Manuscripta Orientalia

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Dear readers,

our journal has taken the first steps on the road of carrying out the programme which was declared by the editors in the first issue of 1995, by no means an easy task, as you may guess. You are in your own right to make assessments of what has been a success or not, but what you can notice for certain is that the journal's principal subject of scholarly investigations has been strictly kept throughout the first issues.

You can also notice that most of the first articles of the journal were written by scholars working at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. This was no deliberate preference of ours, but the inevitable result of an initial stage of the process of making the journal which has been basically projected and created by the St. Petersburg specialists in Oriental studies. We are now hoping that our appeal to Orientalists from abroad to contribute to the *Manuscripta Orientalia* which, from the very beginning, was expected to be an international issue, will be heard by them. The St. Petersburg scholars would be glad to see these contributions on the pages of the quarterly.

Estimating the first publication actions in 1995, however modest it could seem at first sight, we can point out with satisfaction that a number of scholars from Japan, Germany, the USA, Czechia, and Norway have already contributed to the *Manuscripta Orientalia*, delivering their articles and information of much interest.

To those who lack the first issue of the quarterly where the editorial programme has been published, we would like to present it once more, revealing the principal scholarly aims of the journal. The emphasis will be laid on the articles dedicated to Oriental manuscripts, be they Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew, or Japanese, Indian, Chinese, etc. Studies on Oriental textology, palaeography, codicology, as well as on philosophy, history, and culture will be published here, provided that these studies are based upon some Oriental manuscript or a group of manuscripts from the collections all over the world.

It should be mentioned that the *Manuscripta Orientalia* is also a journal dealing with Orientalistics heritage. The studies on Oriental manuscripts, which were not published for some reason in the past, could be published here. We intend also to reproduce in English, the language of the quarterly, the most important works on manuscripts previously published in Russian or in other languages if necessary. It is hardly necessary to say that all those who deal with the problems of conservation and restoration of Orien-

tal manuscripts, the priceless literary heritage of the Oriental peoples, are welcome to contribute to the journal as well. When it concerns the safety and the future destiny of this heritage, the editors regard it as one of their most important tasks to provide a necessary information on their keeping and restoration.

One more important point must be mentioned when speaking about the general programme of the journal. The rapid progress of the new information technologies and their introduction into all spheres of modern life and scholarship is, naturally, influencing the development of Orientalistics. Being applied to the study of Oriental manuscripts, they open new perspectives in this traditional branch of scholarship. A special section of our journal is dedicated to the new information technologies in their connection with manuscripts research.

It is also important to note that every issue of the journal is expected to include a publication concerning some manuscript of special artistic or scientific value belonging to the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies or to some other collection, with a number of its pages or miniatures reproduced in colour.

We have already had, and are still continuing, to receive the first appraisals of our work through 1995. They seem to be quite encouraging. In any event our colleagues from abroad appear to support the idea of publishing such a kind of quarterly and its scholarly programme. Highly appreciating this support, which is in effect important for us, the editors are glad to inform you, our readers, that a new section — "Cultural Traditions of the Orient as Reflected in Its Written Monuments" — is being introduced in the journal starting from the first issue of 1996. Information which concerns the most interesting or possibly less known literary monuments of the Orient will be published, including that on family life and its traditions, everyday life foundations and specific features of Oriental habitations, as well as on military organisation, various kinds of weapons, warriors' equipment, etc.

Another point of the journal editors' programme deserves special attention — a project of producing CD-ROM issues, which we are planning to carry out as the journal's supplement, starting from 1996. The CD-ROM issues are expected to contain a facsimile either of the whole texts or excerpts from various texts (in accordance with the topic chosen) of the manuscripts, dedicated to history, literature, religion, and philosophy, from the collection of the St. Pe-

tersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Some of these manuscripts are the unique objects of the book-art. In connection with this new CD-ROM programme a brief outline of this collection's contents will be published in the next issue of the journal.

This year at least two very interesting manuscripts from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection are to be published within the CD-ROM project. One of them is the "Secret Visionary Autobiography" (rNam thar rgya can) of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617—1682). This outstanding specimen of Tibetan spirituality represents the record of both years-long visionary experiences and a collection of precepts concerning the most esoteric rituals in Tibetan Buddhism. The "Autobiography" is arranged in three parts: the records of the visions (the "Mother" section), the instructions dealing with the rituals (the "Son" section), and illustrations to the text. The illuminated manuscript of the "Autobiography", preserved in the collection, is the most complete of the few survived, a considerable part of its text being scarcely known to scholars. It contains unique information dealing with the transmission of these most special rituals.

It should be also noted that studies on the "Autobiography" started in 1988 with the publication of the "Secret Visions" by Samten Karmay, which was undertaken by the Serindia Publishers. The publication of the St. Petersburg manuscript could provide a great deal of new information indispensable for those specializing in Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism.

The second CD-ROM publication will contain a three-volumes manuscript of much interest. It is important from both textological and codicological points of view. It seems to be one of the earliest Arabic translations of the Bible to date, as well as the oldest surviving copy of this translation.

The manuscript was copied in Damascus in A.D. 1236 from the original which was executed in Antioch in A.D. 1022.

An excellent manuscript written in large regular *naskh* in black Indian ink and cinnabar, and properly collated with the original, as the copyist states it, represents a rare sample of the Arab Christian book-art. There are numerous black-and-white illustrations in it. The manuscript seems to be even more valuable if we take into account that it contains both the readers' and owners' marginal notes, a real treasure of precious information which is dated in some cases.

It is interesting that the manuscript was donated to the Russian Tsar Nicholas II by the Patriarch of Antioch Gregory IV in 1913, on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Romanovs' Royal Family, and was preserved in the private library of Nicholas in the Winter Palace (St. Petersburg) until it came, in 1919, into the manuscript collection of the Asiatic Museum (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

It is known that in 1579 a Jesuit Giovanni Battista Eliano made a copy of this very manuscript, which is now preserved in the Vatican. It was laid at the basis of the first printed edition of the whole Arabic Bible text, undertaken in 1671 in Rome. However, this edition lacks the illustrations the Institute manuscript contains.

These are the most important points of the editorial programme to be carried out in the near future.

Finally, we consider it a pleasant duty to express our profound gratitude to all those who have already supported the journal by word or deed. At the same time we are most hopeful about those who have not had a chance to contribute to the journal yet. The editors of the *Manuscripta Orientalia* wish every success to all of its present or future authors, to all of you, our dear readers, who are interested in the intriguing world of Oriental manuscripts, from both the professional and cultural points of view.

Yuri A. Petrosyan,
Editor-in-Chief

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Valery V. Polosin

FRONTISPIECES ON SCALE CANVAS IN ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

The splendid catalogue by F. Déroche [1], where photographic illustrations are given with a scale, makes it possible to apply the materials published there for the study of a never considered before phenomenon of the Arab manuscript culture. We mean the type of artistic design of a manuscript page which is represented in this catalogue on eleven illustrations (I, IV *A*, V *B*, VI *B* and *C*, VII *B*, XXIV *B*, XXVI *B*, XXVII *A*, XXVIII *B* and XXIX *B*) reproducing pages of ten manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris: Arabe 418, Arabe 5841, Arabe 501, Arabe 427, Arabe 400, Smith-Lesouëf 206, Arabe 5816, Smith-Lesouëf 28, Smith-Lesouëf 25, Arabe 426.

The ornamental type presenting the subject of this article has striking and easily remembered compositional and decorative features. Its compositional background is formed by a vertical rectangular frame with a square dominating the centre. The space above and below the square is filled by symmetrically arranged rectangles of equal size. The decorative peculiarity of this type consists in the presence of ornamental lines projecting, like a fringe, to the margins of manuscript pages along the perimeter of decorated space.

This very fringe offers grounds to make its available samples into a separate type of decorative design. There is all reason to think that it is directly connected with the constructive principles of the main decoration and therefore may be useful for its understanding.

1. Illustration I in the catalogue by Déroche represents folio 3a of the Qur'ān manuscript dating (on the evidence of a *waqf*-statement) not later than 1003/1594 and originating, according to Déroche, from Iran [2]. Its decorative design, if to omit all details and to consider only its principal structure, consists of the main frame with three geometric figures (a square between two equal rectangles) arranged within it, and the bordering frame with fringe-like lines projecting to the margins along its whole perimeter (see *fig. 1*).

The arrangement of figures within the main frame is

interesting in itself. The frame presents a rectangle set vertically, its sides correlating proportionally as 9 : 5. This proportion is maintained with much precision. A regular square in the middle of the rectangle forms two equal rectangles above and below. Their width, as well as the width of the square, corresponds to the width of the main frame, their height turns to be equal to the diameter of a circle forming a large flower-shaped rosette (octofoil) within the square — one more decorative element. The enumerated features are enough to admit that the decorative pattern considered here has been created deliberately, according to some plan.

The triptych "square between two rectangles" presents a very common pattern of filling the main frames of manuscript ornamental decorations. Its existing variants are so numerous that a special work should be dedicated to their classification. Some of these variants are present in the manuscripts described by Déroche; they are reproduced in a supplement to his catalogue.

Let us return to the first manuscript (Catalogue, No. 535). The deliberate setting of geometric figures revealed in its decorative design obviously demanded certain calculations. The artist, who created it, should have used some measures of length. Our conjecture is: could the length of the sections between the lines of the "fringe" be the measure applied in this case?

Our guess has been confirmed — at least this time. It turned out that one half of such a section is equal to one *sha'irah* of the so-called "Indian cubit" which is equal, according to W. Hinz [3], to 91 cm. This measure of length discovered in the "fringe" we applied to the frontispiece, in order to find out that it fits well. In the concordance table given below we compare the measurements of the geometric figures forming the frontispiece expressed in a triple way: a) in parts of the "Indian cubit", b) in millimeters, c) according to the scale of the photograph in the catalogue by Déroche (also in millimeters).

external frame	54 × 34 *sha'īrah*s	341.2 × 214.8 mm	192 × 120.8 mm
internal frame	45 × 25 *sha'īrah*s	284.3 × 157.9 mm	160 × 88.9 mm

Triptych "square between two rectangles"

rectangles	10 × 25 sha'irahs	63.2 × 157.9 mm	35.5 × 88.9 mm
square	25 × 25 sha'irahs	157.9 × 157.9 mm	88.9 × 88.9 mm
diameter of the calyx of octofoil	10 sha'irahs	63.2 mm	35.5 mm

These measurements are especially persuasive for the main (internal) frame. They confirm that the correlation of its sides (9 : 5) is not a matter of chance: their absolute measurements (284.3 × 157.9 mm), translated into historical length units, appear as whole numbers (45 × × 25 sha'irahs). It confirms that the format was selected consciously. The size of figures set within the frame and forming the composition of the frontispiece is also expressed in whole numbers (in historical measures of length). The reader can take a ruler and a calculator and check the precision of our calculations (taking into account that the scale of illustrations in the catalogue by Déroche is 22.5 to 40). Those who, by chance, happen to come to Paris will not, I hope, loose the opportunity to check and to confirm our results by measuring the original.

If we recognize the reliability of our calculations we must, on their evidence, make certain conclusions. First of all, that the decorative "fringe" was used by the artist as a unit, corresponding to a real historical measure of length. We were long ago aware of its existence, but it is the first time we come across it in practice. 28 decorative lines divide the height of the frontispiece into 27 sections, each equal (or must be equal) to two sha'irahs of the "Indian cubit" (the horizontal side of the frontispiece has 19 lines instead of the expected 18, but we shall consider this problem later). Then, the "Indian cubit" equal to 91 cm, for some reason excluded by Hinz from the list of historical measures of length, appears here again as a real unit — the problem which must be re-considered. Finally, there arises the necessity to verify the provenance of the manuscript with this frontispiece. In the catalogue Iran is indicated as the place of its making (though with no arguments to confirm it).

The most important result, however, is the proportionality of the decorative elements basing upon historical measures of length, a phenomenon previously unknown.

The reality of this phenomenon can not be confirmed by just one example, therefore let us continue to investigate the samples represented in the catalogue by Déroche.

2. A manuscript of the Qur'ān dated by Déroche between 784/1382 and 801/1399, originating, in his opinion, from Egypt (Catalogue, No. 347) [4]. The decorative framing of the text on folio 2a (see fig. 2) presents a variant of the familiar pattern — square between two rectangles. Here the whole device is also basing upon the inner frame, a vertically set rectangle, its sides correlating as 8 : 5. The proportion is exact, the absolute measurements of the frame are 102.5 × 64 mm on the illustration, 243.8 × 152.4 mm in reality (the scale of the photograph is 16.75 : 40). This corresponds to 51.2 × 32 sha'irahs of the "Istanbul cubit" equal to 685.79 mm [5].

Three lines of the text on folio 2a of this manuscript divide the space of a rectangle 46 × 32 sha'irahs (placed within the frame, between the axes of two cartouches) into four equal parts. The distance between the lines is equal to

11.5 sha'irahs. The halves of the upper and the lower parts are used to build up two figures (of the three obligatory for this type) — two rectangles by the sides of a square. As for the third figure — a square — there is some space left for it within the frame, a rectangle 36 × 32 sha'irahs [6], remarkable for the presence of two squares which the artist managed to arrange there in a special way. These can be noticed when the observer's sight is moving from the upper line of the text to the lower and back.

The main frame considered above is encircled by a row of bordering frames, some of them narrow, some wide. The units employed when constructing the main frame are most probably used here also. It is a difficult task, however, to trace them measuring each frame from a reduced copy, moreover that it does not add anything to the solution of the problem. It is enough to say, that the artist was striving to get whole numbers in every case: the last, exterior decorative contour framing the text reveals a very insignificant deviation from whole numbers: 62.2 × 39.1 sha'irahs. This slight error could be caused by any of the bordering thin frames (there are several), or it could be due to an accumulation of errors.

Thus we find the measure of length corresponding to the elements of the decorative design of this manuscript. We must take into account that the suggested origin of the manuscript (from Egypt) in this case again comes into contradiction with the measure of length applied to its decorations. The "Istanbul cubit" was introduced in Egypt 120 years later than the date of the Qur'ān manuscript analyzed here (see note 5).

After these two examples considered in detail it is enough to give only the principal characteristics of the samples from the catalogue by Déroche.

3. A manuscript of the Qur'ān of Turkish origin (Catalogue, No. 506), dating, according to a waqf-statement record, approximately to 1124/1712 [7]. The size of the main frame, which is of white colour on the photograph (see fig. 3), is 106.6 × 62.2 mm (on the photograph — 80 × 46.6 mm, scale 40 : 40). It corresponds to 24 × × 14 sha'irahs of the "Tripolitan cubit" equal to 640 mm [8]. Within the main frame there is a triptych — square (containing a text) between two rectangles. The vertical sides of the square are made thinner by yellow stripes running along them. It is constructed not too precisely — its height is shorter by several millimeters than its width: 62.6 × 58.7 mm. The length of the sections between the lines of decorative "fringe" (i. e. the distance between the neighboring lines) is equal to 3 Tripolitan sha'irahs.

4. A manuscript of the Qur'ān of the late 9th/15th century; Iran (Catalogue, No. 530) [9]. The familiar triptych "square between two rectangles" appears on the photograph of folio 2b of this manuscript (see fig. 4, right side). Its construction has some unusual features we have not met before. The triptych is inserted into a frame 15 × 11 sha'irahs (the cubit equal to 728.04 mm), which is equal to 75.8 ×
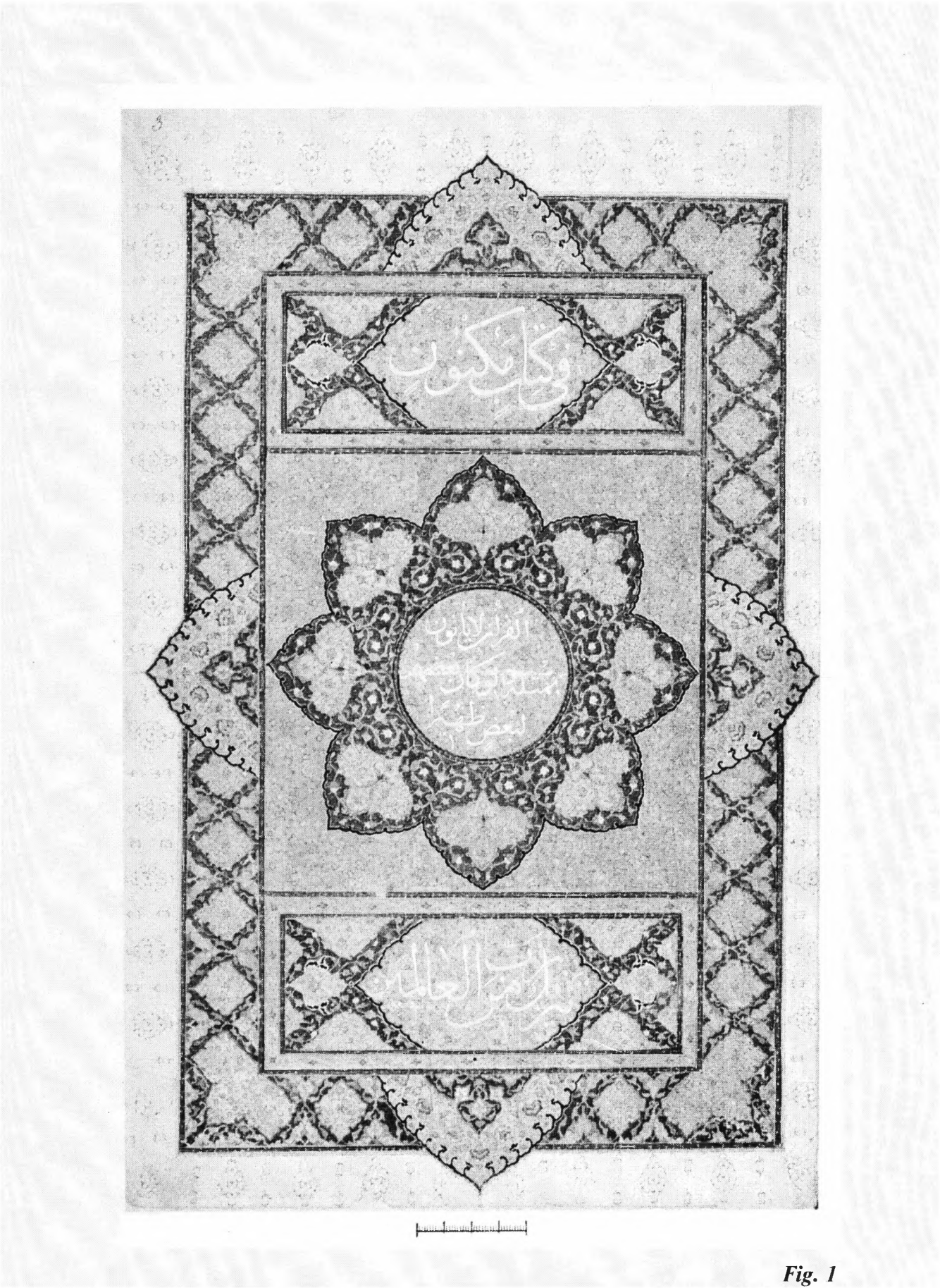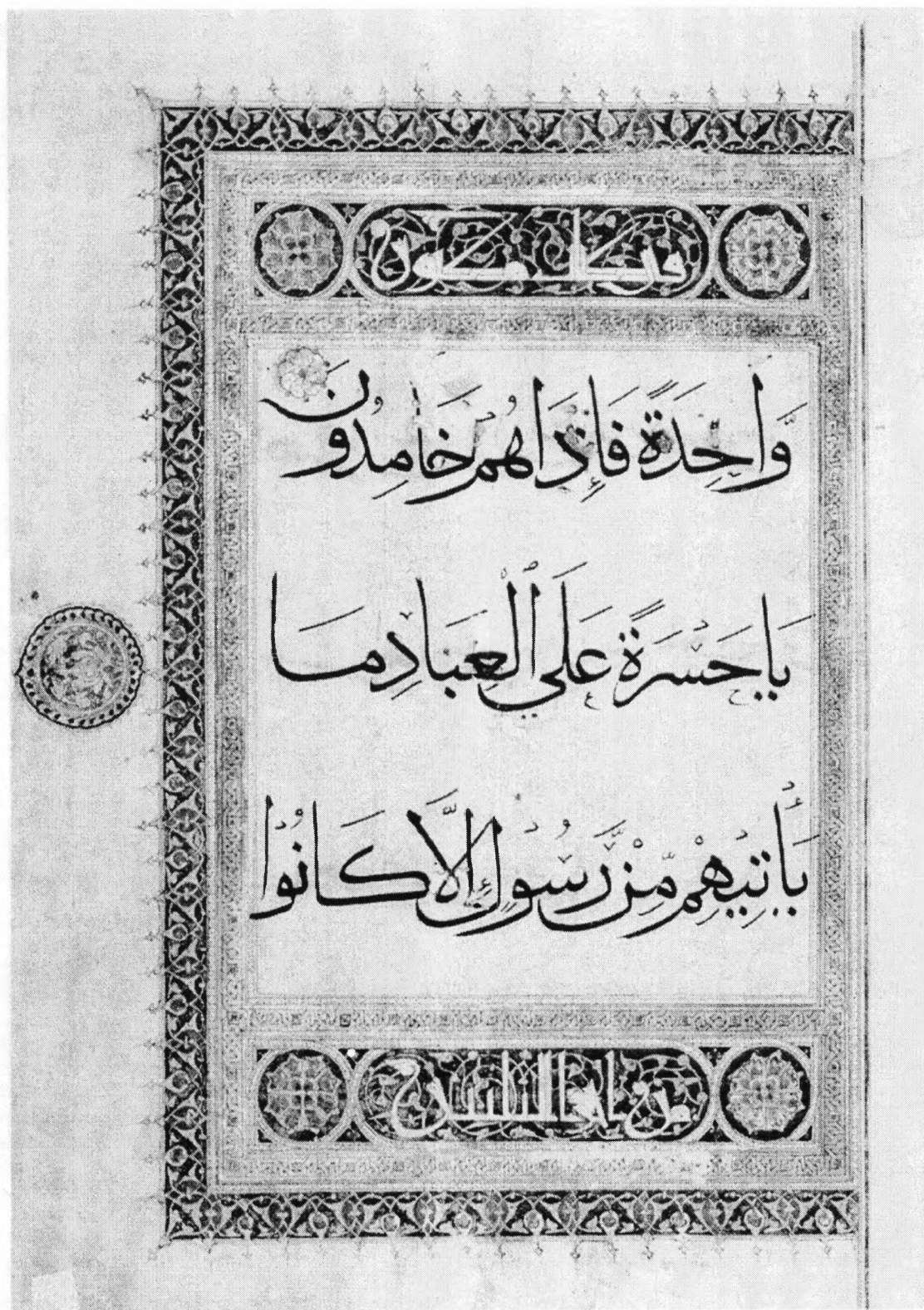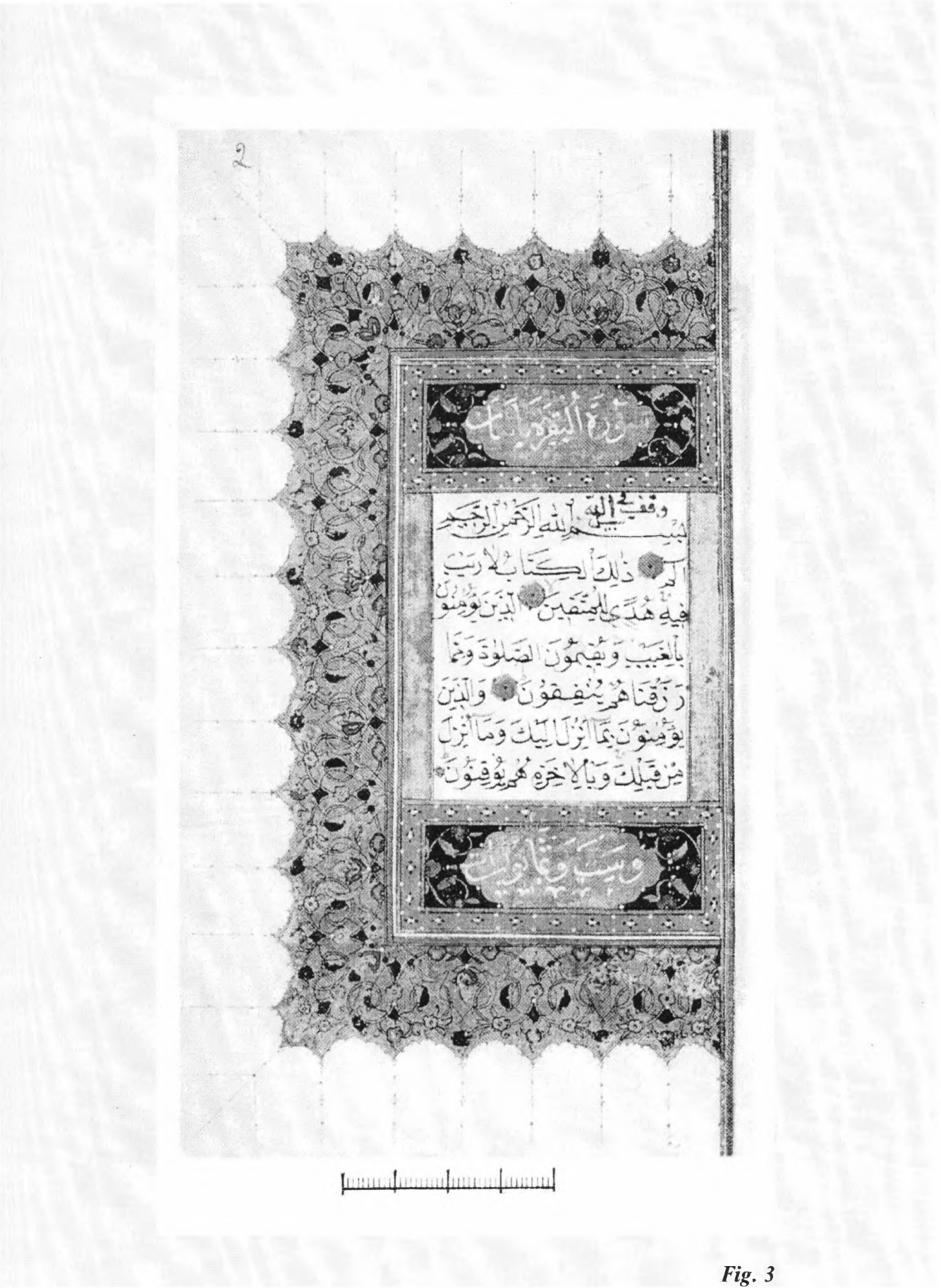
Fig. 1

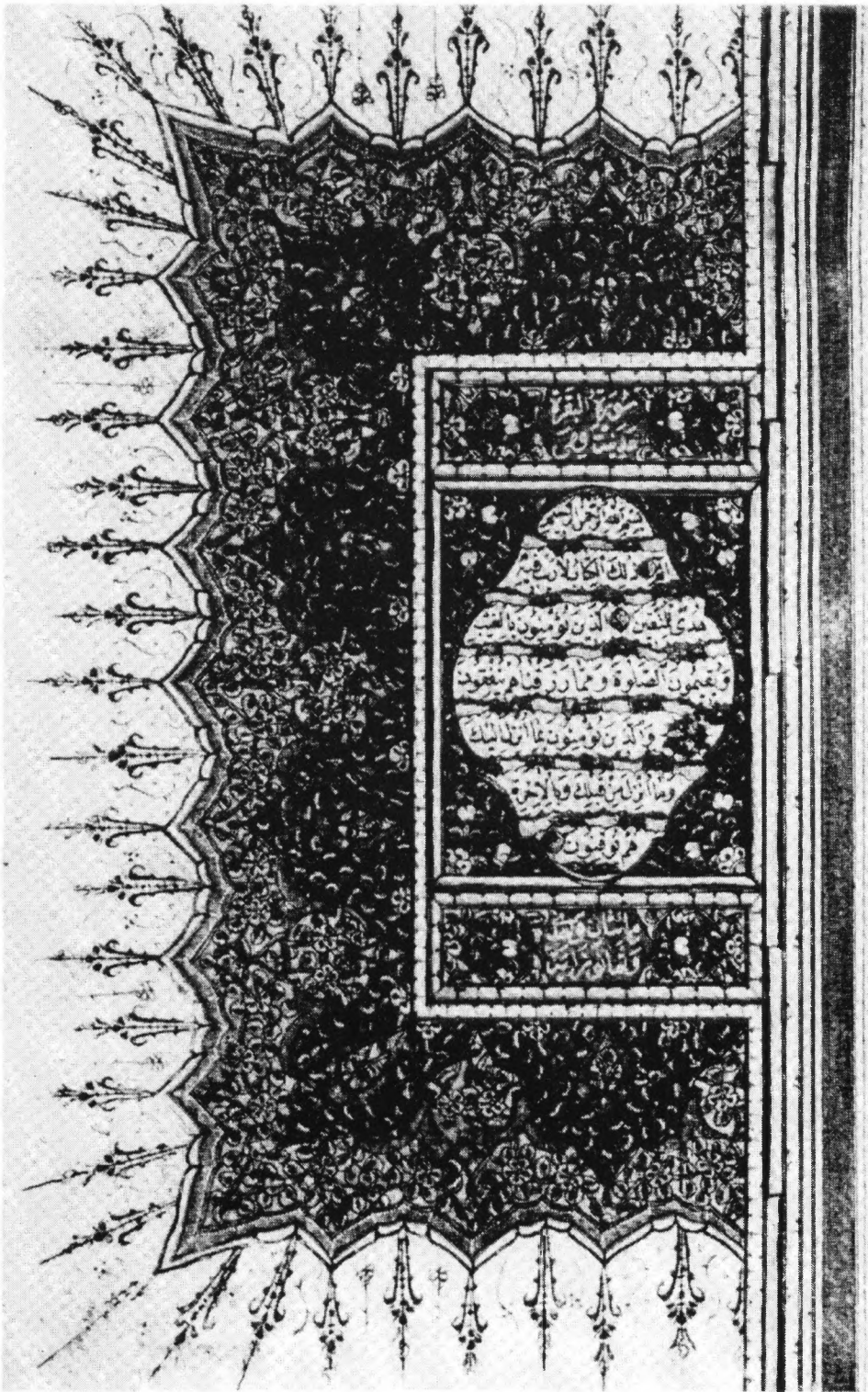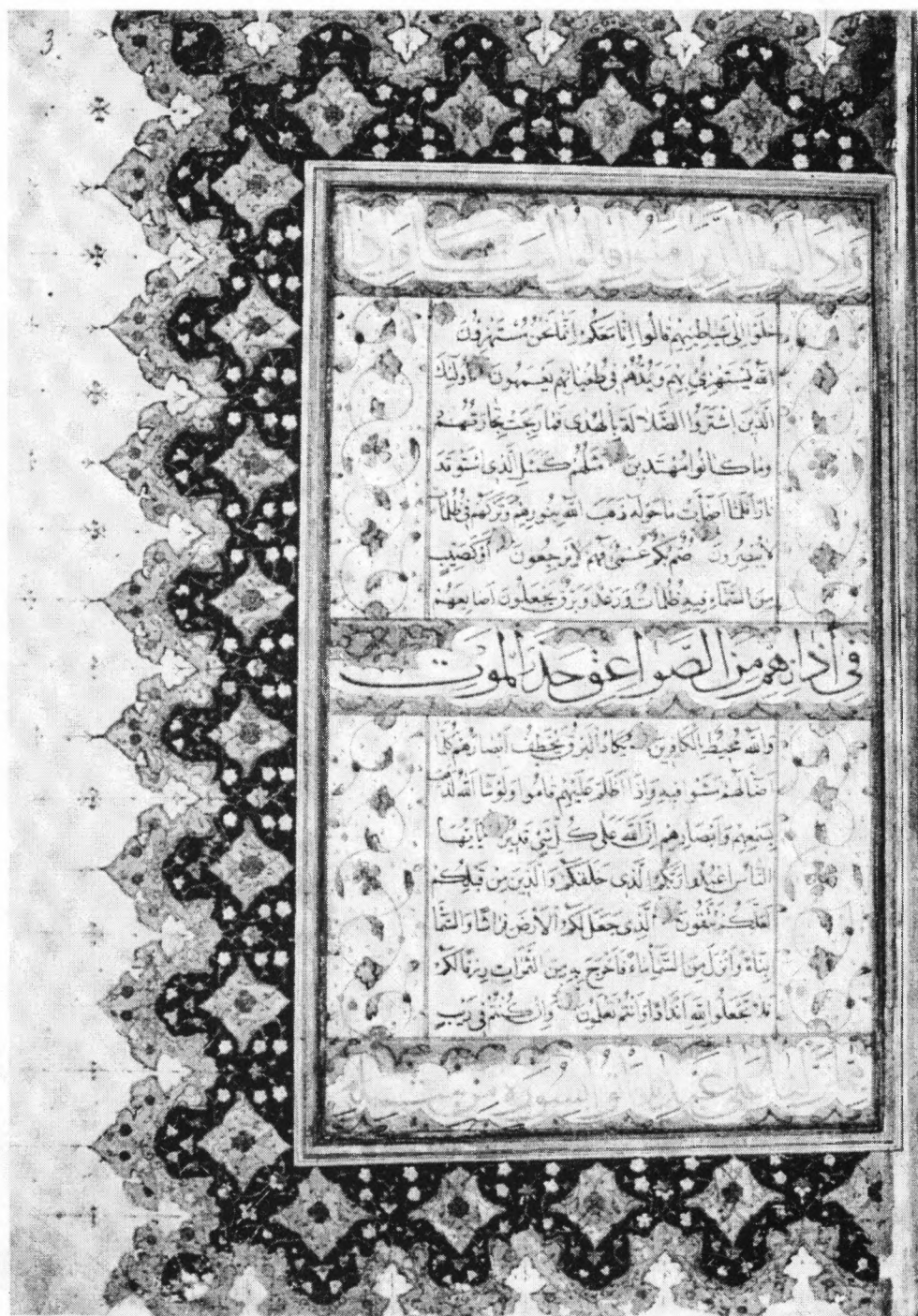*Fig. 2.*

