscow, 1963).

4. *Ibid.,* p. 40.

5. Annales quos scripsit Abu Djafar Mohammed ibn Djarir al-Ṭabarī cum aliis edidit M. J. de Goeje, series I—III (Lugduni Batavorum, 1879—1901), ser. III, p. 638. See also A. R. Shikhsaidov, "Kniga at-Tabari 'Istoriia poslannikov i tsareĭ' o narodakh Severnogo Kavkaza" ("Al-Ṭabarī's 'History of Prophets and Kings' on the peoples of the north Caucasus"), in *Pamiatniki istorii i literatury Vostoka. Period feodalizma* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 80, 87, n. 64.

6. Abu Muhammad Ahmad ibn A'sam al-Kufi, *Kniga zavoevaniĭ. Izvlecheniia iz istorii Azerbaidzhana VII—IX vv.* (Abū Muḥammad Aḥmad ibn A'tham al-Kūfī, *Book of Conquests. Excerpts from the History of Azerbaijan, 7th—9th Centuries*), trans. from the Arabic by Z. M. Buniyatov (Baku, 1981), p. 70.

7. Field research was carried out under grants from the Russian Humanities Scholarly Foundation (project No. 01-01-18023 e) and the Federal Targeted Programme "Integration" (project No. K 0856). For preliminary results, see M. S. Gadjiev, M. A. Bakushev, "Novye issledovaniia Gornoĭ steny 'Dag bari'" ("New research on the Mountain Wall 'Dag Bari'"), in *XXII "Krupnovskie chteniia" po arkheologii Severnogo Kavkaza.* Abstracts of Papers (Essentuki—Kislovodsk, 2002), pp. 29—31.

8. M. Gadjiev, "Studies of the fort of Derbent fortification complex and identification of the 'fortress Sul'", in *Archaeology of the Caucasus: new discoveries and perspectives. International Scientific Session.* Abstracts of Papers (Tbilisi, 1997), pp. 27—8; *idem,* "Missiia episkopa Israèla i voprosy istoricheskoĭ geografii Kavkazskoĭ Albanii" ("The mission of the Bishop Israel and issues of the historical geography of Caucasian Albania"), in *Materialy i issledovaniia po arkheologii Rossii.* No. 3: *Severnyĭ Kavkaz: istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki i zametki* (Moscow, 2001), p. 167.

9. See, for example: محاضرتخت تاريخ الام الاسلامية العباسية تاليف الشيخ محمد الخضرى بك بيروت دار المعرفة (with no date), borrowed from O. G. Bol'shakov, "Arabskie zavoevaniia. Khalifaty Umaĭĭadov i Abbasidov. Rasprostranenie Islama" ("The Arab conquests: the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid caliphates. The spread of Islam"), in *Istoriia Vostoka.* Vol. 2: *Vostok v srednie veka* (Moscow, 1995), p. 128.

10. Cf. n. 1.

11. *Derbend-nâmah,* p. 582.

12. A.-Q.-A. Baqikhanov, *Gulistān-i Irām,* edited, with commentaries, notes and indices by Academician of the Azerbaijani Academy of Sciences, Z. M. Buniyatov (Baku, 1991), p. 58.

13. Alqadari Gasan-efendi, "Asari-Dagestan" ("Dagestani writings"), in *Sbornik materialov dlia opisaniia mestnosteĭ i plemēn Kavkaza,* issue 46 (Makhachkala, 1929), pp. 34—5.

14. I. N. Berezin, *Puteshestvie po Dagestanu i Zakavkaz'iu* (A Journey through Daghestan and Transcaucasia), pt. 2 (Kazan, 1850).

15. Shikhsaidov, Aitberov, Orazaev, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

16. *Derbend-nâmah,* pp. 571—2.

17. Rossiĭskiĭ gosudarstvennyĭ voenno-istoricheskiĭ arkhiv. Voenno-uchetnyĭ arkhiv (Russian State Military Historical Archive. Military Registration Archive), collection 846, inv. 16, item 19451.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Rectangular slab with inscription in Arabic, Kūfic script, A. H. 176/792—93, 154×73×10 cm.

Fig. 2. Tracing of the above-mentioned inscription.

Fig. 3. *Darband-nāma,* manuscript B 696 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, *nasta'līq,* Northern Azerbaijan, 1241/1825—26, beginning of the text, fols. 1b—2a, 15.0×21.2 cm.

Fig. 4. Same manuscript, colophon, fol. 32b, 15.0×21.2 cm.

I. B. Itkin

THE LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF TOCHARIAN A
MANUSCRIPT *MAITREYĀVADĀNAVYĀKARAṆA* *

Despite the outstanding results that Tocharian studies have achieved in the 100 years since they came into existence, many key questions about the history, grammatical structure and functioning of the Tocharian languages remain unanswered. This is hardly surprising, as we deal here with languages that vanished over 1,000 years ago and are known to us only through a few poorly preserved texts. It is, however, important to stress that in addition to lacunae that result from objectively insurmountable difficulties (the absence of certain roots, grammatical forms, the paucity and obscurity of the texts, etc.), one notes certain omissions for which Tocharian scholars themselves are, to a certain extent, responsible. The most serious argument in favour of this view is the striking asymmetry between the study of Tocharian A and Tocharian B. By 1955, P. Poucha had already published a thesaurus for the texts in Tocharian A [1]. Unfortunately, it is not free of technical and sometimes substantive errors, and is now somewhat outdated, remaining however an irreplaceable source of information on the grammar and lexicon of Eastern Tocharian. No corresponding work for Tocharian B exists. Also in 1955, W. Winter in his standard work demonstrated that various groups of texts in Western Tocharian display significant differences in graphics and phonetics that are most easily interpreted as dialectical [2]. To the best of our knowledge, no one has conducted similar research on Tocharian A despite the fact that the body of Eastern Tocharian manuscripts, although smaller than that of Western Tocharian, is large enough, containing texts created over a period of several centuries to render dubious the tacitly accepted thesis of their linguistic uniformity.

The present work aims to show that differences do exist between texts written in Tocharian A and should be considered in deeming this or that form "standard", "rare", "anomalous", etc. The basic material for the study provide texts Nos. 219—242 from the Berlin collection [3]; they are fragments of a translation of the Sanskrit work *Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa* (henceforth, *MAV*), a large poetic composition dedicated to the Buddha Maitreya. As our very preliminary examination of the entirety of Tocharian A texts shows, this manuscript contains perhaps the largest number of non-trivial linguistic oddities, sometimes unique, and sometimes shared by other manuscripts [4]. Unfortunately, the Tocharian translation of *MAV* has not been well preserved. In a number of places it is difficult to understand, as we see from several mistakes in word division committed by E. Sieg and W. Siegling in their publication of the text [5].

The text has been of little interest to Tocharian scholars, and the literature treats *MAV* in terms of its content exclusively [6]. (The brief description of the manuscript found in Ivanov lacks its linguistic characteristics as well [7].) The present article aims to enumerate and analyse in detail all of the most important linguistic features of *MAV* that we were able to discover. They are divided, somewhat arbitrarily, into five sections — graphics, phonetics, morphonology, morphology, and lexicon. Various statistic calculations are based here on both Tocharian A texts, published by Sieg and Siegling in 1921, and on the manuscript of *Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka* (henceforth, *MSN*) discovered in 1975 in the region of Yanqi in China and recently introduced in full into scholarly circulation thanks to the remarkable work of Ji Xianlin in collaboration with W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault [8].

Graphics

1. High-frequency usage of signs for *ī* and *ū*.

Manuscript *MAV* is distinguished only by one graphic feature, that is, by the frequent use of signs for the vowels *ī* and *ū*, much more often than is the average for Eastern Tocharian texts: approximately every seventh *i* and every

third *u* is long. (It is all the more striking if one considers that in some manuscripts signs for *ī* and *ū* are missing altogether.) This is a purely graphic feature: as we know, Tocharian A had no long-short opposition for narrow vowels. Further, long and short *i* and *u* can be found in the same

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words, cf., for example, *kässī* and *kässi* "teacher" in text No. 222. The varying usage of signs for long and short narrow vowels may have been the result of different traditions among scribal schools or the individual preferences of scribes [9].

Manuscript *MAV* has no other clearly discernable graphic features, and we have to disagree with V. V. Ivanov, who remarks that texts Nos. 219—242 are "in the nature of their signs somewhat different than other manuscripts" [10].

Phonetics

1. Forms that contain *kw*.

MAV contains a number of forms that include the combination *kw*, cf. //// *·ts·*[*s*]*kwäntuyo* (219 a4), *tri-lkwär* (222 b3), *·kw·ññeñc* (230 b6), *täkwälune* (237 a3), *ṣtām-kwreyunt* (239 a1), *skwä* //// (242 b5).

Unlike Tocharian B, which has a number of words that regularly feature *kw*, not only does Tocharian A not have such words, it has not forms in which *kw* appears even sporadically. Tocharian B words with *kw* are in Tocharian A matched by words with *k*, and, under the influence of the neighbouring *k*, the reflexes of proto-Toch. **ə* and **e* are labialised, cf., for example, Toch. B *pikwala* (Nom. Acc. Pl. of *pikul* "year")[1] — Toch. A *puklā* < proto-Toch. **p'əkwəlā*; Toch. B *pässakw* "garland" — Toch. A *psuk* < proto-Toch. **pəssəkwə*; Toch. B *kwem* (Acc. of *ku* "dog") — Toch. A *kom* < proto-Toch. **kwenə*.

In case of the disappearance of a labialised vowel, the remaining labialisation was depicted in writing with the "subscript *u*": *pᵤkäl* "year" < proto-Toch. **p'əkwəl* (cf. Toch. B *pikul*); *kᵤrekār* "apartment on top of the house" < proto-Toch. **kwərakārə*, which is an early borrowing from ancient Indian *kūṭāgāra-* (cf. Toch. B *kwrakār*) [11].

One of the few Tocharian A words always used with *kw* is the verb *täkw-* "?", various forms of which appear more than once in Tocharian A texts (cf. 69 a4, b1, 321 a5, 356 b3, 449 b1). It is this verb that forms the abstract noun *täkwälune*. It would seem that we encounter here not the proto-Toch. **kw* reflex, but the proto-Toch. **kəw* reflex, where **əw* can be a suffix, cf. the same *w* in combination with other consonants at the end of such verb stems as *kätw-* "laugh" or *malyw-* "crush", as well as the spelling *kw* in forms of the word *śāku* "headhair" (< proto-Toch. **k'äkəwV*): Gen. *śākwis*, Abl. *śākwäṣ*.

All the rest of the cited forms are not found outside of *MAV*. Unfortunately, only one of them allows for a sustainable interpretation: the compound *tri-lkwär* undoubtedly means "three times", and the second part is a borrowing from Toch. B *l(y)kwar* "time, occasion" — a hypothetical accent variant of the usual *lyákur*. We note the Nom. Pl. *lkwárwa* (B 21 a6), which demonstrates the same depalatalisation of *ly* before *k* as in the Tocharian A form [12].

All of the Tocharian A words that appear in other manuscripts with *ᵤ* are regularly written in *MAV* in the same fashion, cf., e.g., the pronouns *kuc* "what" (Loc. *kᵤcam* 221 b5 and others) and *puk* "all, every" (Abl. *pᵤkäṣ* 234 a3 and others), the nouns *kᵤli* "woman" (Loc. *kᵤleyam* 222 a7, 239 a5) and *kᵤñaś* "strife, quarrel" (238, 3), the adverb

kᵤpār "deep" (229 b1). Hence, not only the form *lkwär*, but also at least several others of the enumerated forms are, probably, borrowings from Tocharian B. If this is the case, we can posit, without any particular surety though, the following conjecture for 230 b6: //// *(s)kw(a)ññeñc cam puk maṅkant tärne*[*ñcäm*] "[they] make (?) him happy [and] free-him from all sins", where *skwaññeñc* is the 3 Pl. Pres. formed from the Tocharian B verb *skwaññ-* (< Toch. B *sakw*, Toch. A *suk* "(good) fortune, happiness"), usually translated as "be lucky, fortunate, happy". In our view, however, a transitive reading is also possible. In all other cases, the source of the borrowing could not be established even hypothetically.

2. The spelling of *kenpar* (220 b7, 222 a2, b7).

The adverb "falsely", consisting of the adjective *kem* "false; reverse" and the element *-par*, of somewhat unclear status and meaning, is found in *MAV* in the form *kenpar* and in other Tocharian A manuscripts only in the form *kempar* (cf. 11 a5, 353 b5 and, possibly, 289 b3). This difference, in and of itself hardly significant, is important because Tocharian A allows for neither the combination *np* nor *mp* within one word (one would expect *mp*). Hence, *kem* and *-par* are not root and suffix, but either parts of a compound or even of a combination of two independent words. We note the spelling with *m* of the form *kem-pälkäntwäṣṣ* (227/8 b7) Abl. Pl. of *kem-pälk* "false thought, false doctrine (lit. 'false view')" — undoubtedly a compound phonetically close to *kempar*. If so, the retention of the final *n* in the example, that is, its failure to transform into a nasalization of the preceding vowel conveyed by the sign *m*, can be placed alongside a number of similar examples also from manuscript *MAV*, cf. the spelling *krañcän* (221 b3, 7, 230 a5, 232 b4, 236 a6, 240 a3) Acc. Sg. Masc. of *kāsu* "good", *umparñän* (229 b4) Acc. Sg. Masc. of *umpar* "bad", *lyalymā=n* (224 b3) 3 Sg. Pt. Caus. with EP 3 Sg. of *ṣäm-* "sit".

Outside of this manuscript final *n* is found very rarely, cf., for example, *wkän* in place of *wkäm* "manner, way" (429 b6). The majority of the other examples are not reliable.

3. The spelling *ññ* in place of *ñ*.

On several occasions in the manuscript we find a doubled *ñ* in place of the single, which is utterly uncharacteristic of Tocharian texts, cf. *oññi* "male" (220 a4), *kapśaññi* "body" (221 a3), *omäskeññi* [13] Nom. Pl. Masc. of *omäskem* "bad" (222 a1), *kleśaññäk* Nom. Pl. with the emphatic particle *-(ä)k* from *kleś* "pain, affliction" (239 a2). The causes of this phenomenon are not clear.

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[1] In the present article, the following abbreviations are used: Abl. — Ablative; Masc. — masculine gender; Acc. — Accusative; Nom. — Nominative; Conj. — Conjunctive; Opt — Optative; EP — enclitic pronoun; Perl. — Perlative; Gen. — Genitive; Pl. — plural; Instr. — Instrumental; Pres. — Present; Imp. — Imperfect; Pt. — preterite; Caus. — Causative; Sg. — singular; Loc. — Locative. One should also note that in the grammatical descriptions of word forms singular nouns and active verbs do not receive special designation.

Morphonology

1. The spellings *āśyā(ñ)* (225 b7), *[ā]rk(i)śoṣyis* (220 b6), *(ārki)śoṣyis* (231 a2), *ārkiśoṣyaṃ* (229 b6), *ñemi-ṣyāṃ* (227/8 a1).

All of the above-enumerated spellings show that the combination "palatalized consonant (*ś*, *ṣ*, also *ñ*) + *y*" remained unchanged here, while in non-initial position they were usually transformed into *C'C'*: in the case of *ś* and *ṣ* only in the absence of a morphemic border, cf. *nāśi* "lady" — Nom. Pl. *nāśś-āñ*, *poṣi* "wall" — Perl. *poṣṣ-ā*, *tsraṣi* "energetic (person)" — *tsraṣṣ-une* "energy", but *kaṣ* "fathom" — Instr. *kaṣ-yo*, in the case of *ñ* — even if a border is present, cf. *kapśañi* "body" — Instr. *kapśiñ-ño* (from {*kapśañi-yo*}).

Cases where *y* is retained after palatalized constants are very rare: in all known texts in Tocharian A we find only 15 occurrences, including the only (!) example with *ñy* — *kapśiñyaṃ* (430 b6), while the spelling *śś*, *ṣṣ* и *ññ* occurs more than 200 (!) times.

It is significant that all of the *C'y* spellings occur in 4 manuscripts — Nos. 1—54, 89—143, 219—242 and 429—435. They seem to reflect an earlier linguistic state. Even so, spellings of the type *C'C'* are relatively widespread in all of these manuscripts (with the exception of the last, where such forms are absent because of the scarcity of material).

2. The spelling of *pyāpyāñ* (220 b3).

To the best of our knowledge no one has noticed the curious fact that the oblique stem of the word *pyāpi* "flower" appears in Tocharian A texts in two forms: *pyāpy-* and *pyāppy-*. Moreover, these two forms are clearly divided among the manuscripts, cf., for example, the data received from a juxtaposition of manuscripts Nos. 1—54 and 55—88: in the former we find the forms *pyāpyāsyo* (22 a3), *pyāpyāñ* (25 b1), *pyāpyā-ṣi* (33 b2); in the latter *pyāppyāsyo* (58 a3, 63 b5), *pyāppyāñ* (68 a2), *pyāppyā-ṣinās* (70 b2) and *pyāppyāśśi* (77 a2). Since the purely graphical doubling of consonants before *y* is entirely uncharacteristic of Tocharian A, the spelling *ppy* apparently reflects actual pronunciation (for example, the appearance of a soft heminate of the type [*p'p'*] in place of an original [*py*]). If we do, in fact, see here the assimilation of *y* to a preceding consonant, the phenomenon should be in some fashion parallel to the *C'y*—*C'C'* transition described above.

A comparative analysis shows that all four manuscripts that allow the spelling *C'y* insist on the spelling *py*. The reverse, however, does not hold; manuscripts Nos. 144—211 and *MSN*, where the spelling *C'y* is absent, also contain only forms with one *p*. Thus, the *py-ppy* transition was undoubtedly correlated with the *C'y—C'C'* transition but "lagged" behind it: at the stage reflected by manuscripts Nos. 144—211 and *MSN*, the second of these changes had already taken place, but not the first. One cannot, of course, exclude the theoretical possibility that the absence of spellings with *y* in these manuscripts is simply a coincidence. In our view, however, this is unlikely, as we deal here with rather lengthy works: in the first of them, forms with *C'C'* in place of the earlier *C'y*

are attested some 20 times in the second, more than 30 times.

3. The spellings *kapśäññā-ṣi* (220 a7), *kapśäññe* (240 a1).

In general, the writing of the oblique stem of the word *kapśañi* "body" with *ä* is "etymologically correct" and reflects the regular *a ~ ä* alternation in the middle syllable of three-syllable Tocharian A nouns cf. *oṅkaläm* "elephant" — Nom. Pl. *oṅkälmāñ*, *tāpaki* "mirror" — Gen. *tāpäkyis*, etc. But in the word *kapśañi* this alternation is added to a later shift of *ä* to *i* before *ññ* and *ñc* [14], so the spellings that retain *ä* seem to be an even rarer archaism than the spellings with *C'y* in place of *C'C'*: in addition to the two forms given above, there is only one another example — *kapśäññäṣ* (82 b5), while such forms as *kapśiññis*, *kapśiñño*, *kapśiññāñ* are attested in the texts no fewer than 80 times.

In this regard, the archaic nature of *MAV* is confirmed not only by the fact that two of the three examples with *ä* occur in this work, but primarily by the fact that in the manuscript Nos. 55—88, which contain the third example, we also find the form *kapśiñño* (56 b2), while spellings with *i* are wholly absent in *MAV*.

4. The spellings *lāñc* (222 a2), *krañc* (230 b5, 242 a4).

One can identify in Tocharian A a group of noun lexemes — *wäl* (oblique stem — *lānt-*) "king", *puk* (*pont-*) "all, every", *kāsu* (*krant-*) "good", *ārki* (*ārkyant-*) "white", *ark-* (*arkant-*) "black" — that form the Nom. Pl. (Masc.) by palatalizing the final *-nt* of the stem. The resultant final combination can be written in four ways: as *-ñc*, *-ñś*, *-ṃś* and *-ś*, cf., for example, *lāñc* (222 a2) — *lāñś* (74 a2) — *lāṃś* (101 a4) — *lāś* (2 b3). As the usual result of palatalizing the group *nt* is *ñc*, spellings of the first type, which apparently go back to an even earlier **-ñci*, should be treated as the starting point. But such spellings — and only such spellings — are attested exclusively in *MAV*. In other Eastern Tocharian texts, where Nom. Pl. (Masc.) forms of the five lexemes cited above occur in total more than 50 times, there are **no** examples of retaining *-ñc*. The "most similar" spelling is the hybrid form *krañcś* (*MSN*, YQ-12 a7).

Curiously, *MAV* records the reverse effect for intervocalic *ñc*: the adverb "attentively; clearly" occurs twice in this work (226 b5, 230 a1) and both times in the form *ānemśi*; in other Tocharian A texts it is attested some 15 times and only in the form *āneñci*.

5. The spellings *pācär*, *mācär*.

The words *pācar* "father" and *mācar* "mother", as well as their derivatives, are in *MAV* usually written with *ä* in place of *a*, cf. *pācär* (220 b2), *mācär* (222 b6, 230 b4), *pācär-mācär* "parents" (223 b2), *ṣoma-pācar* "having the same father" (222 a6). The only deviation from this rule is the form *māca[r]-p(ā)car* (232 b6), distinguished also by the unusual order of parts within the compound.

Although a confusion between *a* and *ä* is sometimes found in Tocharian A texts, spellings with *ä* in the words *pācar* and *mācar* are not attested **even once** outside of *MAV*.

Morphology

1. Use of the 3 Pl. Pres. and Conj. forms with *-ī-e*.

The most striking morphological characteristic of *MAV* is the frequent use of a "truncated" 3 Pl. Pres. Conj. marker *–ī-e* in place of the usual *-iñc/-eñc*. Forms without *-ñc* are attested 16 times in *MAV*, cf. *kumse* (229 b 6), *tränki* (227/8 b 7 bis), *ype* (229 a 2), *lotänke* (227/8 b 6, 7), *lke* (232 a 1) Pres. of *käm-* "come", *tränk-* "speak", *ya-* "do, make", *lotk-* "turn, become", *läk-* "see" respectively; *tsäkse* (229 a 1) Pres. Caus. of *tsäk-* "burn (tr.)"; *kärse* (221 b 4), *cämpe* (229 b 5), *tāke* (226 b 2, 227/8 b 3) and *te* (229 b 3), *yā(m)e* (226 b 1), *läñce* (221 b 4), *lotke* (229 a 4) Conj. of *kärs-* "know", *cämp-* "be able", *nas-* "be", *ya-* "do, make", *länt-* "go out", *lotk-* "turn, become" respectively; while forms with *-ñc* appear only 19 times. Thus, the endings with and without *-ñc* are in *MAV* free variants of equal status, while in the remaining manuscripts of the Berlin collection 3 Pl. forms without *-ñc* are found only 6—7 times (some examples are unreliable), cf. *tränki* (15 a 4), *wināse* (274 b 7), *kumse* (302 a 2) Pres. of *tränk-* "speak", *winās-* "honour", *käm-* "come" and several others, and they do not occur at all in *MSN*. No one seems to have offered any explanation for these "truncated" 3 Pl. forms. Of course, the purely phonetic disappearance of a final *-ñc* cannot be possible in Tocharian A, cf. the numerous noun forms such as *āriñc* "heart", *ñkiñc* "silvern", *mäskitäñc* "princess", etc. In our view, the most likely cause of this "truncation" are the forms of 3 Pl. Pres. Conj. with EP 1 Sg. *=ñi*, for the disappearance of the final *-ñc* was entirely regular before this particle, cf. *pälkse=ñi* (101 b 3, 5) Pres. Caus. of *pälk-* "burn (Trans.), torture", *pränki=ñi* (115 a 4) Pres. of *pränk-* "stay away; restrain oneself", *tsäkse=ñi* (101 b 4) Pres. Caus. of *tsäk-* "burn", *tāke=ñi* (66 a 3, 215 a 6) Conj. and *tāki=ñi* (67 b 2) Opt of *nas-* "be". Apparently, "truncated" variants of the 3 Pl. spread from the position before *=ñi* to forms without enclitics.

2. Use of the form *teñc ~ te* in the 3 Pl. Conj. of the verb "be".

Alongside the 3 Pl. Conj. form of the verb *nas-* "be" — *tāke(ñc)* — common to Eastern Tocharian, we find in *MAV* the form *teñc* (226 a 1, 229 b 3) ~ *te* (229 b 3), which is lacking in other manuscripts. The emergence of the variant should be seen as an entirely natural modification of 3 Pl. Conj. form *te(ñc)* of the existential verb caused, on the one hand, by the influence of the 3 Pl. Pres. and 3 Pl. Imp. forms *neñc* and *ṣeñc* and, on the other, by the structure of the conjunctive sub-paradigm itself, other forms of which — 1 Sg. *tām*, 2 Sg. *tāt*, etc. — do not contain *k*.

3. The forms Gen. *kapśäññe* (240 a 1) and Acc. *kapśaṃ* (240 a 3).

The form *kapśäññe* Gen. of *kapśañi* "body" (Nom. Pl. *kapśiññāñ*) found in *MAV* is unique: in Tocharian A the

Gen. Sg. ending *-e* is usual only for nouns with Nom. Pl. in *-āñ*, but only animates, cf. *śomiṃ* "girl" — Nom. Pl. *śomināñ*, Gen. Sg. *śomine*, *ṣāmaṃ* "monk" — Nom. Pl. *ṣāmnāñ*, Gen. Sg. *ṣāmne*, *oṅkaläm* "elephant" — Nom. Pl. *oṅkälmāñ*, Gen. Sg. *oṅkälme*, etc. In texts outside of *MAV* the Gen. of the word "body" is formed in accordance with the general rule — *kapśiññis* (59 b 1, 243 a 2, 244 b 2, 397 a 3).

