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No.2(21)

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HISTORY  
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REVIEWS





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## ON THE COVER:

Pl. 8. F. 7. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department.  
Antigraph: JBF2, Tantra, vol. ya, f. 162v, *Ārya-mahāpariṇāmarājasamantraka*.

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Natalia Yampolskaya

## **Fragments of Mongolian Kanjur Manuscripts Copied in 19th C. Germany and Preserved at the Library of the Academy of Sciences**

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*Abstract:* The article introduces three previously unknown fragments of 17th c. Mongolian Kanjur manuscripts. While the original folios have been lost, their texts are preserved in handwritten copies produced in the 19th c. by an unidentified German scholar. These copies became known in 2021 after being admitted to the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This article focuses on the Mongolian text of the fragments, its identification, and a brief commentary on the trustworthiness of the handwritten copies.

*Key words:* Mongolian Kanjur, Ablait, Sem Palat, Bernhard Jülg

In 2021, the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences received a number of new materials that were previously kept at the Department of Retrospective Acquisition and the Reserve-exchange Fund of the same library. Among them were several folios written in the Mongolian language on European paper (shelfmark F 450). Certain peculiarities of the Mongolian text, as well as the German inscriptions in the margins, indicate that the fragments were copied from the Mongolian Kanjur manuscripts that were discovered in Dzungaria in the 18th c. and preserved, as isolated folios, in a number of Russian and European collections. The text was copied in Germany in the 19th c. by an unidentified scholar. The description and preliminary identification of these handwritten copies have been published in the volume issued by the Library of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>1</sup> There are reasons to believe that the antigraphs of most of the frag-

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<sup>1</sup> BEREZHNAIA 2024: 453; IAMPOL'SKAIA 2024.

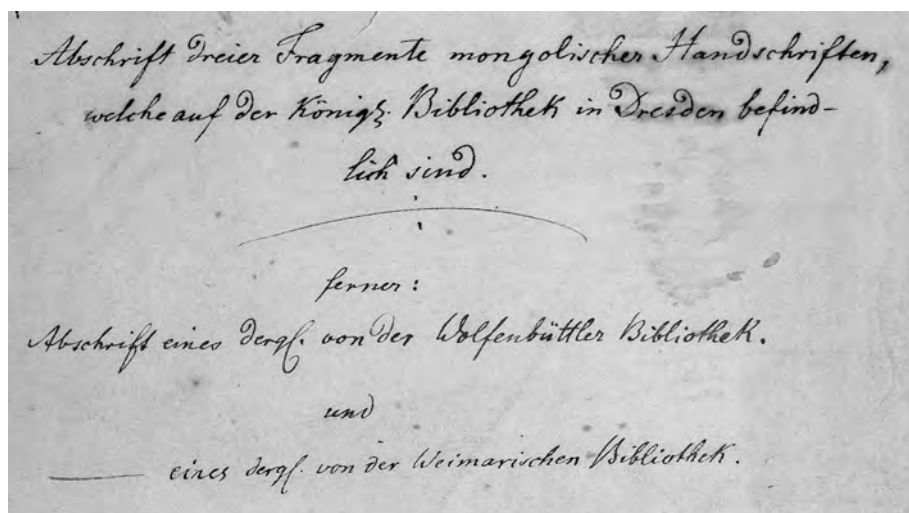
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ments are lost, which makes the copies a valuable source. The aim of this paper is to introduce the Mongolian text of the folios, providing its identification and making it available for further study.

The author is grateful to the staff of the Manuscript Department of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, personally to Vera Grigorievna Podkovyrova, for making this study possible, and to Dr. Hartmut Walravens for his kind help and advice.

## Description and Provenance

The materials preserved under the shelfmark F 450 include seven folios of European paper (Pl. 2–8) enveloped in a folded sheet of the same (hereafter — cover, Pl. 1). The Mongolian text and the inscription on the cover are written with a European pen and iron gall ink; graphite pencil is used to write the marginal notes (in German) and draw the decorative circles in the Mongolian text on ff. 2 and 3. The paper has two kinds of watermarks (unidentified): f. 1 — a coat of arms with a bend under a crown with pearls, ff. 2–7 — a double frame decorated with flowers and leaves on the inside. The folios differ in size: f. 1 — 19×26.8 cm, ff. 2–7 — 20.7×25.5 cm.