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

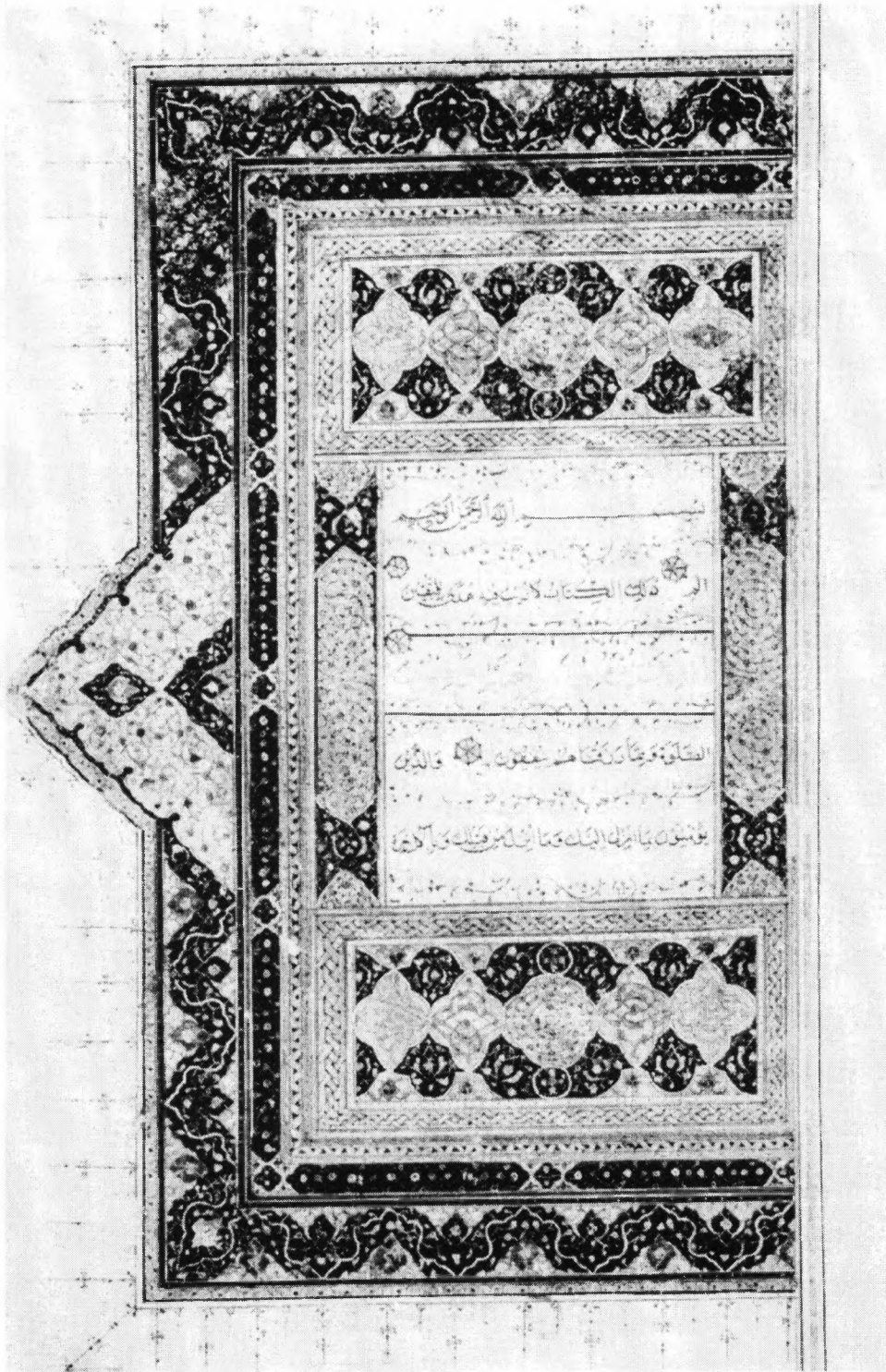*Fig. 5*

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

× 55.6 mm (on the photograph — 63.5 × 46.6, scale 33.5 : 40).

Among the specific features of this sample is the slight masking of the square in the middle of the main frame. Striking is the rectangular field assigned by the artist for the text of the manuscript. The field of the text is surrounded with a decorative frame. If we include the upper and the lower part of this frame into the text field, it will be restored to a square 8 × 8 *sha'īrah*s or 40.4 × 40.4 mm (33.8 × 33.8 mm on the photograph). Actually, this construction is concealing a whole series of squares — it is enough to demonstrate here the two most important ones. If we remove the upper (or the lower) rectangle from the triptych within the main frame, the combination of the two figures left will form a square, its side equal to 11 *sha'īrah*s (= 55.5 mm, on the photograph — 46.5 mm). Once more we come across a hidden square (see above, sample 2); in the former case, however, it was just one of the figures of a triptych, now it is itself forming a canonical triptych filling the whole inner frame.

5. Manuscript of the Qur'ān of the 10th/16th century, India(?) [10]. The structure of the decorative device on folio 2a of this manuscript (see *fig. 5*) is similar to the one we have just considered. The size of the main frame is 32 × 24 *sha'īrah*s of the "Egyptian cubit" equal to 581.87 mm (129 × 96.9 mm, on the photograph — 80.8 × 60.6 mm). It includes the usual triptych which, however, being conventionally divided into two figures turns into a "hidden square" (*i. e.* a square 24 × 24 *sha'īrah*s, plus a rectangle 8 × 24 *sha'īrah*s). Within the triple composition the central figure of the triptych presents a square 16 × × 16 *sha'īrah*s set between two rectangles arranged vertically.

6. The Qur'ān copied in 1263/1847 by Aḥmad al-Rafīq, originating from Turkey (Catalogue, No. 518) [11]. Folio 1b (see *fig. 6*) reproduced in the catalogue (*fig. XXIV B*; scale 39 : 40) has an external border framing the text, its size 15 × 8 *sha'īrah*s of the "Tripolitan cubit" equal to 640 mm (see above, sample 3). Its dimensions on the photograph are 65 × 34.6 mm, which must correspond to its real size of 66.6 × × 35.5 mm.

7. The Qur'ān copied in 974/1567 by Muhammad b. Shams al-Dīn b. Muhammad al-Qāḍī, Iran (Catalogue, No. 533) [12]. Folio 3a (see *fig. 7*)

reproduced in the catalogue (*fig. XXVI B*; scale 29.5 : 40) makes it possible to reckon that the text is framed by a narrow border, its dimensions corresponding to 28 × × 16 *sha'īrah*s of a cubit equal to 775 mm (150.7 × × 86.1 mm, on the photograph — 111.1 × 63.5 mm). Three lines written in large characters occupy the rectangles set within this frame, their sides equal to 3 × 16 *sha'īrah*s (= 16.1 × 86.1 mm, or 11.9 × 63.5 mm on the photograph). Two more frames with text are placed symmetrically between these rectangles — their size 10 × 9.5 *sha'īrah*s, *i. e.* 53.8 × 51.1 mm (on the photograph — 39.6 × 37.7 mm).

8. A manuscript of the Qur'ān of the 10th/16th century, originating from Iran (Catalogue, No. 541) [13].

Its decorative device (Catalogue, *fig. XXVII A*; see *fig. 8* in our reproduction) is basing upon a frame with the usual triptych, its size 58 × 29 *sha'īrah*s of the "Egyptian cubit" of 581.87 mm (which corresponds to 234.3 × × 117.1 mm, on the photograph — 100.7 × 50.3 mm; scale 17.2 : 40). The "square between two rectangles" composition is set within the frame. The correlation of the three figures is proportional, all together they make a double square (14.5 × 29 + 29 × 29 + 14.5 × 29 *sha'īrah*s = 58 × 29 *sha'īrah*s).

Developing the decorative pattern of this page the artist managed to conceal the initial construction from the observer, substituting the left side of the frame for a new vertical line (*AB* on *fig. 9*), over which several layers of bordering were formed (in all there are ten frames). By shifting aside the left border of the main frame he changed the total area of the rectangle including the triptych, re-arranging it among the figures of the triptych (by means of a series of additional contours) in such a way, that the central figure — the square — received several unaccustomed visual interpretations simultaneously (two of these are marked with arches on *fig. 9*).

9. A manuscript of the Qur'ān, of the 10th/16th century, of Iranian origin (Catalogue, No. 540) [14]. Folio 1b of this manuscript (see *fig. 10*) shows a decorative composition basing upon a frame 34 × 16.5 *sha'īrah*s of the "Egyptian cubit" of 581.87 mm. As in the previous case, the artist shifted the frame to the right by 0.5 *sha'īrah*s. A new rectangle (a double square) 34 × × 17 *sha'īrah*s was formed between the left border and the new right border. Within this rectangle there is a triptych formed by two figures 11 × × 17 *sha'īrah*s and one figure 12 × 17 *sha'īrah*s, the last one including a square 12 ×
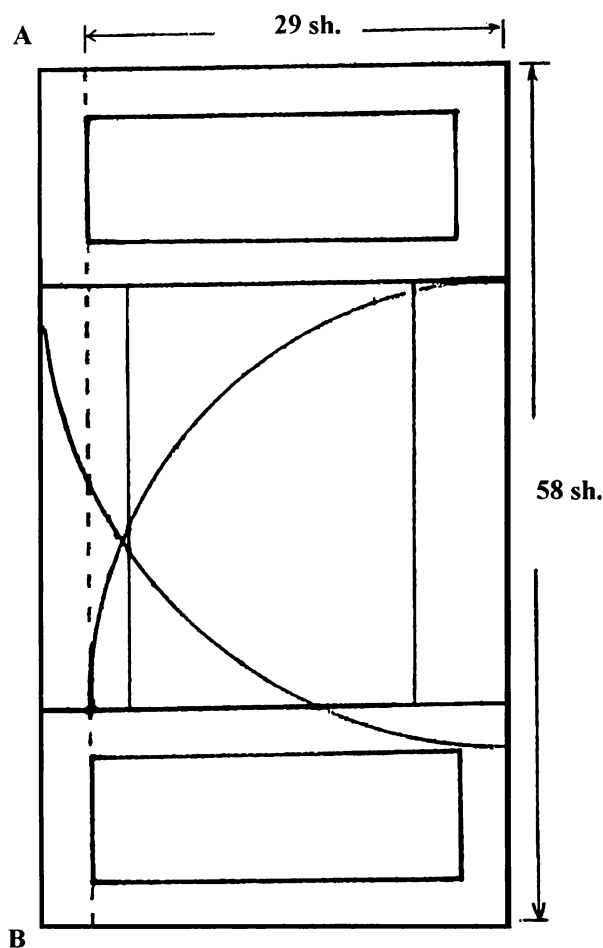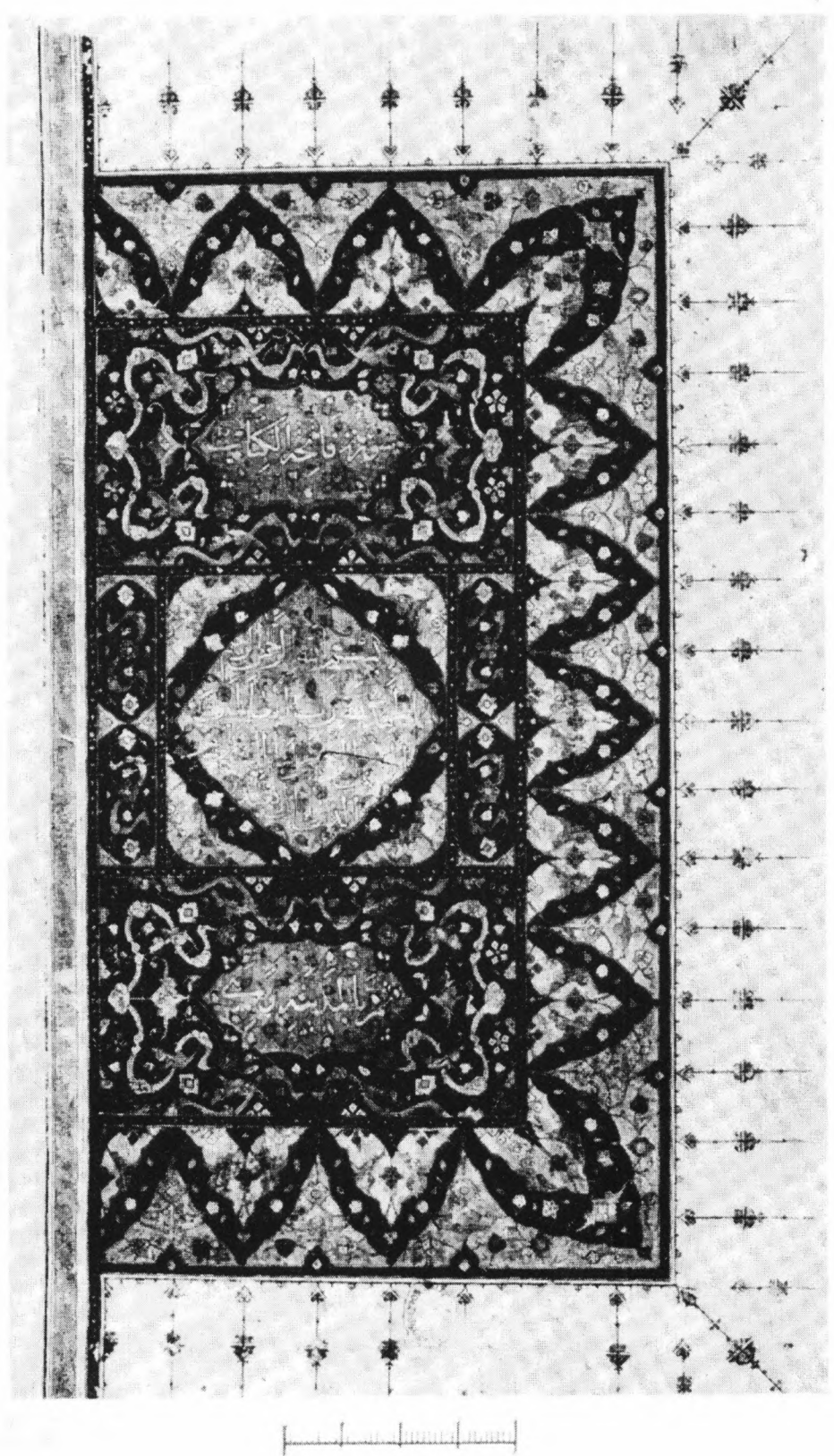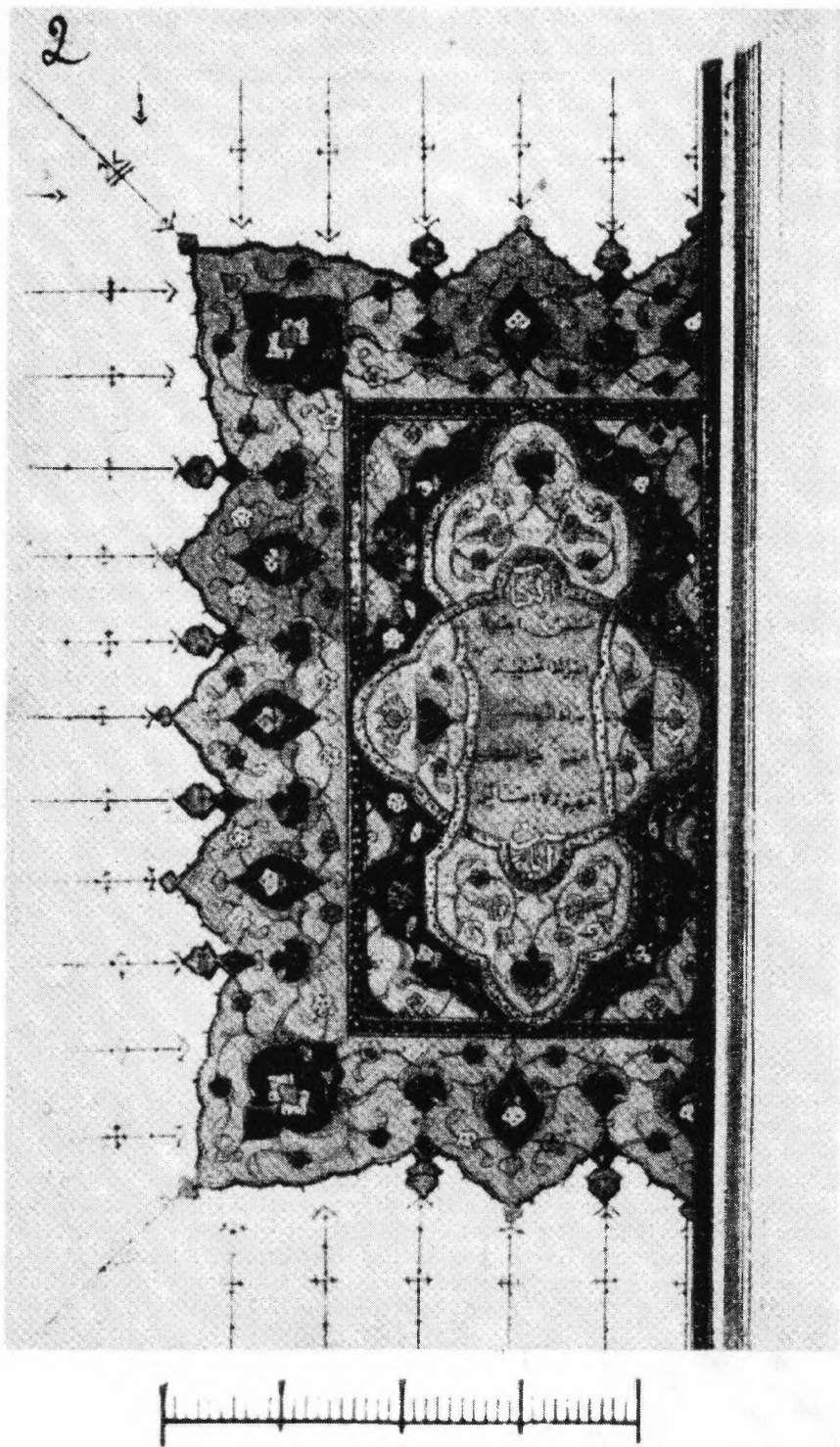

A |◀——— 29 sh. ———▶|

58 sh.

B

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

× 12 *sha'īrah*s. One can not be absolutely sure of the exactness of the measurements given here, because the photograph is too much reduced (its scale is 26 : 40), and the border framing the figures of the triptych is not narrow enough to be ignored and not wide enough to be properly taken into account in measurements.

The use of the "Egyptian" and not some other cubit is, however, well confirmed here by a frame composition around the text on folio 283b of the manuscript (it is reproduced on *fig. XXVIII A* of the catalogue; the scale is slightly different — 25.75 : 40). Within a frame 35 × 20 *sha'īrah*s (141.4 × 80.8 mm, on the photograph — 92 × 52 mm) three lines written in large characters occupy three rectangles 5 × 20 *sha'īrah*s (20.2 × 80.8 mm, on the photograph — 13.1 × 52.5 mm). Two more text frames are arranged symmetrically between them (their size — 10 × 14 *sha'īrah*s = 40.4 × 56.6 mm, or 26.2 × 36.7 mm on the photograph). The composition of frames on this page is practically identical with that on folio 3a of the manuscript described in the catalogue under No. 533 (No. 7 of the present article).

10. The last sample — folio 1b (see *fig. 11*) from a miniature Qur'ān manuscript of the 10th/16th century, originating from Iran [15]. Its life-size reproduction is given in the catalogue. The size of the frame — 52.5 × × 31.4 mm — which corresponds to 15 × 9 *sha'īrah*s (if we take a cubit equal to 503 mm [16]). The length of a section between the lines of the scale canvas formed by a "fringe" is equal to 2 *sha'īrah*s of this cubit.

Let us summarize the results of our investigation.

The number of samples in the illustrative supplement to catalogue of Arabic manuscripts by Déroche, presenting certain common features — first of all, the presence of lines projecting beyond decorative frames to the margins of folios — are confined to these ten manuscripts from Bibliothèque Nationale. They were included into the supplement for reasons which have nothing to do with the subject of our investigation. They can be regarded therefore as a chance selection from a great number of samples of the same type preserved in libraries. We may expect that our suggestion (that the "decorative fringe" in Arabic manuscripts presents at the same time a scale canvas) will not be disproved by any other group of manuscripts with similar decorations.

It turned out that in ten manuscripts seven different measures of length had been applied by their decorators. We were aware of their existence before, but only from literary sources, not coming across them in real measurements. Thus we discovered a new source in illuminated manuscripts, which presents a good opportunity to check the available data and is promising some revival in the field of historical metrology. There is nothing sensational, as we can see, in our first tests. Still, they have confirmed the validity of the data we have, at the same time demonstrating the precision of medieval instruments and the accuracy of manuscript decorators using them.

I expect that the suggested method of analysis of elaborate manuscript decorations which can be attributed to the "scale canvas" group, will be of some significance to art historians. Within this method three components should be distinguished: determination of the measure of length; reckoning of the main ornamental frame; classification and description of all decorative elements. The study of new samples will, probably, reveal other possibilities of this method.

New possibilities are opening also for codicologists. The materials surveyed here make us consider the problem of the significance of historical length measures for determining the origin of manuscripts. Let us remind the reader that our attribution of the cubits in some cases contradict the locations indicated in the French catalogue. Further development in this direction seems expedient and worthwhile.

Finally, it should be mentioned that while working on this article the author had no opportunity to handle all the manuscripts mentioned here, which he was greatly missing. This had been planned, but the financial conditions of the time when the article was being written made it impossible. For this reason all the arguments in the article were confined to computations, and the article itself is just stating the problem but not solving it.

Notes

1. F. Déroche, *Les manuscrits du Coran. Du Maghreb à l'Insulinde* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1985) (Bibliothèque Nationale, Départament des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Deuxième partie: Manuscrits Musulmans. Tome I, fasc. 2); review of the publication by K. Schubarth-Engelschall see in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Bd. 84, Hf. 2, März/April (1989), Sp. 191—2.

2. Ms. Arabe 418. In the catalogue this manuscript is described under No. 535.

3. W. Hints, *Musul'manskie mery i vesa s perevodom v metricheskuiu sistemu* (W. Hinz, Islamische Masse und Gewichte. Umgerechnet ins metrische System), trans. from German into Russian by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1969), pp. 66—7 (with a further reference to J. Fryer's *A New Account of East-India and Persia, in Eight Letters: being nine years Travels begun 1672, and finished 1681*, published in London, in 1698, p. 206). Later Hinz probably doubted the reliability of the evidence on this "91 cm cubit", as it is not mentioned in his article for *Encyclopedia Islamica*, see W. Hinz, "Dhirā' ", *EI*, 2nd edition (Leiden, 1983), pp. 231—2.

4. Ms. Arabe 5841.

5. Hinz, p. 67 (with a further reference to the *Chronicle* by Ibn Iyās, a 15th—16th century author; there it is mentioned that the "Istanbul cubit" was introduced in Egypt in November 1521).

6. There is a noticeable error in its construction.

7. Ms. Arabe 501.

8. Hinz, p. 66, with a reference to al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ al-A'shā, iv (Cairo, 1914), p. 233.

9. Ms. Arabe 427.

10. Ms. Arabe 400.

11. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 206.

12. Ms. Arabe 5816.

13. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 218.

14. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 215.

15. Ms. Arabe 426.

16. Hinz, p. 67 (*thirā' al-dūr*, with a reference to *Journal asiatique*, 8-e sér., t. VIII (1886), p. 491).

Illustrations

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Fig. 1. Ms. Arabe 418, fol. 3a (= F. Déroche, pl. I).

Fig. 2. Ms. Arabe 5841, fol. 2a (= F. Déroche, pl. IV A).

Fig. 3. Ms. Arabe 501, fol. 2a (= F. Déroche, pl. V B).

Fig. 4. Ms. Arabe 427, fols. 2a, 2b (= F. Déroche, pl. VI B and C).

Fig. 5. Ms. Arabe 400, fol. 2a (= F. Déroche, pl. VII B).

Fig. 6. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 206, fol. 1b (= F. Déroche, pl. XXIV B).

Fig. 7. Ms. Arabe 5816, fol. 3a (= F.Déroche, pl. XXVI B).

Fig. 8. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 218, fol. 2a (= F. Déroche, pl. XXVII A).

Figs. 9—10. Ms. Smith-Lesouëf 215, fol. 1b (= F. Déroche, pl. XXVIII B).

Fig. 11. Ms. Arabe 426, fol. 1b (= F. Déroche, pl. XXIX B).

F. Abdullayeva

SOME LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF THE LAHORE *TAFSĪR*, ITS DATE AND PROVENANCE

The monument described in the present article is a Persian Commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qur'ān. The manuscript of the Commentary is preserved now in the Library of the Lahore University (Pakistan), hence one of its names — the Lahore *Tafsīr* (henceforth *LT*) [1]. Formerly it belonged to the late Prof. M. Shīrānī who bequeathed the manuscript to the Library [2].

In 1966 a facsimile edition of *LT* appeared, with a brief introduction by M. Mīnavī, under the title of *Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk* [3]. The text of *LT* is unique, it represents a part (46 folios) of a Commentary on the second Sūra *Al-Baqara* — "The Cow" (65—151/161—146 Flügel and 233). The beginning and the end of the manuscript, as well as its colophon are missing, so the name of its author or copyist and the date of the manuscript are unknown.

In 1966, shortly after M. Mīnavī's publication, an article by A. Z. Khuyī in *Yaghmā* appeared, where its author considered some idiomatic peculiarities of the text [4]. Four years later, A. Ravāqī issued a printed edition of *LT*, supplemented with a vocabulary marking all original, and even unique meanings and spellings present in the text, as well as archaic forms and dialectological peculiarities [5]. To illustrate the parallel use of the unusual vocabulary of *LT* in other Persian works, A. Ravāqī is citing 77 writings composed in the 9th—15th centuries.

At the International Congress held in Ann-Arbour in 1968 J. Matīnī delivered a paper dealing with the spelling, the manner of writing, and the style of the 11th century Persian works. In his paper J. Matīnī compared the manner of writing which is characteristic of three earliest prose texts: *Hidāyāt al-Muta'allimīn fī al-Ṭibb* (A.D. 1100), *Al-Abnīya 'an Haqā'iq al-Adwīya* (A.D. 1069) to *LT* [6]. In 1971 a famous Isfahan calligrapher and scriptologist M. Fadā'ilī published his *Atlas-i Khaṭṭ* containing a passage from *LT* [7]. According to M. Fadā'ilī, the style and spelling of *LT* are characteristic of the Persian texts written in Arabic script at the earliest stage of the New Persian language.

In the same year (1971) an article by D. N. MacKenzie dealing with the most peculiar words of the text appeared [8]. In many cases etymologies were suggested to supplement those quoted in the *Burhān-i Qāṭi'* and in G. Lazard's famous work [9]. D. N. MacKenzie was the first to reveal a distinct eastern Parthian and even Sogdian layers in the language of *LT* [10].

We are most grateful to Iranian scholars Dr. A. Taffazzulī and Dr. J. Mazāhirī who pointed out several important publications concerning *LT* to the author of this article. These are a brief study of the linguistic peculiarities of *LT* by 'Alī Ashraf Ṣādiqī [11] and a detailed monograph investigating its orthographic system by Husayn Dāvarī Āshtyānī [12].

LT is a bilingual text. In other words, after each quotation from the Qur'ān a short commentary in Arabic follows, then its Persian translation supplemented with extensive comments comes. There are many quotations from *qiṣṣa*s and *ḥadīth*s, for the most part with references to their sources, though as a rule the *isnād*s are incomplete. In all 16 *qiṣṣa*s and 7 *ḥadīth*s are present in the text which is given in different versions. The names of 37 theologians are mentioned in the *isnād*s. They are: Ibn 'Abbās and al-Kalbī (his name mentioned 8 times), Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (6 times), Wahb ibn Munabbih and Khāja Imām (5 times), 'Umar ibn Khattāb (4 times), Khurāsānī, Shāfi'ī (3 times), 'Ikrima, Abū Hurayra, Bā Manṣūr Mātarīdī, Ismā'īl Suddī, Mujāhid, Abū Ḥanīfa (each mentioned two times), Yusha' ibn Nūn, Abū Bakr Ṣiddiq, 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Ibn 'Umar Dhahhāk, Ibn Surya, Qāḍī Abū 'Āsim, Khāja Abū Ja'far, Sa'd Mu'ādh, Wāqidī, Barā'azib, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salam, Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan, Mālik b. Anas, 'Ā'isha, Ẓafar, Masākin, and Abū Ḥayāda Rāhib (mentioned only once).

In the text which is written in prose there is a little passage in verse, a single Arabic *bayt*:

> *'izā saqata samā'un bi 'ardi qawmin*
> *ra'aynāhu wa 'in kānū ghidāban*

> When it was raining on the earth of people,
> We were looking at it, though we were angry.

This verse was cited to illustrate the polysemy of the word *samā'*.

When considering the text of *LT*, it is probably worthwhile to bear in mind that most of the survived Persian manuscripts of the 11th—12th centuries are of secular nature [13]. In his comprehensive book G. Lazard investigated 51 prose texts of the 10th—11th centuries [14]. Only 9 of them can be classified as works on theology. Ch. A. Storey achieved the same results (4 works on theology and 14 secular texts) [15]. O. F. Akimushkin explains this fact by 1) different unfavourable circumstances: wars, fires etc.; 2) bad quality of manuscripts; 3) the dominating role of the Arabic language, especially in the field of Qur'ānic studies [16].

In the works devoted to *LT* some attempts were made to date the text. Most of scholars are inclined to think that *LT* was written in the period between the 10th and 12th centuries. As for its provenance, in his introduction to the facsimile edition of the text M. Mīnavī suggested that *LT* had been written in Khorasan-Ghazni [17]. A. Z. Khuyī, A. Ravāqī, H. D. Āshtyānī, Z. Safā [18], and M. Faḍā'ilī agree with M. Mīnavī. To make these assumptions more sound it would be probably important to give an analysis of some linguistic peculiarities of the text.

Phonetic peculiarities and spelling of LT

The text is written in two scripts: one of the Kūfī styles was used for Qur'ānic quotations, and the early form of Naskh — for Arabic and Persian commentaries. The text is partly vocalized. Diacritic marks are applied to toponyms, personal names and those words which appeared to be difficult from the author's (or copyist's) point of view. He felt it necessary to help the reader to pronounce these words in a proper way and to understand their meaning.

The peculiarities of the use of the Persian arabographic script in *LT* allow us to make the following conclusions:

1. The existence in the text of the letters *fā-yi si-nukta* for β and *zāl-i fārsī* for postvocalic δ in verbal forms brings *LT* close to the earliest manuscripts of the New Persian prose. The letter δ is rarely used (only 73 times in the text of 92 pages: 31 times in the word *bāshaδ* and 20 times — in words with the stem *shuδ-*). At the same time the letter *dal* appears in the text in the verbs *padīruftan: padīr-, gudāshtan: gudār-*.

2. *Alif* with *madda* for long *-ā-* in the plural suffix *-ān*, is transferred into the initial syllabic *'ā*: D'N''N — "sages", N'BYN''N — "blinds", etc.