Even more interesting is the form *kapśaṃ*. This form, like the oft-attested usual form *kapśañi*, is undoubtedly the Acc. Sg. of the noun "body" [15]. The form *kapśaṃ* is attested in three different manuscripts and cannot be the result of an error or slip of the pen. Nonetheless, works on Tocharian A grammar usually do not mention it at all. An exception is the dictionary by Van Windekens, who points out that *kapśañi* and *kapśaṃ* are simply two equal morphological variants of the Nom. Acc. Sg. of the word "body" [16], although this hypothesis can be accepted with some caution, as *kapśaṃ* appears exclusively as an Acc. (but not a Nom.) of this noun. In our view, the form *kapśaṃ* is the only evidence of the fact that at an early stage of the development of Tocharian A some inanimate nouns retained a special form of the Acc. Sg. with a zero ending, as is found in Tocharian B. Moreover, an analysis of the corresponding fragment of *MSN* (YQ-43 b 4: *kapśaṃ rake pältsäkyo kāsu skamat kākropuṣ pṣtākäs* "... have always accumulated virtue with body, word, and mind..." [17]) suggests that this form is an exact etymological equivalent of the Tocharian B form Acc. *kektseñ* [18] (with Nom. *kektseñe*, which also corresponds regularly to Toch. A *kapśañi*). In actuality, the expression *kapśaṃ rake pältsäkyo* is undoubtedly a stable formula with the meaning "body and soul; by all means", notably attested also for Tocharian B in the form *kektseñ reki palskosa* [19]. The combination *kapśaṃ ra* (248 b 4) before the break is almost certainly the beginning of this very construction.

The use of Acc. *kapśaṃ* in *MAV* differs from the two examples noted above. The presence of the form *kapśaṃ* in an archaic Buddhist formula may have been determined by tradition and may not have corresponded to the actual linguistic usage of scribes. Even so, this interpretation is impossible for *MAV*, as the form *kapśaṃ* appears there as an ordinary object: *wināṣ kapśaṃ pättāṃ ñktenāṃ* [20] "honours the Buddha-god's body".

Thus, if the form *kapśäññe* is not an error, manuscript *MAV* shows traces of a morphologically and morphonologically non-trivial paradigm for the word "body" that is similar to the paradigm for animate nouns with a Nom. Pl. in *-āñ* (Gen. Sg. in *-e*, Nom. Sg. ≠ Acc. Sg.) (see *Table 1*).

Table 1

Grammatical form	*MAV*	"Standard" Tocharian A
Nom. Sg.	*kapśañi*	*kapśañi*
Acc. Sg.	*kapśaṃ*	*kapśañi*
Gen. Sg.	*kapśäññe*	*kapśiññis*

Lexicon

1. The use of emphatic particles.

MAV differs noticeably from other manuscripts in its usage of emphatic particles. In Tocharian A this function is usually performed by the particles *aśśi* and *ats*. The first tends to appear after interrogative pronouns the second after all other words, although this tendency displays variation; cf., for example, *kuss ats* (9 a6 and others; *kus* — "who"), and *kälk aśśi* (119 b4; *kälk* — 3 Sg. Pt. of *y-* "go"). Also, we find the form *atsek*, which corresponds regularly to Toch. B. *attsaik* and is used exclusively in the phrase *ṣakk atsek* (alongside *ṣakk ats*) "certainly, surely".

In manuscript *MAV*, the particle *aśśi* does not appear at all, while the particle *ats* (not counting the combination *ṣakk ats*) is encountered only twice (224 b6, 231 a1); in their stead we find the particle *atsaṃ*, which is uncharacteristic of "standard" Tocharian A: of the twelve occurrences of this particle, 8 come in texts Nos. 219—242 (222 a2, 222 b6, 229 b1, 233 b2, 234 b1, 236 b2, 236 b7, 237 a5) and only four in all other Tocharian A texts (70 a4, 124 a1, 353 a3, 452 a2). It is telling that *atsaṃ* does not occur at all in *MSN*.

The particle *atsek* is used in *MAV* in accordance with the general rules, that is, only with *ṣakk*, but in this manuscript we find four times (222 a5, 224 a6, 231 a3, 236 a3), without a preceding *ṣakk*, the similar particle *āttsek*, which is attested nowhere else. The combination *tts*, unusual for Tocharian A, suggests that it is a borrowing from Tocharian B *attsaik* (the contraction of diphthongs in Tocharian A occurs in borrowings of all periods).

Conclusion

Without the support of extra-linguistic data — archaeological, palaeographic, historical, etc. — our analysis of the linguistic peculiarities of *Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa* is hardly sufficient for sustainable conclusions about the relative chronology and dialectical division of Toch. A texts. Nonetheless, the following two circumstances suggest themselves. On the one hand, we find a number of specific features of *MAV* in the areas of morphology and especially morphonology — the spellings *śy* and *ṣy* alongside *śś* and *ṣṣ*, the retention of a single *p* in the oblique stem of the word "flower", the spelling with *ä* of the oblique stem of the word "body" and the use of this word in the special form *kapṣaṃ* in the Acc. Sg., the relatively frequent examples of forms with final *n*, the retention of *ñc* in the Auslaut of the forms *lāñc* and *krañc*.

These can only be interpreted as archaisms, not attested in some cases in other Eastern Tocharian text. If this conclusion stands, we have reason to believe that manuscript *MAV* is one of the most ancient Eastern Tocharian *Sprachreste*.

On the other hand, such phenomena as the widespread use of the 3 Pl. marker *-i-e*, the appearance of the 3 Pl. Conj. form *te(ñc)* of the existential verb, and possibly the transformation of the general Eastern Tocharian adverb *āneñci* "attentively; clearly" to *āneṃṣi*, should naturally be viewed as specific innovations. This suggests that the original text of the *Maitreyāvadānavyākaraṇa* was not only created earlier than other known Tocharian A texts, but on a slightly different dialectal basis.

Notes

1. P. Poucha, *Thesaurus Linguae Tocharicae Dialecti A* (Praha, 1955—1956).

2. W. Winter, "A linguistic classification of Tocharian B texts", *JAOS*, 75/4 (1955).

3. *Tocharische Sprachreste*. Bd. 1: *Die Texte*, herausgegeben von E. Sieg und W. Siegling (Berlin—Leipzig, 1921), pp. 107—21.

4. Here and elsewhere we write simply "manuscript *MAV*", although fragments Nos. 219—238 and Nos. 239—242 belong to two different copies of the work undoubtedly executed by different scribes. This seems permissible, as there are no linguistic differences between the copies, which is itself an extremely important fact indicating the care and precision of both copyists.

5. See *Tocharische Sprachreste*.

6. See, for example, W. Thomas, "Zum Problem der Übersetzung buddhistischer Sanskrit-texte in Tocharischen", *Beiträge zur Indienforschung*. Veröffentlichung des Museum für Indische Kunst, Bd. 4 (Berlin, 1977); idem, "Tocharische Sprachreste. Sprache B. T. 1: Die Texte, Bd. 1, Fragmente 1—11 b der Berliner Sammlung", *AKGWG*, F. 3 (1983), No. 33.

7. V. V. Ivanov, "Pamiatniki tokharoiazychnoĭ pis'mennosti" ("Texts of Tocharian literature"), *Vostochnyĭ Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e: ètnos, iazyki, religii* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 233—4.

8. Ji Xianlin (in collaboration with W. Winter and G.-J. Pinault), *Fragments of the Tocharian A Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka of the Xingjiang Museum, China*. Transliterated, translated and annotated by... (Berlin—New York, 1998). — Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, vol. 113.

9. Cf. S. A. Burlak, *Istoricheskaia fonetika tokharskikh iazykov* (The Historical Phonetics of the Tocharian Languages) (Moscow, 2000), p. 59.

10. Ivanov, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

11. For more detail on the rules governing the usage of the "subscript *u*" in Tocharian A, see S. Burlak, "A peculiar feature of the Tocharian script. I. (towards an explanation of the usage of 'additional u' in Tocharian A", *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 8 (Copenhagen, 1999); and *idem, Istoricheskaia fonetika*, pp. 29—41.

12. Cf. A. J. Van Windekens, *Le Tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, vol. 1: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire* (Louvain, 1976), pp. 264—5, 274.

13. In Sieg and Siegling's *Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. 110, erroneously *omäskeñ ñi*.

14. Burlak, *Istoricheskaia fonetika*, pp. 54—5.

15. Already Poucha wrote about this, cf. Poucha, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

16. Van Windekens, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

17. Ji Xianlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 138—9.

18. The correspondence between Toch. B *ñ* and Toch. A (final) *m* is unusual, but theoretically possible. Cf., in particular, adjectives in *-ññe* — *-ṃ* such as Toch. B *oṅkolmaññe* — Toch. A *oṅkälmeṃ* "pertaining to an elephant".

19. W. Krause, W. Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Bd. 1 (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 91.

20. In Sieg and Siegling's *Tocharische Sprachreste*, p. 120, erroneously *pättāṃñkte nāṃ*.

E. A. Rezvan

QUR'ĀNIC MANUSCRIPTS AS BIRTH, DEATH, LAND AND LIBRARY REGISTER*

"After rummaging through the house, which was still surrounded by water, he discovered a Bible in English. The final page contained a history of the Gatry family..."

Jorges Luis Borges, "The Gospel of Mark" [1]

The attentive researcher cannot help but notice a special type of marginalia that occasionally appear on copies of the Qur'ān, both in the margins (usually at an angle to the main text), on additional folios at the beginning and end of the manuscript, and on the inside covers of the binding. Some of these notes on margins may be characterised as family records. For example, fol. 1b (*fig. 1*) from a Qur'ānic manuscript [2] — the main text is dated to the eleventh — twelfth century (*fig. 2*) — contains notes "of a family nature" in Persian and Turkic:

مولود فرزند طول لله محمد بن الحسین بن جو کی شب
ادینه دوازدهم ماهی محرم سنه احدی و ستین و خمسمایة
پادشاه سلطان از خلافه عباس شب دوشنبه دا یکی (؟) در
شب [...] خاتون تاریخ چهارم شهر رجب [...] برحمت المبرك
سنه ثلاث [...] و ستین خمسمایة [...] در شب ادینه یكشنبه
از شب [...] ربیع الاخر سنه سبع [...] خمسمایة

The text refers to three people's dates of birth, giving the exact dates of: the Friday evening in Muḥarram 561 A.H., the evening of the fourth day of Rajab 563 A.H., one of the Sunday evenings in Rabī' al-akhir 56(?)7 A.H. [3].

Another example, a Qumukh [4] manuscript of the Qur'ān from the collection of the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography at the Russian Academy of Sciences Daghestani Scientific Centre [5], records more than 100 registration acts: notary records of the most varied transactions. These include records of land rentals, purchases and sales of land and house-buildings, and property inheritance. We also find here lists of things from bridal dowries, registers of credit operations, etc.

The earliest of these notes is dated to 1138/1726—27. The notes are often found on broad margins (pp. 3, 6, 215, 216, 231, 244, 246, 312) at an angle to the main text along

with corrections to it (see *figs. 5—10*). The bulk of the registration notes are on the inner side of the binding cover and on folios before the beginning of the text of the Qur'ān and after its end. Apparently, the notes were at first made on blank sheets. After they were filled in, they were used to form the inner covers of the binding. Some of the notes are damaged, cropped or smeared with ink. The Daghestani researcher, Prof. Kh. A. Omarov, has succeeded in deciphering 81 notes. He analyzes them in a series of articles [6]. To cite only some examples:

"Najm al-Dīn bīk granted a credit, approved by the *sharī'a*, without interest for profit (*bilā ribḥin*) to Shshazil-Muḥammad from Kuli in the amount of fifteen *'abbāsī*. This took place in the month of Ṣafar 1152 A.H. [7] and was witnessed by 'Abdallāh, who made these notes" [8].

"Shīhamir, son of Tsumu, entrusted Bagircha, son of Ṣṣunghur, with the sale of his hayfield, located in area of Markīyārir to Najm al-Dīn. He sold it for 16 *tūmān*s. The witnesses were: K'yachal 'Alī, 'Alī Kishī, Muḥammadshīh, and the best witness is Allah" [9].

"This is a notice to the present generation and information for the future. Najm al-Dīn returned the hayfield he bought from Shīhamir, son of Tsumu, to the latter, setting the condition that it not be sold to any third party. He also agreed with Shīhamir that he (Shīhamir) would report to the village and ensure calm, that Najm al-Dīn had returned his hill without complaints or quarrels. The witnesses were K'yachal 'Alī, Mamashī from al-Baḥkalī, and *qāḍī*, who made this record" [10].

"Najm al-Dīn bought a mill for an entire day from Bughdan, son of 'Abd, that he (Bughdan, son of 'Abd) had bought from Musalav, son of Mahad, for 60 *'abbāsī*. Najm al-Dīn accepted this deal and received the mill as witnessed by 'Abdallāh, who made this record, in 1146" [11].

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 6

Fig. 5

Fig. 8

Fig. 7

Fig. 10

Fig. 9

As we see, the material is, in essence, a *qāḍī*'s register, documenting large property transactions and recorded in a Qur'ānic manuscript.

The respected Daghestani scholar, Prof. A. R. Shihsaidov, who each year organizes and personally participates in special expeditions to seek out and acquire manuscripts for the Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography, has kindly informed me of two other manuscripts of the Qur'ān with marginalia of the sort that interest us. One of the families of the village Untsukatel (the Laq region of Daghestan) has a single-volume, large-format Qur'ān in an embossed light-brown leather binding with a flap. Palaeographic data date it to the late eighteenth — early nineteenth century. The flyleaf contains a note about the purchase of the manuscript by a Russian soldier. Below we find a long text of historical content that tells of the arrival in the village of a detachment headed by Shāmil and the havoc the latter wrought.

One of the maintenance buildings in the cemetery of Salta (Gunib region, Daghestan) holds a copy of the Qur'ān that contains a long list of books, a catalogue of a private library.

Also of this type, apparently, are the texts on the flyleaf of a small-format, compilative manuscript from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The bulk of the texts constitutes a fragment of a Qur'ānic text (29 folios, see *fig. 3*) [12]. The text is dated September 1875; it was written in cursive, apparently in Serbo-Croation (*fig. 4*). The text requires additional study.

The explanation of these phenomena is to be found on several levels. First, there are the specifics of how Qur'ānic manuscripts circulated and the status they had. They were widely used, and were found even in those homes where other books were unimaginable. They were passed from generation to generation, usually stored in a familiar place (to be accessible) and often referred to (actualizing the information, providing reminders). As sacral objects, they were handled differently than other manuscripts. Although the frequency of their use naturally aged the manuscripts, the special procedures that accompanied the retirement of a manuscript guaranteed the possibility of copying it and preserving the relevant information.

We refer here to "genizas" in mosques, which, in keeping with Near Eastern tradition, held indefinitely old copies of the Qur'ān. The rules for "burying" such copies were carefully developed. They were buried in much the same fashion as people, with ritual ablutions, wrapped in a "shroud" of pure fabric and buried or laid to rest in such a fashion that dust or dirt would not touch their pages, so people would not trample the "grave" [13] with their feet (this ritual is identical to the "burial" of old icons

in Orthodox monasteries in the Balkans) [14]. Finally, the sacral nature of the text that provided the context for notes of various transactions and agreements in a sense guaranteed the observance of their conditions, much like the idea that stood behind the ritual of swearing an oath on the Qur'ān.

Second, the phenomenon we discuss here is linked to the distinguishing characteristics of the "religious class" in various Islamic states. Daghestani documents from the late sixteenth — first-half of the eighteenth century show 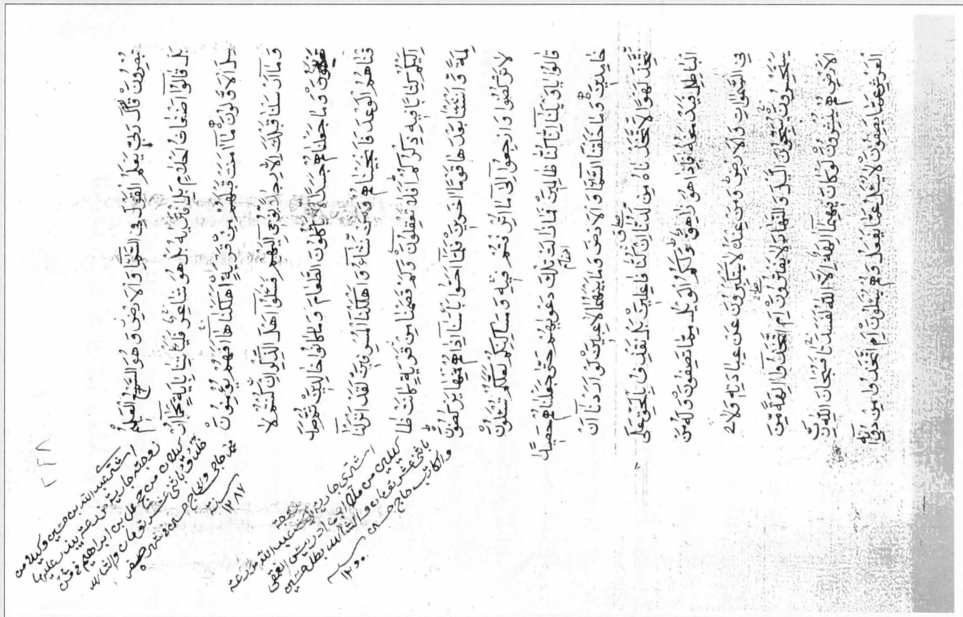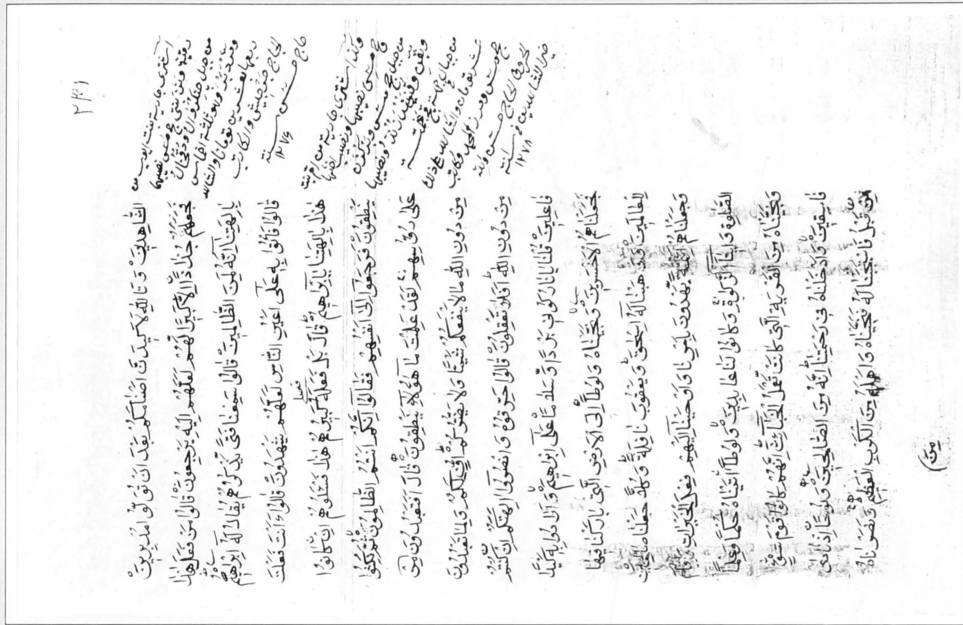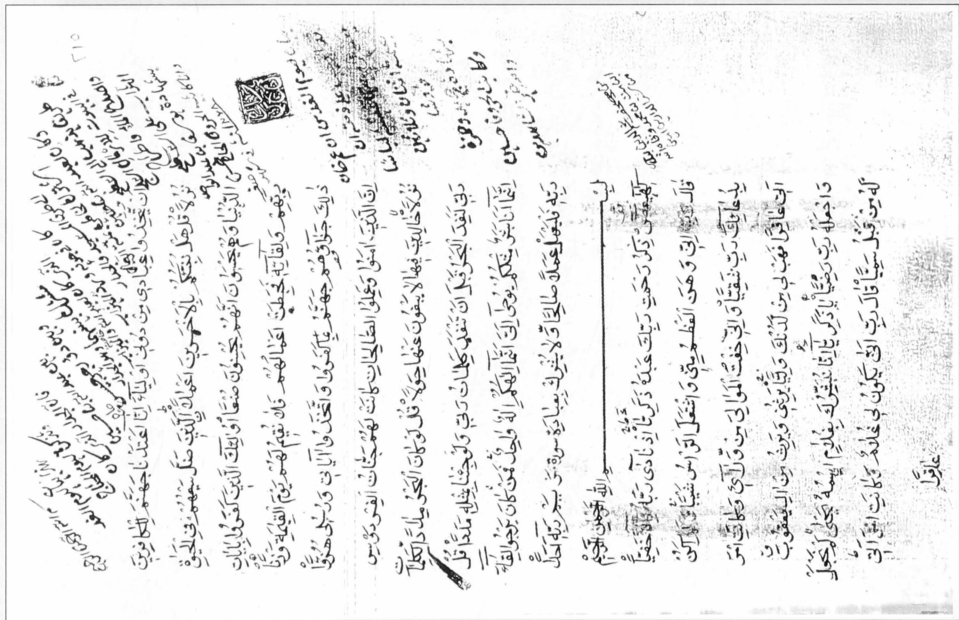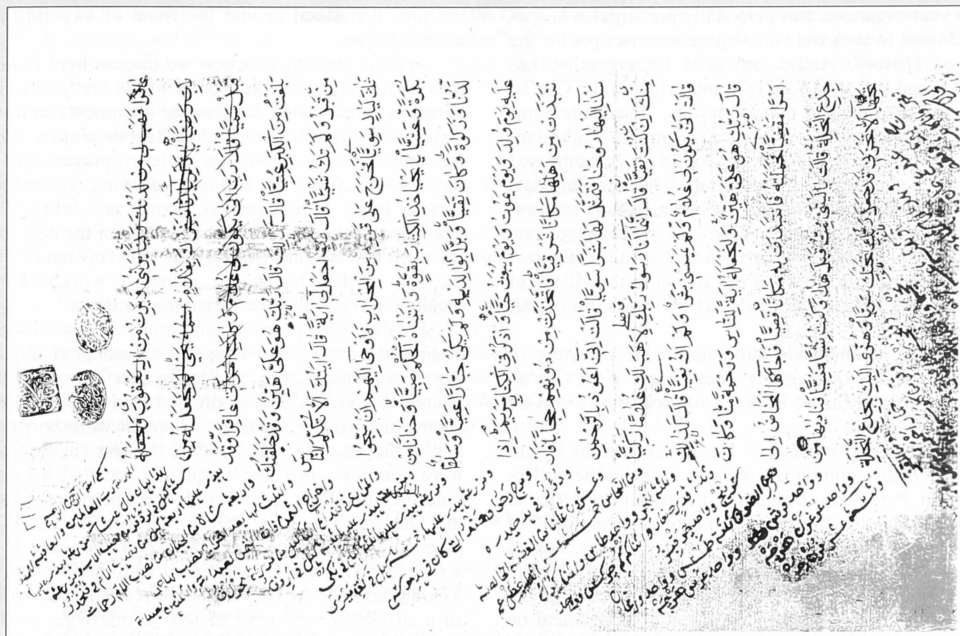that the *imām* was not merely the leader of prayers, but carried out the functions of a *qāḍī*, verifying and registering various types of transactions, acting as a witness and, in a sense, a guarantor that the conditions of the deal had been recorded and would be observed [15]. This naturally led to the use of the Qur'ān, the primary "workbook" of the *imām*, to record the most varied transactions.

Finally, this phenomenon arose in the fifteenth — eighteenth century, when the Qur'ān was gradually becoming ubiquitous feature of life for the individual and for Islamic society. A person dressed in a Qur'ān-shirt could enter a mosque or mausoleum where the walls bore the entire text of the Sacred Book. To store the Qur'ān, special trunks were commissioned that frequently recalled a mosque or mausoleum in their form. People were born to the sounds of the Qur'ān (3:35—37; 10:31; 18:14, 25; 35:41), were given a name during the reading of the *sūra al-Aḥzāb*, a sick or crying child was calmed with the Qur'ān (3:35—37), the texts of the Qur'ān taught reading and writing, the *sūra al-Fātiḥa* was read to seal a marriage, justice was practiced on the basis of the Qur'ān, the Qur'ān aided medical treatment, Qur'ānic texts were widely used to practice the magic that accompanied daily life at that time. Qur'ānic texts constantly surrounded people in their everyday lives. They were depicted on the most varied objects (vases, dishes, tiles, fabrics, jewelry, etc.), provided the material for the calligraphy that adorned the walls of private and public buildings. The *sūra Yā' Sīn* accompanied people on their final journey. Texts from the Sacred Book were carved on tombstones together with the name of the departed. The Qur'ān was a talisman and a weapon, while weapons were "strengthened" and "refined" with the Qur'ān [16]. It is because of this that manuscripts of the Qur'ān, handed down from generation to generation, served to record what we today call "items of public record".

Returning to the epigraph that opens our article, one must note that the practices we have discussed are undoubtedly common to manuscripts and editions of other sacred texts. The specific features of Islamic practice were conditioned by the special character of the Qur'ān's circulation in various parts of the Islamic world over the centuries.

Notes

1. Khorkhe Luis Borkhes (Jorges Luis Borges), *Kollektsiia: rasskazy, ésse, stikhotvoreniia* (Collection: Stories, Essays, Poems) (St. Petersburg, 1992), p. 411. Translation of the excerpt from the Russian edition by D. Kimmage.

2. Manuscript A 976, 13.5 × 20.5 cm.

3. The reference is to the events of A. D. 1165—1171.

4. The political and cultural centre of the Laq territory in today Daghestan.

5. Call number 666. A 375-page manuscript written in black ink, in *naskh*, on white paper with watermarks; *sūra* titles are written in smaller *naskh* and in red ink. Manuscript dimensions are 30.0 × 16.0 cm with a text field of 22.0 × 11.0 cm. The leather binding, ringed with a wound border, has a flap. There is an embossed inscription in the middle of the fold on the latter: *yā Allah, yā Muḥammad, yā 'Alī*, which indicates that it was created in a Shī'a milieu.

6. For more detail, see Kh. A. Omarov, "Kumukhskie chastnye akty nachala XVIII v." ("Kumukh private documents from the early 18th century"), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Dagestana XVIII—XIX vv.* (Makhachkala, 1989), pp. 33—43; *idem*, "Razvitie tovarno-denezhnykh otnosheniĭ v Nagornom Dagestane" ("The development of commercial and financial relations in mountainous Daghistan"), in *Tovarno-denezhnye otnosheniia v dorevoliutsionnom Dagestane* (Makhachkala, 1991), pp. 81—97; *idem*, "Spiski Korana, khraniashchiesia v Fonde vostochnykh rukopiseĭ IIAE: obzor i opisanie" ("Copies of the Qur'ān held in the collection of Eastern manuscripts at the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography: review and description"), in *Islam i islamskaia kul'tura v Dagestane* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 108—15. *Manuscripta Orientalia* plans to publish an article by Kh. A. Omarov in an upcoming issue on this collection.