Pl. 1.

Inscription on the cover. Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department, F 450.

The cover bears the following inscription: *Abschrift dreier Fragmente mongolischer Handschriften, welche auf der Königl. Bibliothek in Dresden befindlich sind. Ferner: Abschrift eines dergl. von der Wolfenbüttler Bibliothek und eines dergl. von der Weimarischen Bibliothek.*

According to this note, the folder contained copies of five manuscript fragments. At the time when it was written, three of the original fragments were preserved in Dresden, one in Wolfenbüttel, and one in Weimar. Natalia Berezhnaya (St. Petersburg State University, Institute of History), who initially studied and described these materials alongside other new additions to the fund, noted that the reference to the library in Dresden as *Königliche Bibliothek* indicates that the text was copied after 1806, when the Kingdom of Saxony was founded.

The provenance of the manuscript F 450 is not documented and remains unknown. It was stored alongside other materials that were admitted to the funds after World War II and originated from libraries located in the North and East of Germany, Saxony included. Apart from that, among these materials are five manuscripts that bear the *ex libris* of the library of the von der Gabelenz family that was located in Poschwitz Castle, Thuringia.<sup>2</sup> Two members of this family, the renowned linguists Hans Conon (1807–1874) and his son Hans Georg von der Gabelenz (1840–1893), included Mongolian into their field of interest, and could have either copied, or acquired the copies for their studies. The connection of the manuscript F 450 to the Poschwitz Castle library is a possibility that remains to be investigated.

For this publication, I have not fulfilled the task of attributing the handwriting of the German inscriptions and identifying the scholar who copied the Mongolian text. As will be shown below, the copies demonstrate a knowledge of the Mongolian script and language deep enough not only to mindfully capture the ductus, but to propose readings for several illegible words as well. In a private letter of July 25, 2024, Dr. Hartmut Walravens suggested considering the figure of Bernhard Jülg (1825–1886), based on some likeness of the scholar's handwriting to the one on the cover. Although unconfirmed, this suggestion has to be taken note of, as Bernhard Jülg was familiar with other fragments of the Kanjur manuscripts that F 450 was copied from: the 20 ff. of Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjurs from Dzungaria preserved in the State Library in Berlin (shelfmarks Ms. or. F. 477 and 5:9 Ohne Signatur) come from Jülg's private collection, showing that he could be in-

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<sup>2</sup> BEREZHNAIA 2024: 453. For an overview of the history of the Poschwitz Castle library, in particular its fate after World War II, see ZUBKOV 2017.

terested in studying fragments of the same manuscripts preserved in other libraries. Moreover, in the preface to the catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts in German collections, Walther Heissig wrote that Jülġ copied and collated the Mongolian manuscripts preserved in Dresden.<sup>3</sup>

## Identification

The Mongolian text of F 450 was copied from fragments of three different manuscripts often referred to today as the Kanjurs from Dzungaria. Each of the three contained the Buddhist sacred scripture — Kanjur (Tib. *bka' 'gyur*), which in its entirety constitutes over 100 volumes in the *pothi* format (from 108 to 113 volumes in the extant Mongolian versions).<sup>4</sup> These three manuscripts have come down to us in fragments, represented by isolated folios from different volumes of the Kanjur dispersed across a range of collections in Russia and Europe.

1. JGF, or the “golden” Kanjur fragments from Dzungaria. *Pothi*, layered paper, calamus, golden (text) and red (decor) ink on black background, blue margins, illuminated,<sup>5</sup> 22.8×63.7 (51×14.3) cm, 27–30 lines per page. Today, 39 fragments of JGF have been described,<sup>6</sup> and one is known through a handwritten copy produced in the late 18th or early 19th cc.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> HEISSIG 1961: XIII.

<sup>4</sup> On the Mongolian Kanjur see ALEKSEEV 2015.

<sup>5</sup> One fragment of JGF, kept at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow), has an intact miniature, allowing to assume that the first folios of each volume were decorated with two miniatures depicting Buddhist deities. The miniature was published in *Oiraty i Tibet* 2023, ill. 9 (colour plates).