3. There are two graphic variants of the letter *yā*: the main one — full-shaped letter with points above or below and the auxiliary form — incomplete, with points under the letter or with no points at all. From the contextual frequency of the use of these variants it is possible to suggest that the traditional sign of *hamza* in the words ending in *-a* developed from the auxiliary variant of *yā*. The letter *yā*, with or without diacritic signs, stands for the phonemes [*ī*], [*ē*], [*y*], ['*ī*], ['*ē*], [*i*], [*i'ē*] and [*i'ī*].

4. The long *-ō-* appears in such words as Y$^{a/u}$WBHG'H (67.14) — "aim, object of desire", R$^{a/u}$WY (11, 1) — "copper", G$^{a/u}$WS'LH (15, 1) — "calf", B$^{a/u}$WZNH (12, 10) — "monkey", F^{u}RGH$^{a/u}$L (11, 13) — "negligence". But one cannot be sure whether the diacritic mark placed here is "damma" or "fatha".

5. The following series of vowels can be distinguished in the text of *LT*: long vowels — [*ā*], [*ē*], [*ī*], [*ō*], [*ū*] and short vowels — [*a*], [*i*], [*u*]. The comparison of the two ways of spelling, like: TRS'''N (56, 14) *tarsā'ān* — "Christians", M'H^{a}Y (1, 8) *māhī'ē* — "fish", J'DWY (45, 1) *jādūyī* — "witchcraft" and ZN'SHWYY (42, 6) *zanāshō-yī* — "matrimony", GD'YY (38, 12) *gadāyī* — "poverty", brings us to the conclusion that two different phonetic traditions are reflected in *LT*.

6. Consonants in *LT* are the following: [*p*], [*b*], [*m*], [*t*], [*d*], [*ch*], [*j*], [*n*], [*k*], [*g*], [*f*], [*v*], [*s*], [*sh*], [*z*], [*zh*], [*l*], [*r*], [*y*], [*x*], [*gh*], [*h*]. The presence in the text of letters for *fā-yi si-nukta* and *zāl-i fārsī* could be explained by the influence of its protograph.

Morphological peculiarities

1. To form plural nouns suffix -'N is used for animate nouns and suffix -H' for inanimate nouns. There is, however, one exception: in the Arabic word *sufla*, which ends in *-a* plus suffix *-ān*; *-g- > -k-* is "restored": *suflagān* (14, 19) — "base, mean". At the same time Persian words may get Arabic plural suffixes: NYRNJ'T(38, 23) — "witchcraft, trick", cf. N^{a}RNGH' (33, 18) *nēranghā*, Tajik: найранг.

2. The article used for distinction is not obligatory. This is in conformity with G. Lazard's suggestion made in connection with the text of *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī* [19], that the initial period of the early New Persian language could be defined as the time when the article was in the process of developing a new function. If taken as a criterion for dating the text, it allows us to presume that *LT* is "younger" than *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī*. In *LT* the article is used together with a personal pronoun, while in *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī* there is no evidence of any such use.

3. The Superlative is usually formed by the addition of suffix *-tar*. Suffix *-tarīn* is also used but very rare — only two times in the whole text. Besides comparative and superlative adjectives, *LT* has the so-called "intensive" form which is made up by a) reduplication of the stem with the infix "izāfa" *na pīr-i pīr va na javān-i javān* (5, 2) — "not very old and not very young", *zard-i zard* (5, 10) — "very yellow" (in such cases the sign of "kasra" is used); b) with the help of the words *saxt, nēk*: *saxt zard* (8, 4) — "very yellow", *nēk mihrabān* (87, 22) — "very gracious".

4. Enclitics of personal pronouns after final vowels of stems are lost: VQTH'SH (54, 22) *vaqthā-sh* — "[do] it sometime", DSHMNYT'N (31, 23) *dushmanī-tān* — "your hostility", DLH'SH'N (41, 9) *dilhā-shān* — "their hearts". The 1st sing. enclitic has the vowel *-u-*: 'BN '^{a}M^{u}M (20, 5) *ibn-i 'am-um* — "my cousin". But it should be admitted that 'this is the only example where the vowel of the 1st sing. appears as a diacritic mark. The position of the enclitics is not rigidly fixed: *āb-u nān-ish* (*-i-* is marked with *kasra*) *nadihad* (67, 23) — "neither water nor bread one will give him", *bijumbīd-ish* (73, 21) — "shook him", *har shab du māhī-yish muzd dādand-ē* (38, 15) — "every evening they gave him two fishes in payment", *hanōz-ish pa kar nayaphganda and* (6, 4) — "they have not yet engaged it (cow)", *pā-d-ān* [20] *qibla k-it* (marked with *kasra*) *farmūdēm* (92, 17) — "to that *qibla* we ordered you".

5. The ordinal numerals "second" and "third" are expressed in *LT* by the words *dīgar* and *sidīgar*, respectively. There are three examples of the so-called "separating nu-

merals" which are formed by the addition of the suffix *-g-*
an: *dahgān-u panjgān* (2, 4) — "ten by ten, five by five".

6. In *LT* there are three homographs: *hamē* — adverb
with the equivalent "constantly, ever", verbal preposition
and demonstrative particle. As an adverbial preposition
hamē or its variant *mē* participates in the formation of the
Present, Past, Future tense, and Imperative. Another verbal
preposition *bi-* (in four cases *bu-*) has no contextual gram-
matical meaning. It is found in verbal forms of the Present
tense, Past, Perfect, Past Perfect, and Future. Very often it
is used in combination with *(ha)mē* and the suffix *-ē*.

The Subjunctive mood is formed mainly by the addi-
tion of the formant *-ē* to verbs of the Present tense and
Preterite. In some cases, diacritics are used in order to indi-
cate personal verbal endings.

7. These are the following: 1st sing. *-um*, in 1st plur.
-ēm and 2nd plur. *-ēd*. The vowel *-ē-* is marked by a
"vertical *fatha*". The present indicative of the verb "to be"
has a form with *-i-*: *ist* where a diacritic is used. In the Pres-
ent indicative the substantive verb either loses its vowel in
the postvocalic forms: *ān kashā-rā ki farmānburdār-i tu-nd*
(86, 6) — "those who are obedient to you", *na man dōst-i
tu-m* (53, 8) — "Am I not your friend?" or it has the io-
tated variant: *in juhūdān kas nayand* (56, 3) — "these Jews
are nobody".

8. The manuscript seems to belong to the period when
prefixed verbs were much used [21]. In the text there are
more than fifty prefixed verbs compounded with proverbs
(an) dar, bāz, bar¹, bar², furō(d). The most productive of
them is *bar¹*: *bar bālīdan* — "grow", *bar xāstan* — "stand
up", *bar raftan* — "go upwards", etc. (all in all 17 verbs).

There are also verbs not found in the available diction-
aries of the New Persian language including the Tajik Dic-
tionary [22]. Some prefixed verbs are distinguished for
their original meanings, not found in the vocabularies: *an-
dar aβgandan* — "engage", *andar īstāndan* — "begin", *bāz
giriftan* — "hold back" *bar giriftan* — "take for", *bar
sāxtan* — "turn into", *bar gashtan* — "distort", etc.

9. The Perfect has four variants: a) formed from the
past participle by the addition of enclitic Present of the
substantive verb — *karda ēd* (10, 11) — "you have made";
b) from the Past participle with prefix bi- and enclitic pres-
ent or the substantive verb: *bigiravīda ēm* (12, 3) — "we
have believed", c) Past participle by the addition of the pre-
sent indicative of the substantive verb: *karda bāshēd* (55, 5)
— "you have made", d) Past participle, the Present indica-
tive of the substantive verb and prefix *bi-*: *bimurda bāshad*
(16, 23) — "she has died".

10. The Plusquamperfect is formed by the past partici-
ple, the past indicative of the substantive verb and also with
the addition of the suffix *-ē* to a substantive verbal form:
shinīda būdand-ē (12, 12) — "they had heard".

11. There are two causative infixes in the text. One of
them is the traditional *-ān-*: *nishastan*: *nishāndan* (and
nishāxtan). Another one is *-an*: *bix(w)ābanīd* (69, 8) —
"lay down". One of the most peculiar features of *LT* is the
so-called "double causative" form of the verb *shudan* in the
phrase: *va likan kāfir-rā vābishāvānum andar ān jahān pa
pāyvāh-ē dardnāk* (71, 15) — "However, I shall bring a pa-
gan by force into a painful punishment in the other world".
The transitive verb *vābishāvāndan* appears to have the
proverb *vā-*, which means that it is followed by the adver-
bial modifier of place. This is the only time this proverb is
used in the text. It is not certain if *bi-* in *vābishāvānum* is

the verbal prefix *bi-*. Possibly this *bi-* here is the same as
bu- in another word from *LT*: *buruxshīdan*/ BᵘRᵘXSHYDN
(8, 5) — "shine", cf. NP *ruxshīdan, raxshīdan* where *bu* —
< *wi*: *wiruxsh-*. May be *bishāwaya-, *vishāvaya, *api-
shāvaya* > *bishāv-*. The stem *(bi)shāv-* is not of Persian
origin, because in Persian the causative form from *shyav-*
"go" is absent. D. N. MacKenzie suggested an etymon for
vābishāvānum: Parth. FRSH'W- "send" [23]. According to
A. Ghilain [24], Parth. FRSH'W is the causative to OP
shaw-/shyaw- "go". The idea of *vābishāvānum* as a double
causative can be proved by the I. Yu. Krachkovsky's trans-
lation of the Qur'ān as illustrated by the Qur'ānic phrase:
thumma 'adṭarruhu 'ilā 'adhābi-n-nāri (2, 126) — "but
will soon drive them to the torment of Fire" where the verb
'adṭarruhu for the *vābishāvānum* is translated by Krach-
kovsky as "bring by force" [25]. H. W. Bailey supposed
that Parthian FRSH'W- had developed not from
shāw/shyaw "go" but from *shāw-*: *shuta* "drive, push, im-
pel" [26]. The use of this word seems to be unique for that
period. For the sake of comparison it will be enough to
mention that the word *'adṭarruhu* corresponds to *bēchāra
kunam*.

13. All the traditional participles are found in the text.
Present participles are quite conspicuous for their elaborate
and complicated constructions, they are exact calques of
their Arabic counterparts. Their existence in *LT* can be ex-
plained by the author's wish to express the meaning of the
Qur'ānic terms as close to the original as his native lan-
guage allowed him. Hence such words as *rāstgōykunanda*
(33, 12) — "speaker of the truth" for Arabic *muṣaddaqun*;
muzhdagāndihanda (32, 5) — "by bringing good news" for
Arabic *li mā... bushrā*, etc. Usually these forms stand in
contrast with the style of the text which is generally light
and lively, with numerous conversational and idiomatic ex-
pressions. It should be mentioned, however, that sometimes
these calques, in spite of their artificial nature, are more
profound than their Arabic equivalents in the Qur'ān. For
example: *badī'u-s-samawāti wa-l-'arḍi* (2, 117) ... *guft
allāhu ta'ālā badī ast... va mubdi-i navsāzanda-yē būd*
(62, 5) — "To Him is due the primal origin of the heavens
and the earth (Qur'ān). He said: Lord is the Creator... He
was the Creator who created things from the very begin-
ning..."

14. The conjunction *ham* has two functions in the
text — uniting and subordinating. In the second case *ham*
stands in the post verbal position: *chi agar kas-ē bisyār
dīda bāshad yōbān-i ān bāshad* (67, 15) — "if someone is
looking there for a longtime he aspires to it". In Tajik a
similar construction has survived, cf.:

Як чанд дар ин чаҳон зи худ пайдо шав,
Бар ҳусну чамоли зиндаги шайдо шав,
Сино нашави ҳам азми синои кун,
Мачнун нашави ҳам ошики Лайло шав [27].

yak chand dar in jahon zi xud paydo shav
bar husnu jamoli zindagi shaydo shav
sino nashavi ham azmi sinoi kun
majnun nashavi ham oshiqi laylo shav

"Reveal yourself by something in the world,
Be mad of love for the beauties of life,
If you are not Avicenna aspire to be him
If you are not Majnun love Layli".

In *LT ham* is also a demonstrative pronoun [28].

15. There is a phrase in the text: *pas hamē shab-ē az shabhā ēzad-ē taʿālā ān qawm-rā ki māhī girifta būdand kappīyān gardānīd* (1, 25) — "then in one of the nights the Lord turned those people who had fished into monkeys", where *hamē* can be regarded not as a proverbial prefix or adverb but a demonstrative particle meaning "here, suddenly, then". The specific meaning of the particle *hamē*, which in *LT* continues the old "always, constantly" was illustrated by M. N. Bogolyubov [29], who suggested as a possible etymon for the particle *hamē* the old demonstrative pronoun *aita-* with the particle *ham*. M. N. Bogolyubov proved it by numerous quotations from Rūdakī, A. Balkhī, Balʿamī, Gurgānī, Firdausī, from the *Tafsīr-i Sūrābādī*, *Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī*, and other early texts of the New Persian period.

16. The multifunctional postposition in the text appears in three variants *-mar... -rā* (the most common form), *... -rā* and *mar...* (occurs two times). It is used in addition to the direct object, the indirect object, in idiomatic expressions, together with modal verbs (*bāyad*), pleonastically (with or without prepositions) [30].

The facts described above concern the peculiarities of the phonetics and the grammar system of the text of *LT*. They seem to confirm the opinion of MacKenzie that *LT* and the Cambridge *Tafsīr* [31] texts are related. The linguistic analysis based on the bright peculiarities of *LT* orthography makes us come to the conclusion that this text is most likely to have been written in the region of Māwarānnahr. It could be compiled in the period between the 10th and the beginning of the 12th century when Persian was becoming the state language, gradually replacing Arabic. The formation of the New Persian language went along with the suppression of other Iranian languages. At the same time it was affected by them. This process is reflected in the text of the Lahore *Tafsīr*.

Notes

1. D. N. MacKenzie, "The vocabulary of the Lahore Tafsire", *Iran and Islam* (1971), pp. 407—19.

2. M. Shīrānī, "Qur'ān Pāk-ki yik qadim Tafsīr", *Oriental College Magazine* (1932).

3. M. Mīnavī, *Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk* (Tehran, 1344/1966).

4. A.-Z. Khuyī, "Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk", *Yaghmā*, II (1345/1966), pp. 57—63.

5. A. Ravāqī, *Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk* (Tehran, 1349/1971).

6. J. Matīnī, "Rasm al-Khaṭṭ-i Fārsī dar qarn-i panjum-i hijrī", *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i Mashhad*, vols. II—III (s.a.), pp. 139—204.

7. M. Faḍā'ilī, *Aṭlas-i Khaṭṭ* (Tehran, 1350/1972).

8. D. N. MacKenzie, *op. cit.*

9. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane* (Paris, 1963).

10. There is some doubt about the case with the stem binj- which, according to MacKenzie, was supposed to produce the NP *bun*, *bunj-* "root, base". This word is found in the phrase: *va fireshta az binj-i kōh sang āvard* (72, 11) — "and the angel(s) brought stone(s) from the base of the mountain(s)"*. Probably it would fit the context better if the word B/PNJ was read as panj; then, if we continue the quotation: *az kōh-i* JWDY *va* LᵘBNᵃ'N *va* HⁱRᵃ' *va* TᵘWR SᵃYN' *va* TWR ZYT' (72, 11), the number of the mountains, whence the angel brought the stones, was *panj* — "five". There are also several peculiar lexems which could be added to the list of D. N. MacKenzie; *bidādar, bāzhbān/bāzhvān* etc. Some other grammatical and lexical peculiarities of *LT* text have been described by the author of this article in several works (F. I. Abdullaeva, *Leksiko-grammaticheskoe opisanie Lakhorskogo Tafsira* (Lexical and Grammatical Description of the Lahore *Tafsīr*), Ph. D. Thesis (Leningrad, 1989); *idem.*, "Predlog *barāstā-yi* v rannenovopersidskikh tekstakh" ("The preposition *barāstā-yi* in the early Persian texts"), *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta*, II (1986), pp. 85—90; *eadem.*, "Lakhorskiĭ tafsir", *Vostok* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 95—104 ff.

11. A.-A. Ṣādiqī, "Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk", *Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyāt-i ʿUlūm-i Insāni-yi Tihrān*, No. 77 (Tehran, s.a.), p. 45.

12. H.-D. Āshtyānī, *Wizhigīhā-yi Imlāyī-yi Dastnivīs-i Tafsīr-i Qur'ān-i Pāk* (Tehran, 2537/1978).

13. O. Akimushkin, "Zametki o persidskoĭ rukopisnoĭ knige i eě sozdateliakh" ("Some notes on Persian manuscripts and on their creators"), *Ocherki istorii kul'tury srednevekovogo Irana (pis'mennost' i literatura)* (Moscow, 1984), p. 13.

14. Lazard, *op. cit.*

15. Ch. Storey, *Persian Literature. Bio-Bibliograghic Survey*, iii (London, 1972), p. 1755.

16. O. Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

17. M. Mīnavī, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

18. Z. Safā, *Ganj-u Ganjīna* (Tehran 1363/1984), pp. 35—9.

19. G. Lazard, *Persian and Tajik* (Moscow, 1970).

20. The preposition which is the continuation of the OP *pati* in all cases has the form with initial *p-*.

21. Telegdi, "Beitrage zur historischen grammatik des Neupersischen", *Acta Orientalia. Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, vol. V, fasc. 1—2 (1955), p. 181.

22. *Farhangi Zaboni Tojiki* (Moscow, 1969).

23. D. N. MacKenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

24. A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue Parthe* (Louvain, 1939), p. 77.

25. *Koran* (The Qur'ān), perevod i kommentarii I. Iu. Krachkovskogo (Moscow, 1986), p. 40.

26. H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of the Khotan Saka* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 411.

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* Here and below we used *The Holy Qur'ān*, translation and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali (Maryland, 1983).

27. Loiq, *Sohilho* (Dushanba, 1972), p. 23.

28. *Osnovy Iranskogo Iazykoznaniia. Novopersidskie iazyki* (Fundamentals of the Linguistic Iranian Studies. The New Iranian Languages) (Moscow, 1982), pp. 119—20.

29. M. N. Bogolyubov, "K istoricheskoĭ grammatike tadzhikskogo i persidskogo iazykov" ("Some notes on the historical grammar of the Persian and Tajik languages"), *Voprosy iazykoznaniia*, IV (1981), pp. 55—60.

30. J. Matīnī, *op. cit.*

31. E. G. Browne, "Description of an old Persian Commentary to the Kur'an", JRAS (1894), pp. 417—524.

TO THE HISTORY OF ORIENTAL TEXTOLOGY

T. I. Sultanov

MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN MANUSCRIPTS
FROM EAST TURKESTAN

In one of his early works published in 1897 V. V. Barthold wrote: "The population of East Turkestan was obviously never renowned for its literary productivity; our evidence on the history of this land we obtain for the most part from Chinese literature and from the works of Muslim historiographers written in Māwarānnahr or in Persia" [1]. This remark is often cited in Orientological works. It is not mentioned, however, that this remark reflects the state of our source-basis in the 1890s. At the same time, from the end of 1897 various manuscript collections from East Turkestan have been coming to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). These were manuscripts which were collected by Ya. Ya. Lutsch (acquired in 1897—1903), A. N. Samoilovich (in 1906—1908, 1914, 1920, 1930), N. F. Petrovsky (in 1909), S. F. Oldenburg (in 1910) and by other scholars and amateur collectors of antiquities. When traveling in Central Asia in 1902 V. V. Barthold discovered and bought for the Asiatic Museum manuscripts containing works by two scholars from East Turkestan [2]. In 1916 in Tashkent he became acquainted with a copy of the "Chronicle" by Churās in a private manuscript collection. The owner of the manuscript, Bāqī-Jān-bāy, allowed him to take it to Petrograd — "to make a photocopy" [3]. In 1904 M. Hartmann published a description of his manuscript collection from East Turkestan [4]. During the last several decades it became evident, that among the manuscripts now preserved in Central Asian libraries there are many which had been copied and decorated in East Turkestan. The manuscript funds of Xinjtang include hundreds of volumes. Copies of some works by East Turkestan authors are present in many European and Indian libraries [5]. At present we are aware of the existence of hundreds of Muslim manuscripts from East Turkestan, some of them including several different works.

As early as 1953 D. I. Tikhonov, a specialist in Uighur studies, wrote that the St. Petersburg collection of East Turkestan manuscripts was unsurpassable both in the number of volumes and in the range of subjects they treat [6]. In this article we shall try to survey the literary life of Kashgharia of the Islamic period, giving special attention to historiographic works created by East Turkestan authors.

The development of literacy basing upon Arabic script in East Turkestan was connected with the conversion of its population to Islam in the 10th century and with the introduction of Arabic language and writing. The earliest known examples of East Turkestan Muslim literature were written in Arabic and Turkic in the 11th century: these are *Qū-tādghū Bīlik* ("Beneficial Knowledge") by Yūsuf, a native of Balāsāghūn, and two works by Abū al-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir (or 'Abd al-Ghaffār) ibn Ḥusayn al-Alma'ī al-Kāshgharī, who lived in Kashgharia and wrote (in Arabic) *Mu'jam al-Shuyukh* ("The Dictionary of Sheikhs") and *Tārīkh Kāshghar* ("The History of Kāshghar").

The ethico-didactic poem *Qūtādghū Bīlik* was written in Kāshghar in 462/1069—1070 for the local khan. This poem by Yūsuf of Balāsāgūn is well known — it survived in three manuscripts. There are several publications of its text, it has been many times translated (completely or partially) into other languages; many articles dedicated to this early monument of Turkic literature consider its various aspects. The latest Russian translation of the poem by S. N. Ivanov appeared in 1983 (after the critical text published by R. R. Arat) [7].

None of the works by Abū al-Futūḥ have survived to the present time. There is some information about him and about his father in the works by Sam'ānī (12th century), Yāqūt (13th century) and Jamāl Qarshī (14th century). The sources used by Yāqūt and Jamāl Qarshī are unknown. Sam'ānī refers to what he heard from Abū Bakr Hibatallāh ibn al-Farākh of Hamadān and from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim of Merv. That is what we know about Abū al-Futūḥ and his father from *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by Sam'ānī, from *Mu'jam al-Buldān* by Yāqūt and from *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* by Jamāl Qarshī [8].

The name of Abū al-Futūḥ's father was al-Ḥusayn, but he was known also as Abū Faḍl. His full name was Imām Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali ibn Halaf ibn Jibra'īl ibn al-Khalīl ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭa'ī al-Kāshgharī. He was a sheikh and a preacher, also the author of many works on the *ḥadīth* (their titles not mentioned). According to Sam'ānī, "there could be more than a hundred and twenty of them; they are rejected by everyone". As Sam'ānī was told by his informers, al-Ḥusayn outlived his son by ten years. Yāqūt wrote that Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥasan (sic!) had died in Baghdad in 484/1091—1092; but according to Jamāl Qarshī, he died in Kāshghar in 486/1093 and was buried there. His son, Abū al-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir ibn al-

Ḥusayn al-Almaʿī al-Kāshgharī (sic!), as it is recorded in *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, was a *ḥāfiz*, a truthful man, a fruitful but, unlike his father, reliable author. He attended lectures by scholars of authority, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Dānīkanī among them. From Kāshghar Abū al-Futuḥ has made a journey to al-Jibāl, Iraq and to the region of Baghdad. From his pen came several works on all kinds of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and other disciplines. On the evidence of Jamāl Qarshī, al-Almaʿī met a sudden death in Kāshghar and was buried in its suburbs (this place was formerly called Yatta).

What happened to Abū al-Futuḥ's religious writings and his "Dictionary of Sheikhs" is unknown. His "History of Kāshghar", however, survived the Mongol invasion, one of the greatest military and political upheavals of the Middle Ages. Jamāl Qarshī had a copy of this book when writing his *Mulḥaqat al-Surāḥ* in Kāshghar at the beginning of the 14th century. As far as we know, Jamāl Qarshī was the last Muslim author who actually used this 11th century work.

The picture we have of the literary life of East Turkestan in the 12th century and during the first three centuries of the Mongol rule is incomplete: hardly any literary works created at that time have survived. Of those few available two works by Jamāl Qarshī should be mentioned. His full name — Abū al-Faḍl ibn ʿUmar ibn Khālid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qarshī. He was born in 628/1230—1231 in the town of Almalyk (the basin of the Ili river near Kulja) in the reign of Suknāk-tekīn. He enjoyed the favour of his sovereigns, served as a court tutor to a prince and for this reason became known as al-Qarshī. At the end of 662/1264 Jamāl Qarshī moved to Kāshghar. There he was welcomed by local *ṣadr*s (civilian rulers) and under their friendly patronage was writing poetry, works on history and making translations. In particular, he translated from Arabic into Persian the alphabetic dictionary by al-Jawharī *Al-Ṣaḥāḥ* ("The Trustworthy One"). This fact is mentioned by the 17th century Ottoman scholar Ḥājjī Khalīfa. In his bibliographic encyclopaedia *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* we read: "7745. *Ṣurāḥ al-Lughat* belonging to Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Khālid al-Qarshī, who became known as Jamālī, is the translation of *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* into Persian" [9].

We do not know if a copy of this work was actually available to Ḥājjī Khalīfa. In the Bodleian Library in Oxford there are now several manuscripts of this translation, one of them — an autograph by Jamāl Qarshī [10]. In the foreword written in Arabic Jamāl Qarshī explains that he discovered a fine manuscript of *al-Ṣaḥāḥ*, an explanatory dictionary of Arabic by al-Jawharī (d. 1068) in four volumes, in the library of the Masʿūdiyya *madrasa* built in Kāshghar under the Mongol rule by Masʿūd-bīk (d. 1289). He decided to translate it into Persian. The draft version of the translation was accomplished in Kāshghar on the 16th of Ṣafar 681/May 26, 1282. But only many years later he managed to produce the final version. In 1301 the text was re-written again. This autograph by Jamāl Qarshī dated Dhū al-Qaʿda 23, 700/July 30, 1301 somehow came to England and in 1859 was acquired by the Bodleian Library.

It was probably in 1301 when Jamāl Qarshī, answering the wishes of the local *ṣadr* Saʿd al-Milla ba al-Dīn, began to write a supplement to *Al-Ṣurāḥ min al-Ṣaḥāḥ*, titled *Mulḥaqāt al-Surāḥ* ("Additions to the Clear One"). He accomplished it before 705/1305—1306. *Mulḥaqāt al-Surāḥ* presents an encyclopaedia of history and literary history

written in Arabic. It contains much valuable, sometimes unique, evidence on the history of the Qarakhanid dynasty reigning in Almalyk in the 13th century. There are also some interesting facts about the first Mongol rulers of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and their associates. Besides that, stories recorded by Jamāl Qarshī about his contemporaries, scholars and sheikhs, "give some idea of the intellectual life of that period" in Central Asia and East Turkestan [11]. We know now two copies of *Mulḥaqāt al-Surāḥ*, both preserved in the manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The two manuscripts were discovered in Central Asia, one of them (defective) — at the end of the last century, the other (more complete) — at the beginning of this century [12]. They were found by Russian scholars who came across a reference on this book in a work by the 16th century East Turkestan author Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt [13]. To this point, however, we shall return later.

The 16th—17th centuries in the history of East Turkestan was a period full of most important events both in the field of politics and in the cultural life of the country. Let us mark the following facts. In the 15th century the supreme leaders of the Moghūls were living not in East Turkestan but in the cities of Māwarānnahr and Turkestan, where they held Tashkent, Sairam, Yasy and other cities. At the end of the 15th—beginning of the 16th century the leader of the nomadic Uzbeks of Dasht-i Qipchāq Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān intervened in the struggle between the members of the Timurid dynasty. In 1500—1501, with the help of Moghūl *khān* Maḥmūd, he conquered Bukhara and Samarkand. Soon he turned his arms against his former ally, Maḥmūd-khān. The Moghūl leader, who was a man of weak character and a total failure as a general, not being able to cope with Shaybānī-khān alone, resorted to the assistance of his brother Aḥmad-khān of Turfān. In the decisive battle by Akhsī in 908/1503 Shaybānī-khān not only won the day but took both brothers prisoners [14]. Soon, however, they were released on condition that they would abandon all claims to their former Central Asian possessions, leave Turkestan and return to their hereditary principalities. The two *khāns* came back to East Turkestan and wintered in Aqsū, where Aḥmad-khān died by the end of the winter. Maḥmūd-khān settled in Jetikent. It opened a new stage in the old struggle for power between the Chaghataids and the Dūghlāt emirs. The Chaghataids won, and in 920/1514 Yarkend became the capital of a new state created by Saʿīd-khān and the centre of cultural and literary life of Kashgharia [15].

Cultural traditions of Yarkend developed along the same lines as in the neighbouring Central Asian dominions. Moghūl rulers and nobles, their mother-tongue being Turkic, nevertheless (at least to some extent) cultivated Iranian literary culture. The influence of Iranian culture definitely reveals itself in historiography: two most famous historical works composed by the natives of Mongolistan, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (16th century) and "Chronicle" by Churās (17th century), were written in Persian [16]. In the same language Churās wrote his *Anīs al-Ṭālibīn* (*ca.* 1107/1696), a hagiographic work interesting from many points of view. The only known copy of this work is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It came there in 1880 along with many other items of Younghusband's collection [17]. The original part of *Anīs al-Ṭālibīn* was published by O. F. Akimushkin in 1976 [18].

The literary culture of East Turkestan was rapidly developing in the 18th and in the 19th century. One of the characteristic features of this period is that from the 18th century Turkic becomes the dominating written language of East Turkestan. Perso-Tajik was still in use in cultural and literary circles, but only as a subsidiary language [19]. Along with the development of original literature in Turkī many translations from other languages were made at that time [20]. Another specific feature of the time was the increasing interest towards works on history: at present we know dozens of historical compositions written in East Turkestan in the 18th—beginning of the 20th century [21]. Among them are: *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar, Tadhkira-yi 'Azīzān, Islām-nāma, Hidāyat-nāma, Jam' al-Tawārīkh, Tārīkh-nāma-yi Ya'qūb-khān, Tārīkh-i Amnīyya*, etc.

Undoubtedly, these centuries produced no figure equal to Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt [22]. Nevertheless, there are many attractive personalities among the scholars and writers of that time, whose works deserve to be most thoroughly studied by modern investigators. One of them was Niyāzī, a historian, poet and translator of the Later Medieval period.

All we know about Niyāzī is borrowed from his own works. His full name was Muḥammad Niyāz ibn 'Abd al-Ghafūr. He was a poet by vocation and used "Niyāzī" for his *takhalluṣ* — this pen-name several times occurs in his verse [23]. It is evident from his works that his native language was Turkic, and that he was fluent in Persian. He not only translated from this language but even tried to write Persian verse [24]. Not much is known about his life. He served 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng, the ruler of Yarkend, who died, according to Chinese sources, in 1833 [25]. Then he moved to Khotan where he served 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, most probably as a court man of letters. It is difficult to tell if he obtained this assignment by his literary gifts or due to his old connections. The year of his death is unknown. He was still alive in 1852, which is testified by the following.

In the Manuscript department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is a copy of *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib*, the work by Muḥammad Niyāz not registered in any other catalogues. The name of the author appears there as Muḥammad Niyāz ibn Ghafūr-bīk; in a poem at the end of the author's preface his *takhalluṣ* — Niyāzī — is mentioned [26]. *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* is a short compilation, some kind of a general history of Muslim dynasties. According to Niyāzī's own story, he received "the highest commission" from the *ḥākim* (ruler) of Khotan in whose service he was at that time, to write a history book describing all events "from Adam", with a detailed genealogy of Moghūl *khān*s, the descendants of Chingiz-khān. "It would be good — continued the *ḥākim* — if stories about wonders and rarities, witty and wise sayings were included into the narrative". Following these directions Niyāzī produces a book consisting of three parts: 1) a description of historical events from Adam to Chingiz-khān, 2) the history of Chingiz-khān, his descendants and followers, 3) a description of "wonderful and rare events" [27]. Niyāzī himself describes *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* as a "translation into Turkī" of the most interesting and entertaining (from his point of view) stories from such works as *Tārīkh-i Akbarī, Rawḍ at al-Jannāt, Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā, Nigāristān, Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, etc., written in Persian and Arabic. The work was completed "in the *wilāyat* of Yarkend, on Mon-

day, day 21st of month Rajab 1268 [corresponding to] the year of the Fish", *i. e.* on May 11, 1852 [28].

Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib was written by the order of Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ḥākim-bīklīk. It is evident from the formula used after his name — "let his power increase" — that he was still alive in 1852 (which disproves the statement by Hamada Masami that he died in 1842, made with no reference to any sources) [29]. It is also clear from the preface that in 1852 Muḥammad Niyāz continued in the service of the *ḥākim* of Khotan. The reason for his moving from Khotan to the *wilāyat* of Yarkend is unknown.

Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib is a very typical work of the Muslim court historiography, it can hardly give any idea of its author's creative individuality. It is also of no great interest as a historical source. We get much more information about the artistic personality of Niyāzī from his translations. There we find something, upon which we can make our guesses about his literary ideals, the level of his education, etc.

The dates of Niyāzī's life are unknown. Judging by the available materials he was active as a man of letters between the 20s and the early 50s of the 19th century. At that very time he wrote his historical work and translated *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt from Persian into Turkic. His translation contains a preface where he is describing in detail the circumstances connected with its coming into being, the methods of his work, etc. [30]. It is interesting enough from many points of view and deserves to be summarized here.

The sovereign ruler of Yarkend 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākim-bīklīk who "enjoys the grace of Allah", as Muḥammad Niyāz puts it, said to him several times that this land belonged to the realm of Moghūlistān and had been the residence of Moghūl *khān*s. The life-circumstances of these *khān*s from the time of Chingiz-khān till the termination of the *khān*s dynasty in Moghūlistān are unknown. It is also unknown how many rulers there were in this *wilāyat*, what were the regulations established here, how they were followed and when ceased to function. "It is necessary to get a book narrating the history of the *khān*s' reigns or to find a trustworthy narrator able to relate all these events, so that the names of the Moghūl *khān*s would not disappear in this world and their lives and deeds would not be forgotten", says Muḥammad Niyāz.

The translator tells us that no one was aware if there were any books of this kind in local libraries. By chance, however, one copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt was found. When looking through it Muḥammad Niyāz discovered that it was dedicated entirely to the Moghūl *khān*s and to the description of events in Moghūlistān. The manuscript was much worn out, with torn pages and almost unfit to be used. "We regretted it very much. If this copy was good, it would have been translated into Turkī at that time (*i. e.* under 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng)", writes the translator. Later, when Muḥammad Niyāz came into the service of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ḥākim-bīklīk, the ruler of Khotan, he managed to find one more copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Unlike the first one it was "perfectly complete, irreproachably executed and wonderfully preserved". Because *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian (as he says in the preface), not everyone could use it and understand its contents. Therefore the highest order came from Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, suggesting to translate *Tārīkh-i Ra-*

shīdī into Turkī, to make its contents available to many, so that they would praise the initiator of this work and the translator and pray for them. Even though Muḥammad Niyāz was not feeling he had the abilities required to accomplish this great commission he, "relying on God", undertook the translation, since "there is no place for delays and faults when executing the highest order and supreme command", as the translator puts it.

Muḥammad Niyāz describes the methods of his work. In brief, they were the following. The translation was to be done in a simple language and common phraseology. *Sūras* of the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīths* translated by the author of the original work into Persian were given in Turkī, verse and phrases in Arabic not translated by the author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* were "left as they were". Turkic verse by Mīrzā Ḥaydar or those borrowed by him from other respected authors were reproduced in the same manner as they were in the original manuscript. No changes were introduced also to those versified passages in Persian which contained chronograms — "to avoid corrupting them". Other Persian verse were rendered in Turkī "as far as our abilities made it possible". "Separate words of non-Arabic and non-Persian origin, which could be Mongolian surviving from those victorious times, or Qalmaq ones..., are translated tentatively, from the context", the translator says. He also admits that some rare and little-known Persian words were translated incorrectly. "But I was working as diligently as I could, followed the rules of translation, being content to transfer the meaning of the Persian text in Turkic words", he adds.

At the end of the narrative part of his work the translator declares that, like Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt who dedicated his work to 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān, he is dedicating his translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* to Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, because there are three reasons to do so: 1) the Persian original of this work was found and became known in his time, 2) the translation was done by his highest order, 3) the origin of his family goes back through generations to Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Jamāl al-Dīn, whose grave is located in the *wilāyat* of Aqsū at the site of Ay-Kūl.

The translator's preface ends in verse (fols. 11a—12a), many versified passages are included in its text.

The author's conclusion which comes after the translation is titled: "The End of the Translation of this Book and the Completion of this Draft Copy" [31]. It opens with the words of gratitude to Allah, who gave the translator strength to accomplish this "great deed". Then it is mentioned that the translation was completed in Khotan on the 20th of Jumādā II, 1253, corresponding to the year of Cow, *i. e.* on September 22, 1837. After that follow some words addressed to the reader, asking him to forgive the translator for his imperfect work and to correct his mistakes — a common formula of Islamic translators. Like in the preface, at the end of this conclusion comes a poem written by the translator.

Manuscript D 120 cited here includes the translation of only the first *daftar* (part) of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's work. The Manuscript collection of the Institute has also a complete translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Niyāzī [32]. According to our calculations, there are at least ten known manuscripts containing more or less complete versions of Niyāzī's translation.

All known copies of this translation are dated to the 19th century. The popularity of this work was ensured both by the brilliance of the original text by Mīrzā Ḥaydar and by the good quality of Niyāzī's translation. The translation is not just very precise but is even endowed with some elegance. The translator managed to preserve not only the sense of the original but also the clearness, lightness and precision inherent in the Persian text. The same is characteristic of his rendering of Persian verse. The original metre of the Persian verse present in *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is preserved in Turkī, which testifies to the poetic gift of the translator. The task outlined in the preface — to translate in a simple and clear manner, using common language — should be regarded, in our opinion, not just as Niyāzī's wish to answer the linguo-aesthetic demands of the learned East Turkestan public, whose knowledge of Persian at that time was not too profound. His orientation, first of all, on the Turkic lexicon, judging by the language of his *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* and his voluminous preface to the translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, was his conscious position. His fluent Persian and his brilliant knowledge of the Turkic language allowed Muḥammad Niyāzī to follow this principle of translation without any loss of precision and clearness, so that even those readers who had no knowledge of Persian could easily understand it. This makes it possible to speak about the high quality of Muḥammad Niyāzī's translation. It should be also taken into account that the translation was made from a "perfectly complete, irreproachably executed and wonderfully preserved" manuscript. Due to its high quality Niyāzī's translation may help the present-day investigator of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in a way not often to be expected of the so-called "Oriental translations".

Not being a specialist in the field of Turkic poetry the author of this article is not undertaking the task of estimating Muḥammad Niyāzī's poetic heritage. Our nearest practical aim is to indicate the sources which can be used for such investigation. The problem is that no *dīwān* of Niyāzī's poems (if it ever existed at all) is available now, although his poetic works, some of them rather extensive, are scattered over his books sometimes appearing in quite unexpected places. Pages of the preface and the conclusion to his translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* containing verse by Niyāzī have been indicated above. Verse are present in the preface and the conclusion to his *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* (fols. 1b—3b, 128b—129a). But the number of his poetic works is not confined to these. Thus in his translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, after the chapter dedicated to emir Khudāydād, Muḥammad Niyāzī wrote that his constant wish was to make a *ḥajj*. So when he became aware that emir Khudāydād had enjoyed the honour of visiting Mecca and even of being buried there, he was so touched that he wrote a poem on this occasion and placed it at the end of the chapter. The poem is dedicated to the same subject, Niyāzī's dream to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Islam. This translator's interpolation occupies almost three pages of the manuscript (but for two lines) [33].

Cases when the main narrative is interrupted by recollections, interpolations and additions, made either by the author himself or by a translator, was a regular practice in medieval Islamic literature. "By the way" passages were one of the compositional methods sanctified by the medieval literary tradition. Niyāzī is applying it once more, this time in his own historical composition. In one of the chapters of the third part of his *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* Niyāzī is describing (after the works of Indian authors of the Great

Moghūl period) the life of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (murdered in 1551). At the end of the chapter comes an extensive poem by Niyāzī dedicated entirely to the author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* [34]. By our approximate calculations the general volume of versified text in the two works mentioned above is equal to several hundred *bayt*s — enough to form a judgment of Niyāzī's poetic talent.

Let us now make a short summary, taking into account the following: in the middle of 1830s Niyāzī discovered a copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the palace library of Khotan and translated it from Persian into Turkī (the language used by the dominating part of the population of East Turkestan). This translation became popular. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is the principal source on the history of this land in the 14th—16th centuries. The author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was well acquainted with the work by Jamāl Qarshī, the late 13th—early 14th century author from East Turkestan. In his turn Jamāl Qarshī was borrowing his materials from *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* and *Tārīkh Kāshghar* by Abū al-Futūḥ who lived in Kāshghar in the 11th century.

None of the mentioned works is a direct continuation of the other. Still they are the links of one chain of information binding together the literary activities of several generations of East Turkestan scholars. The main link of this chain is *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Unlike *Tārīkh Kāshghar* by Abū al-Futūḥ and *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* by Jamāl Qarshī,

Tārīkh-i Rashīdī had a better fortune. At present over 30 copies of the work by Mīrzā Ḥaydar are known. It is often cited by Muslim authors. Several translations of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī appeared in the 18th—19th centuries in East Turkestan [35]. The "Chronicle" by Churās written in Yarkend around 1087/1675—1677 is totally basing upon *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* being its logical continuation [36]. Several decades later the author of *Tārīkh Kāshghar* was using *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the chapters of his work dedicated to the early history of the Moghūl *khāns* [37]. The Tashkent copy of one of the Turkic translations of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is supplemented with a *dhayl* — the continuation of the history of Kāshghar up to the middle of the 1830s [38]. Finally, this work by Mīrzā Ḥaydar became the main source for "The History of the Rulers of Kāshghar" written in 1903 by Mullā Mūsā in the town of Aqsū in East Turkestan [39].

At present, contrary to what V. V. Barthold was writing in the 1890s, we have a complete fund of East Turkestan Muslim historiography. So far it has not been really explored. The number of published works is still too insignificant in comparison to the number of manuscripts waiting to be investigated. The growing interest towards the history of East Turkestan among European, Japanese and Russian scholars makes them pay more attention to the Muslim historiography of Kāshghar.

Notes

1. V. V. Barthold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii (Moscow, 1973), p. 63.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 173—4, 205—6.

3. Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika* (Chronicle). Critical text, translation and commentaries by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1976), p. 18.

4. M. Hartmann, *Die Osttürkische Handschriften der Sammlung Hartmann* (Berlin, 1904).

5. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (A Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences), 10 vols. (Tashkent, 1952—1975); Yusupbek Muhlisov, *Uygur klassik adabiati kolyazmalarining katalogi* (A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Uyghur Classical Literature) (Shinyan, 1957); M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*. Mit 2 farb. und 25 Schwarzweiss-Tafeln (Wiesbaden, 1979), Nos. 534, 538.

6. D. I. Tikhonov, "Vostochnye rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR" ("Oriental manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences"), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. VI (Moscow—Leningrad, 1953), p. 19.

7. Iu. Balasagunskiĭ, *Blagodatnoe znanie* (Beneficial Knowledge), ed. S. N. Ivanov (Moscow, 1983).

8. *The Kitāb al-ansāb of 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī*. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Manuscript in the British Museum Add 23. 355 with an Introduction by D. Margoliouth and D. Litt (Leyden—London, 1912), pp. 470a—472a. — E. V. Gibb Memorial Ser., Vol. XX; V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia* (Turkestan in the Mongol Invasion Period), Pt. 1. Texts (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 129, 131; *Materialy po istorii Srednei i Tsentral'noĭ Azii X—XIX vv.* (Materials on the History of Central Asia of the 10th—19th Centuries) (Tashkent, 1988), pp. 79, 102—3.

9. *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jalebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalfa celebrato compositum*, iv (London, 1845), pp. 101—2.

10. Ph. D. Sachau and H. Ethè, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Pt. 1. The Persian Manuscripts (Oxford, 1889), Nos. 1645—1648.

11. V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), i (Moscow, 1963), p. 100; *idem.*, Sochineniia (Works), viii, pp. 98—102.

12. A. I. Mikhaĭlova, *Katalog arabskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii i Afriki Akademii nauk SSSR* (Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian and African Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 3 (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 30—31; *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR. Kratkiĭ katalog* (The Arabic Manuscrips in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A Concise Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, Pt. 1 (Moscow, 1986), Nos. 9338—9339.

13. N. Petrovskiĭ, "Bashnia "Burana" bliz Tokmaka" ("*Burana* Tower near Tokmak"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, vol. VIII (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 363, No. 1; V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii, pp. 205—6.

14. T. I. Sultanov, "Izvestiia "Sheĭbani-name" Mukhammada Salikha o mogolakh (XVI v.)" ("*Shaybānī-nāma* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ about the Moghūls"), *Strany i narody Vostoka*, fasc. 26, No. 3 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 200—3.

15. O. F. Akimushkin, "Khronologiia praviteleĭ vostochnoĭ chasti Chagataĭskogo ulusa (liniia Tugluk-Timur-khana)" ("The chronology of the East Chaghatay *Ulus* Rulers: Tughluk-Tīmūr-khān line"), *Vostochnyĭ Turkestan i Sredniaia Aziia. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Sviazi* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 157—8.

16. *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia. An English Version*. Edited with commentary, notes and map by N. Elias. Trans. E. Denison Ross (London, 1895); T. I. Sultanov, ""Tarih-i Rashidi" Mirza Haĭdara Duglata (Literaturnaia istoriia pamiatnika)" ("*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt. A literary history of the monument"),

Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia (Moscow, 1982), pp. 116—35; Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika*.

17. *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Part: Additional Persian Manuscripts by A. F. L. Beeston (Oxford, 1954), No. 2494.

18. Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika* (supplement), pp. 331—4. Also see *ibidem.*, Introduction, pp. 49—52.

19. A. M. Muginov, *Opisanie uĭgurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Uyghur Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1962).

20. T. I. Sultanov, "Nekotorye voprosy tiurkskoĭ srednevekovoĭ perevodnoĭ istoricheskoĭ literatury" ("Some problems of the medieval works on history, translated into Turkic"), *Tiurkologicheskiĭ sbornik. 1976* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 141—52.

21. L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 1. Istoriia (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 22—23, 27, 132—145; L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 2. Istoriia, akty, bibliografiia, entsiklopedii, geografiia, kalendari (Moscow, 1975), Nos. 24—34; Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bibliograficheskiĭ obzor* (Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey), Pt. 2 (Moscow, 1972), Nos. 1068—1073.

22. T. I. Sultanov, "Tarih-i Rashidi", p. 126 ff.

23. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, a manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number D 120, fols. 2b, 6a, 12a, 61b, 62a.

24. *Ibid.*, fol. 11a.

25. Hamada Masami, "Islamic saints and their mausoleums", *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, XXXIV (Tokyo, 1978), p. 92.

26. Muḥammad Niyāz, *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib*, a manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number D 106, fols. 2a, 3b.

27. *Ibid.*, fols. 2b—3a.

28. *Ibid.*, fol. 128b. According to I. A. Orbeli's tables, *Sinkhronisticheskie tablitsy khidzhry i evropeĭskogo letoischisleniia* (Synchronistic Tables of Hegira and of European Chronology) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1961) — the 11th of May 1852 was Tuesday.

29. Hamada Masami, *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

30. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, D 120, fols. 1b—12d.

31. *Ibid.*, fols. 146b—147a.

32. A. M. Muginov, *op. cit.*, Nos. 31, 33—36; L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. 1, Nos. 88—92.

33. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, D 120, fols. 60b—62a.

34. Muḥammad Niyāz, *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib*, fols. 85a—88a.

35. T. I. Sultanov, "Tarih-i Rashidi", pp. 123—9.

36. Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika*, pp. 68—102.

37. V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii, p. 173 ff.; O. F. Akimushkin, ""Tarih-i Kashgar": istochnikovedcheskiĭ analiz" ("*Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*: the history of the text"), *Istochniki po srednevekovoĭ istorii Kyrgyzstana i sopredel'nykh oblasteĭ Sredneĭ i Tsentral'noĭ Azii* (Bishkek, 1991), pp. 8—10.

38. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, a manuscript in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, call number 10191/P, fols. 344a—416a.

39. *Tarih-i Emenie. Istoriia vladeteleĭ Kashgarii, sochinenie Mully Musy ben Mulla Aĭsa, saĭramtsa, izdannaia N. N. Pantusovym* (*Tārīkh-i Āmnïyya. The History of the Kāshghar Rulers. Composed by Mullā Mūsā 'Aysa, a citizen of Sairam, and edited by N. N. Pantusov) (Kazan, 1905), p. 7; *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV—XVIII vv. (Izvlecheniia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochineniĭ)* (Materials on the Kazakh Khanates of the 15th—18th Centuries. Extracts from Persian and Turkic Works) (Alma-Ata, 1969), pp. 476—86.

V. N. Goreglyad

THE OLDEST RUSSIAN COLLECTION OF JAPANESE MANUSCRIPTS AND WOOD-BLOCK PRINTS

Since long ago the Russian have been greatly interested in the works on classical Japanese culture. Not only popular essays or translations of classical Japanese works, but also academic publications have been sold at a moment. Nevertheless, only a few persons are aware of the fact that about two centuries ago, long before the "opening" of Japan for contacts with the outside world a fascinating collection of Japanese works had been established in Russia.

Since 1633—1639 the Shogunate government of Japan issued a number of regulations to isolate the country from the outside world. Foreigners were expelled from the country, and the Dutch factory (since 1641 it was restricted to the Deshima island at the Nagasaki bay) became the only allowed place for international commerce. It was forbidden to export many Japanese goods, to build large ships, to go abroad and return homeland. An edict of 1636 by the Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu claimed: "The Japanese on their return after a stay overseas are to be punished by death". These laws were in force until 1854.

It is not therefore surprising that Japanese products in Europe were a rarity, and Japanese written works were hardly known there. Except for officials of the Dutch East-Indian Company, the Japanese language was but slightly known in the Western world.

Until the beginning of the 18th century the Russian were unaware of Japan and the Japanese. This ignorance might have continued for a long time if an accident had not happened to a certain Japanese sailor Denbei. Japanese sailors who made coastal travels on their tiny boats often suffered from ship-wrecking. Many junks, thrown away by storms, lost their rudders, sails, masts and a part of crew and after a few months drifted to Kamchatka, Aleut and Commodore islands or Alaska.

In 1702, after an edict of Peter the Great, a certain Denbei, "a citizen of the Japanese state", met in Kamchatka by the Cossack Vladimir Atlasov, was commissioned to the Artillery Register. Denbei was nominated to teach his native tongue to three or four soldiers' children. The materials on his teaching activity are not extant, but it is known that about 1730 in a special school attached to the Academy of Sciences the first in Europe Japanese language course was established, and dictionaries, phrase-books and manuals were compiled. In the Oriental Archives of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies are still being held the "Vocabularium", the "New Slavo-Japonicum

Lexicon", "An Introduction to Japanese Conversation", "Samples of Amiable Conversations", a Japanese translation of the "Orbis pictus" by J. A. Komensky, made through 1736—1739 by Gonza (a Japanese baptized as Damian Pomortsev) and by a junior librarian A. Bogdanov. The materials are of great value because the Japanese words in them, in pronunciation of the Satsuma dialect (the Kyūshū island) that was native for Gonza, had been transcribed in Russian letters [1].

The Nanbu dialect has been fixed in the "Russo-Japanese Lexicon", compiled in 1782 by Andrei Tatarinov, a teacher in the Japanese-language school in Irkutsk [2]. The Ise dialect was preserved among materials written down by Theodore Yankevich de Mirievo from Daikokuya Kōdayū, the captain of the commercial boat "Kamiyasu-maru", ship-wrecked to Russia in 1783 [3].

Daikokuya Kōdayū spent in Russia 9 years, traveled through it from the Aleut islands to St. Petersburg, twice had audiences at Catherine the Great and owing to the efforts of Russian businessmen, scholars and diplomats gained a rare chance to return homeland. In autumn of 1792, along with two sailors of the "Kamiyasu-maru", he arrived to Japan on the Russian brig "Catherine". The same ship brought to Japan the first Russian diplomatic mission headed by A. K. Laxman.

After his departure from St. Petersburg Daikokuya Kōdayū left behind a small collection of Japanese manuscripts and xylographs. Along with other Japanese rarities, such as maps and schemes of Japanese cities, donated to Catherine the Great by Dr. Schtützer, a physician of the Dutch East-Indian Company, this collection was transmitted to the Russian Academy of Science. It became the foundation-stone of the first Russian collection of Japanese-language works. Initially this collection, along with Japanese utensils, rarities and coins, was held in the Kunstkammera Museum, and in 1818, after the Asiatic Museum was established as a part of the Academy, the collection was moved there. The first catalogue of 29 Japanese manuscripts and wood-block prints was compiled by P. I. Kamensky and S. V. Lipovtsev, officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [4].

In spite of the artificial isolation of Japan from the outside world, Russian sailors, scholars and businessmen went on to bring from the Pacific Ocean pieces of Japanese culture. The Japanese collection gradually increased. Among

the new acquisitions were schemes of Japanese cities from the collection of P. L. Schilling von Canstadt (1830) [5], the illustrated medieval work *Hyakunin isshū* ("The Anthology of a Hundred Poets"), a wood-block edition of 1811, donated by the lieutenant-captain Etolin, and two works obtained in 1845 from the admiral F. P. Wrangel [6].

In 1840 the Academician M.-F. Brosset, the curator of the Far Eastern collection, put together all the existing manuscripts and xylographs, classified them according to countries, compiled and published (in French) the catalogue. A hand-written catalogue version went on to be supplemented by him until 1846, when the Asiatic Museum acquired two more collections: six Japanese works with descriptions of the Ainu-inhabited regions (from K. I. Maksimovich) and Japanese writings from the collection of the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The largest acquisitions to the collection were made between the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. In 1891 the Russian crown-prince Nicholas paid an official visit to Japan where he was donated a number of objects, among them a few manuscripts and xylographs. Because a major part of earlier Japanese manuscripts and xylographs in the collection, which belonged formerly to commoners or samurais, they were of rather modest design, embellishment or material used. On the opposite, the crown-prince's collection contained manuscripts made on a dense, expensive paper, powdered by gold, embellished with multi-coloured pictures, and lavishly coloured. Among the donated manuscripts was a gift from citizens of Shiohama, and a description of a lacquered box bestowed to Nicholas in Kyoto and produced 1100 years earlier by an unknown craftsman.

A significant supply was the collection of wood-block prints brought in 1899 by the admiral K. N. Posyet (19 items). Some of them have entertaining marginalia, dated about 1870s and made either by Posyet himself or by the Japanese who donated the wood-block prints to him [7].

In 1902 the Asiatic Museum acquired the library of E. B. Bretschneider, which contained among others three Japanese works on the botany. In 1906 the Imperial Geographical Society handed down to the Asiatic Museum a collection of xylographs and pre-modern books (mostly concerned with the Ainu), previously held in the Far Eastern Committee. In 1907 the widow of P. A. Dmitrievsky, the former Russian consul in Shanghai and Korea, sold to the Museum the library of her husband, which contained also some Japanese manuscripts and xylographs (21 items).

In February 1910 I. I. Goshkevich, a son of I. A. Goshkevich, the first Russian consul in Japan, suggested to the Academician K. G. Zaleman, the head of the Asiatic Museum, to buy the library of his father, which amounted to 1000 volumes, and included 47 "Japanese maps with unknown titles" [8]. The next year a small collection of N. P. Zabugin was acquired, too.

In 1912 O. O. Rosenberg, the chief curator of the Museum, was sent to Japan in order to advance his Buddhist studies. One of his tasks was to purchase books for the Asiatic Museum and the Committee for Asian Studies. The collection of O. O. Rosenberg, which contained a lot of xylographs of the Meiji era (1868—1912) had been acquired by the Museum in small portions since 1914 [9]. During the World War I a few dozens of xylographs were bought in Japan by N. A. Nevsky (1892—1937). Some

manuscripts and wood-block prints were brought to Leningrad by Nevsky himself after his return from Japan.

In 1930 the Asiatic Museum was transformed into the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. All the existing manuscripts and books became a part of the library and manuscript section of the Institute, while most of coins and utensils were transferred to the State Hermitage and the Ethnographic Museum. In 1935 the Japanese section received a few works from the library of Ye. G. Spalvin (among others it contained the official correspondence between the Russian embassy and the Japanese authorities in 1876—1880) [10]. In 1950 the Institute of Oriental Studies was transferred to Moscow. Only the Manuscript section was left in Leningrad, and in 1956 it was transformed into the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). In the period between 1957 and 1964 a number of manuscripts and xylographs from different sources were acquired by the Institute. The main direction of its activities became studies of literary monuments and culture of the Orient. Since then most of studies, descriptions, and publications of works in the Institute's collections has been made.

By now the cataloging of the Japanese collection of manuscripts and wood-block prints has been completed [11]. It amounts to 729 titles of 2702 volumes, being the third largest collection of pre-modern Japanese works in Europe (comparable to the collections of the British Museum and of the Leyden University) and the largest in Russia [12].

Most of dated manuscripts and xylographs are of the 18th and 17th centuries, 14 xylographs are of 17th century, one (the work by Hosokawa Yosai on the *Ise monogatari*, a classical work of the 9th century) is dated as 1596, and an undated manuscript (the *Kokin wakashū*, a poetic anthology of the 10th century) contains an exlibris of a Buddhist monk who lived in the 15th century.

The repertoire of Japanese manuscripts and blockprints preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies reveals the traces of somewhat chaotic way of their collecting. Only two small collections within it testifies to special interests of their collectors. These are the collections of I. A. Goshkevich (focused on Japanese language, literature and history, as well as Chinese philosophical works in Japanese editions) and of O. O. Rosenberg (Buddhism, literature and Chinese classics) [13]. As a result, in spite of wide range of subjects, the breadth of topics, validity and even quantity of works in different fields are not equal. Nevertheless, these Japanese manuscripts and xylographs in total contain abundant material on the Japanese history, culture, arts, literature, language, different aspects of science and handicrafts, and allow to evaluate the role of books in the Japanese culture. We will try to highlight some of the most important works in the collection.

Historical works are of a special interest because they refute the traditional image about standards of historical studies in the "isolated Japan". Widespread being the opinion that the politics of isolation implied a strict control over any aspects of life in the Tokugawa society, when only orthodox ideas based on the Neo-Confucian moral principles, or the "national studies" (*kokugaku*), that contained germs of the anti-Tokugawa ideology and foreshadowed "the restoration of Imperial power" during the Meiji revolution, were the only admissible alternatives. Eventually, it

seems to be true only in part. The real situation was rather more complicated. There were scholars in the Tokugawa Japan who propounded ideas incompatible both with official Confucianism and with the nationalistic Shinto as well. The specialists on "the Dutch sciences" (*rangaku*) achieved incredible (taking into account the restrictive politics) results in studies of European sciences and technique, history, geography and customs of foreigners. Not by chance, many of manuscripts and xylographs bear cinnabar seals to claim the top secrecy of the materials and prohibitions to copy them.

Of special interest is a manuscript of *Shōkōhatsu* ("A Dictionary of a Nonconformist"), written in 1781 by Fujii Teikan (1722—1789), a brilliant authority on the ancient Japanese culture. Turning back to old Chinese and Korean annals and early Japanese historical, literary and geographical sources, the author concludes that the official Japanese chronicles when dealing with the so-called "era of gods", the genealogical line of the Royal Family, many ancient customs, etc., distort the real facts of the national history. Fujii Teikan was sure that the roots of Japanese history go back to Korea. He doubted not only the ingenuity of the Japanese state system, but even that of the ancient Japanese language. At the end of the 18th century the work was severely condemned by nationalistic Japanese scholars.

It is worth to emphasize the interest of the Japanese in European works on their country. A famous German naturalist and traveler Engelbert Kaempfer (1651—1716) arrived to Japan in 1690 and spent there two years as a physician of the Dutch East-Indian Company. After his death, in 1727, in London was published his work "The History of Japan and Siam" that soon afterwards was translated into other languages. In our collection there is a wood-block print edition of 1850 that contains a Japanese translation from Dutch of the section that deals with Japan ("The Description of Japan"), and includes a supplement by Kurosawa Okinamaro (1795—1859). The Kaempfer's work has a detailed, though biased, annotations by Shizuku Tadao, a scholar and translator from Dutch. It embodies not only natural, historical and ethnographic description of Japan, but provides comparisons with other countries, contains critical remarks on the Japanese society. The supplement treats with the Japanese "Dutch studies" and their importance for understanding of three important aspects for the country: wisdom, rules of governing and "learning". Kurosawa attempts to promote concepts about the Japanese uniqueness and about the favour of gods since the antiquity up to recent days, when foreign ships started to approach the Japanese shore.

In spite of annotations of Shizuku and comments by Kurosawa, the work was banned for distribution among the ordinary people. It had been stressed by the seal: "Not for sale or buying. The scale is limited to 200 copies". The Japanese edition of the work by Kaempfer with supplement by Kurosawa is entitled *Ijin kyōfu den* ("An Embarrassing Account of a Foreigner").

In 1816 the first edition of the "Narrative of My Captivity in Japan, During the Years 1811, 1812 and 1813; with Observations on the Country and the People" by V. Golovnin appeared in St. Petersburg. Shortly thereafter, the "Narrative" was published in the German translation, then it was translated from German into Dutch, and in the 1820s a Japanese translation from the Dutch was completed. In our collection there are two manuscript versions

of the work. One of them is dated 1825. The translation was made by Japanese scholars of Dutch, Baba Sadayoshi (1786—1822), Sugita Yasushi (1755—1845) and Aochi Mitsuru (1774—1833). The translators slightly changed the contents of the "Narrative" (the Japanese version bore the title "The Memories about Adventures in Japan"), and included besides the materials of interrogations of Russian sailors with their own interpretations of their data. Another version contains a supplementary translation of records by P. Ricord and a letter by F. F. Mur addressed to Japanese authorities translated by Ogasawara Ise-no-kami and Arao Tajima-no-kami. Because Russian sailors were unaware of the Mur's report, its inclusion into the second version is of special interest.

A separate category of writings consists of works compiled after interrogations of Japanese sailors who spent a certain time in Russia in the 18th century, as well as the texts of first treaties of Japan with foreign countries signed in 1858 and 1859.

Most of geographical works in the collection are gazetteers of Japanese provinces and cities. Of special interest are works from the middle through the last decades of the 19th century with geographic, historical and ethnographic descriptions of the Ryūkyū islands. Many of those manuscripts are illustrated. In general, they tend to prove the identity of the origin, history, customs and beliefs both of the Ryūkyū and of other islands of Japan.

A prominent place in the collection occupy maps of Japan and its provinces, as well as schemes of Japanese cities. Traditional Japanese maps used to have no definite orientation. For example, one of two maps of the Izu peninsula (both of them were performed in the early 19th century) is orientated towards east, another one to the north-west, a map of the Awa province (1849) to the south-east, a map of Edo (1732) to the South, a scheme of Kyoto (1741) to the North. There existed no prescribed rules for map-making. A panoramic map of the famous Tokaidō track (Edo-Kyōtō) of the late 18th century shows the track as if it were actually straight, while curves are indicated by special marks and explained in legends. Thus, the orientation of the map changes with every turn of the road. The map is a narrow, long (above 12 metres), "pleated" stripe. Its main purpose was to explain to a traveler (mostly a pilgrim) the peculiarities of the road. Along with characteristics of the landscape, it indicates all the sights, with explanations for each of them in additional legends. Instead of topographical signs it has painted mountains, rivers, bridges, hamlets, castles, temples, fields, etc.

In the 1850s the first cases of longitudes and latitudes after the European mode (a full degree grid, a grid placed on the empty field of the map, or coordinates in figures, marked on the map's bounds or cover) appear on Japanese maps. The latitudes were always counted from the equator line, the longitudes in our collection are more varied: a) from the Ferro meridian, b) from the Kyōtō meridian, c) from the Tōkyō meridian. Many of the maps contain an additional information that compilers placed into colophons, and different reference sections on the front cover. They embody data on the Japanese cartography and ethnography, on astrology, botany and phenology, on the religion, political history and administrative system of the Tokugawa Japan. Old maps include a cyclical circle that allows to find the four cardinal points on a map and correspondences between its single portions.

Among the ethnographic writings the most abundant are descriptions of the Hokkaidō Ainu and of their manners.

Wood-block and manuscript works of literature are mostly medieval poetic anthologies and cheap illustrated editions of stories and novels from the end of 18th and through the beginning of the 19th centuries, popular among commoners. Of a certain interest are also the mid-eighteenth century military and civil plays (to be performed at puppet theaters).