7. That is, from 10 May to 8 July 1739.

8. Cited in Omarov, "Kumukhskie chastnye akty", p. 34.

9. Cited in Omarov, "Razvitie", p. 88.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

11. That is, 1734/35. The mill was rented for a day's work. See also *ibid*, p. 87.

12. Fol. 108b. See also the marginalia on fol. 1a of the Qur'ān, manuscript A 1011 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The manuscript is written in *naskh*, 9 lines per page,12.0×18.0 cm.

13. J. Sadan, "Genizah and genizah-like practices in Islamic and Jewish traditions", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLIII/1—2 (1986), pp. 36—58.

14. Milan Pavich, *Vnutrenniaia storona vetra* (The Inside of the Wind) (St. Petersburg, 2001), p. 26 (the Russian edition of the novel).

15. T. M. Aitberov, "Institut glavnogo kadi (pervonachal'no imama) v politicheskoĭ sisteme Andalala kontsa XVI — pervoĭ poloviny XVIII v." ("The institution of the main *qāḍī* (originally *imām*) in the political system of Andalal in the late-16th — first half of the 18th century"), in *Dukhovenstvo i politicheskaia zhizn' na Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoke v period feodalizma* (Moscow, 1985).

16. For more detail, see the chapter "*Taḥajjaba bi-l-muṣḥaf*: talisman, shield and sword" in my monograph *Koran i ego mir* (The Qur'ān and Its World) (St. Petersburg, 2001), pp. 321—50.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Qur'ān, manuscript A 976 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 11th—12th century, fols. 1b—2a, 13.5×20.5 cm.

Fig. 2. Same manuscript, fols. 2b—3a.

Fig. 3. The Qur'ān, manuscript A 1011 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, late 18th century, Turkey, Balkans, fols. 1b—2a, 12.0×18.0 cm.

Fig. 4. Same manuscript, fol. 108b.

Fig. 5. The Qur'ān, a Qumukh eighteenth-century manuscript (call number 666) in the collection of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography at the Russian Academy of Sciences Daghestani Scientific Centre, fol. 327, 30.0×16.0 cm. Courtesy of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography at the Russian Academy of Sciences Daghestani Scientific Centre.

Fig. 6. Same manuscript, fol. 231.

Fig. 7. Same manuscript, fol. 210.

Fig. 8. Same manuscript, fol. 227.

Fig. 9. Same manuscript, fol. 244.

Fig. 10. Same manuscript, fol. 216.

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI.
II. *AVADĀNA* AND *JĀTAKA* (PART 8)

As we have seen earlier, the text of the Bairam-Ali manuscript contains a large number of Prakrit grammatical forms. For example, in place of Skt. *satvaiḥ*, Instr. Pl., we find the form *satvehi*, which goes back to *satvebhiḥ*. We find *-ehi*, in place of *-ebhiḥ* and *-aiḥ*, which is one of the most widespread Prakrit grammatical forms, repeated almost invariably throughout the text. Especially frequent are violations of the *saṃdhi* rule, for example, *kin tayā* and *kin tena* instead of Skt. *kiṃs tayā* and *kiṃs tena*. Also, many verb forms — aorist forms, for example — are given incorrectly.

A textual comparison with *avadāna*s with the same plotline shows that the text in the manuscript is abbreviated and simplified. One is tempted to conclude that the stories outlined in note form in the manuscript hark back to an earlier folkloric layer that was further developed in alter *avadāna*s. The language would have been intentionally "Sanskritized" to grant it legitimacy by making it similar to the language of classical Sanskrit literature.

In two recently published articles, Prof. Seishi Karashima (Tokyo) analyzes the grammatical features of a number of Sanskrit texts recorded in the fifth — ninth centuries. He notes departures from standard Sanskrit in orthography, phonology, syntax, and morphology and identifies several forms reflected neither in *BHSD* nor in *BHSG*, but which came to be standard for the Buddhist Sanskrit of the period under discussion. Seishi Karashima concludes that the language of many Buddhist texts (e.g., the earliest extant version of the "Lotus *Sūtra*" that we find in the Lüshun fragments of the *sūtra*) was originally not Sanskrit, but Prakrit (the Indian vernacular of the medieval period), only later "Sanskritized" when they were recorded in written form. It seems that the Bairam-Ali manuscript may confirm Karashima's conclusion. But, of course, its language needs additional and thorough intensive study [1].

FOL. 26a

TRANSLITERATION

1. *catur mahārājā{nā{nāṃ* [1] *vina[ya] vistareṇa kiṃ karma śvāsaś ca mahāśvāsaś ca babhūva.*
2. *aṭiśvaraś ca cūṭiśvaraś ca garuḍa babhūvuḥ te kāśyape saṃmyaksaṃbuddhe sakaśā* [2] *śikṣāpadā-*
3. *ni gṛhī Otāhi* ‖ **vivāha iti** *dharmadinnāyāṃ bhikṣuṇyāṃ vistareṇa pravrajyā vaktavya tasya*
4. *karma kāśyape saṃmyaksaṃbuddh[e] pravrajitā tatra karma tayā mātāpitarā* [3] *varṣakaṃ kāritaṃ*
5. *vedapatyaṃ kṛtaṃ brahmacaryaṃ cīrṇṇam* ‖ *chedanaṃ yathā mahāsamudre satvasya paṃcahi* [4] *yakṣa*

TRANSLATION

1. [Tell] in detail the *vinaya* of the four *mahārāja*s [1]. What was [their] *karma*? The [*nāga*s] Śvāsa [2] and Mahāśvāsa [3] were
2. [flying in the air]. Aṭiśvara [4] and Cuṭiśvara [5], [later became] Garuḍa. At the time when the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa was alive, they followed
3. moral norms of conduct. **[Story] of entering marriage** [6]. In detail about the *bhikṣuṇī* Dharmadinnā. Tell how [she received] *pravrajyā*. Her
4. *karma* [was thus]: in the time of the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa [she] underwent the ritual of induction. Here the *karma* [was the following]: her parents commanded that a house be built for her to *varṣa* time; [by her] the Vedas were
5. comprehended [7]. She led a pious way of life. **[Tale] entitled "Division"**. How in the ocean between five-hundred *yakṣa*s

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[1] Braces { } designate superfluous *akṣara*.
[2] Instead of *sakāśe*.
[3] Instead of Skt. *mātāpitarau*.
[4] Instead of Skt. *paṃcabhiḥ*.

Commentary

[1] The text presents a version of the tale attested in the Mūlasarvāstivāda *Vinaya*, found among the Gilgit manuscripts, see *Gilgit Manuscripts, Mūla-Sarvāstivāda vinaya*, vol. I. p. 260, ll. 18—19.

[2] Śvāsa — the name of the *nāga* who, according to the *Vinaya*, was an earlier incarnation of the *mahārājā* Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

[3] Mahāśvāsa — the name of a *nāga*, an earlier reincarnation of the *mahārājā* Virūḍhaka.

[4] Atiśvara (cf. *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, p. 260, line 18 — Aṭṭeśvara) — the name of a suparṇin, an earlier reincarnation of the *mahārājā* Virūpākṣa.

[5] Cūṭiśvara (cf. *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, p. 260, line 18 — Cūḍeśvara) — name of Garuḍa, an earlier reincarnation of the *mahārājā* Vaiśravaṇa.

[6] In the *uddāna* on fol. 25b (2) we find the same title. A brief Sanskrit version of the *avadāna* about Dhammadinnā, for the Pāli version, see *Apadāna*, II, pp. 567—9.

[7] *vedapatyaṃ kṛtaṃ* — lit. "was achieved [knowledge of] Vedas, which one must acquire", where *vedapatya* means "what must be acquired in the Vedas".

FOL. 26b

TRANSLITERATION

1. [śate]hi paṃcahi[5] kūtāgāra[6] śat[e]hi paṃca varṣa śatehi ekā pasukā[7] chinnā evaṃ vistarttavyaṃ
2. kiṃ karma bhagavataḥ kāśyapasya saṃmyaksaṃbuddhasya upāsakasya anāgāmisya[8] pasukā bhagnā
3. bhaṭa bhūOtena || **khādyateti** mahasamudre satva upapannaḥ sa tatra sthalajaiś ca jala-
4. jaiś ca na dantadataḥ[9] khādyate kin tena karma[ṃ] kṛtaṃ bhagavān āha saṃmyaksaṃbuddhe kāśyape naivā-
5. siko babhūva duḥśīlo vitaritvā sāṃghikaṃ dravyaṃ tena analyena vināśitaṃ || **nandika i-**

TRANSLATION

1. between five-hundred families [8] one [handful] of sand [9] was five-hundred years later shared by a living being. Thus one should tell in detail.

2. What was the *karma* [of that living being]? Into the *patra* of *upāsaka*, who achieved non-return to the world, [in the time of] the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa one [handful] of sand he threw.

3. [This being then] was Bhaṭa. **[Tale] entitled "It is eaten"** [10]. A [certain] being was born in the ocean. There it [is by all] born on earth and in the water,

4. not defended by teeth, eaten. Thanks to what does he have [such] *karma*? The Bhagavan recounted: "In the time of the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa there was

5. a monk who lived in a monastery. Through negligence, the things that belonged to the community were destroyed by this unhappy [creature]". **[Tale] of Nandika** [11].

Commentary

[8] The word *kūṭāgāra* in Buddhist Sanskrit is attested in the meaning "a room on an upper floor" (see *BHSD*, p. 190). The same word occurs again in the text, see fol. 27a(5) — *kūṭāgāra mātro*. The text may contain a slip of the pen in place of *kuṭāgāra*. Based on the dictionary meanings of the components in this compound, we can surmise that it means (i) "household, family home"; (ii) "group, biological species". These meanings match the context in both cases.

[9] The story is a version of the *avadāna Pāṃśupradāna* ("Gift in Sand"), see *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 348—82, but a number of the details are different. In the *avadāna*, the "handful of sand" — *pāṃśvañjalir* — is placed in the Bhagavan's *patra* by a boy named Jaya (p. 366) who was later reborn as the famed Aśoka (pp. 368—9). The Bhaṭa (l. 3) mentioned in the manuscript is one of the brothers of an elder merchant in Mathurā, who, according to the text of the *avadāna*, resolved the conflict of five-hundred monkeys — *pañcānāṃ markaṭaśatānāṃ yūtha* (p. 349).

[10] In the *uddāna* on fol. 25b (2) we find a Prakritized version of the title — *Khājjate*. We were unable to identify the tale.

[11] See the following folio.

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[5] Instead of Skt. *śatebhiḥ paṃcabhiḥ*.

[6] Instead of *kuṭāgāra*.

[7] Instead of *pāṃśuka*.

[8] Instead of Skt. *anāgāminaḥ*.

[9] Instead of *dantadattaḥ*.
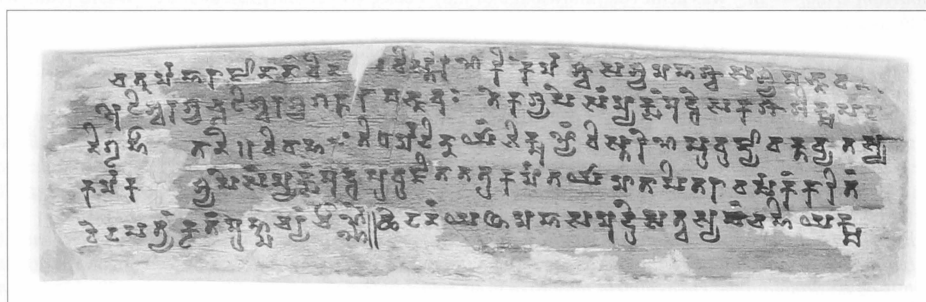
Fig. 1
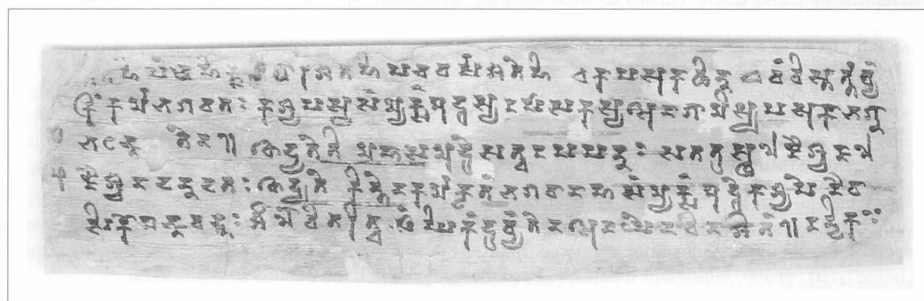
Fig. 2

FOL. [27 a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *ti | nandiko bhikṣu rā[jagṛhe vi]harati gṛdhrakūṭe parvate sa tatra pretīm adṛśāsi duḥkhitā[ṃ]*
2. *cakṣu vivarjitāṃ sa etaṃ prakaraṇam bhagavata ārocayati kin tayā [10] karma[ṃ] kṛtaṃ bhaga-*
3. *vān āhaO kāśyape sammyaksambuddhe śreṣṭhidhītā pravrajitā tayā na śakitaṃ brahmacaryam prati-*
4. *pāda nāyatasyā [11] bhikṣusaṃghena aprajñaptaṃ [12] kṛtaṃ sā mātsaryaṃ niṣevata [13] bhagavacchrāvakām*
5. *dṛṣṭvā cakṣu nimīlayati || piṇḍa iti mahāsamudre satvo upapannaḥ kūṭāgāra [14] mātro*

TRANSLATION

1. In Rājagṛha there lived a *bhikṣu* [by the name of] Nandika [12]. On the mountain of Gṛdhrakūṭa, there, he saw [13] a *pretī*, unfortunate,
2. with no eyes. He told the Bhagavan about all the circumstances [and asked]: "What is her *karma*?" The Bhaga-
3. van said: "In the time of the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa [she] was the daughter of the elder of the merchants [and] underwent the ritual of induction. [But] she was unable to lead a righteous way of life
4. and they did not accept her in the community of *bhikṣu*s. She nursed her jealousy. *Śrāvaka*s of Bhagavan
5. having seen, she would close her eyes. **[Tale entitled] "Dumpling"** [14]. A living thing was born in the ocean, and [a whole] family [of such beings arose].

Commentary

[12] The story presents a short version of the *avadāna Jatyandheti*, see *Avadānaśataka*, I, pp. 267—70. The *bhikṣu* in the *avadāna* is called Nandaka.

[13] The form *adṛśāsi* is inexplicable in Sanskrit. In the *Avadānaśataka*, p. 267, we find in its place the form of the sigmatic aorist of the root *dṛś* — *adrākṣīd*. It could be a slip of the pen *adṛṣṭa āsīt* (cf. fol. 28b (4): *pravrajita āsīt*). It may also be that the copyist did not understand the Sanskrit form of the sigmatic aorist and used the simpler form of the aorist VII, abbreviating it: *adṛśāsi* instead of *adṛśasīt*, 3 Sg.

[14] In the *uddāna* on fol. 25b (3) this story is called *Piṇḍī*. In content it is similar to the story with the title "It is eaten", cf. fol. 26b (3). We were unable to find this tale in other Buddhist sources.

[15] See fol. 26b (1), n. 1.

FOL. 27 b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *mā[ṃ] sa piṇḍasadṛśe so tatra satvehi [15] khādyate punar eva ca so jāyate artta svaraṃ [16] krāndate*
2. *kin tena [17] karma[ṃ] kṛtaṃ kāśyape sammyaksambuddhe pravrajito āsi naivāsikaḥ duḥśīlo anāga-*
3. *taṃ caO sāmghikaṃ staubikam [18] mahādvārikaṃ paudgalikaṃ paribhogena paribhunktaḥ || brāhmaṇa*
4. *iti brāhmaṇo bhagavantaṃ dṛṣṭvā pariṣvajati bhikṣavaḥ vārayaṃte bhagavān āha mā vāra*
5. *yatha putra snehena pariṣvajati paṃca janma śatānyeṣa mama pitā babhūva bhagavatā tasya*

TRANSLATION

1. similar to a meat dumpling. It was eaten there [by other] living beings. And it was born again the same [and] cried out for help.
2. What is its *karma*? In the time of the entirely enlightened, it was [a man who] underwent ritual of *pravrajā*. He was a bad monk and [sacrifices] that did not belong to him,

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[10] Instead of Skt. *kiṃs tayā*.
[11] Instead of *netum asyā*?
[12] Instead of *aprajñāptiṃ*?
[13] Instead of *niṣevitā*.
[14] Instead of *kuṭāgāra*, cf. fol. 26b (1).
[15] Instead of Skt. *satvaiḥ*.
[16] Instead of *ārta svaraṃ*.
[17] Instead of *kiṃs tena*.
[18] Instead of *staupikaṃ*.

3. and were the community's, from the *stūpa*, the main vestibule of the temple, the personal [food of other monks], for [his own] pleasure

4. he did eat. **[Tale] of the brāhmaṇa** [16]. [A certain] brāhman, upon seeing the Bhagavan, embraced him. The monks forbid [him the embrace]. Bhagavan

5. said: "Do not forbid [him]! He embraced [me] like a son with love. Five-hundred incarnations ago he was my father".

Commentary

[16] In the *uddāna* on fol. 25b(3) this story is called *Brāhmaṇaṃ karṣakaṃ* ("[Tale] of the Brāhman-Farmer"). Both words are in the Acc. Sg. Is it *meter causa*? We were unable to identify the storyline.

FOL. [28 a]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *dharmadeśitaḥ pravrajitaḥ arhatvaṃ prāptaṃ kiṃ karma kāśyape pravrajito 'bhūṣi[t]* [19] *karṣakaḥ kṣe-*
2. *traṃ kṛṣati tena āyuṣmān mahākāśyapo piṇḍakena pratipāditaḥ tasya kṣetre sauvarṇā yavā-*
3. *nkurāO prādurbhūtā vistareṇa avadānaṃ kāryaṃ* || *pitā iti bhagavāṃ rājagrhe viharati*
4. *tatraOanyataro brāhmaṇaḥ kālagataḥ sa gṛddhrakūṭasya nātidūre jñāpitaḥ tasya putro a-*
5. *tīva śocate sa ca brāhmaṇo deveṣu upapannaḥ tasya devabhūtasya kāruṇyam jātaṃ sa taṃ putraṃ*

TRANSLATION

1. was converted to the path of following the *dharma*, he underwent the ritual of *pravrajya*; *arhat*-ness was attained. What is [his] *karma*? During the time of the [Buddha] Kāśyapa he underwent the ritual of induction. [As a] peasant

2. he tilled the field. He venerated the great Kāśyapa [with an offering of] dumplings. On his field did appear golden

3. shoots of barley. [Thus] one should tell the *avadāna* in detail. **[Tale] entitled "Father"** [17]. The Bhagavan lived in Rājagṛha.

4. A certain brāhman died there. His fame spread almost to the very [mountain of] Gṛddhrakūṭa. His son

5. was much aggrieved. And this brāhman was born among the gods. Pity [for his son] awoke in him after he had assumed the appearance of a god.

Commentary

[17] In the *uddāna* on fol. 25b (3) the story has the same title. In the Pāli canon there are several *jātaka*s that are close in storyline to this tale. They recount (i) that one should not shed tears for the deceased; (ii) how the dead help the living with counsel to follow the teaching of the Buddha. The manuscript enumerates the good deeds for which one can be reborn in heaven, an important detail in the proselytizing literature. Cf. the Buddha's sermon "The Sermon on the Four Meritorious Men", see *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu*, pt. II, pp. 206—7.

FOL. 28 b

TRANSLITERATION

1. *āha mā śoca deveṣv aham upapannaḥ na ahaṃ śocya iti putra āha kin te* [20] *karma[ṃ] kṛta-*
2. *m itiO yadi deveṣu upapannaḥ sa kathayati buddho piṇḍakena pratipādita iti uposa-*
3. *taṃ caO me ekaṃ gṛhītaṃ tenāsmi deveṣu upapannaḥ tataḥ brāhmaṇa dārakaḥ utsṛṣṭvā*
4. *gṛham tathāgata śāsane pravrajitaḥ kin karma[ṃ] kṛtam kāśyape sammyaksambuddhe pravrajita āsīt*
5. *mālapadmaṃ vrataṃ kṣāntiḥ ik[ṣu]śālā ca puṣpitaṃ gandhaṃ śaraṇa dīpo* [21] *ca mārgo* [22] *bhavati paścimaḥ* ||

TRANSLATION

1. said: "Do not grieve! I have been born among the gods. You should not grieve over me!" The son asked: "What then is your *karma*,

---

[19] Instead of *abhūṣīt*.

[20] Instead of Skt. *kiṃs te*.

[21] Instead of *dīpasya* or *dīpaṃ* (?).

[22] Instead of *mārgasya* or *mārgaṃ* (?).

Fig. 3
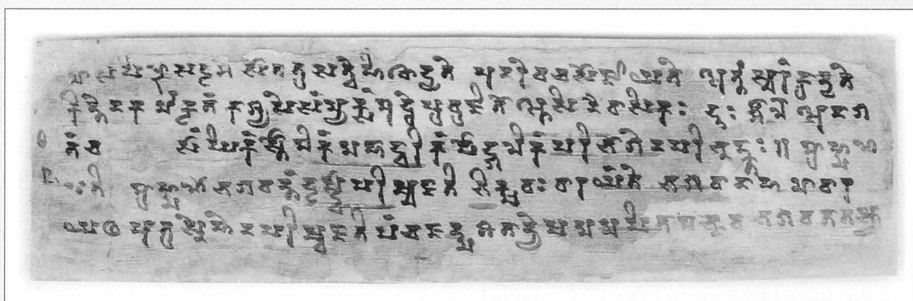
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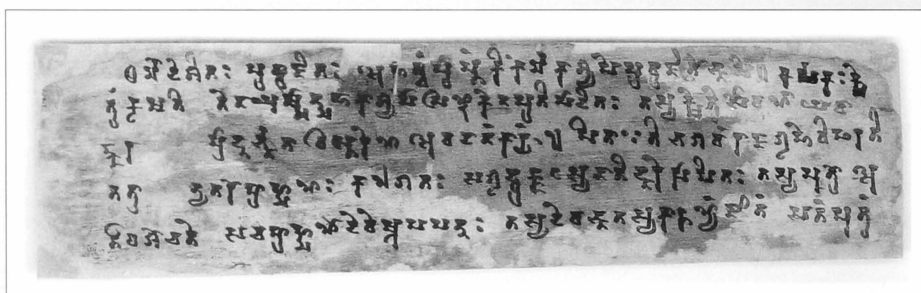
Fig. 5
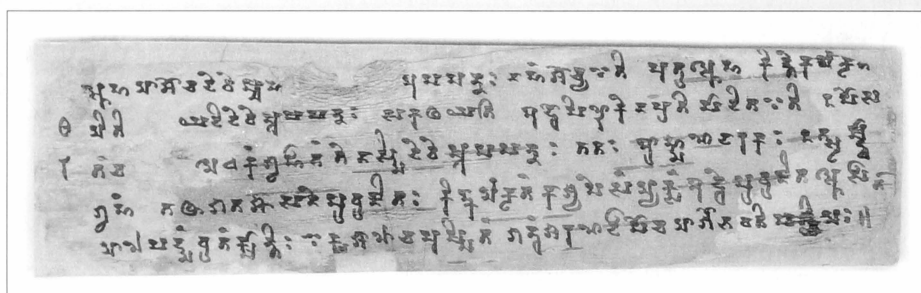
Fig. 6

2. why were you born among the gods?" [The father] recounted: "[In an earlier incarnation] I venerated the Buddha [with an offering] of dumplings

3. and alone observed [the fast of] *uposatha*, therefore I have been born among the gods". The brāhman's son then left

4. home [and] in accordance with the instruction of a *tathāgata* underwent the ritual of induction. What is [his] *karma*? In the time of the entirely enlightened Kāśyapa he underwent the induction of *pravrajya*,

5. diligently performed service [to maintain] the flower garlands [and] lotuses [in the temple] as well as the stalks of cane sugar, and looked after the Buddha's cell [18], adorned with flowers, and finally saw to the lanterns and the road [19] [leading to the temple].

Commentary

[18] The word *gandha* appears to be used here in place of *gandhakuṭi* "Buddha's cell", *puṣpita* — "covered in flowers" — is a modifier of the cell.

[19] *śaraṇa dīpo ca mārgo bhavati paścimaḥ* — lit. "final care, for the lanterns and the road", where *dīpo* and *mārgo* are in the Nom. Sg., apparently by mistake in place of Acc. or Gen. One could also translate it as "final care — the lantern and the road".

Notes

1. Seishi Karashima, "Some features of the language of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 44 (2001), pp. 207—30; *idem*, "Some features of the language of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*", in *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic year 2001* (Tokyo, 2002), pp. 43—66.

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. [26a], 19.0×5.0 cm.
Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol.26b, 19.0×5.0 cm.
Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [27a], 19.0×5.0 cm.
Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. 27b, 19.0×5.0 cm.
Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol.[28a], 19.0×5.0 cm.
Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. 28b, 19.0×5.0 cm.

Sh. Vahidov

THE HISTORY OF THE 'ISHQIYYA BROTHERHOOD'S SACRED RELICS.
II: THE KATTA LANGAR QU'RĀNS (NEW FRAGMENTS)*

In his marvelous book of recollections "Among Arabic Manuscripts", I. Iu. Krachkovsky included a section titled with the Russian proverb — *Na lovtsa i zver' bezhit* ("Game runs to meet the hunter"). The short chapters in this section describe the unique finds that seemingly present themselves to the scholar when the latter plunges headlong into his work. One of these chapters, entitled "The Kūfic Qur'ān and the Arab grandmother" [1], is often recalled today in reference to the activities of Uzbek, Russian, French and Dutch scholars who are studying Qur'ānic manuscripts held to this day in the *qīshlāq* of Katta Langar (Kashkadarya region of Uzbekistan, 80 km from the city of Shahrisabz) in the mosque and *mazār*, the hereditary burial-vault of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood [2]. The fact is that the manuscript that inspired I. Iu. Krachkovsky was held there for many years.