<sup>6</sup> Of the 39 surviving folios of JGF, 20 ff. are preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM, RAS, St. Petersburg), 1 f. at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow), 1 f. at the Herzog August Library (Wolfenbüttel), 1 f. at Kassel university Library, 1 f. at the Franke Foundation (Halle), 1 f. at the State Library in Berlin, 4 f. at the British Library, 3 f. at Glasgow University Library, 1 f. at Linköping City Library, 1 f. in the Stockholm Museum of Ethnography, 3 ff. at the Uppsala University library, and 2 f. at the National Library of France. Most of these fragments are listed and identified in ALEKSEEV 2019. Missing on that list is the folio preserved in Stockholm (see WAHLQUIST 2002: 29), and the three folios preserved in Uppsala (shelfmark O okat. 76, Mongol.). The latter are available online at the Alvin database: <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A518391&dswid=283> (last accessed on August 12, 2024).

<sup>7</sup> The handwritten copy is part of the archive of Friedrich von Adelung (1768–1843) preserved at the Russian National Library (Coll. 7, No. 149, f. 22). See ZORIN, TURANSKAYA, HELMAN-WAŻNY 2024: 104.

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**2. JBF1**, also referred to as the “black” Kanjur fragments from Dzungaria, MS1. *Pothi*, undyed layered paper, calamus, black and red ink, 23×64 cm, 28–30 lines per page. Currently, 802 fragments of JBF1 have been accounted for.<sup>8</sup>

**3. JBF2**, also referred to as the “black” Kanjur fragments from Dzungaria, MS2. *Pothi*, undyed layered paper, calamus, black and red ink, 25×71 cm, 30–40 lines per page. Currently, 480 fragments of JBF2 have been accounted for,<sup>9</sup> and one fragment is known through a handwritten copy produced by Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735).<sup>10</sup>

Two of these manuscripts (JGF and JBF1) are of South Mongolian origin and date back to the first half of the 17th c. (based on their palaeographical and codicological features). The third one (JBF2) was copied in the middle or second half of the 17th c. in Dzungaria, presumably, in the very monastery where its fragments were later discovered — Ablakit (Oir. *abalayin keyid*). The three manuscripts belong to an important group of early sources for Mongolian Kanjur studies, as they preserve the archaic orthography and ductus characteristic of this stage of Buddhist scripture dissemination among the Mongols, and, when used in text critical studies, fill the lacunae in the reconstruction of the structure and content of the earliest Mongolian Kanjur versions.

In the 17th c., all the three manuscripts were preserved in Buddhist temples located along the river Irtysh, in Dzungaria — the lands controlled by the Oirats, in particular, the Khoshut. Nothing is known of the circumstances

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<sup>8</sup> Of the 802 surviving fragments of JBF1, 775 ff. are preserved at IOM, RAS, 2 ff. at the National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg), 16 ff. at the State Library in Berlin, 3 ff. at the British Library, 3 ff. at Glasgow University Library, 1 f. at Linköping City Library, 1 f. at the Uppsala University library, and 1 f. at the National Library of France. Most of these fragments were described and listed in IAMPOL'SKAIA 2015. This list lacked information on the folios preserved in France (later published in TURANSKAIA 2021), Linköping (later published in ZORIN & TURANSKAYA & BORODAEV 2024), Uppsala (shelfmark O okat. 76, Mongol.; available online at <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A518391&dswid=283>, last accessed on August 12, 2024), Glasgow (later published in ZORIN & TURANSKAYA & HELMAN-WAŻNY 2024), and the British Library (see BAIPAKOV et al. 219–227).

<sup>9</sup> Of the 480 fragments of JBF2, 460 ff. are preserved at IOM, RAS, 6 ff. at the State Library in Berlin, 3 ff. at the Franke Foundation and 1 f. at the National Library of France. Most of these fragments were described and listed in IAMPOL'SKAIA 2015. This list lacked information on the folios preserved in France (later published in TURANSKAIA 2021).

<sup>10</sup> The copy is preserved at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. See SIZOVA 2022: 95–101.