Among works centered on the Japanese language of a special value are dictionaries. Over 40 dictionaries not only illustrate the ways of the Japanese lexicography in a thousand years, but is a nice evidence on Japanese cultural contacts with other nations through the ages. In the ninth century an eminent Buddhist monk Ennin (794—864) brought from China to Japan the Sanskrit dictionary "Bongo zōmyō", compiled by Li Yen. In Japan the dictionary was revised to be suitable for teaching, and the new version follows the standard pattern: 1) a character or a set of characters in their semantic meanings; 2) the translation of a word or an expression into the Sanskrit made in the Devanāgarī writing with explanations of their meanings (in our copy certain signs look similar to the Nepālī writing); 3) the transcription of Sanskrit words through characters with indications of certain pronunciation rules (the length of vowels, duplication of consonants, etc.); and 4) the Japanese transcription (in *katakana*) of characters corresponding to a Sanskrit word. The dictionary is of great importance for the history of Sanskrit studies in China and Japan and the development of transcription systems in Chinese and Japanese characters. Moreover, the dictionary allows to claim that the Japanese were eager to study the Buddhist canon not only through Chinese translations, but also from the original Sanskrit. This tendency was especially noticeable in the ninth century when any official contacts with China became stopped, while even unofficial ones decreased to minimum. For the Japanese culture that period brought forth the blossom of native traditions, and a lot of masterpieces in literature, painting, sculpture, applied arts, philology, architecture, etc. had appeared.

Among lexicographic works of a special interest is the dictionary of the Ainu language, compiled by Matsui Soemon and Notoya Marukichi. The copy is dated by 1912, but one may surmise that the dictionary was compiled at the end of the eighteenth century. The manuscript is of great value, because it includes a lot of Ainu words that had since then become obsolete and are not mentioned in later dictionaries.

The "Dictionary of Three Languages" by Murakami Yoshishige (1811—1891) published in 1857 marks a new stage in the Japanese lexicography. The dictionary that covers 13 topics, was compiled in 1853 and was intended for studies of French, English and Dutch languages. Since then it had been reprinted a few times. It seems to be a clear evidence that Japan tried to prepare for contacts with Europe even before the Western pressure on it, while staying yet the "closed country".

Diversified materials on the history of Japanese monetary system, the history of internal commerce and interests of Japan to foreign monetary systems through the Tokugawa age are illustrated by numismatics works of the collection. Along with designs of coins, they provide classificative descriptions (ancient, large, small, Imperial, rare,

false, etc.), the dates and places of molding (in the Far East coins were not minted but molded), values, content (gold, silver, copper), etc. One of the most detailed catalogues of Western coins called *Seiyō senpū* ("The Description of Western Coins") was compiled by Ryūkyō Kuchiki (1746—1802). The catalogue appeared when Japan kept the principle of the full isolation, and in 1795 it was donated to Catherine the Great by Dr. Stützer. The catalogue provides reverse and averse designs, as well as descriptions of coins along with a concise information about a corresponding country. It describes coins of German states (Saxony, Westphalia, Braunschweig, Prussia) , Hungary, Austria, Switzerland, Russia (a silver rouble of 1723 and a golden tchervonets of 1766), Denmark, Norway, Holland, France, Belgium and many other countries, including Morocco, as well as Dutch and Spanish colonies in America. The numismatic part of the collection is the oldest one and was described already by M.-F. Brosset.

The ability of the traditional Japanese culture to adapt to changing conditions is well illustrated by a manuscript of the mid-nineteenth century that deals with secrets of *ikebana* (the flower-arrangement art), *Shōgetsudō-koryū*. Its instructions were intended for internal use by its adherents. Along with ancient concepts of the colour and form harmony, the aesthetics of vessels, racks and baskets for flowers, the peculiarities of various decorative plants and the forms of flowers, the proportions between buds and stalks, the selection of certain flowers for different rites and ceremonies, for four seasons, etc., it contains a special section on the flowers that are symbols of Japan, the USA, Italy, France, Britain, China and Germany.

The traditional Japanese painting in the collection is preeminently the *ukiyo-e* works. The most versatile and exquisite are seven collections by a famous Tokugawa age painter Katsushika Hokusai (1760—1849). They include a few editions of the *Manga* by him that include one printed during his life-time (the other were printed from the old blocks through the Meiji period). The works are not only of great artistic value, but of a certain interest for specialists in the arts, because along with paintings most of them contain as well prefaces for the first editions made by the painter himself or by art connoisseurs of the early nineteenth century.

The works of other famous painters are also represented in the collection: *Ezu hyaku kachō* ("A Hundred of Flowers and Birds") by Kanō Morinobu (1602—1674); the collection *Hyaku senchō* ("Various Birds") by Kitagawa Utamaro (1754—1806) where every painting is accompanied by a *kyōka* poem (a sort of satirical verse) of 30 poets of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries; and such series by Hishikawa Moronobu as *Wakoku hyakujō* ("A Hundred of Japanese Women"), *Ganmoku ega* ("The Pictures of Rocks and Trees"), *Shinpan bijin ega* ("Newly Printed Images of Beauties"), *Wakoku shōshoku ega* ("Pictures of Japanese Craftsmen"), *Nihon fūzoku zue* ("Illustrated Japanese Customs"), etc.

Calligraphy was classified in the classical Japanese culture as one of fine arts. The best inscriptions have been evaluated by connoisseurs as pieces of purely aesthetic value. They were cautiously preserved, copied in different modes and used for decoration of the interiors of temples, public offices, private houses. Through centuries detailed and tradition-sanctified rules became elaborated. Their purpose was to stress the emotional impact through the inter-

遭厄日本紀事巻之上

馬場貞由 譯

髙橋景保 校

蝦夷地方航海の其端

一千八百十一年第四月 新文化八年 帝王亞歴山亞 軍艦テリヤナ

船名此長とす 髙模沙部加 蝦夷を島の小を嶋りて清出

名とす 大國なり中属すり

帝都よ属る海上 總窄より南方を走るクリル諸島 居家

郡人クリルと呼ひ 蝦夷人チユプカとも小部石揭る話

ろうクナシリ エトロフも 無話奇内に係れり小み属る高 サンタリス花圖

西白里亞北南方なるツグ河のみ生ぅ礁きく 人セン亞りか礁る

並小麺鑷米 海岸小極止地 北五十八度三十八分比原とりオホーツカ名 地

Fig. 1

魯西亞國漂民記

Fig. 2

撫於上古規範而勿習於近来流例而巳矣

寬文十年夏月日　太神宮司目代宜姓荒木田印

元禄七年九月廿一日以九称宜姓荒木田守

夏神主校定之本比校了

右太神宮年中行事者以度會弘基神主之

書騰寫焉間亦由度會延經神主之本正其

謬誤延經神主雖以朱加點做弘基神主以

墨月

寶永第四歲次丁亥九月朔日

禰宜從四位下度會神主智彥

Fig.3

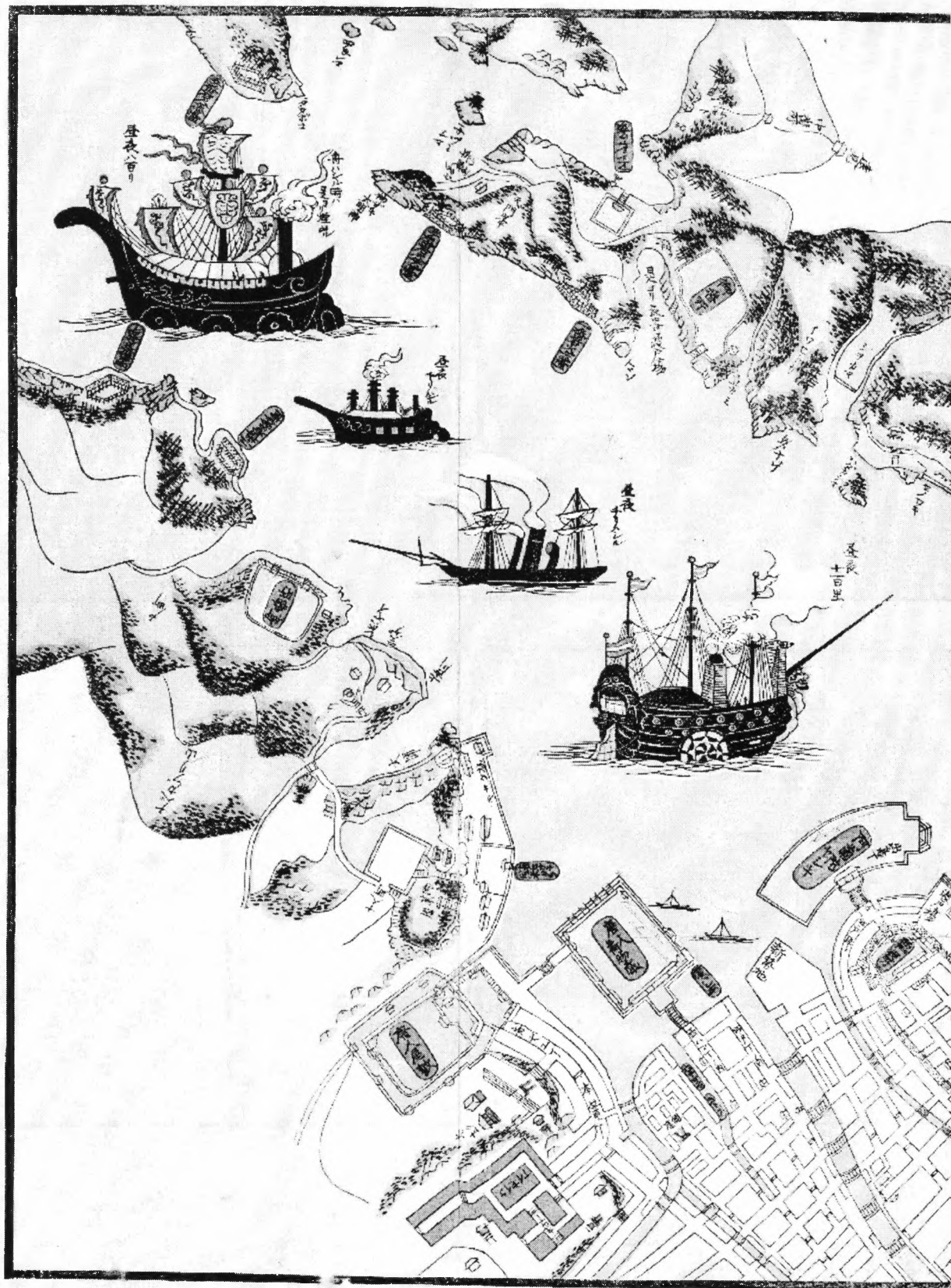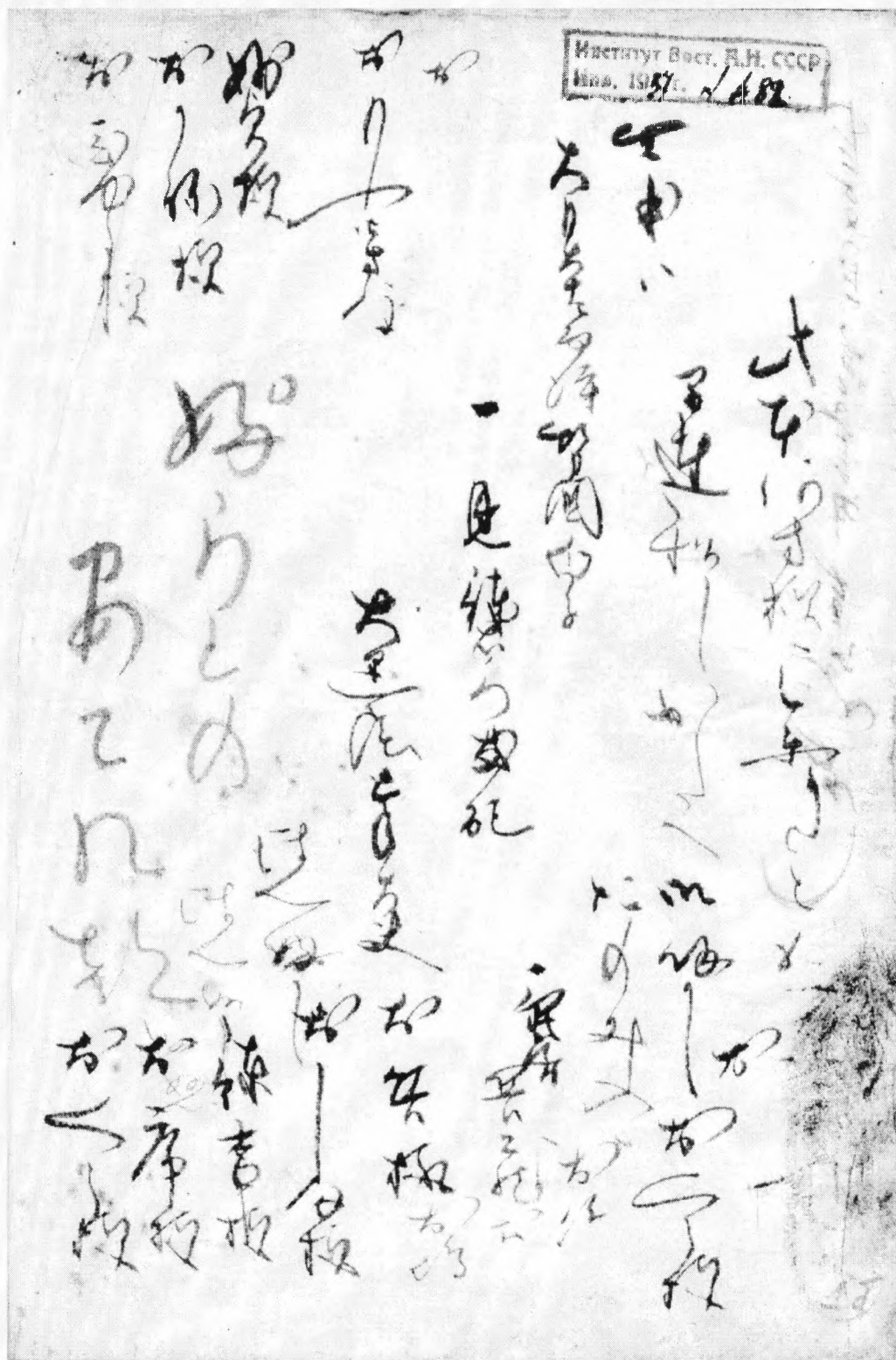*Fig. 5*

correspondence of the contents and literary style of a text. The works of a certain literary genre or scholastic subject were supposed to be written in a specific way of handwriting: the standard, cursive, semi-cursive modes.

Some wood-block prints in the collection deal with the calligraphy principles of handwritings, styles and ways of writing. A compendium of cursive characters *Sōsho hōyō* ("The Main Rules of Cursive Writing"), compiled by Wakida Jun (d. 1808), a famous calligrapher of the Tokugawa period, contains cursive versions of 6125 characters copied from original works of old Chinese masters. Of a certain interest are also a collection of inscriptions of famous Ōsaka masters, made in the nineteenth century, as well as a calligraphy manual that includes information on the six types of writing brushes, the names for various types of ink-slabs, the varieties of inks and paper, data on the history of writing, definitions of six styles of cursive writing and four forms of characters (including the square one) with samples applied; instructions on the technique of writing, the way of holding the brush, etc.

The majority of writings on the natural sciences concern the botany and pharmacology. A lot of them were written by well-known scholars of the Tokugawa age and allow to evaluate standards of science at that time as rather high. Two main trends at that time were distinct: the traditional one that followed the medieval Chinese and Japanese scholarship, and the new one evolved by the "Dutch scholars" of the Tokugawa age that took advantage of the European scientific achievements.

Among the works of the first type are *Sōmoku kihin kagami* ("The Mirror of Rare Plants") by Aekiya Kinta (printed in 1827), that contains recommendations on the cultivation of dwarf trees, odd shrubs, indoor plants and grasses; "The Principles of Plant-Cultivation" (1816) by Iwasaki Kan'en that along with extra information emphasizes the existence of two principles, a positive (*yang*) and negative (*yin*), in plants; a pharmacological treatise by Ono Ranzan (1729—1810) that describes characteristics of 1882 species of medicines made from the rain-water, clay, plants, insects, metals, etc., and a receipt of the "ginseng and dragon's eyes pills" to cure kidney diseases (the xylograph of 1861). Among works of the second type are the *Biku sōmoku zu* ("Descriptions of Eatable Plants and Trees During the Famine") by Takabe Seian, an illustrated description of 100 species of plants, compiled after Dutch medical reference books (the xylograph of 1833); *Sōmoku zusetsu* ("The Illustrated Classifier of Plants"), a xylograph of 1856 by Iinuma Nagayori that contains the Linnaeus' classification of plants with their characteristics in four languages (Japanese, Chinese, Dutch and Latin); *Ihan teikō* ("The Medical Instructions") by Udagawa Shinsai (the xylograph of 1805), where a human body was described in terms of traditional Dutch medicine.

A number of curious works focuses on the problems of the law and administration, economics, mathematics, military and naval arts. They also may be divided into traditional and novel writings, compiled by the end of the Tokugawa period through the early decades of the Meiji era under the European influence. A special group includes almanacs and chronological compendiums. As a rule, the latter contain chronological data starting from the mythical Japanese emperors (from "the seven generations of celestial rulers" and "five generations of earthly rulers") until the date of a book's compilation with parallel references to the

Chinese chronology. The chronology follows the eras of rule (*nengo*), with indication of dynasties in the case of China, and the cyclical signs and dates "from the foundation of the Japanese Empire". Sporadically the works include also astronomical maps, lists of important events, and tables of hexagrams from the classical Chinese *Yi-jing* ("Book of Changes"). In the post-Meiji chronological tables the correspondence of dates to Gregorian calendar was added.

An exact calendar was of primary importance for medieval Japanese farming. The calendar-making demanded a vast knowledge in different fields of scholarship. Calendars could be both general and local, the latter for use in specific provinces. In both cases they contained tables of lunar phases, the time of rise and set of the sun and the moon for each day, the weather characteristics for 24 "small seasons" (fluctuations in temperature, precipitation, winds), the days for sowing and harvesting, the days of sakura blossom, terms of tides, etc. Since the mid-nineteenth century the tables of correspondences for lunar and solar calendars had started to appear. They contained also traditional information on heavenly bodies, weather, the terms for starting and ending agricultural work, on the selection of "auspicious" and "inauspicious" days for beginning of an enterprise.

Confucianism (in the Zhu Xi's interpretation) was the official ideology of the Tokugawa regime. Studies and annotations of the Confucian classics by the sinologists (*kangakusha*) were encouraged. The principles of administration, relations in family or between vassals and suzerains were modeled after Confucian ideals. The Confucian ethics permeated the so-called moral and ethical code of samurai — *Bushidō* ("The Way of Samurai"). It was once again put forward by the militarist Japan at the first half of the twentieth century to bring up the spirit of blind obedience.

As mentioned above, most of the Japanese editions of the Chinese Confucian classics are held in the Chinese collection. The Japanese collection contains only the works with special marks (*kaeriten*) for reading the Chinese texts according to rules of the Japanese grammar; the works translated into Japanese or annotated by Japanese scholars. They include *Yi-jing, Lunyü, Men-tzu, Si shu, Daxue, Shu-jing, Shi-jing, Xiao-jing, Liji*, etc., as well as treatises of Japanese scholars and Confucian instructions for the youth. Certain passages in works of the Japanese *kangakusha* sound as anti-European.

Shintō, the indigenous Japanese religion, developed from primitive concepts of the universal natural animism and deification of the dead ancestors' souls. The unification of rites and formation of a religious complex, stimulated by such imported religious and philosophical systems as Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, had been completed by the end of the tenth century. The centralized state also demanded that sort of a unified creed. Through the Tokugawa age scholars of the "national learning" (*kokugaku*) attempted to peel out later modifications to unveil a "pure Shintō". They followed two trends: made studies of ancient written sources — *Kojiki* ("Record of Ancient Matters"), *Nihongi* ("Annals of Japan"), collections of old myths and legends, the first poetical anthology *Manyōshū* ("Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves"), the Shintō sermons *norito*, etc., and described contemporary Shintō shrines, local cults and customs which they believed to be authentique, undefiled by foreign influences. After the Meiji restoration many of

works of the "national learning" were exploited by the official propaganda. Shintō was proclaimed the state religion, and the cult of Sun-goddess Amaterasu-ōmikami, as the progenitor of the Imperial dynasty, became pushed into the foreground.

Our collection contains works of the largest *kangakusha* of the Tokugawa period: Kamo Mabuchi (1679—1769), Motoori Norinaga (1730—1801), Hirata Atsutane (1776—1842) and Hirata Kanetane (1801—1882). Their contents is well known to contemporary scholars in different modern editions. The manuscripts and wood-block prints of the second category are not so wide-spread, and sometimes are unique.

One of rare manuscripts was copied by N. A. Nevsky during his stay in Japan. The manuscript contains two works focused on the ancestors cult in the Tosa province and the funeral rites in the Toyanaka village of the same province. The first of them, "Record on Ancestors Cult", is a modified version of notes by Yanase Gorobē, a 80 years old man from the Yanase village in the Nirao settlement, made in 1865 by a certain Tokunaga. The second work is a description of a Shintō funeral rites, and was made on June 15, 1870, by Aoyama Furō. In 1912 both manuscripts were copied by the famous ethnologist Yanagida Kunio, and Nevsky made another copy from it for himself.

Of a certain interest are two other manuscripts (copies of the early 19th century) that contain a detailed description of Shintō festivals, ritual implements, ethical rules and theoretical concepts, in part borrowed from Buddhism.

A number of works have attracted scholars not by their contents but by different inscriptions, notes or seals of their former owners on the margins, blank pages or covers. Russian and Japanese scholars (O. P. Petrova, Kamei Takayoshi, Murayama Shichirō, etc.) have published works with decipherment or interpretations of inscriptions in the manuscripts and xylographs of Daikokuya Kōdayū. Sporadic notes, like tests of brush, rough drafts with an enumeration of various objects, addresses of some persons, etc. allowed to ascertain the real name of the sailor (in the pre-Meiji Ja-

pan every educated person could bear a lot of names, nicknames or nom de plume), his preferences and certain events in his life before he left his homeland and during his stay in Russia. The map donated by Dr. Stützer was enclosed in an envelope that bears an inscription in French that a great fire in Kyoto had happened in 1784, eight days before the author of inscription arrived there. On the map itself the area of fire is outlined in red, and an added piece of paper with a text in French is a good evidence of what was the amount of information that officials of the East-Indian Company could get while their annual visits to Edo, the capital of Shogunate.

A map of Nagasaki (K. N. Posyet collection) has an inscription in Russian: "To His Excellency Konstantin Nikolayevich Mr. Posyet from Tsikatomo Shiga. June 25, 1973, Tookei". The inscription was made by Shiga Chikatomo (1845—1914), one of the first Japanese specialists in the Russian language who many times participated in the Russian-Japanese negotiations. He started his Russian studies at the age of 13, when the frigate "Askold" arrived in 1858 to the Nagasaki harbor, twice (in 1867 and in 1873—1875) was sent to Russia, and in 1872, when one of the members of the Romanovs' Royal Family, Alexei, visited Japan, was the interpreter during the audience at the Emperor. The inscription on the map is of interest because it is the single evidence of the correct reading of characters in his name as Chikatomo. All the reference books and studies have provided an erroneous reading of his name as Shinhō or Shimpō.

The publication and studies of materials from the oldest in Russian collection of Japanese manuscripts and xylographs has been started quite recently. It demands a vast knowledge of rather specific aspects (reading of different variations of cursive writing, the square style used for seals, the sorobun, etc.), is very time-consuming, but is indispensable for detailed studies of many aspects of traditional Japanese culture.

Notes

1. Murayama Shichirō, *Hyōryūmin no gengo* (The Language of Drifters) (Tokyo, 1965), pp. 21—33.

2. A. Tatarinov, *Leksikon Russko-Iaponskiĭ* ("Russo-Japanese Lexicon") (Moscow, 1962).

3. T. Iankevich de Mirievo, *Sravnitel'nyĭ slovar' vsekh iazykov i narechiĭ, po azbuchnomu poriadku raspolozhennyĭ* ("A Comparative Dictionary of All Languages and Dialects in the World, Placed in the Alphabetic Order"), iv (St. Petersburg, 1791).

4. *Katalog kitaĭskim i iaponskim knigam v biblioteke Imperatorskoĭ Akademii Nauk khraniashchimsia, po preporucheniiu gospodina Prezidenta onoĭ Akademii, Sergeia Semĕnovicha Uvarova, vnov' sdelannyĭ Gosudarstvennoĭ kollegii inostrannykh del perevodchikami, kollezhskimi asessorami Pavlom Kamenskim i Stepanom Lipovtsovym* ("Catalogus librorum Sinicorum, Mandschouricorum et Japanicorum, quotquot eorum a. quidem 1818 in Museo Asiatico Acad. imp. Sc. Petr. condebantur. Paul Kamenesky et Stephanus Lipowzow anno praedicto conscripserunt") (St. Petersburg, 1818), pp. 53—5.

5. S. G. Eliseeff, "Iaponskiĭ fond" ("The Japanese Collection"), *Aziatskiĭ muzeĭ Rossiĭskoĭ Akademii Nauk, 1818—1918: Kratkaia pamiatka* (St. Petersburg, 1920), p. 69; B. Dorn, *Das Asiatische Museum der Keiserliche Academie der Wissenschaften zu St. Pitersburg* (St. Petersburg, 1846), p. 69.

6. The Oriental Archives of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fund 152, inventory 1/p — AM, item 2, fols. 82, 312.

7. K. N. Posyet for the first time visited Japan as a member of the Ye. V. Putyatin's expedition in 1853—1854, and afterwards a few times visited it and was deeply interested in its culture.

8. The Oriental Archives, fund 152, inventory 1/p — AM, item 51, fols. 22, 24.

9. *Ibid.*, item 54, fols. 95—96.

10. *Ibid.*, inventory 1/p — IV, 1935, item 30, fol. 1.

11. The first full description of the collection was published through 1963—1971 in six issues by O. P. Petrova and V. N. Goreglyad, with contributions by G. D. Ivanova (issue 2) and Z. Ya. Khanin (issue 6).

12. Already by the end of the nineteenth century the British Museum Collection contained over 5000 volumes. In the middle of the 20th century the collection comprised about 15 000 volumes of typed and xylographic editions (including contemporary ones that we held separately and do not take into account), and 257 manuscripts. See *The Journal of Asian Studies*, XVIII/2 (1959), p. 317. In 1973 the

British Library and British Museum became separate institutions and the principal collections of Japanese printed books and manuscripts were transferred to the department of Oriental Collections of the British Library. The Leiden collection by the end of the last century contained 1263 titles (including typed editions). See L. Serrurier, *Bibliothèque Japonaise. Catalogue raisonné de livres et des manuscrits japonais enregistré à la bibliothèque de la université de Leyde* (Leiden, 1896). Besides the above-mentioned collection in Russia there are a large collection in the St. Petersburg University (mostly being the donation of the prince Arisugawa Taruhito in 1884) and a few smaller ones (in the State Library in Moscow, in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg and some other places).

13. Some Japanese editions of the Chinese classics and the Buddhist canon in Chinese, originally having been a part of collections by I. A. Goshkevich and O. O. Rosenberg, are now in the Chinese xylographs collection. Japanese works on Korea from the collection by an English scholar W. G. Aston, acquired by the Asiatic Museum at the beginning of the twentieth century, became included into the Korean collection. Thus, the number of xylographs printed in Japan considerably surpasses the actual number in the Japanese collection.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. V. M. Golovnin (1771—1831), "A Narrative of Adventures in Japan". A manuscript dated 1825 (call number B-44), vol. I, fol. 8b, 15.5×23.3 cm.

Fig. 2. Katsuragawa Hōshū (1751—1809), "Memoirs about Drifted by a Stream to the Russian State". A manuscript dated 1841 (call number B-211), fol. 1a, 15.5×24 cm.

Fig. 3. "The Most Important Parts of the Year Rituals [held] in the Kōtaijingū Temple". Colophon of a manuscript dated 1704 (call number C-42), fol. 59a, 17.8×27 cm.

Fig. 4. "A Scheme of the Nagasaki Forts". An undated block print (call number C-221), 68×45 cm.

Fig. 5. "The Mori Family Chronicle", an inside part of the manuscript cover, with marginal notes by Daikokuya Kōdayū (1751—1828). The eighteenth century manuscript (call number B-157), 15×22 cm.

A. F. Trotsevich

A DESCRIPTION OF KOREAN BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE ORIENTAL FACULTY
OF THE ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY

The library of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University has 105 Korean block prints, manuscripts and printed books, in all 18 titles. Unfortunately there is no evidence on how, by whom and when this fund has been assembled. The old inventory books are missing, so all we know about some books is that they came before the revision of 1932. It is known also that the Korean fund was founded at the end of the 19th century, when the course of the Korean language was first introduced in the St. Petersburg University.

The elective course of Korean was opened in 1897 at the department of the Chinese and Manchurian philology of the faculty of Oriental philology. The first teachers were two members of the Korean diplomatic mission: Min Kyonsik and Kim Pyonok. Min Kyonsik has been teaching for one term, Kim Pyonok — till 1917 (the cover of the first book of one of the copies of the "Thousand Characters" 千字文 bears a pencil-mark: Kim. Texts with indications of characters. This block print possibly belonged to Kim Pyonok). Kim Pyonok also composed "A Textbook of the Korean Language" [1].

The main part of the fund was formed by the collection of block prints with the stamp of the St. Petersburg University. They were most probably used as textbooks, for many works are present in nine or ten copies. These are "Thousand Characters", "The History of Korea", "The Jade Tablets of All Rhymes", "Behaviour Corresponding to the Five Rules", "The Reverent Hare", "Records of the Three Kingdoms", "The Survey of the Events of the Eight Moon of the Year 504 from the Foundation of the Dynasty" — in all seven works. As a rule, they bear pencil and ink marks (corrections, translation of some words into Russian) testifying to the way they were used.

After the Leningrad Institute of Living Oriental Languages named after Enukidze had been closed in 1938, five books from its library were transferred to the Korean fund. All these books bear the stamp of the Institute.

Six books of the University collection bear the stamp of S. N. Syromiatnikov: ex-libris-Sergii-N-Syromiatnikoff. Syromiatnikov took part in the expedition to North Korea in 1898 headed by captain of the General Staff A. I. Zvegintsev [2]. It is interesting that a famous Russian writer N. G. Garin-Mihaylovsky also took part in this expedition. He described this voyage in his diaries, and he was the first

to translate into Russian some examples of the Korean folktales he collected) [3]. There is little we know about S. N. Syromiatnikov, besides that he has collected various objects of material culture [4], as well as Korean books and works on Korea (the last ones also belonging now to the library of the Oriental faculty). There are also six books bearing no owner's stamps, their provenance unknown.

All the books and manuscripts of the collection can be divided, according to their contents, into five groups: 1) textbooks (6 titles); 2) religion (4 titles); 3) fiction (6 titles); 4) law (1 title); 5) documents (2 titles).

To the first group belong works intended for teaching the Chinese language to the Koreans. These are "Thousand Characters" 千字文 and "The Jade Tablets of All Rhymes" 全韻玉篇. The first one is a Korean textbook on hieroglyphics, where each character is provided with its Korean transcription, translation and the tune of its pronunciation in Chinese (29 × 18.5 cm, 32 leaves, 4 columns per page). This work is basing upon the Chinese textbook of the same name.

"The Jade Tablets of All Rhymes" (29 × 18.5 cm, book 1 — 64 leaves, book 2 — 70 leaves, 11 columns per page) is a Chinese-Korean dictionary of single characters. Both textbooks were very popular in Korea and had been reprinted many times. Block prints of the same title are present in the Manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Three school textbooks — on history, geography and a primary reader — give some idea of what children were taught in Korea at the end of the 19th—beginning of the 20th century.

"The History of Korea" 朝鮮歷史, a block-print of 1895, consists of three books (28.5 × 19 cm, book 1 — 36 leaves, book 2 — 35 leaves, book 3 — 57 leaves, 10 columns per page). The events are arranged by the dynasties, beginning with the founder of the Chosŏn state and ending with the Li dynasty (1392—1910).

"The Geography of Korea" 朝鮮地誌全, a block print of 1895 (one book, 28 × 18 cm, 57 leaves, 10 columns per page), contains general data on the geographic position of the country, the size of its territory, its most prominent mountains and rivers. This textbook gives information about the early Korean history, *i. e.* about the period of the Three Kingdoms (the 1th B.C.—A.D. 6th centuries). The

material is divided by sections, their titles given in white characters on black background, for example "The Capital", which describes the palaces, the administrative division of the city, its state institutions and officials who serve there. Then follows the description of the country arranged by prefectures according to the administrative division of that time (several prefectures making a province). Each prefecture is described after the same pattern: its area, the number of its population, notable sights, natural resources, famous people living there in the past. There were 23 prefectures forming 8 provinces.