After a series of publications on the Katta Langar copies [3], the most varied material came to light, both on the history of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood and on the Katta Langar relics. In the spirit of Krachkovsky's comparison to game and the hunter, the present short article deals with two such finds. Both English and Russian version of a detailed monograph by Prof. Efim Rezvan on the Katta Langar Hijāzī-script copy is slated to appear soon [4]. The book contains a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript and a video film in the production of which I assisted. The above-noted articles and this marvelously documented book liberate me from the necessity of belaboring the material on Katta Langar and the manuscripts that hark back to this religious centre.

Among the already famed Qur'ānic folios written in Hijāzī script are two pasted-together parchment folios copied in Kūfic script (*fig. 1*). They present a fragment of *sūra* 17:14—26 (15 lines per page with vowelling in red dots, each tenth *āyat* marked with a special round sign). These folios were described in detail, dated and published by Prof. Fr. Déroche [5]. I remember well the day when my kind colleague, Prof. J. Witkam of Holland, and I carefully

studied this folio *in situ* and agreed that it could be dated to the third century A. H.

I was fortunate recently to come across 4 folios of a Qur'ān from the same copy. They are pasted together out of the usual order for the Qur'ānic text and with additional paper pasted along the edges. The dimensions of the parchment pages are the same — 22.0×32.0 cm, with markers for each tenth *āyat* identical to those published by Fr. Déroche. One of the folios contains the *sūra* title, which may have been written in later. The fragments are *āyat* from *sūra*s 17:101—110 and 18, 1—14; 57—71. One easily notes that the text of the Katta Langar fragment is a continuation of one of these folios. Fol. 1a (*fig. 2*) presents the text of *sūra* 17:101—107; fol. 1b (*fig. 3*) — 17:108—110; 18:1; fol. 2a (*fig. 4*) — 18:1—8; fol. 2b (*fig. 5*) — 18:9—14; fol. 3a (*fig. 6*) — 18:57—63; fol. 3b (*fig. 7*) — 18:63—70; fol. 4a (*fig. 8*) — 18:93—98; fol. 4b (*fig. 9*) — 18:98—105. According to the owner, who, as is often the case, gave us these folios through an intermediary, he has 40 folios from this copy. To buttress his assertion, he allowed us to see one more of them (unluckily, objective factors prevented us from studying it in detail).

At the beginning of 2002, a private collector in Tashkent acquired from a street vendor 35 manuscript folios of the Qur'ān (partly in very poor condition), which are directly related to the history of the copy to be published in facsimile by E. Rezvan. The folio dimensions are 53.5×32.5 cm, the text field is 44.2×16.0 cm, 11 lines in a coloured border enclosed in gold, calligraphic Central Asian *naskh*. The text is written on Samarkand paper in black ink, with *sūra* titles copied in red. The copy is dated 1309/1891—92. A number of the folios (*fig. 10*) bear the seal of the *waqf* of the Muḥammad Ṣādiq mosque in Katta Langar and the seal of 'Abd al-Ḥākim b. 'Abd al-Sattār-bāy, the *ūrāq* [6] and ruler of Khuzar (now the regional centre of the Kashkadarya region of Uzbekistan). In the late

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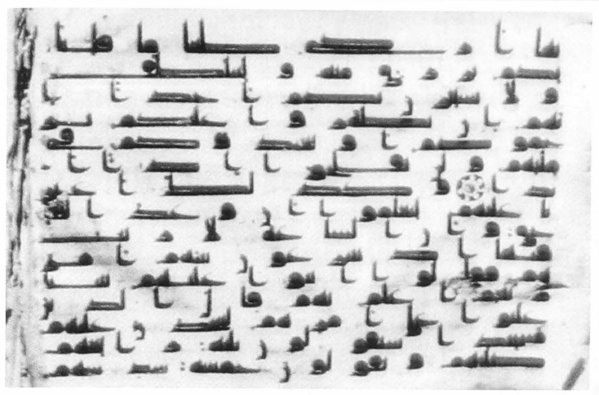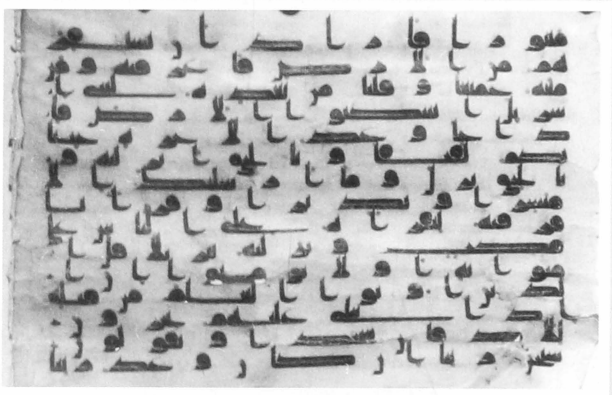
Fig. 1

Fig. 2
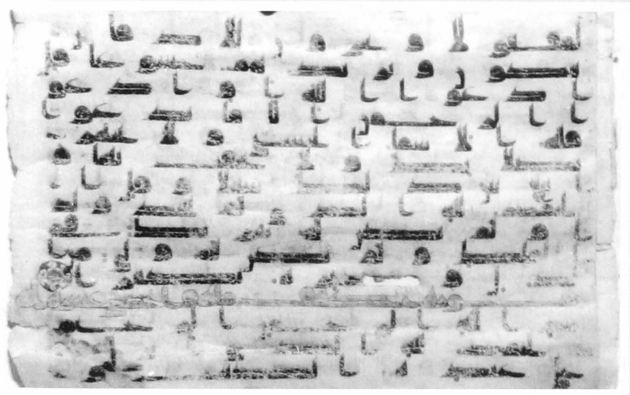
Fig. 3
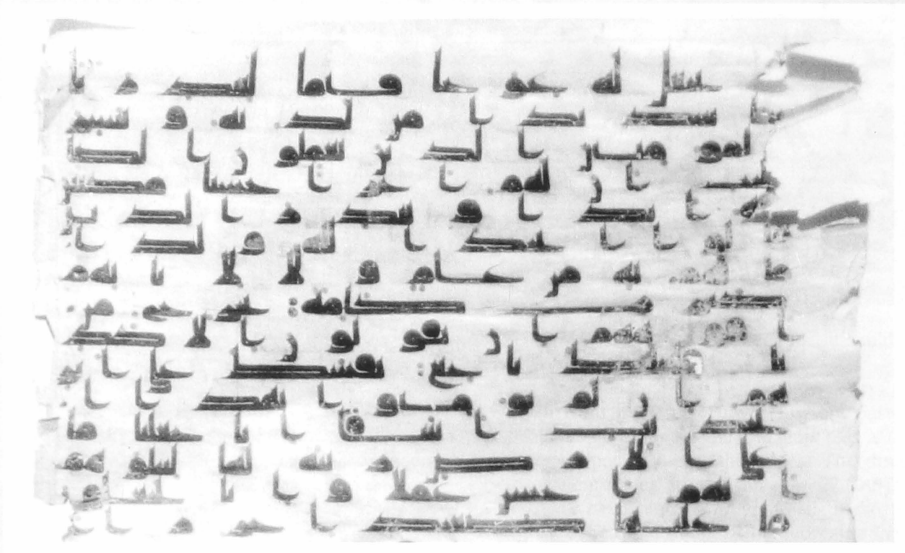
Fig. 4
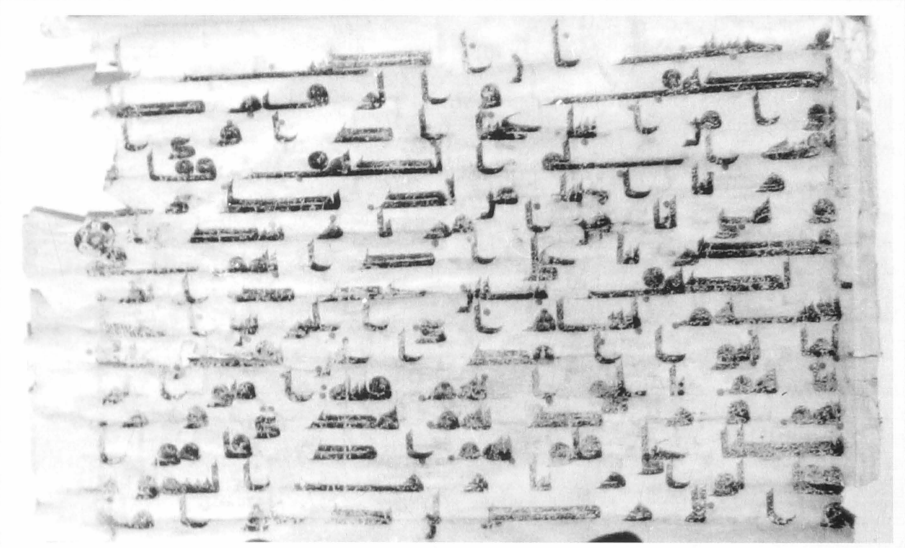
Fig. 5
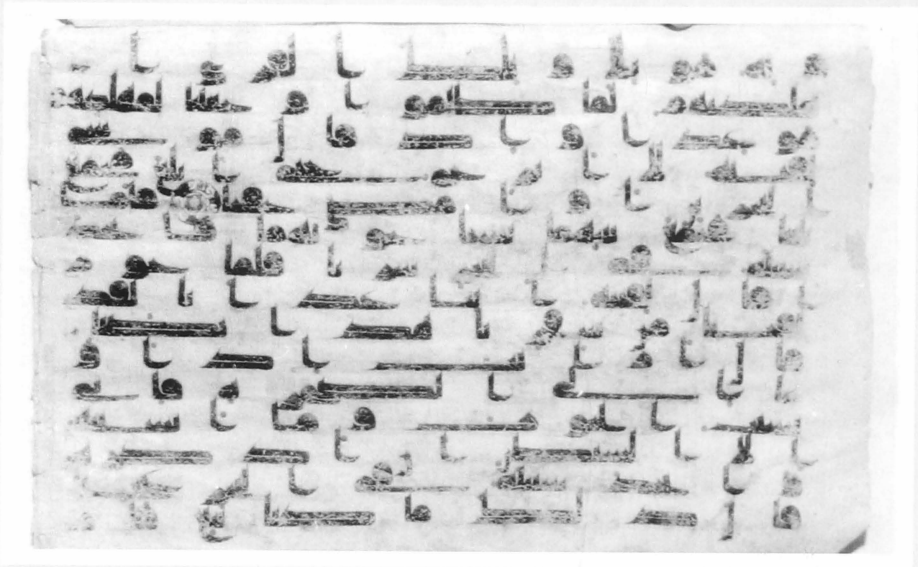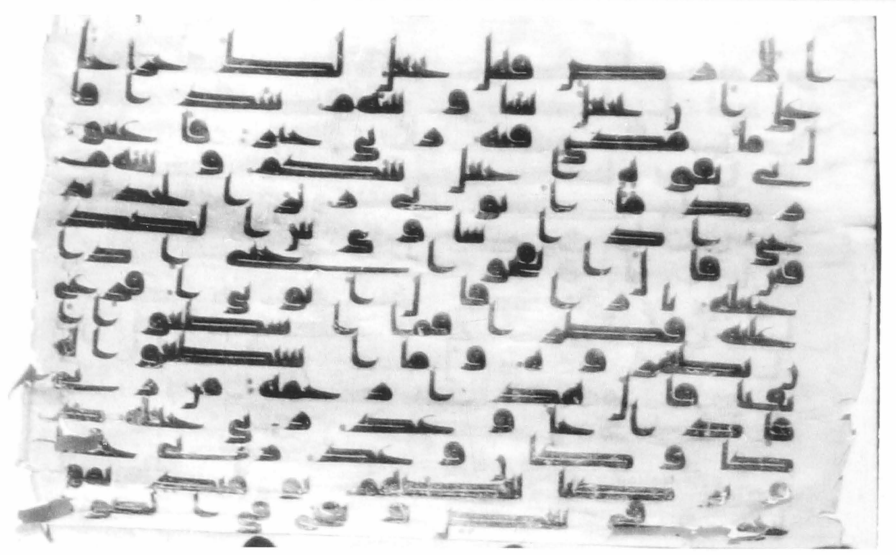
Fig. 6
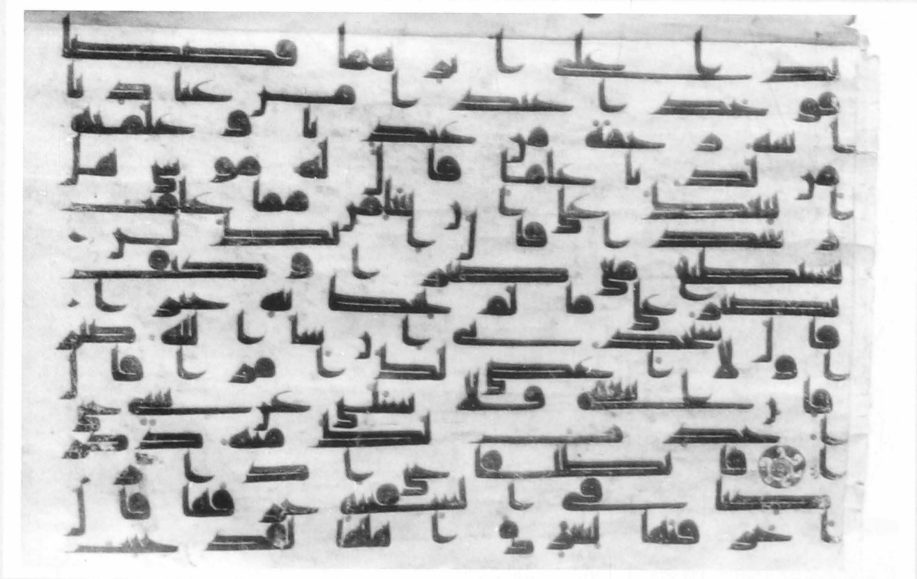
Fig. 7

Fig. 8
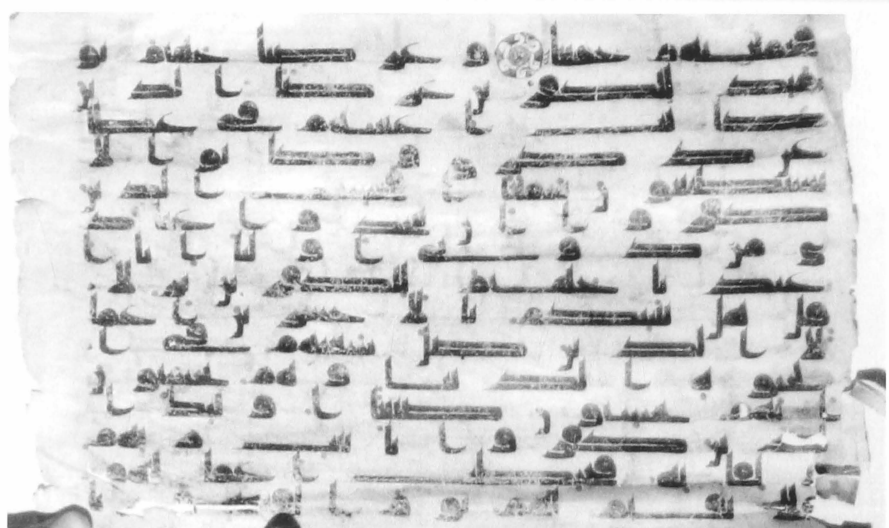
Fig. 9
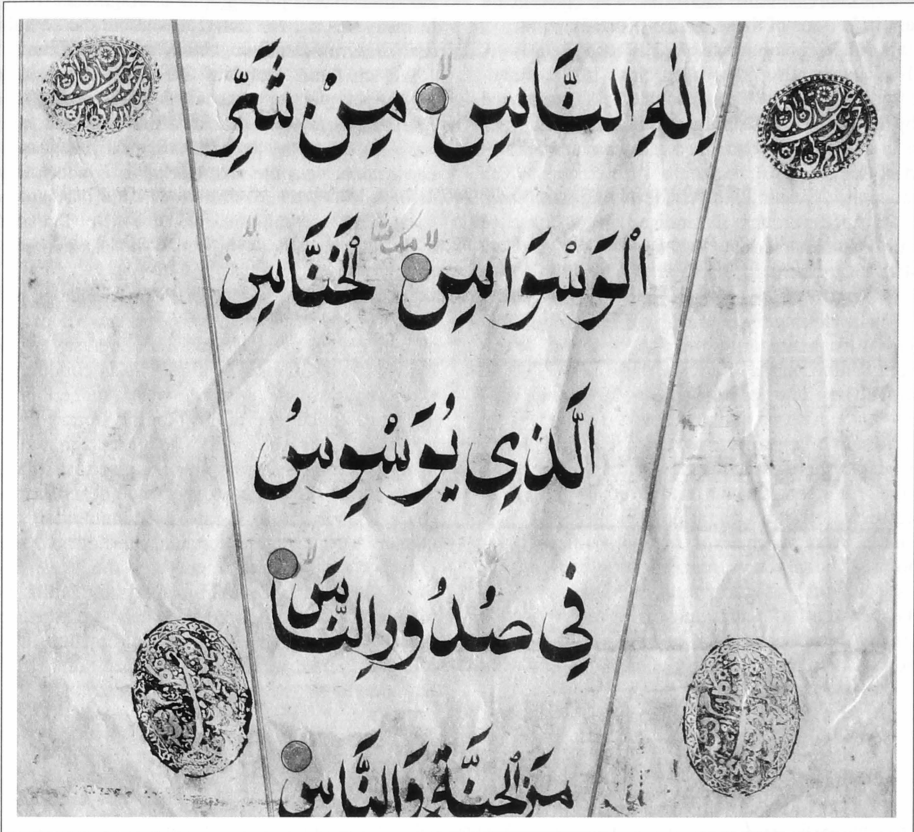
Fig. 10
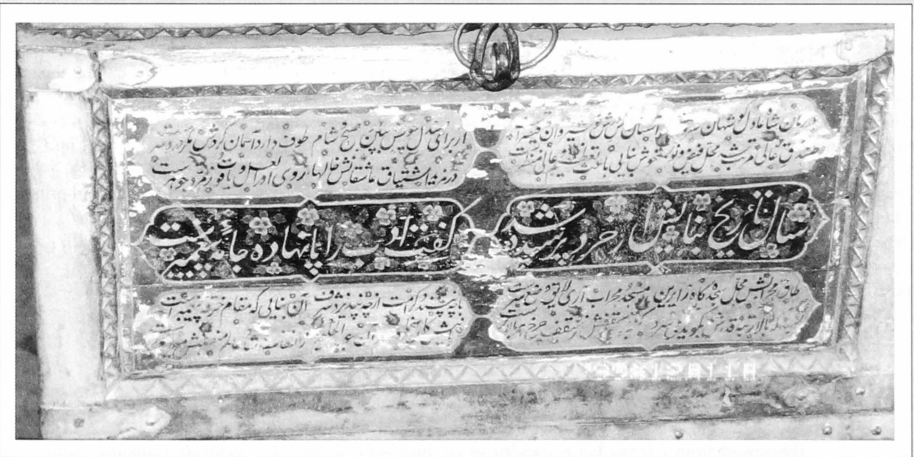
Fig. 11

nineteenth — early twentieth century, he ordered the Katta Langar *mazār* restored. New gates were installed and a chest was made to store the relics. The chest bears a chronogram in honour of these events (*fig. 11*).

The extant folios contain texts of 21 *sūras*: 43—44, 46, and 86—114. The manuscript is very close in its dimensions to the text copied in Ḥijāzī script (52.5×34.0 cm) and examined by E. Rezvan. (Its creation was apparently connected with the disappearance from Katta Langar of a significant part of this copy) [7].

In conclusion, I would like to cite a fragment from a letter by Prof. Rezvan that I received in response to my letter with information about this copy. "Fragments of *sūras* 43, 44, 46 are held in Petersburg. The folios with *sūras* 86—114 have until now not been found in any repository. This undoubtedly confirms the hypothesis that the creation of this manuscript was linked to the disappearance from Katta Langar of a large part of the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān". The date preserved in the manuscript (1309/1891—92) can serve as the outer limit for the date of the possible sale of part of the Katta Langar Qur'ān. By all appearances, at the turn of the nineteenth — twentieth centuries, the ruler of Khuzar undertook a series of actions to restore the Katta Langar holy places and relics. This may have been a result of his personal piety or external (political? economic?) conditions, which appear to deserve special study. Undoubtedly, his attempt to restore the holy places of Katta Langar is an important marker, signifying the beginning or end of some stage in the region's or country's history. One wonders what exactly?

Russian television channels recently reported the discovery of an "ancient Qur'ān" in Kazakhstan. I was sent information and photographs of fragments from this copy. In many ways they strongly resemble the 35 folios that recently surfaced, although they are significantly larger — 100.0×50.0 cm, weighing 42 kg (11 lines in a coloured border enclosed in gold, calligraphic Central Asian *naskh*). The text is written in black ink with the *sūra* titles in red. The manuscript standard red *muqawwā'* binding contemporary to the manuscript; it is adorned with silver medallions. One can discern on one of them part of the name of a Qur'ānic reader: *qārī* Mīr 'Ibādallāh Khwāja ibn... The manuscript is dated to the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Tradition holds that over the course of five generations the Qur'ān belongs to a family of caravan traders along the Uzbek-Kazakh border (Zhetysay region). It now belongs to a Chimkent judge who is conducting negotiations about its sale. A rumor was launched that the manuscript was once held in the Tīmūrid library in Samarqand, and was purchased some 100 years ago by a rich merchant for 20 kg of gold. This manuscript is undoubtedly a close parallel to the copy you have described. It is one of several attempts to create a monumental copy of the Qur'ān. These were undertaken in Mā warā' al-nahr in the mid to late nineteenth century (cf. the "*lawḥ*-like" copy in the mosque of Bībī Khānım made by Mullā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Samarqandī at the behest of the *amīr* Naṣrallāh (1827—1860)). It is now held in the Museum of the Cultural History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan in Samarqand".

Notes

1. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, "Nad arabskimi rukopisiami", ("Among Arabic manuscripts"), in *idem, Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1955), i, pp. 115—8. The English translation of the work is by Tatiana Minorsky, see *Among Arabic Manuscripts. Memories of Libraries and Men* (Leiden, 1953).

2. For more on the history of the brotherhood and its holy places, see B.Babadzhanov, "'Ishqiyya", in *Islam na territorii byvsheĭ Rossiĭskoĭ imperii. Éntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'* (Moscow, 2001), iii, pp. 46—7; *idem*, "Épigraficheskie pamiatniki musul'manskikh mazarov kak istochnik po istorii sufizma (na primere mazarov Astana Ata i Katta-langar)" ("Epigraphic texts of Muslim *mazār*s as a source on the history of Sufism (on the example of the *mazār*s in Astana Ata and Katta Langar)"), in *Iz istorii sufizma, istochniki i sotsial'naia praktika* (Tashkent, 1991), pp. 89—97.

3. We cite here only the most important, E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VI. Emergence of the canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), pp. 13—51; *idem*, "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; Fr. Déroche, "Note sur les fragments coraniques anciens de Katta Langar (Ouzbekistan)", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, VII (1999), pp. 65—73. See also Sh. Vakhidov, "Muqaddas Quroni karim izidan", *Moziidan sado*, 1—2 (2000), pp. 48—54.

4. E. A. Rezvan, *The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān (St. Petersburg, Katta Langar, Bukhara, Tashkent).* The work is now in print (St. Petersburg Center Petersburgskoe vostokovedenie publishing house and Thesa publishing house, 2002).

5. See Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and colour plate No. VII.

6. *Ūrāq* — one of the official ranks in the Bukharan emirate.

7. For more detail, see Rezvan, "Yet another 'Uthmanic Qur'ān", pp. 49—68.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Qur'ānic folio, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Katta-Langar (Uzbekistan), 22.0×32.0 cm (borrowed from *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l'Asie centrale islamique*, sous la direction de Ashirbek Muminov, Francis Richard et Maria Szuppe, Tashkent—Aix-en-Provence, 1999, Pl. VII/1, the bottom).

Fig. 2. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Katta-Langar, fol. 1a, 22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 3. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 1b,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 4. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 2a,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 5. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 2b,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 6. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 3a,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 7. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 3b,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 8. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic script, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 4a,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 9. Qur'ānic fragment, parchment, Kūfic, 9th century, Tashkent, private collection, fol. 4b,
22.0×32.0 cm.

Fig. 10. Qur'ānic folio, Samarqand paper, calligraphic Central Asian *naskh*, last quarter of the 19th
century, Tashkent, private collection, 53.5×32.5 cm.

Fig. 11. Part of *sundūq* inscription from Katta-Langar *mazār*.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

S. G. Klyashtorny

MANICHAEAN TEXT T II D AND *ÏRQ BITIG* XIX

Ïrq bitig, the "Book of Omens", is a literary work which drew attention of many scholars. Actually, in many respects it is a work imbued with cultural connotations which demand adequate scholarly interpretation. Until recently, however, many questions concerning the content, and even the exact date and provenance of *Ïrq bitig*, have remained rather obscure. Due to the brilliant investigation by J. R. Hamilton, it is now clear that the *Ïrq bitig* ("Book of Omens") was completed on 17 March 930 in the Manichaean monastery of the Great Cloud (*taygüntan manystan*, Chin. *tayung t'ang*). Its author or compiler, who was a junior cleric (*kičig di(n)tar*), dedicated this work to his elder brother, military commander It Ačuq [1]. Considering the place where the work was created, the confession of its author, and his social position, one could have expected to find in this book some Manichaean traces. However, there are no such traces or evident links to Manichaean literary tradition, except the presence in *Ïrq bitig* of certain descriptions, rather general though [2]. Nevertheless, one excerpt from *Ïrq bitig* may be of interest in this connection. I mean paragraph XIX of the "Book of Omens", which relates about the White Horse. The excerpt runs as follows:

aq (a)t q(a)rš(ï)sïn üč boluγta t(a)lulap(a)n (a)γ(ï)nka ötügkä idmiš tir. qorqma, (ä)dgüti ötün; (a)yïnma, (ä)dgüti y(a)lb(a)r tir. (a)nča biliŋ: (ä)dgü ol.

"A White Horse, having chosen its adversary in three states of existence, sent it to a dumb for praying, it says: 'fear not, pray well; do not be afraid, implore well'" [3].