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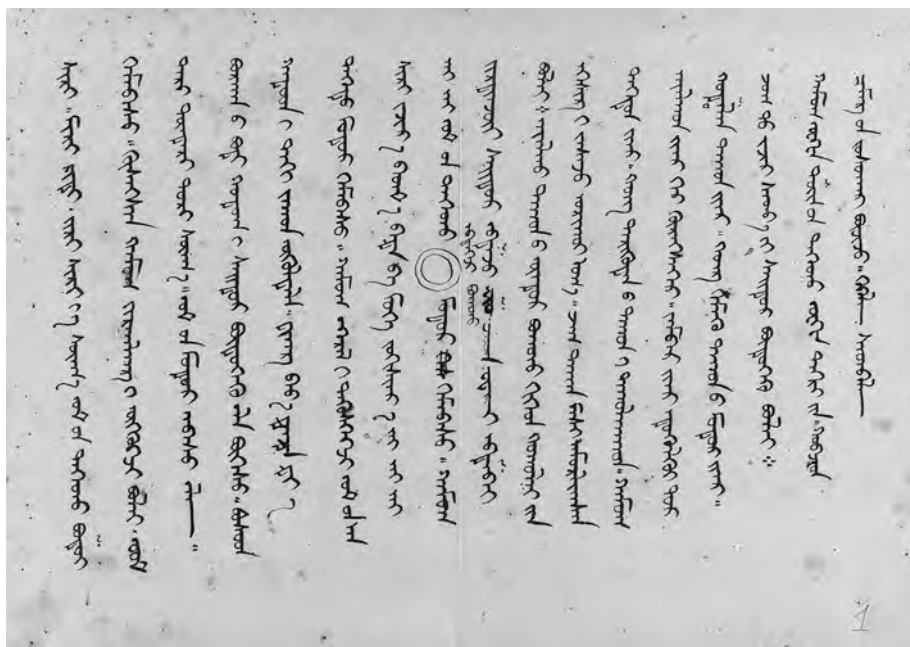
in which they were acquired by the Oirats. It can only be assumed that JGF and JBF1 were brought to Dzungaria from South Mongolia after the fall of Ligdan Khan in 1634 and the surrender of the Chakhar to the Manchu. These turbulent historical circumstances, as well as the fact that all the surviving folios of JGF come exclusively from the first volumes of different Kanjur sections, make one question whether this “golden” manuscript was transported to Dzungaria as a complete Kanjur set. JBF2 is an apograph of JBF1 copied in Dzungaria, which suggests that JBF1 was a complete Kanjur that could be used for producing a full copy. It is not clear whether the copying of JBF2 was carried through or interrupted by the circumstances that led to the desolation of Ablaikit.

In the 18th c., fragments of these and other manuscripts were discovered in abandoned temples by visitors from the West, and over 15 hundred folios found their ways to multiple private and state collections in Russia and Europe. The first fragments were brought to Europe in the 1720s, which made them the first Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts to reach this part of the world. According to Alexander Zorin, the initial discoveries were made in 1717 in the temple known as Sem Palat (Oir. *darxan corjiyin keyid*), and the folios of JGF could be among them (I consider the provenance of JGF unclear). Most of the findings (around 1,500 fragments) were brought to St. Petersburg from Ablaikit by the Second Kamchatka (Great Northern) Expedition in 1734, and currently belong to the collection of IOM, RAS. Several dozens of fragments of the same manuscripts are kept in a number of Russian and European collections. In total, the findings from the temples on the Irtysh accounted for today include over 263 fragments of two Tibetan manuscripts (the Kanjur and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*), two folios from the Mongolian translation of the collected works of Panchen Lama IV, and over 1,330 fragments of the three Mongolian Kanjurs that this publication deals with. The number of newly identified fragments keeps growing.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> In the past decade, a considerable number of academic publications have dealt with the complex history of these manuscripts and the legacy of the temples they originate from. On the history of Ablaikit, see BAIPAKOV et al. 2019; TSYREMPILOV 2020. The identification of Tibetan manuscripts discovered in Dzungaria was carried out by Alexander Zorin, whose multiple works on the subject elaborate on the hypothesis of Sem Palat being the initial place of discovery of part of the manuscripts (first proposed in ZORIN 2015). Presently, the research on this topic is carried on by a number of scholars worldwide, and new data is uncovered every year. The latest publications include *Tibetologija* 2021: 14–266; *Oiraty i Tibet* 2023: 22–286; *Tibet and the Oirats* 2024: 13–217. On the two folios from the works of Panchen Lama IV from Ablaikit see SIZOVA 2022.

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Pl. 2.