"The Primary Reader Book" 國民小學讀本全 (a block print of 1895, 28.5 × 18.5 cm, 10 columns per page) has 41 chapters telling about the history and geography of Korea, of its culture, its plants and animals. This textbook was intended to provide children with basic information on their native land and on other countries, like China and America.

Noteworthy are the maps of Korea drawn by hand in colour Indian ink 地攷圖. There are nine maps: of the Korean peninsula and of the eight provinces of Korea (108 × 72 cm, bound together in one book). The map of each province is supplemented with a brief historical note: when the province was formed and what Korean state had been there before.

Religious literature includes two Confucian treatises, one Taoist and one Christian work. Two of these works present translations of well-known Chinese books. They were intended for popularization of Confucian and Taoist ideas among the people. "Chapters on Reward and Response" 感應篇 is a Chinese Taoist treatise [5]. The Korean block print consists of five volumes containing the Chinese text with a parallel Korean translation and with illustrations. It was printed in 1880 from wood-blocks carved in 1852 (29.5 × 20.5 cm, book 1 — 83 leaves, book 2 — 80 leaves, book 3 — 63 leaves, book 4 — 59 leaves, book 5 — 67 leaves; 12 columns per page).

"Meng-tzu with Commentaries in Korean" 孟子諺언解히, the block print with no date consists of 7 volumes and of 14 books (31.0 × 20.5 cm; vol. 1 — 57 leaves, vol. 2 — 54 leaves, vol. 3 — 53 leaves, vol. 4 — 53 leaves, vol. 5 — 54 leaves, vol. 6 — 55 leaves, vol. 7 — 53 leaves; 12 columns per page). Another block print of the same title belongs to the Manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, but it is not identical to the copy of the University Library [6].

The Confucian Korean treatise "Behaviour Corresponding to the Five Rules" 五論行實 is present in two identical copies. The illustrated block print printed in 1859 consists of four volumes (31.5 × 19.0 cm; vol. 1 — 73 leaves, vol. 2 — 85 leaves, vol. 3 — 75 leaves, vol. 4 — 86 leaves; 10 columns per page). This work was composed and first printed in 1797. It is a collection of parables illustrating the five Confucian rules of human relations with examples of model behaviour of the famous heroes of the past. The treatise is written in the Korean and the Chinese languages. Each parable is presented first in Chinese, then in Korean.

There is also a translation into Korean of the novel of the English religious writer John Bunyan (1628—1688) "Pilgrim's Progress". The translation was made by the J. S. Gale couple and printed in 1895. It is a two-volume edition with illustrations by a Korean artist (28.5 × 20.0 cm,

202 leaves, 11 columns per page, 42 illustrations). In the Korean version the novel was given a new name: "The Way to Heaven" 텬로력뎡. In the foreword it is said that "This edition of Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress in the Korean Language, is published by the aid of the Sunday School Teacher's Bible Class, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, US., taught by Rev. Arthur T. Pierson, d.d. at the two Hundredth Anniversary of Bunyan's Death in 1888. An offering was taken for this purpose and is now applied to the production of this book, with the prayer that it may prove a Bond of Brotherhood between the Christians of America and Korea".

Literary fiction is represented by four novels (three block prints and one lithographic edition), one novel in manuscript and by a translation into Korean of the famous Chinese novel by Lo Kuan-chung "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" (a block print, part 3 of the novel). All these block prints are cheap editions printed on low-quality paper.

"The Story of Syŏl In'gwi. In one Book" 셜인귀젼 단. A block print with no date (27.5 × 20.5 cm, 40 leaves, 14 columns per page). The novel is written after the Chinese romance "Xue Rengui is Marching to the East" 薛仁貴東征. Its hero was a real historical personage, a Chinese general who lived in the 7th century, famous for his campaigns against the Korean state of Koguŏ. On the Korean soil the Chinese plot became transformed into the popular *chŏn* 젼 novel genre [7].

A block print of 1848 under the title "The Reverent Hare. In One Book" 도심젼 젼지단 (27 × 19 cm, 16 leaves, 14 columns per page). This block print includes two novels: "The Reverent Hare" (leaves 1—8) and "An Old Toad on the Place of Honour" 노셤상좌기 (leaves 9—16). "The Reverent Hare" is one of the versions of the popular novel "Hare" 토끼젼 [8]. The other novel is a version of "Toad" 두겁젼 . Both works belong to the traditional Korean genre of allegoric novels.

A lithographic edition of "The Story of the Maiden Syugyŏng. In One Book" 슉영낭ㅈ젼 단, undated (23.5 × 17.5 cm, 16 leaves, 15 columns per page). British scholar W.E. Skillend is mentioning an identical edition of this novel: "reproduced lithographically by 翰南書林 Hannam Sorim, Keijo, 1920, 16 single leaves" [9].

A manuscript novel in four volumes, "Mongok and Ssyang-Bong" (Jade in a Dream and a Couple of Phoenixes) 夢玉雙鳳演, undated (31 × 22 cm; vol. 1 — 69 leaves, vol. 2 — 58 leaves, vol. 3 — 59 leaves, vol. 4 — 52 leaves; 11 columns per page). It is written in a smooth and neat handwriting. A manuscript of the same name is preserved in the Seoul State Library, its photocopy published in "The Complete Collection of the Traditional Korean Prose. Manuscripts", assembled by Kim Kidong [10]. In the titles of the two versions of the novel different characters defining its genre are used: 演 "an extended version", in the manuscript of the St. Petersburg University, 綠錄 "records" in the manuscript of the Seoul Library. Their texts are also not completely identical.

The Korean translation of the Chinese "Romance of the Three Kingdoms" presents a revised version. It was in three volumes, of which only vol. 3, "Records of the Three King

Fig. 1
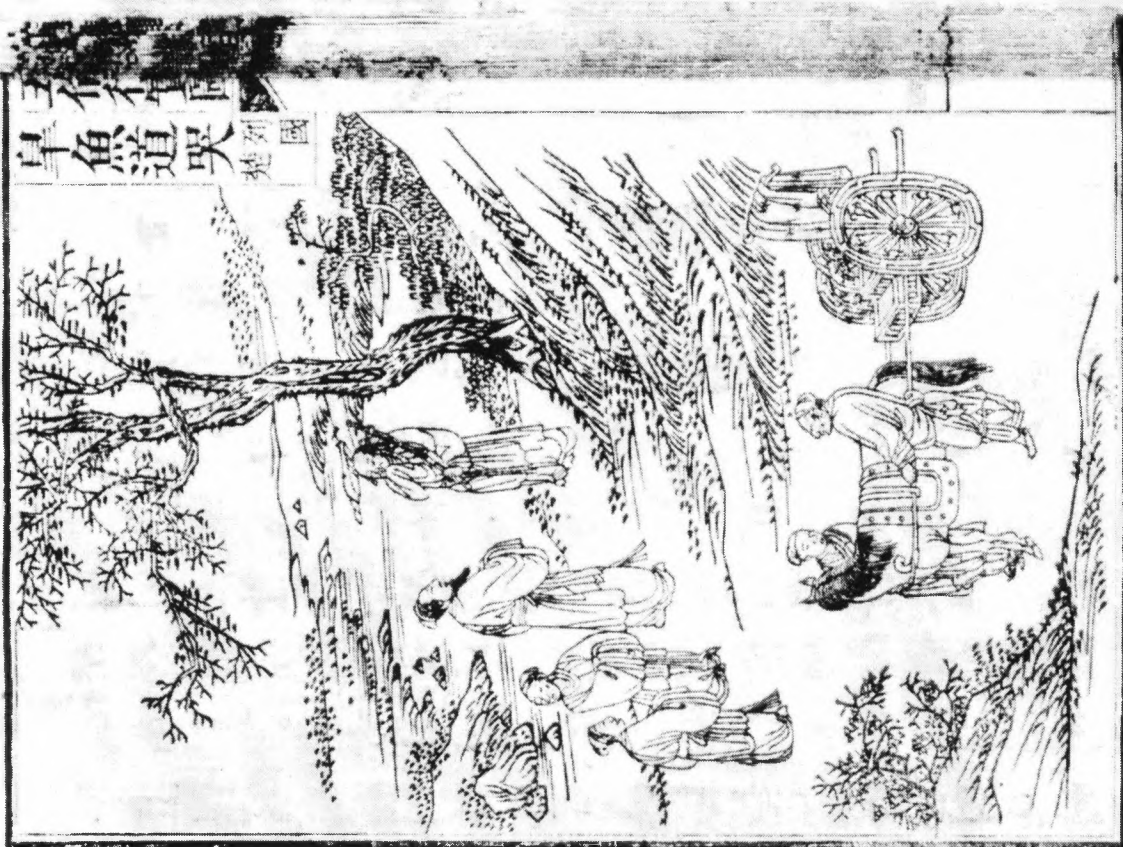
Fig. 2

孔子出行聞有哭聲甚悲至則皋魚也被褐擁劍哭
於路左孔子下車而問其故對曰吾少好學周流天
下而吾親死夫樹欲靜而風不止子欲養而親不待
者年也逝而不可追者親也吾於是辭矣立哭而死
於是孔子之門人歸養親者十三人

doms. Book Three" 삼 궁지 천지 삽 is present in the University collection. The block print is undated (26.5 × 19 cm, 20 leaves, 15 columns per page). There is a block print of the same title in the Manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, also only the third volume [11]; it is not, however, completely similar to the University copy.

Books on law are represented by a Korean translation of the Chinese 15th century manual on forensic medicine. Its title is "Against Unjust Accusation. Records Improved with a Translation into the Korean Language" 增修無冤錄諺解 (two volumes, three books; 32 × 20 cm, book 1 — 72 leaves, book 2 — 24 leaves, book 3 — 100 leaves; 10 columns per page). A similar edition of this work is present in the Manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies [12]. It contains the Chinese text of the manual and a translation into Korean with commentaries. The translation was made in 1792 by Sŏ Yurin. Now it is known in a xylographic edition and as a printed book.

There are two works of documentary character in the collection. One is a small printed booklet containing protocols of the interrogation at the High Court of Korea in connection with the murder of Queen Min in 1895. It is titled "A Survey of the Events of the Eighth Moon of the Year 504 from the Foundation of the Dynasty" 기 국 조 립 사 년 팔 월 사변 보고서. This title is explained on the first page: "Protocols of the detailed interrogation carried at the High Court in connection with the disturbances on the 20th day of the 8th Moon of the Year ŭlmi

(1895 — A. T.)" (23.5 × 16 cm, 16 leaves, 18 columns per page.)

Queen Min, the spouse of King Kojong (1864—1907), took active part in the political life of the country. She supported the development of contacts with Russia, her followers had great authority. She became the victim of the conspiracy inspired by the Japanese ambassador Miura Goro. These protocols are valuable documents of the period and present a rare record of the everyday language of that time.

The second document is a manuscript. It is "The Regulation of Duties within Military Units" 군티 느무서 목초. It is written on ruled pages with printed frames. The sheets are bound into a small book after the pattern of block print editions (with double leaves, 20 × 14 cm; 42 leaves; 12 columns per page). The document is divided into ten paragraphs (chapters) regulating the subordination and duties of military ranks.

Books of the University collection are written only in Korean. This seems to corroborate the hypothesis that they were selected for educational purposes as texts destined for teaching Korean.

As regards their contents, for the most part they seem to reveal traces of purposeful selection, too. They are materials chosen in order to give an idea of Korean language and Korean culture to the students: some of them contain samples of various styles of Korean (such as Confucian works, Korean fiction and vernacular language), others inform about Korean history, geography and customs.

Notes

1. I wish to thank G. E. Rachkov, the assistant professor of the Chinese philology section of the Oriental faculty of the St. Petersburg University, for the information he provided on the history of the teaching of Korean at the University.

2. *Severnaia Koreia. Sbornik Marshrutov. Trudy osennei ekspeditsii 1898 g.* (The North Korea. A Collection of Routes. The Works of the Autumn 1898 Expedition), ed. the lieutenant-colonel baron Korf (St. Petersburg, 1901) (the book bears the mark "secret").

3. N. G. Garin, *Iz dnevnikov krugosvetnogo puteshestviia* (The Excerpts from the Round-the-World Travel Journals) (Moscow, 1950).

4. Iu. V. Ionova, "Unikal'nye i redkie koreiskie kollektsii MAE im. Petra Velikogo" ("Unique and rare Korean collections in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography named after Peter the Great"), *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie*, fasc. 3 (1993), pp. 439—44.

5. I wish to thank A. E. Torchinov, the assistant professor of the Department of Philosophy and Religion of the Faculty of Philosophy of the St. Perersburg University for the information he provided on this treatise.

6. O. P. Petrova, *Opisanie pis'mennykh pamiatnikov koreiskoi kul'tury* (A Description of the Literary Monuments of Korean Culture), fasc. 2 (Moscow, 1963), No. 112.

7. A. F. Trotsevich, "The plots of Chinese fiction in Korean vernacular novels", *Literary Migrations. Traditional Chinese Fiction in Asia (17—20 centuries)*, ed. Cl. Salmon (Beijing, 1987), pp. 88—93.

8. There is a Russian translation of this novel under the title "The Adventures of a Hare", in the collection of the Korean Classical novels of the 17th—19th centuries "Faithful Chunhian".

9. W. E. Skillend, 古代小說 *Kodae Sosol: A Survey of Korean Traditional Style Popular Novels* (London, 1968), No. 224, p. 125.

10. Kim Kidong, 金起東. 筆寫本. 古典小說全集. *P'ilsa bon. Kojon sosol chonjip*, vol. IV (Seoul, 1980).

11. See Petrova, op. cit., fasc. 2, p. 114, No. 213. O. P. Petrova seems to have mistaken when describing this block print. It contains not 20 leaves, as it is indicated in her "Description", but 30 ones.

12. O. P. Petrova, op. cit., fasc. 1, p. 77, No. 102. Petrova is giving a different translation of the title: "Supplemented and Improved Forensic Manual on Post-Mortem Examination". This translation corresponds to the contents of the work rather than to the actual title.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "The Geography of Korea", the title folio and folio 1a, 28 × 18 cm.
Fig. 2. "Behaviour Corresponding to the Five Rules", vol. 1, fols. 4b—5a, 31.5 × 19 cm.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

N. V. Vorobyov-Desyatovsky

THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL DUNHUANG PROJECT

Two years ago the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies took part in the International Dunhuang Project. This Project was started on the initiative of the British Library by the efforts of Peter H. Lawson, chief conservation officer and manager of the Oriental conservation studio. Another participant of the Project is the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. The principal aim of the Project is the study and preservation of manuscripts from Dunhuang. These manuscripts and documents dating to the 4th—11th centuries were recovered in the first quarter of the 20th century by several European expeditions working in Dunhuang. The Dunhuang collection is now divided between the two above mentioned libraries and the Manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (formerly the collection of the Asiatic Museum). The conservation and restoration of the Dunhuang manuscripts are among the most urgent and complicated problems standing before these three institutions.

One of the important parts of the Dunhuang Project is the chemical analysis of paper, ink and dyes used in China, especially in the Dunhuang region, in the early medieval period. New methods of studying the dyes used in the Dunhuang manuscripts have been suggested by Kenneth Seddon, Professor at the Queen's University of Belfast (Northern Ireland), who is in charge of this part of the Project *. The series of analyses developed by him and his colleagues includes liquid secondary ion mass spectrometry (L-SIMS S), fast atom bombardment mass spectrometry (FAB), high-effective liquid chromatography (HPLC), electronic spectroscopy (UV-VIS) "which allows the mass spectra of the dyes to be recorded directly from the surface of the paper" **.

To explain the reason for this kind of chemical investigation we would like to remind the reader that Chinese paper was dyed in the process of its manufacture with natural yellowish sap. Its tint could vary between light yellow and yellowish-brown. The dyeing of paper-pulp most probably served to protect paper from decay or from any possible

damage caused by bacteria, fungi and insects, i. e. the dye was used as a mordant. From the chemical point of view the dyes used in the process had to answer very strict demands. They had to resist air-oxidation and decomposition by light, to be water-proof and to retain conserving qualities for no less than a thousand years. If we take into account the traditional Oriental technology of making paper-pulp, the dyes added to it should be ionic water-soluble conpounds. Most of the known organic substances, which in theory could have been used for this purpose, do not actually answer all these requirements. It may happen that our final data will only concern most stable compounds or the products of their partial decay. Even this kind of information may turn to be valuable if it helps us to solve a number of questions connected with the conservation and preservation of the Dunhuang manuscripts.

In collaboration with Prof. Seddon's laboratory the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies undertook the investigation of the chemical structure of paper-dyes from Dunhuang. This program was sponsored by the INTAS (International Association for the Promotion of Co-operation with Scientists from the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union). The study of samples from the British Library collection of Dunhuang manuscripts allowed Prof. Seddon to identify berberine and palmatine among the components of paper-dye. It is proved also that it could contain jatrorrhizine. All these substances belong to the alkaloid group and may be found in different plants, for example in the roots of barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*), or in the tree well-known to the inhabitants of the Amur region under the name "Amur velvet" (*Phellodendron amurense*). The last one has long been used by the peoples of the Russian Far East as medicine. The study of berberine alkaloid present in "Amur velvet" shows that it affects the contraction of blood-vessels and that it can be used as a tonic or as a remedy against stomach-ailments.

The analyses carried by Prof. Seddon require special equipment available only in the best laboratories specialis-

ing in analytical chemistry. This kind of research is very expensive. Because all this equipment is not available in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Prof. Seddon suggested that the Institute should undertake only certain kinds of preliminary analyses, like the classification of water-extracts prepared from different samples of ancient paper on the basis of UV-spectroscopy. This work requires relatively simple and accessible equipment — SF-56 spectrometer. It does not need any special laboratory and can be installed in the Institute.

This work is basing upon the characteristics of alkaloids. Alkaloids in the form of hydrochlorides are dissolved in water. Their structure is homogeneous, they contain condensed aromatic nuclei. These systems can absorb ultraviolet radiation of a source. By studying the UV-VIS region of the spectra of these extracts we are able to establish the presence or the absence of berberine or of related compounds of it in the solution. Further investigation of the samples we select will confirm (or disprove) the presence of berberine or its analogues in samples with similar UV-VIS spectra. The preliminary results of our recent investigations show that practically all samples of paper from Dunhuang contain substances related to the group of alkaloids in question.

V. L. Uspensky

TWO YEARS OF CATALOGUING OF THE TIBETAN COLLECTION IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES: SOME PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (henceforth the Institute) possesses one of the world's largest collection of the Tibetan xylographs and manuscripts. Outside Asia it is the largest collection of such kind. Its origin goes back to the eighteenth century, and it had been increasing rapidly up to the mid-twentieth century.

At present the Tibetan collection of the Institute numbers about 20.000 items, the amount of works' titles has never been counted (surely, there are numerous duplicates there). The most voluminous are the collections of Tibetan books printed in the Peking and Buriat monasteries. The books printed in Central Tibet and, especially, in Amdo are also numerous [1].

Needless to say that the cataloguing of such a big amount of block prints is a very hard and time-consuming work. Attempts were made in the 1930s to make a card catalogue, but the Second World War calamities and the transferring of the Institute to another building soon after the end of the war, along with many other misfortunes of the time, prevented this work from being completed. At present a huge cardfile represents a sad memorial to this work, as the library numbers, which the cards refer to, have changed.

In 1992 the Institute signed an agreement with the Asian Classics Input Project (henceforth ACIP) on the IBM-based computer cataloguing of the Tibetan collection. According to the agreement, the necessary computer equipment was to be provided by the ACIP, and the Tibetan operators had to come to St. Petersburg. But it was only in May 1994 that the group of three Tibetan monks from the Sera Mey (Se-ra smad) Monastery (Bangalore, India), headed by Mr. Michael Roach, the director of the ACIP, arrived in St. Petersburg, being equipped with necessary computers. Since on the working group headed by Dr. L. S. Savitsky, the curator of the above-mentioned collection, has started the cataloguing. The very fact that the cataloguing project has been successfully carrying out up to the present day, is to a great extent due to the indefatigable labours of the three young Tibetan monks, namely Geshe Thubten Phelgye, Ngawang Kheatsun and Jampa Namdol. These three seem to work as patient and accurate as their ancestors who wrote, engraved in the wood-blocks and then printed thousands of books, information on which is now being input into the data-base by them.

It had been agreed initially that only a title catalogue would be compiled, but later Dr. L. S. Savitsky, together with Mr. M. Roach, elaborated a more detailed scheme including twenty-two parameters, according to which every entry had to be described [2]. This scheme is as follows:

1. **Catalogue Serial** of the computer catalogue.
2. **Collection Reference**, being the call number of the Tibetan collection for the entry described.
3. **Title** of the work described.
4. **Ornamental Sanskrit Title**, if occurs.
5. **Extra Languages**. Since there is a considerable part of bilingual texts, mostly written in Tibetan and Mongolian, and even tri- and quadrolingual ones, this parameter has been included only to mark the presence of a non-Tibetan language. No corresponding title in this other language is given.
6. **Monastic Seal**. Many of the Tibetan books bear the seals of monasteries, book-shops or persons they once belonged to. Now the chart of the seals is at the disposal of the working group.
7. **Brief Title**, being the (left) marginal title.
8. **Author** as given in the colophon.
9. **Year of Publication** as given in the colophon.
10. **Format** (xylograph or manuscript).
11. **Material** (provenance of the paper: Tibet, China, Russia).
12. **Paper Colour / Edge Colour**.
13. **Grade of Paper**.
14. **Readability**.
15. **Tibetan Volume** as marked in the original entry.
16. **Pagination**.
17. **Lines per page**.
18—19. **Dimensions: Outside** (size of paper) and **Inside** (usually size of the wood-block frame).
20. **Location** (generally, the place of printing or, sometimes, the place of composition of the text as reflected in the colophon).
21. **Drawings**.
22. **Colophon** (complete text) [3].

It is hardly necessary to say that inputing of every entry described in such a detail requires a lot of painstaking labour from the Tibetan operators, and the completion of the cataloguing seems to be postponed, moreover that simulta-

neously with this work the operators were making a complete catalogue of the Tibetan collection kept in the St. Petersburg University library, which is much smaller than that in the Institute, having but a few duplicates. The situation is quite different in the Institute where hundreds of thousands items are kept, including numerous duplicates. At present every item is described anew regardless of the fact that a dozen of its obvious duplicates have already been input.

A regrettable omission in the scheme of description implied is the absence of the Chinese character(s) used in the xylograph either as a marginal title or a cover mark. This omission seems even more distressing if we take into account that these Chinese characters are very important for the identifications of the xylographs in Tibetan, which were printed in Peking, moreover that the Institute possesses a big collection of them.

Another problem arising from the vast amount of information being input is the providing of an easy access to the catalogued works. For example, how can one find in this computer catalogue information about the forth volume of Tsong-kha-pa's *gsung-'bum* of the bKra-shis lhun-po edition? How to reflect in the catalogue the original entity of the volume belonging to a certain collection of works when every entry is treated as a separate work, thus forming a conglomerate of texts of an obscure origin? The parameter number fifteen of the description scheme is sometimes of little help when you need a certain volume. Very often the information on where a volume or a work described was printed, is missing in the colophon, or this editorial colophon does not exist at all. For this reason, it is rather difficult to identify separate volumes of *gsung-'bums*, which are very numerous in the collection of the Institute, especially, when we deal with the editions, information on which is not available in the existing catalogues. The problem becomes even more complicated when we deal with a number of successive editions of a work, in which one and the same colophon is reproduced — a point of a constant headache of scholars.

It should be added also that many of the Tibetan authors styled their names in different ways. Thus it would be useless to look for such an author as Ngag-dbang mkhas-grub, because this celebrated lama of Qalqa Mongolia always signed his works as Vāgīndra-paṭu-siddhi (the Sanskrit translation of his Tibetan name).

All these difficulties have been pointed out here in order to attract attention of the interested scholars who could give their valuable pieces of advice either on these or other related problems. In the opinion of Mr. M. Roach, with whom I have had a chance to discuss these issues, the problems mentioned may be considered as collateral ones with regard of the tasks of the present work which is aiming only at inputting the material existing.

Still the volume of information concerning each item looks impressive. Particularly valuable are the complete texts of the colophons of the works catalogued. Generally, their presence in the descriptions makes look valuable and interesting even the well-known popular Buddhist works copied and printed in numerous copies throughout the centuries, since the colophons often contain most precious information.

Some words should be said about the Buddhist Canon of which several editions are kept in the Institute. Definitely, they will not be described in the same way as other works. Though no special discussion on this issue have been made yet, it is obvious that the most important thing would be to identify its number in a corresponding edition, when describing the volumes.

The cataloguing project may be considered the most stimulating and daring attempt to provide vast information on the Tibetan written heritage, or, to be more exact, on the heritage of all those peoples who confessed the Tibetan Buddhism. If carried out successfully, it would enlarge considerably a corpus of information every tibetologist wishes to be in possession of.

Supplement

Here is an example of the description of a text composed by the famous author Gung-thang dKon-mchog bstan-pa'i sgron-me, which has been catalogued by the Tibetan operators. A comparison can be made by the reader with its description in the catalogue of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies [4].

1: 19629

2: B8605/1

3: ༄༅། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་ཀླུ་མོ་རིག་བྱེད་མ་ལ་བསྟོད་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆེར་འགྲེལ་པ་རྡོ་རྗེ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྙིང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །

4: *Tri-vajra-āloka-bhagavatī-devi-kurukulle-studaḥ-ṭika-nama-bijahāra*

5: L(añca script) T(itle page only)

6: 21

7: བསྟོད་འགྲེལ།

8: བཅུ་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྟན་པའི་སྒྲོན་མེ།

9: NO

10: XYL

11: T(ibet)

12: W(hite), Y(ellow)

13: G(ood)

14: G(ood)

15: ཉ་པ།

16: 1A—137B

17: 6

18: 8.9 × 51.2 (cm)

19: 6.7 × 47.0 (cm)

20: NO

21: 1A — རྒྱས།; 2A — རྒྱས།; 2B — རྒྱས།

22: །ཆེས་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་ཀླུ་མོ་རིག་བྱེད་མ་ལ་བསྟོད་པའི་རྒྱ་ཆེར་འགྲེལ་པ་རྡོ་རྗེ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྙིང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འདི་ནི། དགེ་བའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་སངས་རྒྱས་དངོས་སུ་མཐོང་སྟེ། བསམ་སྦྱོར་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཆོལ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ལ་གཞོལ་ཏུ་རེར་བཟང་དང་ཆོས་མཆོངས་

ཤིང་། དེའི་མཐུས་ལྱུང་དང་རྟོགས་པའི་ཡོན་ཏན་གྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་གོ་ འཕང་མཐོན་པོར་གྱུར་བ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་ རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཛིན་པ་ཆེན་པོ་ མཁས་གྲུབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས། བསྒྲུད་པའི་རྩ་བ་འདི་ཉིད་པ་ཚན་ སྡུང་བ་མཐའ་ཡས་ཀྱིས་རྒྱལ་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་འཕྲིན་ ལས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་འབྱེད་དུ་གསུངས་པ་དང་ཕྱོགས་མཐུན་པར་སྒྲུབས་མགོན་ མཆོག་སྤྱལ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་རྒྱོ་བཟང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཇིགས་མེད་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ ཞལ་སྤྲ་ནས་ཀྱི་རྩ་བར་དགར་པའི་མཇད་འཕྲེན་བསྒྲུན་འགྱོ་ཡོངས་ ཀྱི་ཕན་བདེའི་དགའ་སྟོན་དང་ཆབས་གཅིག་པར་རྒྱས་པའི་ཕྱིར་དུ། འདི་ལ་གསང་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་གསལ་བར་སྟོན་ཅིང་། ཁྱད་ པར་རང་ལམ་གྱི་ལུས་ཡོངས་སུ་རྟོགས་པའི་འགྱོས་དང་མཐུན་པ་ ཤིན་ཏུ་རྒྱས་པ་ཞིག་དགོས་ཞེས་གསུང་ནན་ཆེན་པོས་བསྐུལ་པ་བཞིན། མད་སྱགས་སྒྲུབ་བསྒྲུན་ཡོངས་སུ་རྟོགས་པའི་མངར་བདག་དཔལ་ཏེ་ རུ་ཀུ་དང་གཉིས་སུ་མེད་པའི་རྣུ་མ་རྗེ་རྗེ་འཚང་ཆེན་པོ་རྗེ་བཙུན་དཀོན་ མཆོག་འཇིགས་མེད་དབང་པོའི་ཞལ་སྱ་ནས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་རྡུལ་སྱི་པོར་ བསྟེན་པའི། བཙུན་པ་དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྟུན་པའི་སྤྲན་མེས། རྒྱལ་ བའི་ལུང་གིས་ཙིན་པའི་ཚས་གུ་ཆེན་པོ་བགྲ་ཤིས་འཕྲལ་དུ་སྱར་བ་ འདི་ཡང་ཐུབ་བསྒྲུན་ཡང་སྙིང་ཕྱོགས་དུས་ཀུན་ཏུ་ར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་ལ་ ཡུན་རིང་དུ་གནས་པའི་རྒྱར་གྱུར་ཅིག།

Notes

1. For a more detailed exposition of the holdings of the Tibetan collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, as well as for their main features, see the forthcoming publication by the author of the present article in *Asian Research Trends*, No. 6 (1996).

2. Because Mr. Robert Chilton (ACIP) presented a paper dealing with the St. Petersburg Tibetan Catalogue Project at the Seventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies (Schloss Seggau — Graz, June 1995), where the computer issues were discussed in detail, these matters are only touched upon in the present article. I am hoping very much that the paper by Mr. Chilton will be published in the proceedings of the Seminar.

3. For the transliteration system for Tibetan and Sanskrit used by the ACIP see "Entry operator transcription chart" in *Asian Classics Input Project*, Release 3 (1993), pp. 48—50.

4. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Naritasan Institute Collection of Tibetan Works*, ed. Ch. Yoshimizu, vol. 1 (Narita, 1989), p. 557, No. 2278. In this catalogue the Lhasa edition of the Gung-thang's *gsung-'bum* is described, while the text described by the Tibetan operators originates from its Bla-brang edition.

V. L. Uspensky

THE ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT
OF THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA'S "THE SECRET VISIONARY
AUTOBIOGRAPHY" PRESERVED IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH
OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

I. Introduction

The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617—1682), who is the only one in his lineage to be called "the Great" by the Tibetan tradition, is celebrated as an outstanding statesman and a prolific writer on various topics. Though his "Collected Works" (Tib. *gsung-'bum*) number twenty-five Tibetan-style volumes, they are not at all his complete *opera omnia*.

One of the most distinguished among his exoteric works not included into his *gsung-'bum* is the "The Secret Visionary Autobiography" (*rNam thar rgya can*) (henceforth *VA*). The works of that kind were not uncommon for the Tibetan Buddhism, and "the focus upon dreams and visions that occurs in certain Tibetan autobiographies" [1] has found its realization *par excellence* in the Dalai Lama's composition. A volume of illustrations for the *VA*, which were drawn according to the Dalai Lama's instructions, attests the importance he himself attached to his mystical experiences: his "external" autobiography did not have that privilege. These illustrations have become famous due to the publication of the album by Dr. Samten Karmay who also took a painstaking work of identifying every tiny object depicted in the manuscript which is preserved now in the collection of Lionel Fournier in Paris [2]. The book by Samten Karmay is well-known to tibetologists and needs no special presentation. The present article aims at providing essential information about the materials on the *VA* found in the collections of St. Petersburg.

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies possesses a two-volume manuscript copy of the *VA* which is the most complete of its versions so far known (their call numbers are Tib. B 9517 and Tib. B 9518). These *pothī*-style volumes are written on brownish Tibetan paper; the average size of the folios is 55 × 10 cm. The text consists of three major parts: 1. the "Mother" (*ma*) section; 2. the "Son" (*bu*) section; 3. illustrations. It seems that a manuscript written in a kind of the *dbu-med* script served as a model for the copyist who failed in some cases to understand correctly some spellings.