One should admit that the mini-story looks rather senseless, which has led Sir Gerard Clauson to remark: "paragraph XIX is wholly obscure" [4]. More than twenty years ago I made an attempt to explain the meaning of this excerpt by suggesting a new reading for the name of its principal hero. Instead of *aq at*, "White Horse", I read *aq ata*, "White Father", that is, a Manichaean priest wearing white garments [5]. My assumption was that the second word had been written not clearly enough or we had here the scribe's error, but this assumption was rightfully rejected by Peter Zieme [6].

Thus, the question remained unsolved: neither in Turkic folklore, where a horse is only an attribute or a hero's assistant, nor in the Manichaean tradition does a horse appear in the quality of a wise spiritual guide or religious teacher. This made it difficult to provide any more or less persuasive interpretation of the whole episode cited here. Buddhist borrowings into Manichaean literature seem to be able to broaden the limits of possible interpretation: the story of the young prince Bodhisattva published by W. Bang is one of these borrowings made directly from the Buddhist tradition [7]. The story runs that the young prince leaves his palace to ride along the streets of the city on his white horse Kaṇṭaka (or Chandaka, another name appearing in the text). For the first time the prince sees there such things as illness, old age and death. He asks his horse to explain the meaning of these things, and the horse, acting in the quality of his spiritual guide and teacher, tells the prince about the vicissitudes of human life and the cycle of existence. Furthermore, we find the depiction of prince Bodhisattva riding on his white horse Kaṇṭaka on one of the mural paintings of the Manichaean temple of Khocho (see *fig. 2*). The investigation of this scene undertaken by H.-J. Klimkeit proves that the painting belongs to the Manichaean artistic tradition: the greeting gesture (*vitarqa-mudrā*) of Bodhisattva is made with his left hand in conformity with the Manichaean ritual [8].

One may suggest that the Buddhist image of prince Bodhisattva riding his white horse (and his spiritual guide) Kaṇṭaka, which came into the Manichaean literary and artistic tradition, was further developed in paragraph XIX of *Ïrq bitig*. In this story, the horse-teacher turns into an independent personage separated from the one he is supposed to teach, the one not specified in the text. The horse urges him to pray and repent, which is required to overcome the enemy (the dark forces?), and these admonitions and appeals merge in the novel with the common for Turkic cosmogony tripartite scheme of world-order, revealing the whole complicity of the development of Manichaean ideas within Turkic environment.

If the suggested interpretation of paragraph XIX of *Ïrq bitig* does not go beyond the framework of a probable hypothesis, then it is possible to trace the presence of a doubtless Manichaean motif in the Old Turkic "Book of Omens".
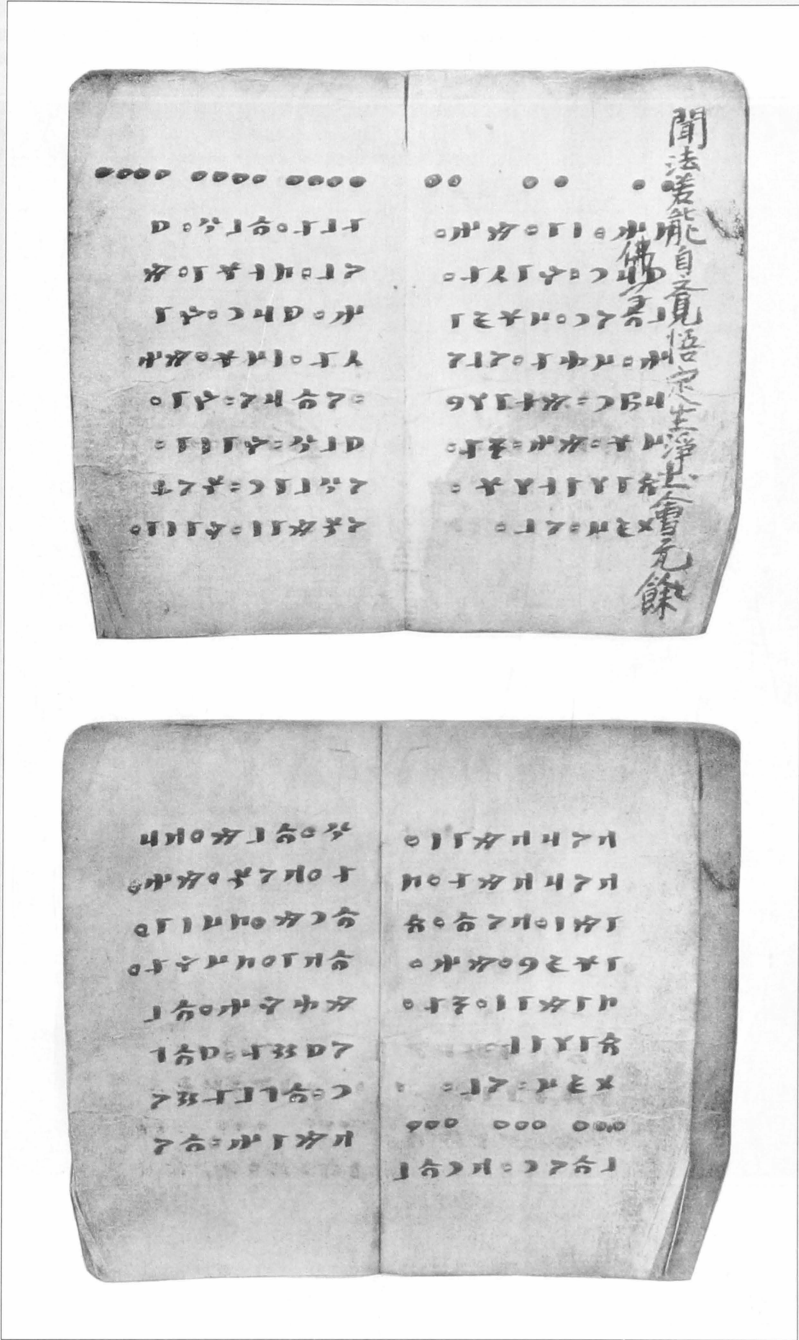
Fig. 1
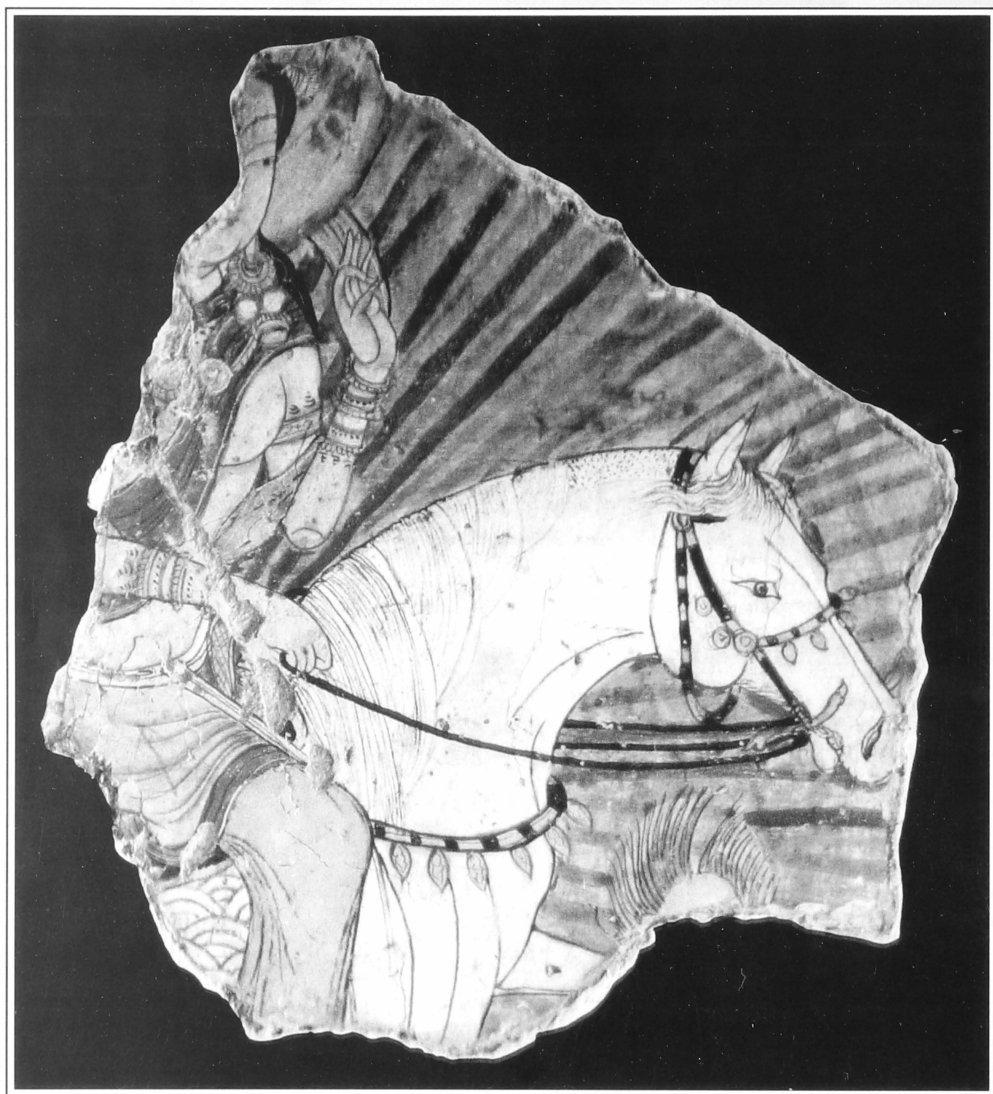
Fig. 2

Notes

1. J. Hamilton, "Le colophon de l'Ïrq bitig", *Turcica. Revue d'étude turques*, t. VII (1975), pp. 7—19.

2. A. von Gabain, "Die alttürkische Literatur", *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* (1964), ii, pp. 215—6.

3. T. Tekin, *Irq Bitig. The Book of Omens* (Wiesbaden, 1993), pp. 12—3.

4. G. Clauson, "Notes on the 'Ïrq Bitig'", *Ural Altaische Jahrbucher*, XXXIII/3—4 (1961), p. 221.

5. S. G. Kliashtornyĭ (Klyashtorny), "Mifologicheskie siuzhety v drevnetiurkskikh pamiatnikakh" ("Mythological subjects in Old Turkic literary works"), *Tiurkologicheskiĭ sbornik. 1977* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 129—31.

6. P. Zieme's review in *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 79/4 (1984), pp. 378—9.

7. W. Bang, "Manichäische Erzähler", *Le Muséon*, t. XLIV (1931), pp. 7—9.

8. H.-J. Klimkeit, "Das Pferd Kaṇṭaka — Symbol buddhistischer Erzähl — und Kunstelemente im zentralasiatischen Manichäismus", *Aus dem Osten des Alexanderzeits. Festschrift für Klaus Fischer* (Köln, 1984), pp. 91—5.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Irq bitig* ("Book of Omens"), folios from a manuscript in Turkic runic script from Dunhuang (call number Ch. 0033), the A. Stein collection, the British Library (the illustration borrowed from Vilh. Tomsen, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, tredje bind, København, 1922, Pl. III).

Fig. 2. "Prince Bodhisattva riding on his white horse Kaṇṭaka", fragment of a mural painting in Khocho, Turfan, East Turkestan, 9th century, height — 27 cm (borrowed from B. Rowland, *Zentralasien*, Baden-Baden, 1970, p. 194).

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

E. A. Rezvan

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS OF KARL FABERGÉ.
IV: POETRY AND MINIATURES (PART 2)

Western scholars are often surprised to learn from their Russian colleagues that for Russia Islam is not external and exotic, but rather domestic and familiar, linked by thousands of ties with Russian history and life. Numerous examples exist. One of them is the study in the former USSR of the legacy of the Muslim Middle ages' greatest poets. Throughout the Soviet period, a firm priority existed to study those whose birth and biography tied them to the lands that were part of the USSR. This tendency developed along various lines. Poems by a number of outstanding poets of the Muslim East were translated and published, broad efforts were made to popularise their works, and they became part of the general cultural heritage of the USSR and its peoples. Where I live, many still remember the commemorative gatherings for the 800-year anniversary of Niẓāmī and the 500-year anniversary of Nawā'ī organized in cold, hungry, besieged Leningrad in the Hermitage at the initiative of its director, Academician I. A. Orbeli. It was a truly heroic feat. One of the participants wrote many years later: "Our front honoured Niẓāmī just as Niẓāmī honoured heroes" [1]. Though the city was barely alive, research and translation continued in the face of all odds. "The Blockade Diary" by the marvellous Russian Iran scholar A. N. Boldyrev contains the following entry for January 9, 1942: "I received in the Hermitage yesterday 100 g of fir vitamin and 654 rub[les] by agreement, more than enough for Nawā'ī and Niẓāmī" [2].

On the other hand, the "Tajik Firdawsī and Azerbaijani Niẓāmī" soon became cult figures in the emergent Soviet culture of the USSR's Muslim republics, conceived as "national in form and socialist in content". Attempts to study the works of these poets in the context of Iranian or, more broadly, Islamic culture were harshly suppressed. They were seen as a slight against the peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

A tragic episode in this tale took place in 1949 in Leningrad. In the course of the "struggle with cosmopolitanism", the outstanding Russian Arabist, Academician I. Iu. Krachkovsky, fell victim to harsh criticism [3]. At an open session of the Academic Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies, a man specially dispatched from Moscow spoke, accusing Krachkovsky of "cosmopolitanism, comparativism, pan-

Islamism, pan-Arabism, and pandering to bourgeois scholarship". The ensuing discussion, however, did not follow the lines envisioned by Moscow. Students, who had arrived at the session despite a concurrently scheduled meeting of the Communist Youth group, chanted, "Shame! Shame!" Among these protesting students was Oleg Bolshakov, today a celebrated historian and Arabist, author of the multi-volume "History of the Caliphate". A string of intelligent and daring addresses allowed Leningrad's scholars to prove their point. Many remember the sarcastic question Prof. A. N. Boldyrev asked the guest from Moscow: "And if a socialist revolution takes place in Iran tomorrow, how will you look the Iranian people in the eye after you took such a poet (Firdawsī — E. R.) away from them?" [4].

The young people present at the session gained a "stunning lesson in civic courage and scholarly integrity" [5]. One of them, the student Turkologist Aleksei Sidorov (the nephew of Academician N. N. Semenov, laureate of the Nobel Prize, physicist and chemist who worked on the Soviet nuclear project), was the editor of the student scholarly society's wall newspaper. On the day after the meeting of the Academic Council, he released an issue of the newspaper with a complete and accurate account of what had happened. The newspaper hung on the wall for no more than an hour. Several days later, he was arrested, despite the selfless aid of several female fellow students who tried to warn him and shelter him. The student Sinologist Boris Parizhsky also tried in vain to help him (he had gone through the war as a paratrooper and had connections in the Ministry of State Security, or KGB).

Arrested with Aleksei Sidorov were N. A. Dulina, a female student who was in love with him, and the student and war veteran Anton Serov. They were charged with anti-Soviet agitation and received long sentences in concentration camps. The longest sentence was handed out to Aleksei Sidorov, who had fled during a search, knocking down an agent of state security. In the camps, he cut off one of his own fingers as a protest and was transferred to prison, where he was held in the same cell as Ukrainian nationalists who constantly tormented him. After Stalin's death, all three were released, but Aleksei, worn down by his travails, soon committed suicide. I. Iu. Reshetnikova (Gradova), who had gone to warn Aleksei about his possible arrest

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(after donning a hat with a veil, tying up her braids, and putting on lipstick "to change her appearance"), and Aleksei's friend Anas Khalidov, later to become a well-known Arabist and one of the members of *Manuscripta Orientalia*'s Editorial Board, miraculously escaped arrest [6]. Expecting that they would arrested, they posed for a group photograph.

The great Niẓāmī was and is a cultural symbol of Azerbaijan. In the Soviet period, official events took place to commemorate his life and work, postage stamps appeared, and huge editions of his poems were published in Russian translation [7] and in the original (in Cyrillic script). On the eve of the USSR's disintegration, on 16 October 1991, a memorial one-ruble coin was released "in connection with the 850th anniversary of his birth": "Averse side: In the upper part the symbol of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, beneath it the inscription 'USSR', and on two lines 'One Ruble'; reverse side: depiction of Niẓāmī Ganjawī in the centre".

The tradition continued even after the collapse of the Soviet Union. On 9 June of this year, the President of Russia and President of Azerbaijan were present at the official opening of a monument to "Ilyās Yūsuf-ōghlū Niẓāmī". The event was the Russian response to the unveiling of a monument to Pushkin in Baku in October, 2001.

Countless articles, dissertations and monographs appeared in the USSR on Niẓāmī. We note here only a few works. First among them is the basic study by E. E. Berthels on the poet's writings [8], a marvellous book by L. N. Dodkhudoeva that analyses and catalogues miniatures to Niẓāmī's poems (338 plots of 3,360 miniatures from 245 manuscripts from Russian and foreign collections) [9]. As an example of the works published in Soviet Central Asia one can cite the trilingual album of miniatures to Niẓāmī's poems collected by Prof. Khamid Suleimanov and published by F. Suleimanova [10] (some 300 miniatures from 26 manuscripts).

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ilyās b. Yūsuf b. Muʾayyad, poetic pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) Niẓāmī, was born somewhere between 1138—1147 [11] in the city of Ganja (known under the Soviets as Kirovabad, and earlier as Elizavetpol), where he lived his entire life with little outward excitement. In fact, we know little of Niẓāmī Ganjawī's life. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Niẓāmī did not become a court poet, although he often wrote "to order". He retained an astonishing level of personal freedom. His creative legacy consists of lyrical verse (*ghazal*s) from the unfinished *Dīwān* and poems gathered together after his death into a collection, the *Khamsa* ("Pentateuch") or *Panj Ganj* ("Five Treasures"). Niẓāmī was known not only as an outstanding poet, but as a remarkable scholar (*ḥakīm*) accomplished in philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, history and medicine.

The first of the poems in the *Khamsa* — *Makhzan al-asrār* ("Treasure Trove of Mysteries") — was created between 1173—1175. This is an Eastern version of a "speculum" written under the influence of Sanāʾī's (d. 1131) *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa*. It has a mystical subtext. The poems expounds on Niẓāmī's poetic and philosophical views. It tells of the wisdom and vice common to people of this world, of sin and repentance, of noble courage and the vicissitudes of fate.

Khusraw wa Shīrīn, a poem about love written between 1180 and 1181, commemorated the poet's wife, Āfāq,

a Kypchak slave given to him by the ruler of Derbent. The poem, according to the great Russian scholar E. Berthels, is "one of the great masterpieces of world literature. For the first time in the poetry of the Near East, the personality of a human being has been shown with all its richness, with all its contradictions and ups and downs" [12].

No less famous is another of Niẓāmī's love poems, *Laylī wa Majnūn*, written in 1188, grudgingly and to order. In the opinion of Berthels, the legend of Laylā and Majnūn owes its great popularity to Niẓāmī. Moreover, if one compares the region of its fame (from the borders of China to the Atlantic ocean) with the similar "tragic tale" of Romeo and Juliet, one finds that the tale of Arab lovers was far more widely known [13]. One should note that, for Niẓāmī, Qays was not merely a man gone mad from love (*majnūn*), but a brilliant poet as well. This image "had a great influence on virtually all of the *ghazal* literature that followed, which developed in the main motifs already tested by Niẓāmī in his poem" [14].

In 1196, Niẓāmī created his fourth poem, *Haft paykar* ("Seven Beauties") [15], the most complex of his works. Its hero is the Sasanian Shāh Bahrām Gūr, or Varahrān V (r. 431—438). In accordance with the dominant literary tradition, it presented the image of a knight who dedicated his life to hunting, martial exploits and amorous adventures.

It is felt that the colours of the seven various castles that the hero of the poem visits correspond to the basic palette of Persian painting [16]. In Bahrām's transition from the black to the white castle, one can see the mystical path that each human soul must traverse toward purity and divinity.

Possibly the poet's greatest achievement was his fifth and final poem, the *Iskandar-nāma*. He began work on it between 1197—1201. In it Niẓāmī sums up his reflections on the meaning of human life. According to Niẓāmī, Iskandar was not merely the conqueror of the world, but above all a prophet.

The work consists of two parts, the *Sharaf-nāma* ("Book of Glory") and the *Iqbāl-nāma* ("Book of Happiness") or *Khirad-nāma* ("Book of Reason"). If the first deals with campaigns and military glory, the second treats the prophetic mission of a hero who with experience acquired wisdom.

Niẓāmī's works had an enormous influence on the development of literature in the Muslim East. Imitations of his poems and reworkings were created and continued to be created in many languages up through the present. The meters that Niẓāmī chose for his works remain linked with the types of poems he created.

While still alive, Niẓāmī was practically revered as a saint. After his death, sometime between 1204—1909, the poet's grave became a place of pilgrimage.

Niẓāmī wrote often and with pleasure about creative people — artists, architects, poets, sculptors, musicians [17]. His poems, and most of all *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, are a marvellous source on the artist's role in the society of that time, the training artists received, music and musical instruments. It is thus hardly surprising that manuscripts with Niẓāmī's poems, with their elegant plots and numerous dramatic episodes, over the centuries attracted the attention of the best miniature artists and calligraphers. Evidence is found in the hundreds of manuscripts of this work held today in museums and private collections
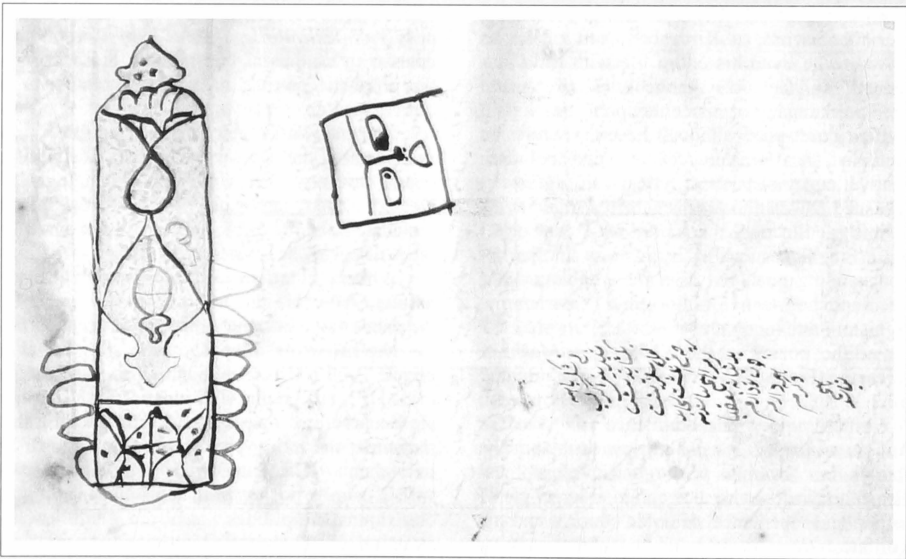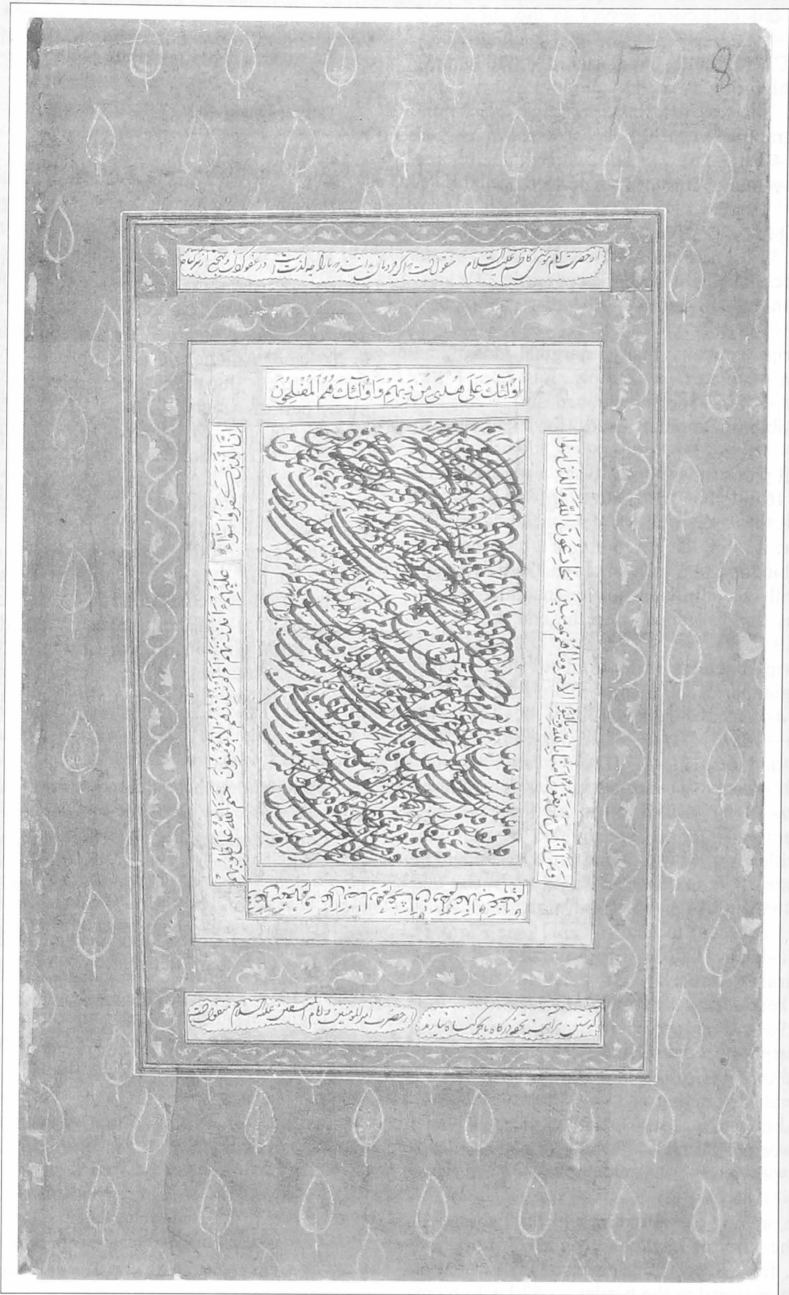
Fig. 2

Fig. 1

Fig. 3

throughout the world. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains 12 copies of the text as a whole and excerpts from it [18]. Two of these copies once belonged to Karl Fabergé. One of them, as well as one of the miniatures from an album (*muraqqa'*) from this collection, serves as the subject of this article.

Manuscript C 1674 [19] consists of 338 folios (28.5 × 19.0 cm); high-quality crème-coloured glossy paper of Eastern origin. The text (21 lines per page, black ink, 4 columns, calligraphic *nasta'līq*) is enclosed in a gold border (13.0 × 21.4 cm). The *ḥāfiẓes*, which "guard" the order of pages, are found in the lower left corner of each even page.

The manuscript is defective, with lacunae after fols. 1, 28, 114, 219, and 337. There are blotches and traces of old restoration in places. The manuscript is contained in a simple brown half-binding of leather. The outer cover bears traces of cuts.

The manuscript contains many marginal notes and corrections. Some of them (for example, fols. 32a, 148b, 150a, 161b, 182b, 187b, 188a) are rubbed out. Additional notations are visible in another hand (for example, on fol. 104a).

The upper left part of the fly-leaf bears a penciled note with a string of 16 numbers and letters of the Latin and Russian alphabets. The series is too complicated for a library call number; it more likely represents a bank account number, the combination to a safe, or an encoded message, which would hardly be surprising in the anarchic, revolutionary conditions that prevailed from the end of 1917 to the middle of 1919 [20].

The manuscript contains texts from all five poems: fol. 16 — the beginning of the *Sharaf-nāma*; fols. 2a—28a — *Makhzan al-asrār*; fols. 29b—115a — *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*; fols. 115b—162a — *Laylī wa Majnūn*; fols. 162b—219b — *Haft paykar*; fols. 220a—338b — *Iskandar-nāma*.

Each of the poems is introduced by a coloured *'unwān* (see *Plate 1* on the back cover of the present issue). The chapters and sections are divided by illuminations. Chapter titles are in gold and *naskh* hand. The manuscript contains 3 miniatures executed to fit the text field (13.0 × 21.4 cm): fol. 3b — "The night journey of Muḥammad and his ascent to heaven" [21] (see *Plate 2*); fol. 41a — "Nūshāba, Queen of Amazons, showing Iskandar his portrait" (see *Plate 3*); fol. 258b — "Iskandar supporting the head of the dying Dārā (Darius)" (see *Plate 4*). Fols. 29a and 115a contain crude drawings and unschooled inscriptions (see *figs. 1—2*). Unlike the remaining two, the margins of the miniature on fol. 41a are adorned with floral ornamentation.

Prof. O. F. Akimushkin's suggestion is that the copy was created between 1480 and 1490 in Herat. The miniatures are of later provenance, but were executed according to Herat models.

There is one, among the miniatures in the Fabergé album, linked to the story of Laylā and Majnūn (*Muraqqa'*, call number X 3, fol. 8b, see front cover of the present issue). This miniature (sized to the border — 17.1 × 13.6 cm) has a bright colour scheme and tells of Laylā's arrival in the desert, where her beloved has sought refuge and lives among the wild beasts. It is enclosed in a complex blue-gold border which unites the miniature with two cartouches (above and below). They contain Persian inscriptions in

large *nasta'līq* on a white background with gold and gold flakes dotted over the text:

Upper cartouche: (4.7 × 13.6 cm):

الهی معجز قلم را مغفرت کن

"O Allah! Forgive my infirm *qalam*!"

Lower cartouche: (3.7 × 13.6 cm):

منم در غمش بیدلی ناتوانی

"In grief for her I have lost my calm from love and am weak".

The lower part of the composition depicts the camel with a red palanquin on which Laylā arrived. In the centre is an inscription: "Majnūn wa Laylī". The camel wears a harness and is guarded by a green monkey with a stick in its hand. Among the possible parallels is one from the series of 23 "illustrations of ladies and mythology" (formerly part of Album 70, India Office Library). The miniature [22] (Jaipur, *ca.* 1850) presents Lailā visiting Majnūn on a terrace. Her camel is on the left.

The composition (Central Deccan, 1780—1800) [23] is pasted onto pasteboard; the yellow margins are adorned with large golden flowers.

The reverse of the folio (see *fig. 3*) contains a calligraphy sample (*qiṭ'a*): a complex composition of cartouches with copied calligraphic texts inside. The central cartouche (8.0 × 14.0 cm) contains an illegible decorative composition (Indian ink on a bright-brown background). Narrow cartouches with a Qur'ānic text (2 : 5—9) are pasted onto a bright-brown background with a golden decoration.

Texts (counter-clockwise):

Upper cartouche: "Those are upon guidance from their Lord, those are the ones who prosper" (2 : 5).

Left cartouche: "As for the unbelievers, alike it is to them whether thou hast warned them or hast not warned them, they do not believe. (2 : 6) God has set a seal on their hearts..."

Lower cartouche: "and on their hearing, and on their eyes is a covering, and there awaits them a mighty chastisement" (2 : 7).

Right cartouche: "And some men there are who say, 'We believe in God and the Last Day'; but they are not believers. They would trick God and the believers..." (2 : 9) [24].

At the top and the bottom — narrow cartouches with the Persian texts (*ta'līq*):

Upper cartouche: (1.4 × 13.0 cm) [25]:

از حضرت امام موسی کاظم علیه السلام منقول است که
اگر مردمان بدانند [ما...] چه لذت است در عفو کردن
[...] از هر گناه

"They convey from the words of Imām Mūsā Kāẓim [26],
peace be upon him:
'If only people knew, what pleasure we obtain from forgiveness and turning away from sin'".

Lower cartouche: (1.4×12.7 cm):

كه ...] [هر آيينه تحفه در كاه باسحر كناه نيارند

از حضرت امير المؤمنين و امام ... عليه السلام منقول است

The text is difficult to understand; we offer a tentative translation:

"They convey the words of his holiness, the *amīr* of the faithful and *imām* of those who have accepted the faith [27], peace be upon him: 'Each mirror — a gift of the throne — does not encompass the ocean of sin'".

The entire composition (16.0×27.7 cm) is located on a blue background adorned with gold floral ornamentation (convolvulus). The margins present a bright-brown background with mid-sized gold leaves.

Notes

1. A. Arzumanian, *Brat'ia Orbeli. Kniga pervaia: Taĭfun* (The Orbeli Brothers. Book One: "Taiphoon") (Erevan, 1976), p. 205.

2. A. N. Boldyrev, *Osadnaia Zapis' (Blokadnyĭ dnevnik)* (Siege Notes. A Blockade Diary) (St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 41. The author expresses his gratitude to Dr. E. N. Tyomkin and Prof. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya for referring me to the works by Arzumanian and Boldyrev, as well as their fascinating account of the events of 1949, in which they participated.

3. A. A. Dolinina, *Nevol'nik dolga* (Prisoner of Duty) (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 379—87.

4. I. Iu. Reshetnikova (Gradova), "Vospominaniia iaponistki-kitaistki o studencheskikh godakh" ("A scholar of Japan and China remembers her student years"), *Vospominania vypusknikov Vostochnogo fakul'teta Leningradskogo (Sankt-Peterburgskogo) gosudarstvennogo universiteta poslevoennykh let (1948—1952)* (St. Petersburg, 2001), p. 76.

5. Dolinina, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

6. For more detail, see N. A. Dulina, "1949 g. Arest na Vostochnom fakul'tete" ("Year of 1949. Arrest on the Eastern Faculty"), *Vospominania vypusknikov Vostochnogo fakul'teta*, pp. 142—54; Reshetnikova (Gradova), *op. cit.*, pp. 76—7.

7. One can cite the example of a translation of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* that appeared in the popular series "Library of World Literature" in a huge print run (Moscow, 1968). Translations of the individual poems were published numerous times.

8. E. E. Bertel's. *Nizami. Tvorcheskiĭ put' poéta* (Niẓāmī. The Poet's Creative Path) (Moscow, 1956).

9. L. N. Dodkhudoeva, *Poémy Nizami v srednevekovoĭ miniatiurnoĭ zhivopisi* (Poems of Niẓāmī in Medieval Miniature Painting) (Moscow, 1985).

10. *Miniatures Illuminations of Nizami's "Hamsah"*, compiled by Fazila Suleymanova (Tashkent, 1985), No. 83.

11. UNESCO recognizes 1141 as the year of the poet's birth.

12. Bertel's, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

15. Or "The Seven Portraits".

16. G. D. Guest, *Shiraz Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (Washington, 1949), pp. 44—5. See also the chapter "Gruppa kliuchevykh slov 'sem' tsvetov, sem' planet' i miniatiury, obramliaiushchie povestvovanie poémy Nizami 'Haft paykar'" ("A group of seven key words in 'seven colours, seven planets' and the miniatures that frame the narrative of Niẓāmī's *Haft paykar*"), in A. E. Bertel's, *Khudozhestvennyĭ obraz v literature Irana IX—XV vv. (Slovo, izobrazhenie)* (Artistic Images in Persian Literature: Word, Picture) (Moscow, 1997).

17. P. P. Souček, "Niẓāmī on painters and painting", in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen (New York, 1972).

18. General information can be found in the catalogue of the collection of Persian and Tajik manuscripts in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, see *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk USSR. Kratkiĭ alfavitnyĭ katalog* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies. A Brief Alphabetical Catalogue), ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maclay, i—ii (Moscow, 1964).

19. *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi*, i, p. 176.

20. The story of treasure hunts associated with the name of Fabergé could make for a number of detective novels.

21. Attested before the beginning of the first poem in the cycle in at least 26 manuscripts, beginning in 1410. See Dodkhudoeva, *op. cit.*, pp. 106—7.

22. Add. Or. 2829, see No. 523 xix in T. Falk and M. Archer, *Indian Miniatures in the India Office Library* (London, 1981), p. 274. Cf. also Deccani miniature (*ca.* 1760—70) "Lailā and Majnūn in a landscape" (Johnson Album 10, No. 10), see No. 502 in Falk and Archer, *op. cit.*, p. 249, and Mughāl (*ca.* 1690) miniature "Lailā visiting Majnūn", No. 130, *ibid.*, p. 97.

23. I am sincerely grateful to Prof. R. W. Skelton for his kind help in attributing the miniature.

24. The translation is given here as presented in *The Koran Interpreted* by Arthur J. Arberry (London, 1955).

25. 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.

26. Mūsā al-Kāẓim — the seventh *imām* of the Twelver Shī'īs.

27. Muḥammad Taqī — the ninth *imām* of the Twelver Shī'īs.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"Lailā visiting Majnūn in the desert", watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Central Deccan, 1780—1800. Miniature in Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 8b, 13.6×17.1 cm.

CONSERVATION PROBLEMS

Anna-Grethe Rischel

THE DANISH COLLECTION OF DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS: PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

The Royal Library in Copenhagen received a minor collection of Dunhuang manuscripts nearly 80 years ago. The donator, Arthur Bollerup Sørensen, was chief telegraphist in Shanghai in the Great Northern Telegraph Company. In 1915, during his second voyage from China to Central Asia, he acquired 15 Buddhist manuscripts and 1 Daoist scripture in Dunhuang, just a few months after the departure of the Russian expedition headed by Sergei Oldenburg. Information about this minor collection of Dunhuang manuscripts in Denmark may be of interest for the International Dunhuang Project. The 200 sheets of handmade paper can provide important data on the early Chinese paper technology which deserves special investigation. The following notes are the preliminary results of the analysis of the paper of the Dunhuang manuscripts.

A small label on the manuscript box at the Royal Library in Copenhagen runs that 14 Chinese manuscript rolls from the Dunhuang monastery in Turkestan were donated by Mr. A. B. Sørensen on 29 November 1915, and that the manuscripts originate from the same library, hidden in a walled-up grotto, where huge manuscript collections were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein a few years before, in 1907, and then by Paul Pelliot in 1908.

Each roll in the Danish collection consists on average of 17 paper sheets with text in characters; the sheets are glued together at the short edges with tiny overlappings to a long roll. Paper of the same quality is mostly used for all sheets in individual manuscripts.

The macroscopic and microscopic analysis of the paper has been made, in a non-destructive way, similar to that presented in 1997 in London at the IDP workshop of forgeries of the Sven Hedin collection of Central Asian paper from Stockholm. The macroscopic part of the analysis was an observation of the paper with the naked eye. The microscopic analysis has required a combination of three types of microscopes to conduct it, using a limited test material of fibres removed from the backside or edges of the document.

The first part of the present article gives a preliminary description of characteristics of each manuscript's material, and the material's variations. The results of this investigation are found in the second part of the article, in a general description of the features of the whole collection. The third part provides a description of the Danish Dunhuang collection paper as compared with similar Central Asian paper material of the same provenance from the Sven Hedin collection. The results of these investigations can give new information not only about early paper technology and preservation of the ancient fibre material but also necessary data to indicate possible forgeries in the Danish collection.

1. Preliminary description

Three examples of macroscopic and microscopic observations are presented here:

Manuscript 1, roll 1

Yellowish paper colour
Very even fibre sorting
Very even fibre distribution
Glazed paper on recto
Thin paper quality in good condition, but the traces of earlier fungal attack in the upper part of the manuscript are visible.
17 sheets, measuring 45.2—45.7×25.2—25.5 cm
Inscriptions in black and red Indian ink
The upper margin — 2.7 cm, the lower margin — 2.6 cm

Mould: inside measurement — at least 45.7×25.5 cm with 5—6 supporting ribs with a distance of 8.5—9.5 cm
Screen: no visible impressions of chain-lines; regular laid lines: 23.0—24/3 cm
Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM) analysis: semi-open structure of smooth, uniform fibres with slightly varying width — 0.010, 0.011, 0.020 mm
Ground element present: silicium, aluminium, sulphur, calcium, chloride, potassium, magnesium, sodium
Differential Interference Contrast Microscope (DIC) analysis: raw fibres with several rhombic crystals, star-shaped crystals, amorphous substance, limited fibrillation, long fibres with rounded fibre tips and frayed fibre tips, decentral lumen visible sporadically, both varying and uniform fibre width.

Manuscript 2 a, roll 2

Sandgrey paper colour
Uniform fibre sorting
Cloudy fibre distribution
Smooth and glazed paper on both sides
Heavy paper quality in good condition
5 sheets, measuring 15.5—48.0×26.8—27.0 cm
Inscription in black Indian ink
The upper margin — 3.4—3.5 cm, the lower margin — 3.4—3.5 cm
Mould: inside measurement — at least 48.0×26.8 cm with no visible supporting ribs.
Screen: no visible impressions of chain-lines; irregular laid lines 11/3 cm.

Manuscript 2 b, roll 2

Sandgrey paper colour
Uneven fibre sorting with rough fibres present
Cloudy fibre distribution
Smooth and glazed paper on both sides
Heavy paper quality in good condition
4 sheets, measuring 17.0—48.5×26.8—26.9 cm
Inscription black Indian ink
The upper margin — 3.2 cm, the lower margin — 3.3 cm
Mould: inside measurement — at least 48.5×26.9 cm with no visible supporting ribs
Screen: no visible chain-lines, irregular laid lines 11—13/3 cm
SEM-microscope analysis: closed structure with smooth thin fibres and thick fibrillated fibres, fibre width — 0.005, 0.008, 0.010, 0.013, 0.018, 0.020 mm

Ground element present: aluminium, silicium, chloride, barium, sulphur, calcium, sodium, iron
DIC-microscope analysis: raw fibres and recycled fibres, starch grains, varying fibre width, central lumen, loose primary wall, thin fibres with rounded fibre tips, fibrils, debris.

Manuscript 4, roll 4 (in 2 parts)

Sandgrey paper colour (first part of the manuscript), yellow brown paper colour (the second part)
Uniform fibre sorting
Uniform, slightly cloudy, fibre distribution in the first part of the manuscript, uneven and slightly cloudy in the second part
Less glazed surface on the back of the paper
Heavy (rattling) paper quality in good condition
15 sheets, measuring 45.5—46.5×27.0—27.4 cm
Inscriptions in black Indian ink
The upper margin — 3.2—3.6 cm, the lower margin — 3.2—3.9 cm
Mould: inside measurement — at least 46.5×27.4 cm with no visible supporting ribs
Screen: 5 chain-lines with a distance of 5.0—6.0 cm, irregular laid lines 11—13/cm
SEM-microscope analysis: closed fibrillated structure with frayed fibre tips and more smooth fibres, fibre width — 0.005, 0.009, 0.010, 0.012, 0.013, 0.018, 0.020 mm
Ground elements: calcium, sulphur among similar elements as mentioned above.
DIC-microscope analysis: starch grains, loose primary wall, fibrils, varying fibre width, frayed debris.

2. General description and characterization of the collection

The manuscripts can be divided into two main groups depending on paper quality as presented in the Danish collection. Characteristics of the major group of rather heavy and stiff paper are the impressions of irregular laid lines, the result of employing the reed screen, with 11—13 laid lines per 3 cm density; sometimes visible chain-lines; the lack of impressions made by the supporting ribs of the mould; a slightly uneven and cloudy fibre distribution and the presence of not sorted course fibres.

Table 1

MAJOR GROUP	
Chain-lines 5, distance 5—6 cm	Manuscript 4, roll 4
Chain-lines 7—8, distance 5—7 cm	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 16, roll 14
Chain-lines 7—11, distance 5 cm	Manuscript 7, roll 5
Chain-lines 9—12	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
Laid lines 11 per 3 cm	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
Laid lines 11—13 per 3 cm	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
	Manuscript 8, roll 6

*Continuation of **Table 1***

	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
Laid lines 11—13 per 3 cm	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 16, roll 14
Laid lines 16 per 3 cm	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13

The laid lines in the minor group (manuscript 1, roll 1, manuscript 7, roll 5 and manuscript 14, roll 12) of thinner and sometimes soft paper are very regular with a density of 23—24 laid lines per 3 cm; chain-lines, if the impressions of the bamboo screen are visible at all. The fibre distribution is very uniform as well as the fibre sorting.

Table 2

MINOR GROUP	
	Manuscript 1, roll 1
Laid lines 23—24 per 3 cm	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
FIBRE SORTING	
	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 2c, roll 2
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
Even sorting	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
Uneven sorting with coarse fibres	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 16, roll 14
FIBRE DISTRIBUTION	
	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
Even	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 2c, roll 2
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
Cloudy	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 16, roll 14

In comparison with the minor group, the major one is distinguished by more primitive paper of uneven fibre sorting and uneven and cloudy fibre distribution. Common for both groups, however, are the paper colour variations, from light sandgrey, yellow brown, yellowish to curry yellow, as well as the presence of the paper polishing or glazing.

Table 3

PAPER COLOUR	
Yellowish paper	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
Curry yellow	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
Yellow brown	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
Light yellow brown	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
Sandgrey	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 2c, roll 2
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
Dark sandgrey	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 16, roll 14
PAPER SURFACE	
Glazed recto	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
	Manuscript 16, roll 14

The preliminary analysis of the test material with the aid of SEM reveals the presence in both groups of calcium and sulphur (gypsum) as a filling, combined with aluminium, barium, chlorine, iron, magnesium, phosphate, potassium, silicon, sodium and titanium. Unboiled starch grains are also added, either as a sheet formation aid or as a later sizing agent combined with the glazing.

In most cases the paper surface is smooth and hard pressed, together as a result of the glazing or polishing process, and well fit for writing, so the characters in ink are deep black and well discernable; the ink are not running. Smudging of ink can be seen only on a single sheet. The same type of paper quality was normally used for all sheets in an individual manuscript, and the same reed screen with characteristic irregularities was also employed for a number of sheets.

Only small variations in size of the trimmed sheets glued together have been noticed as well as in a number of lines of characters per sheet and a number of characters per line.

Table 4

DIMENSION OF SHEETS	
Length 39.0—43.0 cm	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
Length 43.1—47.0 cm	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
Length 47.1—48.5 cm	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 5, roll 5

Length 47.1—48.5 cm	Manuscript 6, roll 5
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 16, roll 14
Length 48.6—51.5 cm	Manuscript 15, roll 13
Height 24.3—25.5 cm	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
Height 25.6—27.0 cm	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
Height 27.1—29.0 cm	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
	Manuscript 16, roll 14
NUMBER OF LINES OF CHARACTERS	
Lines 26	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 12, roll 10
Lines 27	Manuscript 6, roll 5
Lines 28	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
Lines 36	Manuscript 16, roll 14
NUMBER OF CHARACTERS PER LINE	
Characters 17	Manuscript 1, roll 1
	Manuscript 2a, roll 2
	Manuscript 2b, roll 2
	Manuscript 3, roll 3
	Manuscript 4, roll 4
	Manuscript 5, roll 5
	Manuscript 6, roll 5
	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 8, roll 6
	Manuscript 9, roll 7
	Manuscript 10, roll 8
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 12, roll 10

Continuation of **Table 4**

Characters 17	Manuscript 13, roll 11
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
	Manuscript 15, roll 13
Characters 17—20	Manuscript 7, roll 5
	Manuscript 11, roll 9
	Manuscript 14, roll 12
Characters 30	Manuscript 16, roll 14

3. Paper analysis: genuine manuscripts and suspected forgeries

The results of the preliminary analysis of the major group of the Danish Dunhuang manuscripts are mostly similar to the results of an earlier analysis of genuine Central Asian Saka manuscripts from the Sven Hedin collection. Heavy fibrillated fibres mixed with less fibrillated or not fibrillated bast fibres are typical of both collections, as typical of them is a sizing with unboiled starch grains. However, there is a difference between the surface treatment of the Dunhuang manuscripts paper and the Saka manuscripts paper. The fibres in the Dunhuang manuscripts are polished and pressed together, producing a closed structure of a smooth layer in contrast to the more open three-dimensional fibre structure in the Saka paper. The same type and dimension of mould with a screen of reeds seems to have been used by the paper makers in the sheet formation process for a long period along the Silk Road, and the density of the reed screen of 11—13 laid lines per 3 cm is usual density of handmade paper produced using a reed screen even today.

The paper of the minor group of the Dunhuang manuscripts differs from the paper of the Sven Hedin collection. The paper of this minor group is of such a high quality, with regard to fibre sorting and distribution, that it bears great resemblance to modern machine-made paper or the best handmade Japanese paper, especially the Dunhuang sheets of paper with no visible laid lines and chain-lines.

The microscopic analysis, however, shows the same type of bastfibres and fibrillation, with the presence of crystals, starch grains and particles of fillings, as in other Dunhuang manuscripts, and the same type of surface treatment. The employment of two different types of screens and the different degree of fibre sorting and distribution of the same kind of bast material had the result that we have paper of rather different quality, and both types of screens seem to have been used at the same time.

Heavy paper with impression of a reed screen, which is characteristic of the Danish Dunhuang collection, is predominant. Investigation of other collections might be of help in describing and dating the stages of the development of a bamboo screen and the production of thin, uniform paper; it would be also of use for determining the time when a reed screen was replaced by a bamboo screen.

As the paper investigation shows, in all Dunhuang manuscripts of the Danish collection handmade paper of a mixture of bastfibres with varying degree of fibrillation was used. The preliminary analysis reveals a great variety of the paper in many small details which produce individual combinations in individual sheets. The investigation demonstrates quite traditional paper technology known to scholars, and this technology employed in the paper production testifies to the authenticity of the collection's manuscripts.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

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COMPUTER ANALYSIS OF THE LAWS OF HAMMURABI:
BASIC CONCEPTS*

Introduction

We indicate with the term "computer analysis" a fairly specialized form of analysis based on formal logic and modelling of the text under investigation [1]. The model of the text is a formal description of its contents. It is constructed by a researcher or, in our case, a historian. The object of modelling a selected body of texts on the basis of the concepts they advance and their internal conceptual hierarchy is to establish a formal system of information about a concrete historical period or phenomenon. We are thus able to use the computer to systematize and analyse what we learn through our research. One of the most important results of such analysis is a body of information that reflects this knowledge and can subsequently be analysed automatically and used. One example of such use is searching and selection on the basis of a logical conclusion drawn from what we know. In our case, the laws of Hammurabi and accompanying documents have been chosen for analysis.

The Laws of Hammurabi (Code of Hammurabi) is the accepted scholarly name for the most important and largest legal text from ancient Mesopotamia. The text was drawn up in Akkadian (now a dead language) in the eighteenth century B.C. and later written in cuneiform on stone stelas set up in Babylon and other important Mesopotamian cities. The text of the Laws circulated until the very end of "cuneiform" culture in the form of copies on clay tablets. The only stone stela with the text of the Laws to have come down to us was discovered by archaeologists at the beginning of the twentieth century in South West Iran, home to the ancient state of Elam. The Elamites brought it there as a war trophy after one of their raids on Babylonia several centuries after the Laws were made public. The Elamites carved off a part of the text on the stela, most likely intending to carve in its place a triumphal inscription, but for some reason did not complete their task. The resultant lacuna in the text has only been partially filled on the basis of clay-tablet copies, as all copies are to some degree partial or defective.

The first scholarly publications on the Laws of Hammurabi, translations into modern languages and more or less extensive commentary appeared soon after the Laws were discovered. New publications continue to appear as new fragments of the text are discovered, our knowledge of the Akkadian language improves, and progress is made in the interpretation of the text. One should note that the first publisher divided the text into three sections: Prologue, Laws, and Epilogue. The Prologue and Epilogue contain the religious basis for Hammurabi's power, his rights and obligations as lawgiver and keeper of Truth and Justice (the two concepts were personified as deities), explain the reason for promulgating the Laws and bestow blessings on future rulers who will observe them and curses on those who would break them. They are written in high style, intentionally archaic even for the time of their composition. They belong to the genre of prose literature. At the present stage of our work, these two sections are not amenable to formal analysis. But the text of the laws is written in dry, precise, strictly formalized language; it forms a perfect subject for our purposes, although some circumstances complicate our task.

The goal of the present work is to demonstrate with a few examples certain basic principles of using formal logic in text analysis, its possibilities and difficulties. Subsequent instalments will examine the particular features of the documents analysed, treat the basic elements and characteristics of the formal language used to define textual models, and provide examples of models.

We relied on the MAZE database administration system, which allows for the collection of texts, their formal description, indexing, conceptual dictionaries, and a network of associative links between texts to produce a hypertext and reveal the conceptual dimension of this hypertext [2]. The system allows for the entry and processing of three types of information:

— texts and their formal description in textual form;

— conceptual information drawn by the system from the descriptions of texts or set by the researcher;

— dictionaries and indices to the texts.