Almost all the "Mother" section text is known to tibetologists through the publication of its twenty-five chapters made in Ladakh and of its twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh chapters in the work by Samten Karmay [3]. The "Son" section is much less known. A catalogue of the two-volume manuscript collection entitled *gSang ba rgya can*, which is preserved in China, has been published within the catalogue of the "Complete Works" by the dGe-lugs-pa School masters (henceforth *CS*; a full name of the catalogue is given at the end of the article, see *Abbreviations*) [4]. These two volumes represent the "Mother" section which contains only twenty-five *rgya-can*s, and the "Son" section though not bearing such titles. I was unable to locate the corresponding titles in the St. Petersburg manuscript for a half of the works, mostly of small size, listed in the *CS*. But since the *CS* provides only a brief information about the work's titles (shortened ones) and on the number of pages, it is obvious that one needs much more data concerning the Chinese manuscript to make any sound identifications. Several of the small works were published in the Karmay's book (see the catalogue of the "Son" section in this article).

The origin of these two titles is obvious: the "Mother" section is a description of visions and revelations obtained by the Fifth Dalai Lama, while the "Son" section mainly contains the instructions concerning the rituals to be performed on the basis of the precepts revealed [5]. The author of the present article gives but a brief description of these works, indicating: 1) the number of pages; 2) availability of the colophons (abbreviated as col.); 3) the date of composition; 4) the author's name. As for the first twenty-five chapters of the "Mother" section, only their titles are given.

The rNying-ma-pa sources' information on the work runs as follows: "He [the Fifth Dalai Lama — *V. U.*] named the twenty-five treatises *gSang-ba-rgya-can*. He composed supplements which fill two further volumes [these two seem to be the "Son" section and a volume of illustrations — *V. U.*]. The Fifth Dalai Lama handed down these books (*gter-ma*) to *Chos-rgyal* gTer-bdag-gling-pa and Rig-'dsin

Padma-phrin-las. In this way he bestowed all empowerments and oral injunctions on the assembly of the best preservers of our own system of "Ancient Translations" (*snga-'gyur-gyi ring-lugs*). Therefore it still exists with no loss to it and is disseminated far and wide" [6]. The history of this transmission of the *VA* will be touched upon in the article (see below).

The illustrations of the St. Petersburg manuscript of the *VA* seem not to be so luxurious as those known from the Paris manuscript. In the words of Mr. Anthony Aris, who had a possibility to see them in 1992 and make a comparison, they are but the "coarse copies" of the original. However, in my opinion, this statement could mainly be referred to the paintings of numerous *mandalas*, while the paintings of *lingams* are not devoid of some artistic value. As for illustrations as a whole, the Paris manuscript is a more complete one: the illustrations corresponding to the plates 6, 39, 40, and 41 of the Karmay's edition are missing in the St. Petersburg manuscript. It should be added that every illustration of the St. Petersburg manuscript bears its title.

II. Catalogue of the "Mother" (*ma*) Section

1. **Ka.** *Drag tu ma dag 'khrul pa'i 'khor mtsho'i 'dir/ rgyun du gnas bzhin nyid 'khrul sna tshogs pa'i// chu nag zla gzugs lha bu'i rdzun gyis 'phreng/ 'dzad med yi ger bkod pa 'khor lo'i rgya.* Fols. 1—12b.
2. **Kha.** *Ma 'ongs pra phab ltar gsal lo gsum 'tshub// zhi ba yid mches snyed pa'i rdzun bris 'di// mang por sgrogs na bar gcod ya ga'i rgyu// snod ldan la ston mtshon pa'i lde mig rgya.* Fols. 1—4a.
3. **Ga.** *Yid la sim par 'os pa gsang ba'i gtam// spra 'chal snyoms las mkhan gyi ngag las thon// las phro sad pa'i snod ldan ma gtogs pa// log lta can la gsang ngo snying gi rgya.* Fols. 1—13a; an unpaginated additional page inserted between the fols. 6 and 7.
4. **Nga.** *Ngo mtshar lo zla tshes kyi dus bzang por// skyabs mchog bla mas rjes su bsung ba sogs// rten 'brel shugs gyis 'grig pa'i snying gtam la// mi 'gyur rdo rje'i rgya yod gsang ba'i gnas.* Fols. 1—7a.
5. **Ca.** *mTsho la byad ltar 'gyur 'gyur gsal na yang// sa phag zim dgos g.yeng bas brjed des no// slad mar blang dor bstar dgos smod min la// rta mgrin pad mas mtshan pa'i bum pa'i rgya.* Fols. 1—10a.
6. **Cha.** *rGya mtsho nang gi sa zla'i gar bu bzhin// mi mngon snying gi ze'u 'brur bsten 'os nor// za zi'i 'khrul snang bden par zhen pa'i blos// yi ger bkod la rtsa gsum nor bu'i rgya.* Fols. 1—4b.
7. **Ja.** *Me tog mda' can sde dang bcas pa'i dpung// 'joms mdzad phur thogs rig 'dzin bla ma mchog// yang gsang drag por khros pa'i zab gnad la// sna tshogs rdo rjes mtshan pa'i ral gri'i rgya.* Fols. 1—14a.
8. **Nya.** *Khab len rdo dang lcags kyi snang tshul ltar// ma 'dres 'byed la lkog gyur mun bsal nas// blang dor gzugs brnyan ma lus ston pa yis// gsal ba'i lung bstan 'di la nyi zla'i rgya.* Fols. 1—4a.
9. **Ta.** *bSad rmongs rengs skrod smyo dbyed [?dbyid] dmag bzlog zor/ /zhi rgyas dbang 'gug la sogs sna tshogs las// bsgrub pa'i phur thogs drag po'i man ngag las// gnam lcags badzra ki laa ya yi rgya.* Fols. 1—4a.
10. **Tha.** *Nag po'i g.yul las rgyal na des chog pas// bhung bhung sna tshogs bris pas sgang sgo 'chal// da dung kha yang ma byed yid ches kyi// gnas min kun la me 'bar sdig pa'i rgya.* Fols. 1—4b.
11. **Da** . *rGyud* [original spelling *sgyud*, later corrected] *gsum dregs pa'i phyi nang gsang ba'i gnad// mtshungs med bla ma'i drin gyis nyams myong 'bras// log par blta la rlung phyogs tsam du yang// mi ston gri gug thod khrag zung 'jug rgya.* Fols. 1—3a.
12. **Na.** *Dus gsum 'og 'gyu'i rtog pas dus 'da' yang// dag pa'i snang ba 'byams su nyer bklas zhes// gzhan bslu rang la smyon pa'i kha 'chal la// a ham mi 'gyur ddhu tii'i rgya yis spras.* Fols. 1—9b.

13. **Pa.** *bsKal brgyar rnyed dka' ngo mtshar dga' bskyed gtam// rtag tu ma brjed 'chang 'os snying gi nor// blo gros dman pas yi ger zhib mor bkod// snod min la gsang nyi zla kha sbyor rgya.* Fols. 1—3b.
14. **Pha.** *mTha klas mig 'khrul lta bu'i gsang ba'i gtams yid la 'dris par bya 'os le lo yis// brjid kyi dogs nas yi ger nyer bkod pas// snod min la sba rigs gsum mtshan ma'i rgya.* Fols. 1—13b.
15. **Ba.** *Za zi'i mang 'khrul nying khur gnyen po'i lha// rnam gsum klu srin 'jam dpal gyis brlabs pa// rdo rje'i tsher ma las rgyal nges rnyed gtam// lto gros btegs pa'i yid bzhin dbang rgyal rgya.* Fols. 1—5a.
16. **Ma.** *Dam sri 'gong po'i brag ri phyir 'thag pa'i// rtsa gsum thugs rje'i zla gzugs 'khrul pa'i mtshor// gsal shar zog po'i rdzun gyi ri mo la// bhrum mtshan rdo rje'i rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya.* Fols. 1—17a.
17. **Tsa.** *'Phrin las yang gsang drag po'a* [!] *gdams pa'i gnad// blang dor gsal byed nang gi lung bstan bcas// bcu gnyis bgrang byar thim nas rgya grol bar// me long mtshon 'khor lcags sdig tsha tsha rgya.* Fols. 1—4a.
18. **Tsha.** *Don zab nyams su blang bde snying gi thig// bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gros legs stsal ba// snod ldan yid kyi bum pa 'geng ba las// 'chal par mi spyod rta zhal yid bzhin rgya.* Fols. 1—10a.
19. **Dza.** *Ngo mtshar gtam gyi sbyor ba dag// brjed 'bangs yi ge'i phreng bar spel// the tshom log par blta ba la// mi ston dpal gyi be'u'i rgya.* Fols. 1—3a.
20. **Wa.** *Zab gsal ye shes snying po'i nges don mchog// dbul po'i gter bzhin drung nas ma rig pa// yongs gsal rang ngo sprod pa'i man ngag mchog// snod min yul drug dri bral pad dkar rgya.* Fols. 1—9a.
21. **Zha.** *Shin tu thos dka'i bka' gsang lung bstan che// skal ldan brtul phod can khyod snying gi nor// 'chang 'os yi ger le lor ma song bkod// thugs rje grib mar skyob mtshon gdug dkar rgya.* Fols. 1—21a.
22. **Za.** *Ma smad gsang tshigs yang smra bsnyems min kyang// rtsa gsum zhal lung drod rlangs 'thul le ba// bstan 'gro'i legs tshogs spel tshul rjed 'phangs te// gzur gnas nyams long chos dung g.yas 'khyil rgya.* Fols. 1—10a.
23. **'A.** *'Bad rtsol bltos min sngon bsags las 'phro'i shugs// drag sad nying 'khrul dri med ā darshar// sna tshogs gzugs bsnyan gsal ltar lkog chos kun// ma 'dres ji bzhin rtogs mtshon gser nya'i rgya.* Fols. 1—11b.
24. **Ya.** *Sras mchog rigs lnga'i gnad tshang sgrub sde brgyad// kun 'dus mkhar chen 'tsho rgyal gong khug ma'i// rdo rje phur pa'i zab don nying khu la// bka' srung sho na mched bzhi'i zhal gyi rgya.* Fols. 1—7a.
25. **Ra.** *Las can snying dkyil sim 'os phyi rol tu// mi mngon rgyas btab yang dag gsang gtam che// bdud brlams*

gang zag dpung bcas nyer bcoms pa'i// dpa' rtags srid rtser rab bsgreng rgyal mtshan rgya. Fols. 1—15b.

26. **La.** *rGya can gyi 'khrul snang rnams gsal bar bkod pa mthong ba don ldan bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—60a; col.: fol. 60a:4—8. Date: *bag yod ces pa chu glang hor zla drug pa'i tshes bzhi rgyal ba'i...* [1673]. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandes (...*sbyar ba'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *SV*, pp. 176—211 (Text I).

27. **Shwa** [!]. *rTa dpal shwa na'i rgya can gyi bkod pa sgyu ma'i khengs 'phrog bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—16a; col.: fol. 16a: 5—8. Date: *chu bya'i lo hor zla dang po'i dmar phyogs dpa' bo* [1693]. = *SV*, pp. 212—21 (Text II).

28. **Sa.** *rGya can gyi 'khrul snang rnga chen ma shar bar gyis bkod pa zhing khams rgya mtsho'i yid 'phrog*

bzhugs so. Fols. 1—46a; col.: fols. 45b:4—46a. Date: *kro pta zhes pa khro bo'i lo sprel zla ba'i tshes bcus dpa' bo* [1685!]. Author: Za-hor-gyi sngags-rgan rDo-rje thogs-med-rtsal alias Gang-shar rang-grol [= The Fifth Dalai Lama].

29. **Ha.** *rGya gar gling phran gyi ming dang krugs yig le tshan yod.* Fols. 1—2a.

30. **A.** *Yang gsang rgya can ma bu'i chos tshan gyi dkar chag yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal po'i gter mdzod bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—13b. Noteworthy is the fact that on the fol. 13b there is a list of works which were not included into this catalogue (*kar chag nang ma thebs skor la*).

III. Catalogue of the "Son" (*bu*) Section

1. **Ka.** *rGya can phal cher gyi 'phrin las grub thabs dbang byin rlabs rigs gtad kyi lag len nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i bang mdzod bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—84a; col.: fols. 83b:4—84a. Date: *lcags phag hor zla bcu gnyis pa'i tshe bcu* [1671]. Author: Za-hor-gyi sngags-btsun Zil-gnon bzhad-pa tsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 1.

2. **Kha.** *rTa zhal yid bzhin rgya can gyi sgrub phrin dbang byin brlabs kyi chog bsgrigs bsam don lhun grub bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—45a; col.: fol. 45a:2—5. Date: *hor zla bcu gcig pa'i smal pos nya pa'i tshes.* Autor: Za-hor-gyi sngags-btsun rDo-rje thogs-med tsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 11.

3. **Ga.** *bKa' brgyad spyi dril zhi khro rnam rol gyi bsnyen yig yid bzhin dbang rgyal zhes bya ba bzhugs. so.* Fols. 1—11b; col.: fols. 11a:5—12b. Date: *lcags pho sbe'u'i lor* [...] *khra zla ba'i khrag 'thung rol ba'i tshes* [1680]. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandhe Che-mchog 'tus-pa-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 2.

4. **Nga.** *Padma dbang chen khams gsum zil gnon gyi bsnyen yig sbas don kun gsal bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—10a; col.: 10:4—6. Date: *chu khyi hor gyi zla ba dang por* [1682]. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandhis (*sbyar pa'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 12.

5. **Ca.** *rTa mgrin khams gsum zil gnon gyi zor las dang 'brel bar bsrung bzlog bsad mnan gang dgos su sbyar chog ba'i chog bsgrigs bskal pa'i me dpung zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—15a; col.: fols. 14b:5—15a. Date: *chu khyi hor zla gnyis pa'i tshe gcig* [1682]. Author: Za-hor-gyi sngags-smyon Che-mchog 'dus-pa-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 13.

6. **Cha.** *Bla ma bde chen dbang phyug gi zhal gdams 'chi med srog 'dzin bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2b; col.: fol. 2b:4—5. Author: Za-hor-gyi sngags-ban rDo-rje thogs-med-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 3.

7. **Ja.** *rDo rje gro lod ma gtogs pa'i bhrum mtshan rdo rje'i rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can gyi 'phrin sgrub smin grol gyi chog bsgrigs rnams bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—32a; col.: fol. 32a:2—5. Date: *yongs 'dzin gyi lo mgo can gyis dkar cha'i dga' ba gnyis pa* [1672]. Author: Za-hor-gyi bande Gang-shar rang-grol [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 8.

8. **Nya.** *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje'i rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can gyi nang tshan rdo rje gro bo lod kyi chog bsgrigs gnam lcags 'bar ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so.*

Fols. 1—39a; col.: fols. 38b:5—39a. Date: *chu byi hor zla bcu gnyis pa'i rgyal dang po'i tshes* [1672]. Author: Za-hor-gyi sngags-smyon rDo-rje thog-med-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. Original spelling was *thogs-med*, but later *s* was erased.

9. **Ta.** *rDo rje gro lod kyi bsnyen yig rta ljang dbang po zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—7a; col. fol. 7a: 4—6. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandes (*sbyar ba'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 7.

10. **Tha.** *rDo rje gro lod kyi brgyud 'debs sman mchod mnan pa'i lhan thabs sngags bcas khol tu byung ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3a. Author (?): Za-hor rig-'dzin Rdo-rje thog-med-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama].

11. **Da.** *Yang gsang karma drag pos las byang dbang* [inserted] *gtor bzlog rnams phyogs gcig du bsgrigs pa bdud sde 'jom pa'i bshan pa rnam rol bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—14b; col.: fol. 14b:1—5. The word *bshan* is spelled as *shan* in the colophon. Date: *lcags phag hor zla bcu gcig pa'i rgyal ba gsum pa'i tshe* [1671]. Author: Za-hor-gyi sngag-smyon Che-mchog btus-pa-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama].

12. **Na.** *Yang gsang karma drag po'i bsnyen sgrub 'jigs pa med pa'i zhal lung bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3b; col.: fol. 3b:5—6. Author: rDo-rje thogs-med-rtsal/ /Za-hor bandes (*bgyis pa'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 6.

13. **Pa.** *Tshe dpag med dangs ma bcud 'dren gyi bsnyen yig 'chi med grub pa'i bcud len bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—7a; col.: fol. 7a:2—3. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandes (*sbyar ba'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 10.

14. **Pha.** *Tshe dpag med dwangs ma bcud 'dren gyi sgo nas gzim chung brtan bzhugs pa'i chog sgrigs dang rgyun gyi rnal 'byor la dgos pa'i lhan thabs bcas bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—6a; col.: fol. 6a:4—6. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandes (*bkod/*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama].

15. **Ba.** *Yang gsang drag po'i brgyud 'debs 'khyer bde bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a; col.: fol. 2a:6. Author: Za-hor bandes (*sbyar//*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama].

16. **Ma.** *dPal ldan dmag zor ma'i gtam skor mkha' 'gro'i zhal lung las gtor chog dbang rig gtad gyi cho ga bsgrigs yongs 'du'i ljon pa bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—15a; col.: fol. 15a:3—7. Date: *lcags phag hor zla bcu gnyis pa'i/ dmar cha'i bzang po/ dang po* [1671]. Author: Za-hor-gyi ban-rgan/ Zil-gnon bzhad-pa-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 58, No. 17.

17. *'Dod khams ma zhi ba 'chi med tshe'i lha mo'i tshe chog bdud rtsi'i bum bzang zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—4b; col.: fol. 4b: 3—6. This work is not listed in the catalogue of the "Son" Division and bears no Tibetan letter marking its number. . Date: *chu khyi'i sprel zla* [1682]. Author: Za-hor-gyi bandes (*bkod pa'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. The particle *gyi* was spelled originally as *gyis* but later corrected. = *CS*, p. 58, No. 18.

18. *Tsa. Las bzhi lha mo'i rtsa ba'i yi ge bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a.

19. *Tsha. Las bzhi lha mo'i mngon rtogs bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2b.

20. *Dza. Las bzhi lha mos dbang dang rig gtad bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2b.

21. *Wa. Las bzhi lha mo'i 'khor lo'i u pa de sha bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2b. = *SV*, pp. 228—9 (Text IX).

22. *Zha. Las bzhi gtso 'khor rnams kyi 'khor lo'i yig chung bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3b. = *SV*, pp. 230—3 (Text XII).

23. *Za. Las bzhi lha mo'i 'khor lo'i rab gnas bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2b. = *SV*, pp. 236—7 (Text XVI).

24. *'A. Las bzhi lha mo'i las sbyor gyi yi ge bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a. = *SV*, pp. 230—1 (Text X).

25. *Ya. Las bzhi 'khor lo'i las sbyor gyi gsal byed bzhugs.* Fols. 1—3b. = *SV*, pp. 232—4 (Text XIII).

26. *Ra. 'Phrin las rnam bzhis las kyi* [spelled: *lasyi*] *dmigs pa'i gsal byed bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3a. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 15; = *SV*, pp. 234—7 (Text XV).

27. *La. 'Khor lo'i rgya can las las bzhi lha mo'i skor gyi sngag byang mkha' 'gro'i snying khrag gsang ba'i lde mig bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—6a; col.: fols. 5b:5—6a. Author: Za-hor bandes *(gsal bkod par/...)* [= The Fifth

Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 58, No. 19; = *SV*, pp. 220—4 (Text III).

28. *Sha. Las bzhi gtso 'khor rnams kyi gtor ma'i man ngag bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3a. = *CS*, p.57, No. 14; = *SV*, pp. 228—9 (Text VIII).

29. *Sa. gSang sgrub kyi mngon rtogs srog dbang dang bcas pa bzhugs.* Fols. 1—2b. = *SV*, pp. 226—7 (Text VII).

30. *Ha. Yang gsang drag mo'i mnan gtad zor dang bcas pa bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a. = *SV*, pp. 230—1 (Text XI).

31. *A. Yang gsang drag mo'i mnan gtod bror* [*CS, SV: gtad zor*] *gyi gsal byed bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3a. = *CS*, p. 58, No. 16; = *SV*, pp. 234—5 (Text XIV).

32. *Ki. gNam lcags badzra ki la ya dang me long mtshon 'khor lcags sdig tsha tsha'i rgya can/ bhrum mtshan rdo rje'i rwa gdengs/ thog mda'i rgya can gnyis la mkho ba'i sngags byang 'byung ngo phyer 'thag ces bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—6b; col.: fol. 6b:1—2. Author: Za-hor bandes (*bkod pa'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 57, No. 9.

33. *Khi. 'Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug lha dgu'i rgyud 'debs bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2b; col.: fol. 2b:3—4. Author: Za-hor-gyi banddes (*sbyar ba'o*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]. = *CS*, p. 58, No. 23.

34. *Gi. Ngag bcings pa 'grol ba'i gdam pa bsnyen bsgrub sogs kyi cha lag tu dgos ps bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a; col.: fol. 2a:2—3. Author: Za-hor-bandes (*sbyar ba'i...*) [= The Fifth Dalai Lama].

35. *Ngi. rDo rje gro lod yang gsang drag po rta mgrin khams gsum zil gnon tshe bdag gi bka' srung mthu chen sde bzhi rnams kyi mchod thabs bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—9a; col.: fol. 9a:1—3. A *gter-ma* book hidden by gNub Buddha.

A group of texts not listed in the catalogue of the "Son" Section but attached to it

1. *Thugs rje chen po 'jig rten dbang phyug gi dbang chog nag po'i 'gros shes ma bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—22a; col.: fol. 22a:5. According to the colophon, though this rite was performed (? by the Fifth Dalai Lama), the instructions on it had not been written down. So this text was written by gTer-bdag gling-pa on the initiative of the sDe-srid rin-po-che.

2. *Yang gsang rgya can las bka' brgyad spyi dril zhi khro rnam rol gyi dbang chog nag 'gros su bkod pa bya sla gsal sgron zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—39b; col.: fol. 39b:3—5. Date: *bag yod* [!] *kyi lo dbo zla ba'i dmar phyog tshes dge bar* [1673]. Author: Rig-pa 'dzin-pa bZhad-pa'i rdo-rjes (*...spel ba'i...*)

3. *Yang gsang rgya can las bka' brgyad rig 'dzin zhal lung gi nang tshan 'jam dpal phyag rgya zil gnon gyi dbang chog blo dman 'jug bde zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—20b; col.: fols. 20a:4—20b. Date: *kun dga' zhes pa shing pho stag gi lo dbo zla ba'i* [...] *dmar phyogs kyi tshes dge bar* [1674]. Author: Rigs-pa 'dzin-pa bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje.

4. *Yang gsang rgya can gyi nang tshan bka' brgyad rig 'dzin zhal lung las 'jam dpal phyag rgya zil gnon gyi las byang klags chog ma bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—14a; col.: fol. 14a:2—3. Date: *shing pho stag gi lo* [1674]. Author: Rig-pa 'dzin-pa bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje.

5. *lTo 'gros btegs pa'i yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal po'i rgya can las gnyen po lha bzhis dbang chog nag 'gros su*

bkod pa bzhugs so. Fols. 1—15a; col.: fols. 14b:6—15a. Date: *shing pdo stag gi lo dbo zla ba'i dmar phyogs* [1674]. Author: rDo-rje 'dzin-pa Ngag-dbang dPal-bzang, alias sNgags-ram-pa Legs-'byor.

6. *Yang gsang karma drag po rtsal gyi las bzhi'i sbyin sreg gi kha bsgyur zin bris bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—3b.

7. *gNam lcags phur ba'i rgya can las/ yang gsang karma drag po rtsal gyi zhi ba'i sbyin sregs bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—5a; col.: fol. 5a:2. Author: 'Gyur-med rdo-rjes (*so//*).

8. *Bla ma bde chen dbang phyug gi zhi ba'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga zla zhun 'khyil ba zhes bya ba'o.* Fols. 1—4a; col.: fols. 3b:6—4a. Date: *sno zla ba'i dmar phyogs kyi dus tshes dge bar.* Author: bZhad-pa'i rdo-rjes (*...sbyar ba'i...*).

9. *rGya can lha mo zhi ba'i rgyun 'khyer bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a; col.: fol. 2a:1—2. Author: bZhad-pa'i rdo-rjes (*spel ba'o//*).

10. *Bla ma dbe chen dbang phyug gi brgyud 'debs bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—2a; col.: fol. 2a:2. Author: Padma bzhad-pa'i rdo-rjes (*mdzad do//*).

11. *rDo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i rnam bshad rdo rje'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—29a; col.: fols. 28b:3—29a. Date: *gdongs can gyis* [!] *lo sprel zla'i gral tshe dge bar* [?1693]. Author: *dge-slong* Padma 'gyur-med rgya-mtsho'i mi pham rnam-rgyal rdo-rjes (*...sbyar ba...*).

12. *sMan bsgrub mdor bsdus bya tshul gcig chog sman gyi thig le zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—9a; col.: fol. 9a:1—5. Author: bZhad-pa'i rdo-rjes (*...bsgrub pa'o//*)

13. *bKa' brgyad rig 'dzin zhal lung gi dbang bskur ba'i cho ga bdud dpung 'joms pa'i rdo rje'i go rim zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—4a; col.: fols. 39b:6—40a. Date: *nyi ma zhes pa chu mo lug lo'i sa zla'i yar tshes brgyad kyi nyin* [1703]. Author: *dge-slong* dPal-ldan grags-pa bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, alias dBang-chen las-rab-rtsal. Requested by *dge-slong* Blo-bzang chos-grags from Qalq-a Mongolia.

14. *Tshe dpag med dwangs ma bcud dren gyi smin byed dbang gi cho ga tshe bcud bdud rtsi 'bebs pa'i sprin phung zhes bya ba bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—20a; col.: fol. 20a:5—6. Author: Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin mthu-stobs.

15. *Yang gsang karma drag po'i las byang chog khrig nag po 'gros shes su bkod pa bdud sde 'jom pa'i bshan pa rnam rol bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—9a; col. fol. 9a:4—5.

Compiled on the basis of the precepts by Kun-chen rgyal-ba'i dbang-po [? The Fifth Dalai Lama].

16. *Kun mkhyen za hor rdo rje thog med rtsal gyi dgongs gter dag snang snying gi rgya can gyi nang tshan 'phags pa thugs rje chen po lo ke shwa ra lha dgu'i dbang gi bla brgyud gsol 'debs* [this title is taken from the colophon]. Fols. 1a,b; col.: fol. 1b:1—3. Author: Rig-pa 'dzin-pa Badzra 'jigs-rten dbang phyug.

17. *Yang gsang karma drag po'i sman rag gtor gsum 'bul tshul bzhugs so.* Fols. 1—4a.

18. A collection of small sacrifactory prayers to the local deities and treasure-guardians. Fols. 1—2b.

19. *sNying po* [left marginal title]. Fol. 1a.

20. *dPal rta mgrin yang gsang gi chos skor gyi cha lag dregs pa'i sde dpon sum cu dang dbang chen spyi'i bka' bsrung rnams kyi gsol chod 'phrin las myur 'grub ces bya ba zhugs so.* Fols. 1—4a; col.: fol. 4a:2—3. Author: Bi-dya-dhara Sa-ma-ya badzra.

IV. The List of Illustrations

1. *sNying gi rgya can las thugs rje chen po 'jig rten dbang phyug gi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 1).

2. *sNying gi rgya can las bka' brgyad rig 'dzin zhal lung gi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 2).

3. *sNying gi rgya can las bka' brgyad rig 'dzin zhal lung gi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 3).

4. *rDo rje'i rgya can las tshe dpag med gsang sgrub 'chi bdag bdud 'joms kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 4).

5. *rDo rje'i rgya can las thugs sgrub yang snying kun 'dus dang/ mtsho skyes 'chi med rdo rje gnyis kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 5; but in the St. Petersburg manuscript there is also presented another picture, that of the *'bul gtor* "the *bali* which is offered".

6. *rTa mgrin padmas mtshan pa'i bum pa'i rgya can las rta mgrin dam sri zil gnon gyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 7).

7. *rTa mgrin padmas mtshan pa'i rgya can las bla ma bde chen dbang phyug dang rigs lnga 'chi med mchog sbyin gnyis kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 8).

8. *rTsa gsum nor bu'i rgya can las thugs rje chen po sems nyid bde chen ngal gso dang rtsa gsum 'dus pa gnyis kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 9).

9. *Me 'bar sdig pa'i rgya can las drag dmar bgegs dpung kun 'joms kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 10).

10. *A ham mi 'gyur dhu ti'i* [original spelling *rdo rje*, later corrected] *rgya can las sku gsum sgu 'phrul rol pa 'chi med ga'u kha sbyor jo mo'i byin rlabs zung 'jug rnam rol gsum gyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 11).

11. *Nyi zla'i rgya can las yid bzhin char 'bebs dang/ rigs gsum mtshan ma'i rgya mtshan las dregs 'dul bdud sde phyer 'thag gi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 12).

12. *Rigs gsum mtshan ma'i rgya can las btags grol ma bsgoms myur lam dang/ lha lcam gyi byin rlabs mkha' 'gro'i snying bcud gnyis kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 13).

13. *lTos 'gros btegs pa'i yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal po'i rgya can las gnyan po lha bzhi klu gnyan kun 'dul gyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 14).

14. *lTos 'gros btegs pa'i yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal po'i rgya can las na ga raksha 'og gdon mthar byed kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 15).

15. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las bla ma rdo rje 'chang srog gi rgya mdud kyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 16).

16. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las tshe dpag med dwangs ma bcud 'dren gyi dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 17).

17. *sNa tshogs rdo rjes mtshan pa'i ral gri'i rgya can las yang g.yang karma drag po'i dbang gi bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 42).

18. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las gtor bzlog zor gyi bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 43).

19. *gNam lcags bdzra kī la ya'i rgya can las zhi rgyas gnyis kyi sbyin sreg thab kyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 44A).

20. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las dbang dang drag po'i sbyin sreg gi thab kyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 44B).

21. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las bsrung bzlog gnyis kyi 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 45 upper).

22. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las bsad mnan dang bskrad pa'i 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 45 lower).

23. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las smyo ba dang rmongs rengs 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 46 upper).

24. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las dbye ba'i 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 46 lower).

25. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las sa 'khor dang chu 'khor gyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 47 upper).

26. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las me 'khor dang rlung 'khor gyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 47 lower).

27. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las mtha'i dmag dpung bzlog pa'i lingga'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 48).

28. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las rgyal 'gong dam sri 'dre ngan 'dul ba'i ling ga* (cf. *SV*, pl. 49).

29. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las bsen mo tsa mu tri 'dul ba'i ling ga* (cf. *SV*, pl. 50).

30. *gNam lcags badzra kī la ya'i rgya can las ltas ngan bzlog pa/ nad zhi ba/ 'gugs pa/ rdzas bsrung rnams kyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 51).

31. *Me long mtshon 'khor lcags sdig tsha tsha'i rgya can las byung ba'i bsrung 'khor chen mo* (cf. *SV*, pl. 52).

32. *Me long mtshon 'khor lcags sdig tsha tsha'i rgya can las bzlog 'khor chen mo* (cf. *SV*, pl. 53).

33. *Me long mtshon 'khor lcags sdigs* [!] *tsha tsha'i rgya can las rgyal bsen 'gong po dam sri chung sri gson 'dre gshin 'dre sogs la kha bsgyur chog pa'i bsrung 'khor drag po* (cf. *SV*, pl. 54).

34. *Me long mtshon 'khor lcags sdig tsha tsha'i rgya can las rgyal bsen 'gong po dam sri chung sri gson 'dre shi dre sogs la mnan bsreg 'phang sogs kha bsgyur chog pa'i 'khor lo* (cf. *SV*, pl. 55).

35. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i dbang gi bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 18).

36. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdeng* [!] *thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar mnan pa'i dkyil 'khor dang bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 19).

37. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i drag po'i sbyin sreg ham gyi bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. SV, pl. 20).

38. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i gtor bzlog gi bca' bzhi'i* [!] *dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 21).

39. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i bsrung bzlog gi 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 22A).

40. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda' rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i dgra bo dang 'byung po bsad mnan 'phang pa'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 22B).

41. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i shin tu thul dka'i 'byung po 'dul ba'i lingga* (cf. *SV*, pl. 23).

42. *Bhrum mtshan rdo rje rwa gdengs thog mda'i rgya can las rdo rje gro lod gnam lcags 'bar ba'i hom la* [original spelling *las* later corrected] *'debs rgyu'i 'byung po'i lingka* (cf. *SV*, pl. 24).

43. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las las bzhi'i lha mo'i dbang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*. pl. 25).

44. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las las bzhi so so'i rigs gtad kyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 26).

45. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las gsang sgrub dang tshe dbang gnyis kyi bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 27).

46. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las rten gtor dang rgyun gtor gyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 28).

47. *rGya can du mi gsal ba bla ma'i man ngag gi kha bkangs pa las gtso mo'i srog 'khor phyi nang gsang rten sogs kyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 29).

48. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las/ las bzhi chig dril dang zhi ba'i lha mo'i bla rdo srog 'khor gyi dpe'i ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 30 upper).

49. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las rgyas pa dang dbang gi bla rdo srog 'khor gyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 30 lower).

50. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las drag po'i bla rdo srog 'khor dang bsrung ba'i 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 31 upper).

51. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las zhi ba dang nor sgrub pa'i 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 31 lower).

52. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las tshe spel ba dang dbang sdud kyi 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 32 upper).

53. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las 'gug pa dang bzlog pa'i 'khor lo'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 32 lower).

54. *Be'u bum dkyus su yod pa yang bo dge sa gsum gyi dpe rgyun du yi ge ma dag pa'i rgyun 'byams shing rgya can du mi gsal ba'i zur pa zab khyad ma 'di rnying rgan rig sngags 'chang ba'i gdams pa las rnyed pa za hor gyi ban dhe'i blo gros kyis dpe'u ris su bskrun no* (cf. *SV*, pl. 35).

55. '*Khor lo rgya can las sgab 'dre dam sri mnan pa'i dpe'u ris gzhung rnying lugs* (cf. *SV*, pl. 34).

56. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las mnan gtad las sbyor kyi ling rkyang gi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 33).

57. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las mnan gtad kyi ling ga 'khor lo can gyi dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 36).

58. '*Khor lo'i rgya can las gtor zor gyi bca' gzhi'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 37).

59. *rGya can du mi gsal ba be'u bum las zur rdo rje 'chang gis rtsal ba'i thun drug nas bshad pa'i dpe'u ris* (cf. *SV*, pl. 38).

V. A History of Transmission of the *VA*

There is a small manuscript written on Russian paper and consisting of nine folios, which bears the title *Kun gzigs rgyal dbang lnga pa'i dag snang rgya can gyi dbang lung yong rdzogs thob pa'i brgyud rim baidūra zhun ma'i them skas* ("The Lineage of Those Who Obtained the Precepts and Full Initiations to the Sealed Clear Visions of the Fifth All-Seeing One, Entitled "The Stairway of Melted Lapis Lazuri""). It contains valuable information on the transmission of the *VA*. This is a typical work pertaining to the *thob-yig* ("records of the achieved") class. There is no author's name at the end of the work as one could expect. But in one of the lineages the author styles himself as dBang-chen rus-pa-rtsal, alias Dharmakīrti (fol. 4b.:1—2).

The lineages are divided into several ones. The first big division is *dbang, i. e.* initiation of the rituals introduced by the Fifth Dalai Lama into the practice. Forty-four such initiations are enumerated, though judging by their titles they were more numerous. Some of the titles are marked with the letter *ra*. The lineage of those who transmitted these teachings (which are marked with the letter *ra* and those

relating to the cycle of dMag-gzor-ma) is as follows (fols. 4a:4—4b:2):

1. rGyal-dbang rDo-rje thogs-med-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama]

2. His spiritual son Padma 'phrin-las (1640—1718)

3. 'Jam-dbyangs kun-dga' lhun-grub

4. dKon-mchog lhun-grub

5. sKal-bzang padma dbang-phyug

6. Rig-dzin rgya-mtsho

7. Ngag-dbang 'phrin-las dbang-po

8. U-rgyan bstan-pa'i nyi-ma

9. sTag-phu Blo-bzang chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1765—1792) [7]

10. Rwa-lo rdo-rje 'chang Blo-bzang dngos-sgrub

11. rJe Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin mthu-stobs

12. Rigs-brgya khyab-bdag rdo-rje-'chang chen-po Serbyes mchog-sprul sngags-pa mkhan-po rin-po-che dPal-ldan grags-pa bstan-pa rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po, who bestowed the initiation on the author, hence the eloquent epithets bestowed by the disciple on his teacher in response.

A variant of this lineage is also given (fol. 4b:2—3):

1. gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646—1714)
2. Chos-rje Ngag-dbang phun-tshogs
3. Nyan-gnas dge-slong Ye-shes skal-bzang
4. Jo-bo sprul-sku sKal-bzang dge-legs rgyal-mtshan
5. Rwa-lo rdo-rje-'chang [spelled: *rdoeng*] Blo-bzang don-sgrub.

The second big division is "the precepts to be relied upon" (*rgyab brten lung*; fol. 4b:4), which is subdivided into the "basic texts" (*rtsa ba*) and "supplements" (*kha skong*). All the books from both the "Mother" and "Son" sections are enumerated, including even those which the author was unable to obtain.

The next come the lineages of transmission of the book concerning the worship of rDo-rje gro-lod (No. 11 of the "Son" Section) by Pad-ma 'gyur-med rgya-mtsho (1686—1717). It is also subdivided into two: "a general lineage" (*spyi'i brgyud*) and "a special lineage" (*bye brag gi brgyud*) (fols. 6b:4—7b:1). Then the list of supplements to the *VA*, written by Tre'u-rdza chos-rje Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin mthu-stobs dpal-bzang-po, and the lineage of their transmission come (fols. 7b:1—8a:3), alongside with the lineage of transmission of the work *bKa' brgyad gsang yongs rdzogs kyi bsnyen yig bsam 'phel dbang gi rgyal po* by Padma 'phrin-las (fol. 8a:3—6).

The next lineage is of those who transmitted the initiation for practicizing Mahākāruṇika-Avalokiteśvara with nine deities (*Thugs rje chen po lha dgu'i dbang*), the first in the line being gZil-gnon bzhad-pa-rtsal [= The Fifth Dalai Lama] (fol. 8b:1—5).

The work as a whole is concluded with a small lineage of those who obtained the permission to perform the *bali*-offering rites to the deities of esoteric teachings (*yang gsang yi dam*) as compiled by Dam-tshig rdo-rje (1781—1856) of Qalq-a Mongolia (fols. 8b:5—9a). The name of Dam-tshig rdo-rje attests the fact that this work dates from not earlier than the mid-nineteenth century. The *VA* seems to be well-known among the Mongol high lamas: *e. g.*, in the "exterior" biography of lCang-lung āryapaṇḍita Ngag-dbang blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1770—1845) it is narrated in detail how he was searching for the book on rituals for worshipping lHa-mo (*lha mo'i chos skor gyi dpe*) according to the *'khor lo'i rgya can* of the *VA* [8].

VI. Mongolian Translation of the *VA*

There also exists another important source for studying the *VA*. I mean its Mongolian translation made not later than 1738. This manuscript originates from the private library of Mongolian books which belonged to Prince Yun-li (Kheng-ze cin-wang of Tibetan and Mongolian sources, 1697—1738), the seventeenth son of the Emperor Kang-xi. Yun-li whose religious name was Buddha-guru-rtsal was an ardent devotee of the Tibetan Buddhism, especially, of its esoteric teachings. His personal inclinations towards the rNying-ma-pa School were opposed by some of the contemporary dGe-lugs-pa hierarchs. As Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor (1704—1788) mentioned in his "Autobiography", Yun-li possessed a big library of the rNying-ma-pa books in Peking [9]. In 1734/35, on the order of his brother-emperor, Yun-li made a journey to Tibet to bring there and to install on the throne the Seventh Dalai Lama. It is hardly necessary to say that Yun-li had such excellent possibilities for collecting Tibetan books he interested in that no other scholar of Tibet had ever had before. Yun-li encouraged translating of various Buddhist texts into Mongolian and sponsored their xylographic editions. In the 1840s a big collection of Mongolian manuscripts which belonged to Prince Yun-li (many of them bear prints of his personal seals in Tibetan) was purchased in Peking by the brilliant Russian scholar V. P. Vasilyev (1818—1900) [10]. Since 1855 these books have been preserved in the library of the St. Petersburg State University.

For a long time the Mongolian translation of the *VA* (its old call number is Q 429) had been lying unknown in a bundle of more than three hundred manuscripts. In the early 1930s this bundle was sorted out in a rather clumsy way, so that now all the chapters of the *VA* are kept in different places and under different call numbers. They were the first twenty-five chapters of the "Mother" section (the *rgya-can*s proper) which were translated into Mongolian. The only chapter entirely missing is the *Nyi zla kha sbyor gyi rgya can* (thirteenth chapter). Some folios of the other chapters are also missing. The "Son" section (Mong. *tamaγ-a-tu köbegün-ü bicig*) must have been also known to Yun-li [11]. Mongolian translations of many works by the Fifth Dalai Lama pertaining to the secret (*nang*) part of his *gsung-'bum* are also found in his collection.

It seems that two independent translations were under preparation: in one of them the word *rgya* ("seal") of the titles was translated as *temdeg*, while in the other — as *tamaγ-a*. Two different Mongolian translations of the tenth chapter (*me 'bar sdig pa'i rgya*) are available (call numbers Mong. D 124 and Mong. D 125). Tibetan glosses are given for proper names occurring in the text.

A brief examination of the text reveals that it is written in a very plain classical Mongolian and could serve as an indispensable means for better understanding of the Tibetan original. Any thorough study of the *VA* cannot ignore this translation which was most likely done soon after its composition.

VII. Conclusion

The materials presented in the article show that the *VA* is a cycle of works on esoteric practices which were transmitted, studied and practiced throughout the centuries. The *VA* was authorized by the most celebrated of the dGe-lugs-pa hierarchs mainly within the tradition of the rNying-ma-pa School and with the assistance of its eminent lamas. Of course, only further investigations could show what in it was particularly new that had been introduced by the Fifth Dalai Lama himself. In any case it became a series of esoteric practices of the dGe-lugs-pa School (and not only that of the rNying-ma-pa) and was transmitted within all the areas of its domination. It appears that the text of the *VA* is not so rare and unique as it was claimed by the scholars who wrote about it (the text left Tibet not later than in the
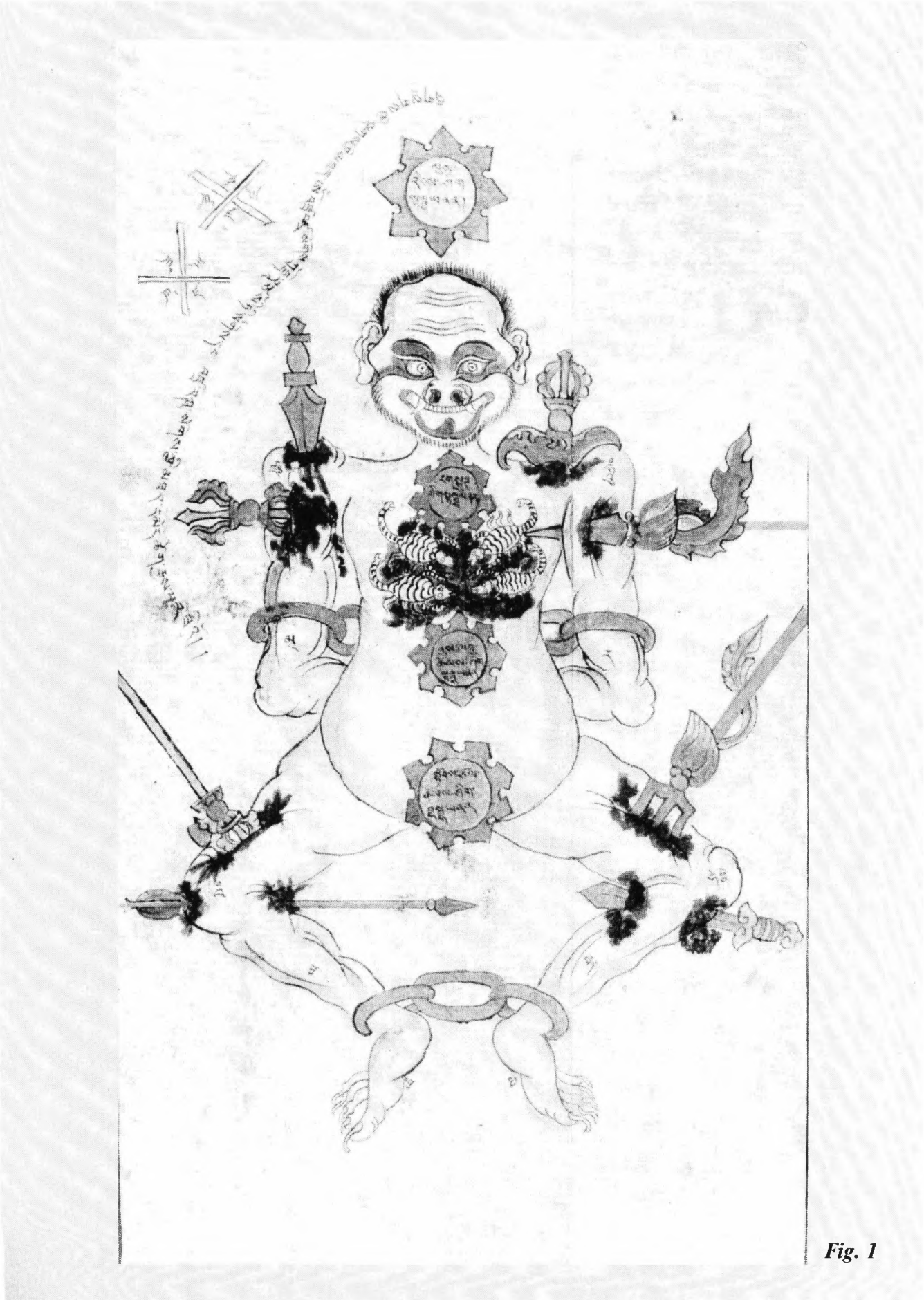
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

1730s). Further studying of this exceptional writing in a wide range of aspects, from doctrinal to artistic ones, as well as considering it within the context of the Tibetan

Buddhism, might greatly advance our understanding of what Tibetan spirituality was.

Abbreviations

C S — *Zhwa ser bstan pa'i sgron me rje tsong kha pa chen pos gtsos skyes chen dam pa rim byung gi gsung 'bum dkar chag phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa'i dri med zla shel gtsang ma'i me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so* (Xining, 1990).

SV — Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection* (London, 1988).

VA — "The Secret Visionary Autobiography" of the Fifth Dalai Lama. It is the general title of the work discussed in the present article.

Notes

1. B. Gyatso, "Autobiography in Tibetan religious literature: reflections on its modes of self-presentation", *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ii (Narita, 1992), p. 476.

2. Samten Karmay, *Secret Visions of the Fifth Dalai Lama: The Gold Manuscript in the Fournier Collection* (London, 1988).

3. *A Record of the Visionary Experience of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ñag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-rgya-mtsho* (Leh, 1974). — *Smanrtsis sherig spendzod*, vol. 42; *SV*, pp. 176—211 (Text I) and pp. 212—21 (Text II).

4. *CS*, pp. 56—9.

5. According to the rNying-ma-pa tradition, the first twenty-five chapters of the "Mother" section are equal to a *gter-ma* book which was claimed to be "discovered by intuition (*thugs-gter*)". See Eva M. Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (Delhi, 1979), p. 171. The quotations in the present article follow the transliteration system of the Tibetan language used in this work by Dargyay.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 171—2.

7. The title of one of his works is even imitating the *rgya-cans* of the *VA*: *Nam mka'i rnal 'byor gar gyi dbang po yi // 'khrul snang rol bar shar pa'i rdzun chos las // rje btsun seng ldeng nags sgrol sgrub pa'i thabs // 'phrin las gnad ldan tsintamani bzhugs // dam med log lta'i bang mdzod can dag la // bstan par mi bya dam tshig rdo rje'i rgya* (The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies manuscript collection, call number Tib. B 9288).

8. *rJe btsun dpal ldan bla ma dam pa lcang lung ārya paṇḍita rin po che ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog nor bu'i do shal zhes bya ba'i smad cha*, fol. 95b:2 ff. (his *gsung-'bum*, vol. 6)

9. Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor. *mKhan po erte ni paṇḍi tar grags pa'xi spyod tshul brjod pa sgra 'dzin bcud len zhes bya ba*, fols. 80b:4—81a:3 (his *gsung-'bum*, vol. 8).

10. Wassiljew, "Die auf den Buddhismus bezüglichen Werke der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Kasan", *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, XI, 4 (1855), p. 351; Wassiliev, "Notice sur les ouvrages en langues de l'Asie orientale, qui se trouvent dans la bibliothèque de l'Université de Saint-Pétersbourg", *ibid.*, XI, 6, (1856), pp. 566—7.

11. It is mentioned in the colophon (fol. 26b) of the work entitled *Neng niɣ uca doɣ sin eke-yin baling qariɣ ulun yosun-i neyilegülügsen ungsilɣ-a orosiba* (Mong. C 116), being instructions on the *bali*-offering to Yang-gsang drag-mo written by Ngag-dbang klu-grub on the basis of the Fifth Dalai Lama's works (see numbers 30 and 31 of the "Son" section).

Chinese characters

Kang-xi — 康熙

Yun-li — 允禮

Colour plates

Front cover:

The *cakra* for the separation of the guardian deities from the persons they are protecting (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 24); a separate folio, 55 × 20 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. *Cakra*s for summoning spirits of foes and for warding off evil spirits, as well as the articles used to perform the ritual for propitiating of the goddess lHa-mo. A *cakra* is a drawing of the circle with mystic spells (*mantras*) inscribed in it, which is used for achieving some goal, or as a kind of talisman guarding a person from various kinds of misfortunes (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 53); a separate folio, 55 × 20 cm.

Plate 2. The *cakra* for the suppression of the *dam-sri* spirits, *i. e.*, harmful ghosts which cause various calamities: from illnesses to social revolutions (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 54); a separate folio, 55 × 30 cm.

Plate 3. *Cakra*s for calming illnesses and acquiring wealth, and the articles used to perform the corresponding ritual (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 51); a separate folio, 55 × 20 cm.

Black and white illustrations

Fig. 1. The *liṅgam*, an effigy of the foe destroyed at the end of rituals for their suppression (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 41); a separate folio, 28 × 54.5 cm.

Fig. 2. *Cakras* used in the rituals for the suppression of evil spirits (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 40); a separate folio, 29 × 54.5 cm.

Fig. 3. The *liṅgam* with hands and feet chained, used in the rituals for suppressing the *dam-sri* spirits (see the list of illustrations in the article, No. 28); a separate folio, 28.5 × 54.5 cm.

BOOK REVIEW

Tsuguhito Takeuchi. *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia.* Tokyo: Daizo Shuppan, 1995, 515 pp., with Plates of Tibetan and of Chinese texts (*pp. 3—63*).

This work by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Professor at the Kyoto University, is actually the first summary study of the Tibetan economic documents of the first half of the 9th century discovered by European expeditions in Chinese Turkestan and in Dunhuang at the end of the last century and in the first quarter of the 20th century. These documents became distributed among several collections: of the British Museum (Aurel Stein collection), the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (Paul Pelliot collection) and the Museum of Ethnology in Stockholm (Sven Hedin collection). In the course of ten years of his work on these collections Takeuchi distinguished 58 documents which he identified as the oldest Tibetan contracts. These come from Dunhuang, Mīrān, Mazār Tagh, Old Domako, Khādalik and the Turfan Depression.

Takeuchi's predecessor in this field was F. W. Thomas, the first investigator of Tibetan documents. In 1927 he began to publish in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* the documents found by A. Stein, making special emphasis on the historical data they contained. He accomplished this work in 1934, publishing about 400 documents in six issues. In 1951 the documents were reprinted in a separate volume (*Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents Concerning Chinese Turkestan*, vol. 2, London). The main fault of this publication was the absence of any facsimile reproductions of the documents, which made it difficult to use them for further investigations. Many important contributions to the study of Tibetan texts were made by A. H. Francke, L. Bacot, M. Lalou, R. A. Stein, L. Petech, H. Sato, A. Macdonald-Spanien, Z. Yamaguchi, C. Beckwith. The most valuable investigations in this field, however, were carried by the late Hungarian scholar G. Uray. His studies made it possible to interpret many toponyms, ethnonyms and technical terms present in Tibetan documents. He published also several brilliant articles on the history of Tibet in the 7th—11th centuries.

Tsuguhito Takeuchi is working now as Uray's successor, following his steps with the same inspiration and creative power. The work done by him is not just a summary of what had been achieved in Old Tibetan studies during the forty years following F.W. Thomas' publication but a significant step forward. Revealing his profound knowledge of the social, ethnic and linguistic environment of Chinese Turkestan and of literary sources in other languages used in this area (Khotanese Saka, Uighur, etc.), Takeuchi described the patterns of Tibetan contracts and analysed the structure of personal names occurring in these texts, which made

it possible to find out what ethnic groups of East Turkestan had been using the Tibetan language and the Tibetan system of writing.

The book by Takeuchi has two parts and an introduction. The five chapters of the first part present the classification of Old Tibetan contracts by their contents. Such groups as "Sale Contracts" (chapter 2), "Loan Contracts" (chapter 3), "Hire Contracts" (chapter 4) are distinguished, specific features, characteristic of each formula are illustrated by examples from the texts of the contracts. Chapter 5 ("Characteristics of the Old Tibetan Contracts and their Social Background") presents a summary of the materials considered above. The second part contains the texts of 58 Tibetan and 2 Chinese documents, their translation into English and commentaries.

In our opinion, the book by Tsuguhito Takeuchi is a good example of how Old Tibetan documents should be published. All necessary components are present: facsimile reproduction of the texts, transliteration, translation, commentaries and investigation. It is well provided with indices, the principal ones being "Syllabic Index" (all the occurrences of the syllables found in the Tibetan contracts, made by computer), "Index of Tibetan Words" and "Phrases and General Index". Besides that, the book includes: table 11 — "Personal Names Found in the Old Tibetan Contracts" (pp. 122—9), where the function of every person mentioned in the contract is indicated, as well as two more tables giving the structure of all personal names and their ethnic origin: table 12 — "Name Types in Old Tibetan Documents" (p. 129) and table 13 — "Chinese Family Names in Tibetan Transcription" (p. 130). These tables clearly demonstrate who took part in the deals — only Tibetans, or both Tibetans and the natives. At the same time Takeuchi is solving the problem, whether similar contracts were in use at that time only in East Turkestan and Hexi, when the land was under the Tibetan control, or in Tibet itself as well.

One more important problem approached by Takeuchi is the origin of contract patterns. In chapter 5 different formulas used in different types of Old Tibetan contracts are considered (pp. 105—6), along with "Types of Seals and Signatures" (table 10, p. 107). Takeuchi compared Tibetan formulas to those used in Old Chinese contracts and proved that some of them had been modeled after Chinese patterns. The Tibetan occupation of Khotan and Dunhuang played an important part in this process: at that very time and from those territories the Chinese formulas were first borrowed by the Tibetans.

The general conclusion made by Takeuchi, is that these particular forms of Tibetan contracts appear only at the time of Tibetan domination in East Turkestan. They were

used both by Tibetans and by non-Tibetans, among them the natives of Khotan, the Chinese and the tribes inhabiting the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, the region of Mī-rān. The same process continued in the post-Tibetan period.

Takeuchi suggested new interpretations of a number of economic terms and of Old Tibetan words and expressions. It is important for understanding some later Tibetan texts of the 10th—11th centuries and up to the 12th century, when the Old Tibetan syntax and vocabulary changed significantly under the influence of translations from Sanskrit.

At present the work by Takeuchi remains the most important study of Old Tibetan economic documents. Among its merits, in our opinion, is that Takeuchi managed to produce a vivid reconstruction of the social, economic and ethnic environment of East Turkestan in the 9th—11th centuries. He created a framework to which other facts and names, formerly just isolated pieces of information, can now be added by other scholars. We expect that this work is going to be a textbook for every scholar working on Tibetan documents.

M. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya

Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur. *Bābur-nāma (Wa-qā'i')*. Critical edition based on four Chaghatay texts with introduction and notes by Eiji Mano. Kyoto: Syokado, 1995, LIX, 610 pp.

A sensation in turcology. Just recently, in the spring of 1995, a critical edition of the famous *Bābur-nāma* came into being. The publication of the work by Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur of Ferghana, the founder of the Great Moghul dynasty, was made in Kyoto, Japan. Really there are things too incredible to be believed, but none to be impossible. To realise fully the whole significance of this event it is necessary to say some words about *Bābur-nāma* and about its author, the man whose destiny was great and unusual.

The descendant of emir Tīmūr (r. 1370—1405) in the fifth generation, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Bābur was born in Ferghana on the 14th of February 1483. In 1494, when he was only 11, he succeeded his father as the ruler of Ferghana. At the beginning of the 16th century the Tīmūrids lost their Central Asian possessions, most of them taken by the Shībānīd dynasty claiming its origin from Shībān, one of the grandsons of Chingiz-khān. Bābur led his Turks to Afghanistan and then to India, where he founded one of the most brilliant Muslim states — the Great Moghul Empire (1525—1857).

Bābur's life was not long, only 48 years, but his deeds remained in the memories of many generations for over four hundred years. Bābur was one of the last great political and military leaders of the Muslim world, a brilliant personality most fully representing the intellectual elite of Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan of that time, comparable to the contemporary intellectual circles of Medieval Europe. He stands at the foundation of at least one important cultural phenomenon. While Arabographic Turkic poetry developed in the 11th century and later, culminating in the poems by 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī (1441—1501), Bābur laid a foundation for the modern Turkic prose. His "Records" (usually referred to as *Bābur-nāma*), where the author managed to combine a historical narrative with the facts of his biography, deserve to be recognised a masterpiece of Turkic prose and a diamond in the treasury of Muslim culture. *Bābur-nāma* is the only Turkic historical work placed by the older generation of European scholars on the same level as the works of Greek and Roman historians.

The "Records" were already highly estimated and valued by Bābur's contemporaries Khwāndamīr (d. 1539/40) and Mīrzā Haydar (d. 1551) who used them in their works. Many later Central Asian, East Turkestan and Indian authors knew and used them as well.

Europe became familiar with Bābur's work in the 17th century. His book was not only read, but studied, translated into European languages and reprinted many times. In 1857 the text of *Bābur-nāma* was published in Kazan by N. I. Ilminsky, who used a manuscript copy made by Prof. G. J. Ker in 1737 (now belonging to the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number D 685-I). A facsimile edition of the Hyderabad manuscript (18th century) was published in 1905 in London by A. S. Beveridge. Several editions of the text in modern Uzbek transcription, which appeared in Tashkent in 1948—1949, 1960 and 1989, were basing upon the publications made by Beveridge and Ilminsky. The principal task, however, the publication of the critical text of *Bābur-nāma*, the most important source on the history and historical geography of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India of the last decades of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century, was not accomplished.

In the course of the last three years (1993—1995) two new editions of *Bābur-nāma* were produced, both of them could be considered as critical editions. I had no opportunity to see the American edition by W. M. Thackston (*Bāburnāma*, Cambridge, Mass., 1993) basing upon two Turkic and two Persian texts, therefore I shall speak only about the Kyoto edition published by Prof. Eiji Mano in 1995.

Prof. Eiji Mano used two previous editions of *Bābur-nāma* — the Kazan edition of 1857 and the London edition of 1905, and two Turkic manuscripts, one of them in London (British Library, MS. Add. 26. 324), the other in Edinburgh (National Library of Scotland, MS. Adv. 18.3.18), as well as the London manuscript of the Persian translation of *Bābur-nāma* (British Library, MS. Or. 3717). The Hyderabad manuscript of *Bābur-nāma* is accepted as the principal text, all different readings are indicated in foot-notes. The whole text of *Bābur-nāma* typed in Arabic takes 610 pages of this edition. Now, due to Prof. Eiji Mano's efforts, we finally have a reliable critical text of Bābur's "Records".

The Turkic text of *Bābur-nāma* is preceded by a long introduction in Japanese including ten sections and a brief

foreword in English enumerating the manuscripts used by Prof. Eiji Mano and describing the basic principles of his work. It is mentioned also, that Prof. Eiji Mano is planning in the near future to publish a Japanese translation of the whole text with the index of all Chaghatay words occurring in *Bābur-nāma* and a series of articles on the history of Central Asia in the 14th—beginning of the 16th century.

Prof. Eiji Mano cannot help expressing his joy that the main part of the scholarly task undertaken by him many years ago is now accomplished. He is expecting that other scholars will use his critical edition, and that it will help them in their studies of *Bābur-nāma* and of the personality of its author. I share the joy and expectations of my Japanese colleague and I am already happy to use the Kyoto edition of *Bābur-nāma*, a copy of which was brought to St. Petersburg by Prof. S. G. Klyashtorny and donated, on behalf of Prof. Eiji Mano, to the library of the section of Turkic and Mongolian studies of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

I would like to mention once more some of the manuscripts used by Prof. Eiji Mano in his edition. The earliest of them is the Edinburgh manuscript of the second half of the 16th century. It should be noted again in this connection that the Salṭanatī Library in Tehran has one of the earliest copies of *Bābur-nāma* (No. 2249) made in the lifetime of Bābur [1]. This manuscript was first taken into account in 1960 [2]. Its description (4 pages) appeared in one of the volumes of the catalogue of the Salṭanatī Library printed in Tehran in 1977 [3]. According to description made by Mrs. Badrī Atābāy, the manuscript ends in words: "This narrative came to its end. Let it be of good use to those versed in scholarship. Year nine hundred thirty five". The date of the manuscript corresponds to A.D. 1528/1529. Bābur died on the 6th of Jumādā I 937/December 26, 1530.

The Tehran manuscript is unique from many points of view. First of all, it is a copy of Bābur's major work made in the lifetime of the author. The Turkic text is written in black Indian ink with vocalisation, its word-for-word translation into Persian written in cinnabar between the lines. It proves that a complete translation of *Bābur-nāma* into Persian has been already made in the lifetime of Bābur, not under his successors. The Tehran manuscript contains the earliest copies of several works by Bābur, it is a collection of his works (kulliyyāt) bound in one volume. This unique manuscript is still not published. Under present circumstances it is rather difficult to get access to it.

The publication of the critical text of *Bābur-nāma* made by Prof. Eiji Mano will for a long time remain most valuable for all those who study the medieval history of Central Asia, Afghanistan and India.

T. Sultanov

[1] T. I. Sultanov, "O prizhiznennom avtoru spiske "Zapisok" Babura" ("On the "Records" by Bābur copied in the lifetime of the author"), *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki i Problemy Istorii Kul'tury Narodov Vostoka*. VIII godichnaia nauchnaia sessiia LO IV AN SSSR 1983—1985, Part I (Moscow, 1985), pp. 72—6; *idem.*, "Obstoiatel'stva i vremia napisaniia "Babur-name"" ("The circumstances surrounding the composition of "Bābur-nāma" and its dating"), *Tiurkskie i Mongol'skie Pis'mennye Pamiatniki. Tekstologicheskie i Kul'turovedcheskie Aspekty Issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1992), pp. 91—3.

[2] Z. V. Toğan, "Tahran kütüphanelerinde Hindustan'dan gelen eserlerde Çağatay dil ve Temürlü sanat âbideleri", *Belleten*, XXIV, 95 (1960), p. 444.

[3] Badrī Atābāy, *Fihrist-i tārīkh, safar-nāma, siyāḥat-nāma, rūz-nāma wa jaghrāfīyāi khaṭṭī kitābhāna-i Salṭanatī* (Tehran, 1397/1977—1978), pp. 460—3.

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AUTHORS

Dr. *Firuza I. Abdullaeva* — Assistant Professor of Persian at the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, specialist in the Iranian Philology and Islamic culture, author of the series of works in the field.

Prof. Dr. *Vladislav N. Goreglyad* — Head of the Far Eastern Dpt. of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Head of the Chair of Japanese Philology of the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg State University, specialist in the history of medieval Japanese literature and culture, author of the series of monographs and articles.

Prof. Dr. *Yuri A.Petrosyan* — Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and ideology of the Ottoman Empire, author of the series of monographs and articles.

Dr. *Valery V. Polosin* — Senior Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in the field of the Arabic manuscript tradition in its various aspects, author of the monograph and articles.

Dr. *Tursun I. Sultanov* — Leading Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Head of the Chair of the History of Central Asia and Caucasus of the St. Petersburg State University, specialist in the Central Asian manuscript tradition, author of the monographs and articles.

Dr. *Adelaida F. Trotsevich* — Leading Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in medieval Korean literary tradition, author of the series of monographs and articles.

Dr. *Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya* — Supervisor of the Manuscript Dpt. of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history and philology of ancient Central Asia, author of the series of monographs and articles.

Dr. *Nikolay V.Vorobyov-Desyatovsky* — Head of the laboratory of the St. Petersburg Academy of Military Medicine, specialist in non-organic chemistry, author of the series of works in the field.

Dr. *Vladimir Uspensky* — Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in the field of Mongolian and Tibetan manuscript tradition in its various aspects, author of the series of articles.

Notes to Contributors

Submissions

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Plate 3