Texts are built up in a card-catalogue system. Along with traditional subject headings and hypertexts, the card catalogue allows one to construct and process card networks linked by preset binary relations. This gives the researcher a chance to determine the associative links between the texts. Practice shows the usefulness of these methods; for example, in carrying out various types of semiotic research [3].

1. Basic characteristics of the text to be analysed

The text's first publisher divided the Laws into individual "paragraphs", or "articles", numbering them in accordance with his understanding of the text and his ideas, very subjective though, of how many paragraphs might be contained in the lacuna. The actual text, however, is divided into columns and lines. They are, as far as we can tell, determined unrelated to content, intended instead to make the cuneiform easier to place and more attractive. The first publisher's paragraph divisions are not always logical: some of them could be further divided, others could be linked. But this division has long been accepted, so any departure from it would seriously impair our ability to use the vast existing literature on the Laws of Hammurabi where references to the text are given by column, line and paragraph number. The number of paragraphs in the lacuna remains unknown. Nonetheless, for the purposes of formal analysis it would be very convenient to divide the text into the smallest legally relevant segments, which we propose to call norms. Thus, each paragraph (article) would contain one or more norms. References to norms would contain the number of the norm and the paragraph.

The question of the text structure, or the question of the principle of the order of individual norms and paragraphs within the Laws, is extremely important, and still remains a matter of controversy. We suggest that the norms and paragraphs are grouped into larger "sections" in accordance with the subject of regulation, which is understood very broadly. The transition from one norm to another (their meaning connection) is by association — two neighbouring norms and two neighbouring paragraphs treat one and the same subject, though they might do so in entirely different ways. We remind readers that the original contains only semantic divisions; each new norm is introduced with the word "if". The present work treats the first "section", which consists of five paragraphs. It formulates the basic principles of administration of justice, acting as a purely legal introduction to the more concrete paragraphs and norms to come. It is for this reason that it lacks associative transitions from one norm to another and to the next section. Moreover, to understand the following one must take into account that the law of ancient Babylonia is purely empirical and pre-theoretical. It formulated none of the general principles or abstract legal concepts that our era takes for granted — for example, the principle of the law's exhaustive completeness or the concepts of legal capacity and capability (these were only formulated centuries later by Roman jurists). But one can claim that Babylonian jurists in some sense understood (or, at least, felt) their importance and meaning. Unable to formulate them as abstract concepts, they conveyed them casuistically, presenting the general concept as a concrete case. It may thus seem strange that the Laws begin by establishing the punishments for a false accusation of murder or sorcery and how a court should investigate such accusations, yet do not contain any norms for the punishment for actual sorcery or murder. But this was presumed to be clear to all. The general principles that can be formulated for the preceding on the basis of the text of the First section are:

1) A court trial begins with a declaration by the plaintiff (who is also the accuser).

2) Proof in court consists of the testimony of witnesses and documents, and if "earthly" proofs are absent, divine justice in the form of an oath or ordeal (trial by River; other texts indicate that other forms of ordeal existed). Either the court or the law establishes which of the sides and / or witness must swear an oath or undergo ordeal.

3) Once delivered, a verdict cannot be reviewed by the same court on the same basis; a judge who performs such a review is removed from his office (Babylonian jurists understood the principle formulated by Roman law as non *bis in eadem re*, but expressed it, as we have explained, casuistically).

Properly speaking, paragraph 7 belongs in this section as well; it establishes a general rule with a concrete case: someone who has acquired something in some fashion from a slave or "son of a person" (a minor) is punished as a thief (in other words, a slave or "son of a person" is not legally capable). In our text, however, this paragraph occupies its place not in error, as many authors believe, but in strict accordance with the associative principle: the preceding paragraph concerns the punishment for thievery.

We must formulate several other basic principles that we will use in analysing the text. Since Babylonian law, like other ancient legal systems, did not divide law into criminal, civil, procedural, etc., and trials were an adversary proceeding (initiated by one of the parties, with each party obligated to prove the correctness of its assertions), the parties are called, in accordance with their roles, "plaintiff" and "defendant". Each concrete norm replicates the form of the so-called "Omen lists" — a special type of text that foretold the future on the basis of events or phenomena that had already occurred: if event A had taken place (in our case, the disposition of a given norm), then event B must take place (the sanction for the given norm). Each norm, therefore, includes disposition A (some hypothetical situation of legal relevance) and sanction B (indication of the obligatory legal consequences of this situation). These consequences occur in the form of a legal verdict that establishes the validity of a demand or accusation. The disposition, in other words, contains the point at issue, whatever it may be: (a) a property dispute; (b) a violation of a law. The trial presumes the participation of judges, plaintiffs, who are either victims or accusers, defendants, who can be victims in the case of a baseless accusation or demand, and witnesses. The category of sanctions includes: (a) punishment imposed on a person; (b) the obligation to

perform or not perform certain actions; (c) permission to perform an action. Damages, in turn, could be material or caused to a person, although the dividing line between these types of damages was in practice indeterminate, as the Babylonians considered property part of the person of its owner (only Roman law developed abstract concepts of property and ownership). The first two types of sanctions, if the disposition dealt with damages caused by one person to another, could correspond to the principle of talion, where the defendant suffers the same harm that he has caused (or meant to cause) the plaintiff, the defendant being found guilty of causing real or virtual damage (the latter in the case of a false accusation or perjury).

These are the basic concepts we will use in our formal description of the norms of the Laws. The language of description is a metalanguage in relation to natural language, allowing us to use either the original text or a translation into any natural language, as long as the translation corresponds to the original, of course.

2. Basic principles of textual modelling

Formal description occupies a central place in the general technique of formal-logical text analysis. Descriptions are drawn up by researchers and can contain both information about concepts employed in the texts and models of texts. Any concept is formally defined as a class of objects that possess common attributes. For any concept, one can indicate the classes to which it belongs, its own subclasses, attributes, and the meanings of its attributes. Descriptions of data constructed in accordance with these principles are called conceptual models. In our descriptions we will use the formal language developed and implemented in the MAZE system [4].

The model of the text is written down as a sequence of statements of the formal language. A statement can contain an assertion about relations between objects in the conceptual model and either takes the form of a rule that establishes the dependence of relations or represents a query to the knowledge base. Statements are separated by the sign ;.

The following types of objects can be defined: concepts (classes, sets), concrete objects (individuals), links, numbers. The object type is clearly indicated in its designation. For example, class and individual designations are written in the letters of the Russian or Latin alphabet; moreover, the final element in an individual designation must be one of two signs: $ or #, which distinguish individual and class designations. Numbers and underscores (_) can be used along with letters in class or individual designations.

EXAMPLE 1.

norm, disposition, D1, capital_case — designations of concepts (classes of individuals);

Balmunamhe$, thief# — designations of individuals.

We note that the sign $ is used when it is necessary to introduce a general designation that applies to the entire body of texts. In our example, we use the name **Balmunamhe$** to designate a concrete person who is thus designated in all the texts. The sign # means "some" (in our case some concrete thief) and the designation's sphere of application is limited by this sign to the text in which it is used. In various texts the designation **thief#** will indicate various concrete thieves.

A relation of belonging for individual **I$** or subclass **Sc** to some class **C** is called a relation of concretisation and is designated by the sign :. The belonging of individual **I$** (or subclass **Sc**) to class **C** is written **C: I$** (or **C: Sc**). We say in this case that individual **I$** (or subclass **Sc**) concretises class **C**.

EXAMPLE 2. Norms of the Laws reflect the precise social and class division of Babylonia's inhabitants. Free Babylonians and slaves had fundamentally different statuses and rights; the term "person" in norms is bound to the designation of free people, in turn divided into two classes — free community members with full rights (*awīlum*s) and the people of the king (*muškēnum*s). By concretising, we can record this fact as follows:

inhabitant_of_Babylonia:*awīlum*;
inhabitant_of_Babylonia:*muškēnum*;
inhabitant_of_Babylonia:slave;

As a result, we introduce into the information system four new concepts, designated as "**inhabitant_of_Babylonia**", "**awīlum**", "**muškēnum**", "**slave**", and linked by concretisation. We note that in our model, thanks to the formal sense of a concretization relation, any representative of the class *awīlum*, *muškēnum* or slave is also a representative of the class **inhabitant_of_Babylonia**.

In terms of rights, degree of defence before the law, and types of obligations to the state, free inhabitants of Babylonia were divided into "state" or "royal" people — *muškēnum*s (lacking full rights and serving the king) and commune members with full rights — *awīlum*s. Continuing the model, we can record that within the *muškēnum* class there were subclasses of people differentiated by type of service:

person: *muškēnum*; **person:** *awīlum*;
muškēnum: *rēdum*; *muškēnum*: *ba'irum*;
muškēnum: **payer_of_income**;

Through concretisation we establish a hierarchy of concepts, where one and the same concept can occupy a place in various hierarchies.

A class is made up of individuals (instances) that possess certain attributes. The presence of attribute **P** among all items in class **C** is represented as **C(P)**. Each representative of class **C** has the concrete (although it may not be indicated) expression (value) of attribute **P**, where this value is an item of class **P**.

Any concretisation of a class entails specifying the characteristics of the class. With the statement **Sc(P.Sp)** we clearly indicate that for class **Sc** attribute **P** is concretised by values of class **Sp**, and any item in class **Sc** can have as a value for attribute **P** only an item of class **Sp**. Consequently, with the statement **Sc(P.Sp)** we establish a concretisation relation between class **P** and class **Sp**.

EXAMPLE 3. All free inhabitants of Babylonia had to perform duties of taking part in common construction and irrigation projects and to pay tribute. The class **general_duties** can be described as an attribute of any concrete inhabitant of Babylonia with full rights:

awīlum (general_duties);
general_duties:construction;
general_duties:irrigation;
general_duties:economic;

*Muškēnum*s formed a separate class by virtue of their carrying out royal service, for which they received a land allotment (house, field, garden) or reward in kind:

muškēnum(special_duties, land_allotment, reward);
special_duties:military;
special_duties:production;
rēdum(special_duties.military);
ba'irum(special_duties.military);

Before moving on to the modelling of concrete concepts connected with the norms of the Laws, we will have to define one more extremely important type of relations in the formal language for modelling texts — conceptualisation. Conceptualisation relations are used when it is necessary to describe the structure of a concept by indicated the objects that make up the structure and their relations within the structure. Conceptualisation relations allow us to examine sets of assertions about objects as a whole object that can enter into relations with other objects. In the formal text this set of statements is set off by brackets. The construction **object {set of assertions}** is intended to model such situations. We will use the term "object conceptualisation" to designate a bracketed set of statements that apply to the object indicated in the construction. The relations given by this set are called entering into the conceptualisation.

EXAMPLE 4. As was noted above, each concrete norm in the Laws takes the form omen. It makes sense to construct the model of a norm as some trial of law determined by the nature of events or phenomena. The skeletal situation consists of two classes of objects: the disposition and the sanction that results from the disposition. Attributes of the disposition are the complaint that forms the crux of the trial, the plaintiff who advances the corresponding complaint, the defendant to whom the complaint is addressed, witnesses and the court's conclusion on the factual aspect of the case. This conclusion could be decisive, recognizing the basis or baselessness of the complaint, or it could rely on the results of an ordeal imposed by the court or the norm on the plaintiff or defendant. The documents use as ordeal an oath, trial by River, and legal duel. Two attributes of the ordeal are of key importance: who undergoes it and its result. Two outcomes of the ordeal are possible: death or survival. The norms of the laws propose four types of sanctions: punishment for a violation of law, permission to perform or not to perform an action (for example, extend a contract), a ban on certain actions and an imposition (of a fine, for example):

disposition(complaint,plaintiff,defendant,
witness,established,verdict);
established:proved;established:unproven;
verdict:ordeal(person_tried,result);
ordeal:trial_by_River;
sanction(object_of_sanction):punishment:execution;
sanction:imposition:fine;
sanction:permission:extend contract;

This is enough to record models of two norms not found in the text of the Laws but active and known by custom to all inhabitants of Babylon. One of them concerns the punishment for murder (**PM**); the other, punishment for sorcery (**PS**):

norm:PM{disposition(complaint.murder,
defendant.accused#,established.proved);
sanction:execution(object_of_sanction.accused#)};

norm:PS{disposition(complaint.sorcery,
plaintiff.accused#,established.proved);
sanction:execution(object_of_sanction.accused#)};

Two comments follow on the designations used in EXAMPLE 4: (a) concrete cases are instances for the class **norm**. Its subclasses **PM** and **PS** are formed from cases, the dispositions of which are represented by grounded accusations of murder and sorcery; (b) for each concrete instance in class **PM** (**PS**) there is some instance in the disposition class with some concrete complaint of the class murder (sorcery). Also concrete and juxtaposed with individuals of class **PM** (**PS**) are the defendant of the class **accused**, a resolution of the class **proved** and a sanction of the class **execution**. The fact that the defendant in the disposition and sanction is one person is noted with the sign #.

The definitions of norms examined below were drawn up in accordance with the texts of the Laws and on the basis of the concepts already introduced. In defining them, the following agreements were accepted:

a) Each norm contains a description of one disposition and one sanction. A section of the Laws that contains several dispositions is represented by a corresponding number of norms. Various sanctions may be indicated for a general disposition in the text of the section (an example might be sections where the content of the sanction depends on the outcome of an ordeal). In such cases the section situation is described with several norms.

b) It makes sense to indicate the section of the Laws to which a designated norm corresponds in the designation of the class the norm represents. The structure we have selected for designating norms takes the form N_"section"_"norm", where the space designated by "section" gives the section number in the text of the Laws and the place designated "norm" gives the number of the norm within the section.

EXAMPLE 5. We present models of the first five sections of the Laws. These sections formulate the basic principles of administration of justice. The text is given in V. A. Jakobson's translation [5]. For easy comparison with the original, the text of the Laws gives in parenthesis the number of each fifth line in the original.

§1. (26) If a person has accused (another) person and raised against him an accusation of murder, but (30) not established [his guilt], the accuser is to be killed.

norm: N_1{
    disposition(
    complaint.murder,
    plaintiff.accuser#,
    established.unproven);
    sanction:execution(object_of_sanction.accuser#)};

§2. If a person an accusation of sorcery (35) against (another) person has raised, but not established [his guilt], he against whom the accusation of sorcery was raised, to the River (40) must go and must undergo trial by River, and if the River takes him, his accuser his (45) house can appropriate; but if the River cleanses this person (of this accusation) and he remains unharmed, (50) he who raised against him the accusation of sorcery is to be killed (and) he who underwent trial by River can appropriate the home of (his) accuser.

```
norm: N_2_1{
    disposition(
            complaint.sorcery,
            plaintiff.accuser#,
            defendant.accused#,
            verdict: trial_by_River(
            tried.accused#,
            result.died));
        sanction: transfer_of_property(
from.accused#,
            to.accuser#)};
```

```
norm: N_2_2{disposition(
            complaint.sorcery,
            plaintiff.accuser,
            defendant.accused#,
            verdict: trial_by_River(
            tried.accused#,
            result.survived));
        sanction: transfer_of_property(
            from.accuser#,
            to.accused#);
        sanction: execution
        (object_of_sanction.accuser#)};
```

§3. (57) If a person in a trial of law for bearing witness (60) about a crime has spoken, but did not confirm the spoken word, (then) if this trial (65) is a trial over life (and death), the person shall be killed.

```
norm:N_3{
    disposition(
            complaint.trial_capitale_case,
            witness.person#
            established.unproven);
        sanction:execution(object_of_sanction.person#)};
```

§4. (68) If for bearing witness (VI, 1) about grain or money he has spoken, responsibility for this trial (5) he must bear.

```
norm: N_4:={
    disposition(
            complaint.property_matter,
            witness.person#,
            established.unproven);
        sanction: punishment_for_matter
        (object_of_sanction.person#)};
```

§5. If the judge has resolved his case (and) delivered a verdict, (10) has ordered a document with a seal prepared, and then changed his verdict, this judge (15) should be exposed for changing a settled matter and the complaint, which for this matter (20) was presented, he should satisfy twelve-fold, and in the assembly from the chair (25) of a judge he should be forced to rise, and he should not return and with judges in the court (30) he should (no longer) sit in session.

```
norm: N_5{
    disposition(
            complaint.changing_legal_verdict(
                    case.property_case,
                    amount_of_suit.sum),
            defendant.judge#,
            established.proved);
        sanction: property_punishment(
                    object_of_sanction.judge#,
                    amount.sum_12);
        sanction: removal_from_office
        (object_of_sanction.judge#)};
```

Only five principles of the justice system are specially set off in the system of legislation declared by the text of the Laws: punishment for false accusation, punishment for perjury, talion, the punishment of "equal for equal", ordeal as a means of establishing the truth when "earthly" proofs are impossible (the case of sorcery is a fine example), a judge's review of an earlier verdict. Interestingly, the punishment for perjury is set in accordance with the principle of talion; in the next section we will show the consequences this has in the general formal system of knowledge on the texts of the Laws.

3. Queries and rules

Models of texts and accompanying information are gathered and systematized in the knowledge base. At any stage in the process we can direct a query on the concepts, relations between them, or models in which these concepts occur [6]. The most frequently used query is in the form of a list of statements in the formal language provided with a "?": **? statement**; or **? (list of statements)**.

The query means: "Does the knowledge base contain facts that support the statement contained in the query?" An important difference between statements in queries and analogous statements in models of texts is that in queries in place of a class or individual designation we can put a variable. In such a case, we ask: "Are there values for the variables in the query which make the statement true, and if they exist, what would they be?" Unlike the (constant)

class and individual designations we have already used, variables begin with a "!".

EXAMPLE 6. Let us assume that our knowledge base contains the facts given in examples 1—5. The query **?inhabitant_of_Babylonia:!X** would produce the answer: (X=*awīlum*; X=*muškēnum*; X=slave), and the query **? disposition(!X)** the answer (X=complaint; X=plaintiff; X=defendant; X=witness; X=verdict; X=established).

A more complicated query would concern norms of the Laws where the complaint of the disposition and the sanction contain the concept **loss_of_life**:

? (norm: !X{disposition(complaint: !Y); sanction: !Z}; loss_of_life:!Y; loss_of_life:!Z)

At the current stage of our knowledge base we will receive a negative answer because the concept **loss_of_life** is missing in our knowledge base. But if augment the base with the definitions

> **loss_of_life: execution; loss_of_life: murder; loss_of_life: capitale_case;**

we will obtain the following answers: (**X=PM; Y=murder; Z=execution**), (**X=H_1; Y=murder; Z=execution**), (**X=H_3; Y=capitale_case; Z=execution**).

The answer to a question cannot always be obtained as a result of a direct review of the statements in the knowledge base. We may, for example, be interested in the norms of Laws where the sanctions are subject to the abovementioned principle of talion. In order to organize a search for an answer to this question, we need to construct a small system of concepts and rules, an "ad hoc theory" to seek out the required answer. The construction of a rule in our formal language takes a fairly traditional form: **** consequent ← antecedent**, where the consequent and antecedent are statements in the formal language [7].

EXAMPLE 7. In our knowledge base we will define **talion** as a subclass of norms. We need to define the concepts and rules that the knowledge base will use to determine whether concrete norms in the Laws belong to this subclass. Obviously, we can only assign to the **talion** class those norms where the disposition speaks of damage inflicted by one party in the trial on another party. We designate the corresponding concept as **damage** and define it as an element in the conceptualisation juxtaposed with the norm:

> **damage(subject_of_damage, object_of_damage);**

The principle of talion can then be formulated as follows: "A norm belongs to the **talion** class if the subject that inflicts some damage according to the disposition of this norm is the object of a sanction of the same norm in the form of equivalent damage".

> ****talion: !CN←**
> **(norm: !CN {damage: !Z(subject_of_damage.!X);**
> **sanction: !S(object_of_sanction.!X)} !Z:!S);**

In looking for an answer to the query **? talion: !X**, the knowledge base will try to use this rule, automatically replacing the original query with whatever is supplied by the rule's antecedent.

In order to carry out a search on the new query, one must know how to identify norms that deal with some form of damage. The task here is to take into account various situations where damage is inflicted:

a) The complaint of the disposition belongs to one of the subclasses of the **damage** class and is well-grounded — damage is inflicted by the defendant.

> **** !CN{damage: !X(subject_of_damage.!D}←**
> **(!CN{disposition(complaint.!Y,defendant.!D,**
> **established.proven)}; !X:!Y);**

b) The complaint of the disposition belongs to one of the subclasses of the **damage** class and is unfounded. In

this case, we can speak of "virtual" damage which the plaintiff, as well as the witnesses he calls, attempts to inflict on the defendant with a false accusation or false testimony in an attempt to impose a sanction. We can establish the type of damage by finding the norm that establishes the sanction if the complaint is satisfied:

> ****false_accusation:!CN{damage:**
> **!S(subject_of_damage.!Z,object_of_damage.!D}←**
> **(norm: !CN{disposition(plaintiff.!Z,**
> **complaint.!P,defendant.!D,**
> **established:unproven)};**
> **norm:!CN1{disposition(complaint.!P1,**
> **established:proved);**
> **sanction:!S1};**
> **damage:!Q;!Q:!P; !Q:P1; damage:!S; !S:!S1);**
> ****perjury: !CN{damage:**
> **!S(subject_of_damage.!Z, object_of_damage.!D)}←**
> **(norm: !CN{disposition(witness.!Z,**
> **complaint.!P,defendant.!D,**
> **established: unproven)};**
> **norm:!CN1{disposition(complaint.!P1,**
> **established:proved);**
> **sanction:!S1};**
> **damage:!Q; !Q:!P; !Q:P1; damage:!S; !S:!S1);**

In addition to the rules, we must augment the knowledge base with information about the concepts that are part of the **damage** class:

> **damage:loss_of_life;**
> **damage: property_damage;**
> **property_damage:property_case;**
> **property_damage:punishment_for_matter;**

Now, when searching for an answer to the query

> **(norm: !CN{damage: !Z(subject_of_damage.!X);**
> **sanction: !S(object_of_sanction.!X)}; !Z:!S);**

the knowledge base will use rules a) and b) to select norms where the dispositions contain some form of damage and establish its inflictor; it will then review the selections and chose those sanctions that impose on the inflictor equivalent damage.

The remaining issue is ordeal. The validity of a complaint, as was noted, is here established according to the results of a (physical) trial. We can present this circumstance in the knowledge base with two rules:

a) The complaint of the disposition in the norm is valid and the sanction belongs to the class **loss_of_life** if the defendant who undergoes the trial dies as a result.

> **!CN{disposition(established:proved);**
> **sanction:execution(object_of_sanction.!X))}←**
> **(norm:!CN{disposition(defendant.!X);**
> **verdict:trial_by_River(tried.!X,result.died)});**

b) The complaint against the defendant in the disposition of the norm is considered invalid if he survives the trial.

> **!CN{disposition(established:unproved)}←**
> **(norm:!CN{disposition(defendant.!X);**
> **verdict:trial_by_River(tried.!X,result.survived)});**

The presence in the knowledge base of the norms N_2_1, N_2_2 and the last two rules renders superfluous the earlier definition of the norm **NS**, since the information given by this norm is automatically derived from the latter definitions.

Conclusion

It follows from the preceding that the search system presented here differs from traditional search systems in its focus on the "meanings" of the modelled texts rather than the key words they contain. It allows one to reveal the logical structure of texts and the information they contain. Since the system itself functions purely on the basis of formal logic, the results may differ from those obtained through the heuristic methods typical of human researchers. Sometimes these results are quite intelligent, though sometimes rather surprising. Nonsense answers also occur; they point to insufficiently exact formulations of rules and statements and help to identify the errors that result from inexact human thought. In other words, the proposed system and the researchers that use it can act as opponents, helping each other to overcome mutual shortcomings.

The information contained in the system is a formal description of a specific subject. It is structured in such a way that one can set up any samples and any juxtapositions within the system. Should the system prove workable, it could be applied to similar topics such as the analysis of any legal texts, or even any texts that have a clearly defined formal-logical structure.

Notes

1. V. A. Jakobson, "Computer Assyriology", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/4 (1998), pp 55—9; G. V. Lezin, K. K. Boiarskiĭ, E. A. Kanevskiĭ, A. I. Popova, "Analiz tekstov: predstavlenie i obrabotka kontseptual'noĭ informatsii" ("Text analysis: presenting and analysing conceptual information"), in *Trudy Mezhdunarodnogo seminara Dialog '97 po komp'iuternoĭ lingvistike i eë prilozheniiam* (Moscow, 1997), pp. 170—4; see also K. K. Boiarskiĭ, E. A. Kanevskiĭ, G. V. Lezin, A. I. Popova, "Formalizatsiia znaniĭ v gumani-tarnykh issledovaniiakh" ("The formalization of knowledge in humanities research"), in *Ėkonomiko-matematicheskie issledovaniia: matematicheskie modeli i informatsionnye tekhnologii* (St. Petersburg, 1999), pp. 248—63.

2. For the MAZE database, see Lezin, Boiarskiĭ, Kanevskiĭ, Popova, "Analiz tekstov". For the English version of the article, see G. V. Lezin, K. K. Boiarsky, E. A. Kanevsky, A. I. Popova, "Programming of texts conceptual treatment", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/2 (1997), pp. 42—8.

3. V. V. Emel'ianov, "Ispol'zovanie kartoteki MAZE dlia ustanovleniia semantiki drevnego kalendaria (na primere kalendaria iz g. Nippura)" ("The use of the MAZE card index to establish the semantics of an ancient calendar (on the basis of a calendar from the city of Nippur)"), in *Informatsionnye tekhnologii v gumanitarnykh i obshchestvennykh naukakh*, issue 7 (St. Petersburg, 1997), pp. 1—9.

4. See Boiarskiĭ, Kanevskiĭ, Lezin, Popova, "Formalizatsiia znaniĭ".

5. "Zakony Khammurapi" ("Laws of Hammurabi"), trans. and commentary by V.A. Jakobson, in *Khrestomatiia po istorii Drevnego Vostoka* (in print).

6. Cf. Boiarskiĭ, Kanevskiĭ, Lezin, Popova, "Formalizatsiia znaniĭ".

7. See *ibid.*

BOOK REVIEWS

Lucy-Anne Hunt. *The Mingana and Related Collections. A Survey of Illustrated Arabic, Greek, Eastern Christian, Persian and Turkish Manuscripts in the Selly Oak Colleges,* **Birmingham: s. a. [1997?], 93 pp.**

The short book under review here (henceforth, the Survey) was conceived by its author to complement already published catalogues of Eastern manuscripts held at the Library of the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham. A bibliography of those catalogues is given in the first chapter of the Survey (pp. 2—4) entitled "Introduction". It is accompanied by a description of the library collection by language. The following collections are thus described: Arabic manuscripts (Muslim and Christian), Persian, Turkish, Syriac, Greek, Armenian, and Ethiopian manuscripts and scrolls; papyrae; fragments of Jewish manuscripts (mainly from the Cairo Genizah), fragments from Georgian manuscripts from Sinai, etc. The author of the Survey explains (p. 3) that an addition to existing descriptions was necessary because at the time of the initial cataloguing of the Birmingham manuscript collections, questions of manuscripts artistic virtues were given short shrift. Moreover, a portion of the manuscripts remained uncatalogued up through the present (their total number is not given). Some of them (Turkish, Persian and Arabic) are described for the first time in the Survey (in the tenth, concluding chapter). The author says the following about the principles of describing manuscripts in the Survey: "The basic description follows a format frequently used in manuscript cataloguing: the measurements, binding, state, date, content of the text, palaeography, codicology and a list of the illustrations, and summary bibliography" (p. 3).

The second chapter — "Background to the Mingana and related collections" (pp. 4—9) — describes how the manuscript collection took shape. The key role in the collection's creation was played by the chocolate magnate and philanthropist Dr. Edward Cadbury, as well as Alphonse Mingana, for whom the industrialist funded several trips to the East to collect manuscripts. In Lucy-Anne Hunt's own words, "... the collection of manuscripts was as diverse in its coming together as it is in its content. The driving spirit behind it was the philanthropic support

of missionary activity in the Middle East by Dr. Edward Cadbury, motivated by the desire to stimulate at Woodbrooke research of the highest order into Theological and Mission Studies. Alphonse Mingana was the instrument in the attempt to realise that dream, through his travels to collect manuscripts and his work in cataloguing them" (p. 9).

The third chapter — "Islamic Arabic manuscripts" (pp. 10—35) — contains descriptions of 80 manuscripts (Qur'āns, commentaries on the Qur'ān, works on the Qur'ān and the Islamic tradition, legal texts, works on dogmatics, mysticism, philosophical, historical and devotional texts, texts on grammar, works of literature, biographies of Muḥammad, geographical text, texts on astronomy and astrology, magical text, and some other miscellaneous manuscripts). All of these manuscripts have already been described in the printed catalogue, and the Survey always provides references to their call numbers. The present edition repeats (following the earlier, already published catalogue), for the most part, only the author's name, the title of the work, and the date of copying (if available). The additional material consists of a scrupulous enumeration of various types of illuminations (such information was absent in the earlier catalogue). Unfortunately, the technical language employed for description gives only a general sense. In 1993, I noted the imprecision of the terminology and its lack of universal applicability [1].

On the other hand, some of the 80 descriptions in this section are accompanied by illustrations (12 black-and-white and 2 colour). A juxtaposition of the illustrations with the descriptions of the corresponding manuscripts helps one to gain a better sense of things, aiding the development and emergence of a national terminology (in this case, English-language) with an eye to its future internationalisation, so to speak. The inclusion of illuminated manuscripts in a separate catalogue provides specialists in the field with a convenient guide where they can find a list of illuminations of all kinds in each manuscript. At the same time, the technical language employed to describe the artistic elements in conjunction with the selected illuminations serves up yet another portion of food for thought on the unsatisfactory state of national and international terminology.

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[1] Val. V. Polosin, "K opisaniiu arabskikh illiuminovannykh rukopiseĭ", in *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, issue 3 (St. Petersburg, 1993), p. 154. The English version of this work was published, see *idem*, "To the method of describing illuminated Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/2 (1995), p. 16.

The most noteworthy, in this author's opinion, examples of Arabic manuscripts are listed in the "Introduction" (pp. 3—4), which also gives the best copies from other language groups. The Arabic manuscripts are dated to the twelfth — nineteenth centuries.

The majority of Islamic Arabic manuscripts described in chapter 3 were copied before the eighteen century, but there is, for example, one Qur'ān from the Mamlūk period (15th century) and several Qur'ānic fragments from the second and third centuries A. H. (8th — 9th century A. D.).

In the fourth chapter — "Christian Arabic manuscripts" (pp. 35—42) — the author notes that the Armenien, Ethiopic and Coptic manuscripts of the Mingana collection were not catalogued yet. Further, in contrast with A. Mingana's view who estimated the artistic virtues of Christian Arabic manuscripts as rather mediocre, the author of the Survey observes that among the manuscripts of the collection there are "several which are of interest for the art and culture of the Christian East, especially when the illustrations are examined in relation to the texts, and the purpose they served is elicited" (p. 36). We find descriptions of six manuscripts in this chapter (six black-and-white photograph reproductions are present).

The fifth chapter — "Greek manuscripts" (pp. 42—58) — contains descriptions of five manuscripts. The descriptions are accompanied by 10 photographs, nine black-and-white and one colour. Manuscript No. 84 in this section is of special interest. The copy contains the Gospels and is dated to the first half of the twelfth century. Fols. 1—3 and 352—365 are a majescule palimpsest of the ninth century. It comprises a lectionary with lessons from the Epistles and Acts. The manuscript was executed in Constantinople and has the Evangelist portraits (12th century). The portrait of St. John at the beginning of the manuscript is of a later origin (presumably, late 13th — 14th century). The manuscript acquired by Quaritch, a well-known book dealer, has changed several owners and found its way to the Selly Oak Colleges' Library.

The sixth chapter — "Syriac manuscripts" (pp. 59—67) — describes six manuscripts, for four of which we have black-and-white and one colour reproductions. This part of the collection contains a copy of Syrian Orthodox Lectionary executed at the monastery of Mar Mattaï (near Mosul); the manuscript is dated 1216—1220 A. D. It has the depiction of Christ healing the Leper (13.2 × 12.0 cm). The illustration, preceding the beginning of the lesson for the second Sunday in Lent, is remarkable for the richness of its colour palette (the pigments are unfortunately oxidised). Gold and silver are also used in the miniature: one can see gold nimbi, Christ's sleeve is also gold, while his hand is silver.

The seventh chapter, which occupies a single (!) page — "Ethiopic scroll" (p. 68) — describes a magical nineteenth-century scroll. The chapter is supplied with one black-and-white photograph.

The eighth chapter — "Armenian manuscripts" (pp. 69—71) — also describes only one manuscript (the Four Gospels, 17th century), augmenting the description with black-and-white photographs of three double pages from the manuscript. The fourth photograph is in colour and also shows a double page.

The author tells us (p. 72) that when she began working on her Survey, the Mingana Persian manuscripts "were virtually unknown". She treats them in the ninth chapter — "Mingana Persian and Indian manuscripts" (pp. 72—89) — where she describes 15 manuscripts from this collection and publishes 14 black-and-white and 3 colour reproductions. Several of these manuscripts were acquired in Iran and India directly. Three of the manuscripts date to the fifteenth century: (i) *Dīwān-i Amīr Khusraw*, (ii) the collection of poetical works which includes *Dīwān-i 'Attar* (both manuscripts were executed in Shiraz), and (iii) *Kalīla wa Dimna*, a copy dated 1412. It contains 62 miniatures displaying Turkman or more likely Indian style. The other manuscripts are of a later origin (16th — 19th centuries).

The tenth and final chapter — "Uncatalogued Turkish, Persian and Arabic manuscripts" (pp. 90—3) — contains descriptions of four Arabic, seven Persian (one with an unidentified text) and two Turkish manuscripts. This chapter lacks illustrations.

The chief virtue of the book under review is, of course, the idea behind it — to complement existing archaeographic information about one of the most valuable collections of Eastern manuscripts in Great Britain with a specialized guide to 127 illustrated copies contained therein. Moreover, codicologists and art historians will take some interest in the technical language employed for descriptions, as such terminology leaves much room for further development and internationalisation. Yet another virtue is that a large number of the illustrations published in the Survey reproduce manuscript pages and double pages in full, without imperious and arbitrary reformatting that crops the margins and distorts the proportions found in the original.

Among the insignificant shortcomings is the book's division into numbered chapters. This adds nothing useful to the headings of the thematic divisions that make up the Survey. There are no clear or convincing reasons given for spreading Arabic-Muslim and Persian manuscript descriptions over two separate chapters (the former in the third and tenth chapters, and the latter in the ninth and tenth chapters), which is inconvenient for the reader. Some indices, or at least one general index, with the names of authors, titles of works, terms, etc. would have been welcome. But even in its present form, the Survey is undoubtedly a useful guide for specialists whose work focuses on illustrated Eastern manuscripts.

Val. Polosin

U. Marzolph. *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books.* Leiden—Boston—Köln: Brill publications, 2001, XII, 302 pp. — Handbook of Oriental Studies. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Section One. The Near and Middle East, vol. 60.

In the mid-2001, the monograph "Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Book" by Prof. Ulrich Marzolph from Göttingen University came to light. The book is a result of his years-long research on Persian nineteenth — twentieth-century lithographed book, represented mostly by folklore and classical Persian writings. Until comparatively recent times, the rise and development of Persian lithographed book have not attracted special attention of Iranian scholars who considered the subject not worthy enough of serious investigation as compared with a thousand-year history of Persian manuscript book, and only a few articles by European and Iranian authors on illustrated Persian lithographed books exist which contain general description of the subject. The work under review here is the first to treat the theme in a monographic form. In his work, Prof. Marzolph reveals himself not only as a real admirer of the art of Persian lithographed book but also as its thorough investigator. The scholar's main service to this field of research is that he has created a full picture of the lithographed book phenomenon, including the history of the appearance of Persian lithographed book, its circulation history, the origins of its illustrating, printing techniques and the skill of individual artists.

The monograph has a solid source base: in addition to his use of numerous catalogues of manuscript and book collections, bibliographies and nineteenth-century auctions' catalogues, the author examined *de visu* the materials of a number of libraries in Germany and France, not to mention Teheran libraries. He also examined the catalogues compiled by Iranian scholars. The information about these Iranian materials Prof. Marzolph brings together is especially valuable, because these are, unfortunately, accessible not to so many European scholars. The profound knowledge of the nineteenth-century European bibliographies and catalogues, as well as a perfect acquaintance with modern European library collections, enabled the author to determine the location of many lithographic editions cited in Sprenger's bibliography or hidden in private collections. It is comforting to know that in his work Prof. Marzolph consulted a number of investigations on the subject which were made in Russia. (In the scholar's opinion, the St. Petersburg collection of Persian lithographed books is the largest in the world, with the exception of the Iranian collections.) The list of the employed sources from thirty-four libraries constitutes the content of section 8 of Prof. Marzolph's work ("Sources", pp. 230—74) which also includes a chronological index (pp. 270—4). The illustrations' archive, which lie at the base of the investigation, has been gathered by the author for ten years. Ten thousand illustrations were examined by him *de visu*, while the work itself includes one hundred and ten illustrations from three hundred and fifty lithographed books.

A vast range of researches, not dealing directly with the theme of lithographed book, was also employed by the author. These numerous, as a "Bibliography" (pp. 295—

302) indicates, researches became the basis for describing Persian book art, including manuscripts illuminating, the history of book printing and European book illuminating, the process of lithographed books' printing, etc.

Among the doubtless virtues of the work is a logical organisation of the material: the monograph contains a Foreword (pp. VII—XI), and ten numbered sections, including an Introduction (pp. 1—21). In a Foreword, the author elucidates his understanding of the aims of his investigation; he also gives reasons for the term "narrative illustration" he uses in the work. This term, in our view, is quite adequate to serve the aim of a scholarly description of illustrations in Persian lithographed books.

An Introduction contains an account of the author's search for Persian lithographed books, part of which has survived only thanks to lucky circumstances. It also sketches the history of lithographed book printing in Iran, the first attempts to use type-setting in the 1820s — 1830s, and gives information on the period of lithographed book production and the appearance of illustrated lithographed books.

The following three sections provide the results of the author's research. In section 2 — "Genres of illustrated lithographed books" (pp. 22—7) — he proposes his division of Persian lithographed books depending on their genre: classical Persian literature, religious works and the so-called anonymous literature (epics, folk tales, fairy tales, etc.).

Prof. Marzolph's main attention is to the development of the traditional topics of illustration found in lithographed book. The author shows that in Persian lithographed book one finds the same topics as in Persian manuscripts' miniatures, which testifies to the continuity of the existing book-art tradition. But in contrast to the illustrations in manuscripts which were available only to a narrow circle of connoisseurs, lithographed books' illustrations had much more broad audience, since they were designed for ordinary people's use.

Prof. Marzolph agrees with S. Nafīsī's statement that the first lithographed book appeared in 1259/1843 (it was *Laylā wa Majnūn* by Maktabī, soon reprinted in 1261/1845), but points out that the illustrating of lithographed books became usual practice starting only from 1846. In the second half of the 1840s, a considerable number of lithographed books which contained works of folk literature came to light; they included fifty to three hundred drawings each. In these books, which lacked authors, one should not look for the names of the artists. However, Niẓāmī's *Khamsa*, printed in 1246/1847, gives the artist's name as 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī. That was the artist whose illustrations we find in another lithographed book, Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, which appeared, after two-years work, in 1267/1850. The author points out that many other illustrated books came to light in this period — books on science, travel-books, translations — but they lie outside of his research.

The most interesting and impressive part of Prof. Marzolph's monograph is section 3 — "Artists active in lithographic illustration" (pp. 28—48) — where one finds a detailed and abundant original information which has been scrimping and scraping by the author for many years.

The period under investigation in the book is from the mid-1840s to the late-1940s. Special discussion is devoted to twenty-two artists; fifteen of them worked in the nineteenth century, three — at the turn of the nineteenth century, and four — in the twentieth century. Each discussion contains (i) the description of the period during which the artist worked and his works that appeared in the lithographed book he illustrated; (ii) the biography of the artist and other data about him which the author could find in literature. Prof. Marzolph made identification of the artists he discusses with those mentioned in other researches. He also characterises the style of each artist's works and gives the list of the books the artist illustrated. In addition, the names of twenty-four artists are provided in a separate section — "Peculiarities of lithographic illustration" (section 4, pp. 49—61) — whose names are cited only once in the works the author employs. He rightly estimates the artistic virtues of 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī's book illustrations as outstanding. One finds the name of the artist in the majority of cases of the signed illustrations made in the period between 1263/1846 and 1272/1855. Prof. Marzolph is also trying to prove that illustrations in the early lithographed books which represented Persian anonymous literature were executed by 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī, too. His arguments seem to be quite persuasive. It should be noted that the illustrations by 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī are discussed in a separate work by Prof. Marzolph where he provides the main facts of the artist's biography. Among the artists who illustrated lithographed books in the second half of the nineteenth century, the author singles out an artist Muṣṭafā by name whose works he regards as most non-traditional.

Illustrative material in the book is of much help to the elucidation of many issues discussed in the text. In treating the questions concerning the first lithographed books in Persia, the works of their illustrators and lithographed books' features, Prof. Marzolph refers the reader to the illustrations in section 6 ("Figures", pp. 65—214), so that he could gain better understanding of the matters he discusses. The author believes, and his view is shared by the reviewer, that the artistic virtues of the illustrations in the early lithographed books of the nineteenth century were much higher than those in the subsequent period, the works of 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī being unsurpassed.

In section 4, on the basis of rich material, Prof. Marzolph shows the specific features of Persian lithographed book. If manuscript is always unique, and typesetting editions are absolutely identical, lithographed book is often able to combine both these features — it can be unique and identical at the same time. The possible differences can be the following: (i) a different number of pages in individual books of the same edition; (ii) the drawings on the same pages could differ because of the specific character of lithographed book's production in Persia; (iii) later editions of the same work could include illustrations borrowed from earlier editions.

As was said above, the artists almost invariably followed a long-standing tradition of illustrating one and the same episodes of classical literature works. In this connection, the strictest rules existed concerning the *Shāh-nāma* illustrations; even the number of the illustrations was determined. The artists who illustrated Niẓāmī's

Khamsa enjoyed, however, more freedom — they could choose the number of drawings and were almost independent in their artistic preferences when illustrating folk tales, fables and other works of folklore. As the author established, during the whole of the nineteenth century the Persian artists modelled their illustrations in the *Shāh-nāma* lithographed books after two Bombey lithographic works from 1262/1845—46 and 1266/1849. Not only the choice of episodes for illustrating but also the mode of the depiction of *Shāh-nāma*'s characters was pre-determined by the Persian manuscript tradition of miniature painting.

The whole corpus of illustrations present in Persian lithographed book provides material for the studying of the features of Persian iconography. The depictions allow one to judge about the existing standards of beauty or ugliness, the ways of depicting literature characters and various emotions. At the same time, the iconography can provide us with the knowledge of the nineteenth-century Persian material culture represented by types of garments, utensils, habitations, etc. Moreover, in spite of their close following the existing tradition of book illustration, the artists, in addition to the obligatory de-pictions, presented the portraits of the literary works' authors, publishers, scribes, ruling monarchs, etc. The most outstanding in this row of depictions is, in our view, 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī's drawing of book printing process which he placed in the 1847 lithographed *Khamsa* by Niẓāmī (the drawing was published by the reviewer in 1979). A fragment of this drawing is present on the cover of the monograph by Prof. Marzolph who discusses in detail the topic of this depiction. His conclusion is that Persian lithographed book, modelled after its manuscript prototype, served in turn as a model for the twentieth-century Iranian book painters who illustrated works on folklore.

Section 6 is the central in the monograph; in effect, it is an album of lithographic depictions supplemented by the explanation of their topics. This section of the book occupies 163 pages, that is, half of the book. The fact that the depictions in lithographed book were black-and-white facilitated their reproduction in the monograph. One can see the works of many book painters in this section, but a great deal of them represents the illustrations made by the most brilliant master, 'Alī Qūlī Khūyī. Prof. Marzolph juxtaposes the manner of drawing of different artists in illustrating identical topics. He also provides the examples of illustrations which differ in some details, although they relate to the books of the same edition. The examples of insets into lithographed books of illustrations from an earlier edition, including those made with the help of type-setting, are also given. One notices slight differences in depicting identical subjects present in different literature works, for example, in the depictions of Ibrāhīm (Abraham of the Bible) sacrificing his son, the battle against the deves, 'Alī's victory, etc. Also, to cite only one facet of the author's systematisation approach, he brings together rich illustrative material to demonstrate Persian material culture as presented in the lithographed books of the period under investigation.

Especially valuable is a section devoted to the sources consulted by the author (section 8 entitled "Sources", pp. 230—74). The first part of it comprises an annotated alphabetical catalogue of the lithographed books

Prof. Marzolph employs: here he gives the list of illustrations and their descriptions, indicating the place of their storage. The second part of this section includes a chronological index of illustrated books printed between 1259/1848 and 1366/1946. An addenda provides indices of the names of scribes, publishers, and printers (section 9 of the work, pp. 275—94) and a vast bibliography (section 10, pp. 295—302).

To conclude, the work by Prof. Marzolph is a valuable contribution to the field of Iranian studies which has been unjustly neglected hitherto. His work, which combine academic precision with artistic intuition, is very helpful to all those engaged in the study of Persian book painting, as well as to a broader circle of specialists in Oriental studies. The book may be also of use to students and a source of interest to the general reader. The perfect quality of the publication will contribute to the success of the book.
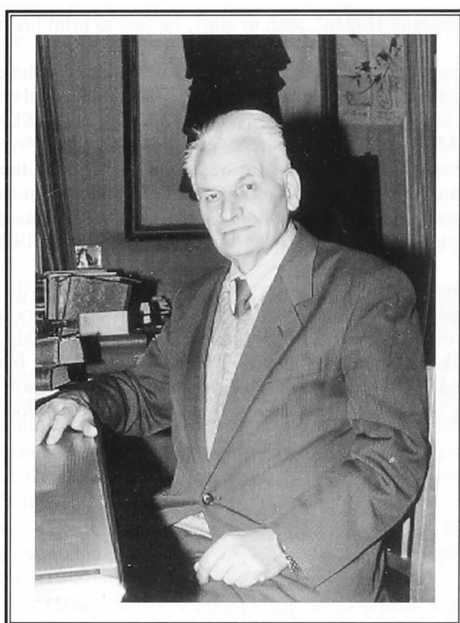
O. Scheglova

IN MEMORIAM

Professor   V. N. Goregliad
1932—2002

The outstanding Russian scholar, specialist in Japanese studies, Vladislav Nikanorovich Goregliad, died on 3 June 2002. An expert in manuscripts and a master of Japanese cursive writing, he was also a scholar of encyclopaedic learning and the author of numerous publications and monographs that became classics of Oriental studies already during his lifetime. A marvellous translator, he bequeathed to us brilliant translations of classical Japanese literature. He spent the whole of his academic career at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies where he worked for a half-century, combining in recent years the position of Head of the Institute's Far Eastern Department with his duties as Head of the Chair of Japanese philology at St. Petersburg University. A graduate of the same Chair of Japanese philology at the then Leningrad University in 1956, he was accepted into the Institute of Oriental Studies to conduct an inventory of the Japanese manuscript and xylograph collection. This seemingly routine task led to the appearance of six annotated catalogues of the Institute's manuscript collection — "A Description of Japanese Manuscripts, Xylographs, and Old-Print Books". They came out between 1963 and 1971 and were compiled in collaboration with O. P. Petrova, G. G. Ivanova, and Z. Ia. Khanin. Somewhat earlier, in 1961, there appeared a facsimile edition of the eighth quire of the manuscript *Kankai ibun* ("Remarkable Facts about the Seas Surrounding [the Earth]"), which is held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The facsimile edition was the young scholar's first work. By strange coincidence, V. N. Goregliad's last, unfinished book was a full translation and commentary on the same manuscript (including a comparison of various copies).

Beginning in 1962, V. N. Goregliad worked for several months each year as a translator on Japanese fishery protection vessels to master his Japanese. Perhaps this experience served to spark his interest in the fate of the shipwrecked Japanese sailors whom fate cast ashore in Russia. He wrote a great deal about early Russo-Japanese contacts. One of his last publications was a short brochure entitled "Japanese Sailors in Russia in the Edo Period". It was published in Japan (in Japanese) in 2001. V. N. Goregliad's main field of research was the study of Japan's classical literature, poetics, Japanese Buddhism, and manuscripts. After defending his Ph D thesis "*Tsurezuregusa*, an Outstanding Example of Japanese 'Essayistic Literature'" in 1965, he published a brilliant translation of "Notes from Boredom" by the monk Kenko-hoshi, at the same time continu-

ing his work on the theme "Diary and Essayistic Literature, 10th—13th Centuries". The culmination was his second dissertation, which became the classic monograph "Diaries and Essays in Japanese Literature. 10th—13th Centuries" (1975). It was for this book, as well as for his "leading role in Japanese studies in the USSR", that V. N. Goregliad was awarded in 1987 with the Japanese Yamagata Banto Prize. The monograph "Ki-no Tsurayuki" (1983), devoted to one of the best-known Japanese medieval poets and theoreticians of poetry, Ki-no Tsurayuki, continued the row of researches carried out by the scholar. This work was followed by numerous articles, among which of special note is "Manuscript Literature in Japanese Culture", published in the collection of works "The Manuscript Book in the Culture of Eastern Peoples" (book 2, 1988). Several years later, V. N. Goregliad published a translation of the medieval work *Kagero nikki* ("Diary of Ephemeral Life", 10th century). Finally, the monograph "Japanese Literature, 8th—16th Centuries. Origins and the Development of Traditions" (1997), was a result of the scholar's years-long research on the Japanese literature. The volume of the work, encyclopedic coverage of the theme, the significance of the questions posed by the author, and the high level of generalizations, made this work exemplary and brought its author fame equal to that of N. I. Konrad, at that time the doyen of Russian Japanese studies. V. N. Goregliad had also never ceased his work on translations from Japanese. One of his commitments in this field was a translation of *gunki* narratives which are considered most difficult in Japanese literature. In 1999, he published his "*Hogen monogatari*. Tale of the Times of Hogen", and, in 2001, he sent to print his translation of *Tayheyki* ("Tale of the Great World").

The list of V. N. Goregliad's published works contains some 170 titles. He was the editor of many collections, member of innumerable editorial boards, and acted as an opponent on many dissertations. He also taught at St. Petersburg University, the Eastern Institute, and was adviser of graduate students, including such subsequently well-known scholars as G. G. Sviridov, M. V. Uspensky, A. M. Kabanov, and others. The scholar's authority in his field of investigations was surpassing, and he was well known throughout the world. He was among the first in the pre-perestroika era to begin active dialogue with the Japanese side, taking part in programs by the Japanese Foundation and initiating contacts with Japanese researchers, who became frequent guests at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. He was deeply respected in Japan, and was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun, fourth degree, in 1997. Japan and Japanese culture were his life-long love.

He found time for everything, responding to all requests with equal good will. He devoted immense energies to rummaging through dictionaries to help students and graduate students find answers to questions that plagued them. He never lost his temper or raised his voice toward his subordinates, always treating his colleagues' work with the greatest respect and sincerely rejoicing at their successes. Talent, industry, a love for Japanese culture, honesty and great magnanimity were combined in this man. But the key to his character is a laconic phrase that V. N. Goregliad once wrote on a form in the section marked "hobby": "None of my time is free from my professional activities". We have lost a great scholar, and a wonderful personality.

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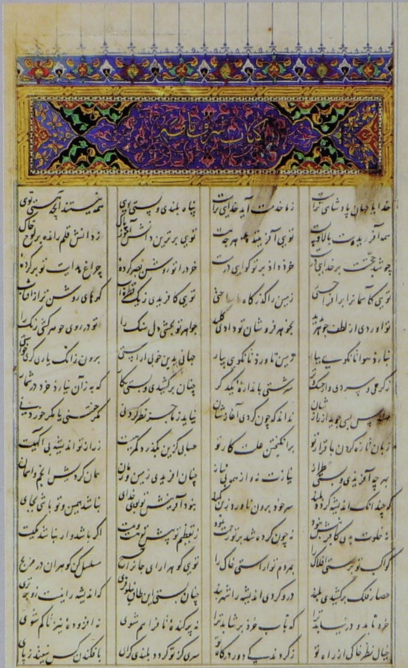

Plate 1

Plate 2

Plate 3

Plate 4