F. 1. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph: JGF, Tantra, vol. ka, *Śrī-sarvabuddhasama-yoga-dākinījāla-saṃbara-nāma-uttaratantra*.

F 450 contains copies of two folios of JGF (ff. 1–3), one folio of JBF1 (ff. 4–5) and one folio of JBF2 (ff. 6–7). To follow is their detailed identification.

**F. 1** (Pl. 2) is a copy of the widely known fragment of JGF preserved at the Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel (shelfmark: Cod. Guelf. 9 Extrav). The Wolfenbüttel fragment (hereafter WF) became known as “the first Mongolian manuscript in Germany” thanks to the work of Walther Heissig who published it in 1979.<sup>12</sup> Later its text was identified by Kirill Alekseev as the *Śrī-sarvabuddhasama-yoga-dākinījāla-saṃbara-nāma-uttaratantra*.<sup>13</sup> WF is but a half of the recto side of the original folio of the Mongolian Kanjur: it was purposefully trimmed and glued to a folio of a Tibetan manuscript (the Tibetan Kanjur discovered in Ablaikit), so that the two fragments form a

<sup>12</sup> HEISSIG 1979.

<sup>13</sup> ALEKSEEV et al. 2015: 69–70. The text belongs to the Tantra section of the Mongolian Kanjur. See KAS'IANENKO 1993: No. 7.

single item. Presumably, the manuscripts underwent these manipulations in the 18th c. when they were passed to European collections as Oriental curiosities.

F. 1 has no note in the margin to comment on the appearance of its anti-graph, which, along with the size and watermarks on the paper, makes it different from the other folios of F 450. The copy recreates the decorative circle in the middle (drawn using ink, not a graphite pencil, as on ff. 2–3) and follows the arrangement of lines of the antigraph. However, its text is one line shorter than the original (17 lines instead of 18) due to the error committed by the copyist: the presence of the same word (*tegüskegči*) in lines 6 and 7 resulted in confusion (line 6 of f. 1 combines the beginning of line 7 and the end of line 6 of the antigraph).

There can be little doubt that when the text was copied the Mongolian and Tibetan parts of the original folios had already been joined, because the copy reflects the illegibility of several words in line 9 (line 10 of the original folio): this damage comes from a crease in the middle of WF which appeared as a result of folding the paper after its two sides were glued together (it is visible on both sides). It has to be noted that the person who worked with the text was either not interested in the Tibetan fragment, or kept its copy elsewhere. One detail reveals a change in the state of the original folio: at present there is a hole that covers the second syllable of the first word in line 1 (Mong. *siri*) and the following punctuation (the double dots, Mong. *dabqur čeg*). The presence of these elements in the copy suggests that the paper was intact at the time when the text was copied.

The handwriting demonstrates no proficiency in Mongolian penmanship, but rather an endeavour to accurately capture the smallest details. The copyist did not succeed in rendering the elegance of the original handwriting, but managed to mindfully convey certain features of its ductus, including such characteristic traits of JGF as the form of the letter *d* with its lower line unconnected to the axis (see the word *ridi* in line 1), the hanging “tails” (see the words *kakala sadbala* in line 17), etc. One of the source’s archaic features confused the copyist: misled by the spelling of the syllable *ki* as *qi*, he rendered it as *ai* (see lines 7–8). As for the illegible words, readings are suggested for some of them, denoted with question marks (see lines 1, 9). In two cases, the suggested readings are correct (line 9: *ebdegči*; line 14: *qotola*). In two other cases, incorrect readings are suggested based on the words that occur in other lines of the fragment (line 9: *boyono*, *ebdebei*). The words that the copyist was unsure of are denoted with question marks as well: *qotola*

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(line 14), which he misread as *qotala*, but justly corrected, and *tüis* (line 16) — an erroneous reading of *mgri*.

The abovementioned qualities of the copy show that it was produced out of scholarly interest, with an emphasis on rendering the content of the manuscript, its ductus and orthography. Although not free from mistakes, the copy correctly conveys most of the text of WF. Presuming that ff. 2–7 of F 450 were copied by the same person, they could safely be used to identify their antigraphs.

### **Ff. 2 and 3 (Pl. 3, 4).**

Antigraph: JGF, Vinaya section, vol. *ka*, f. 18 (*recto* and *verso*).

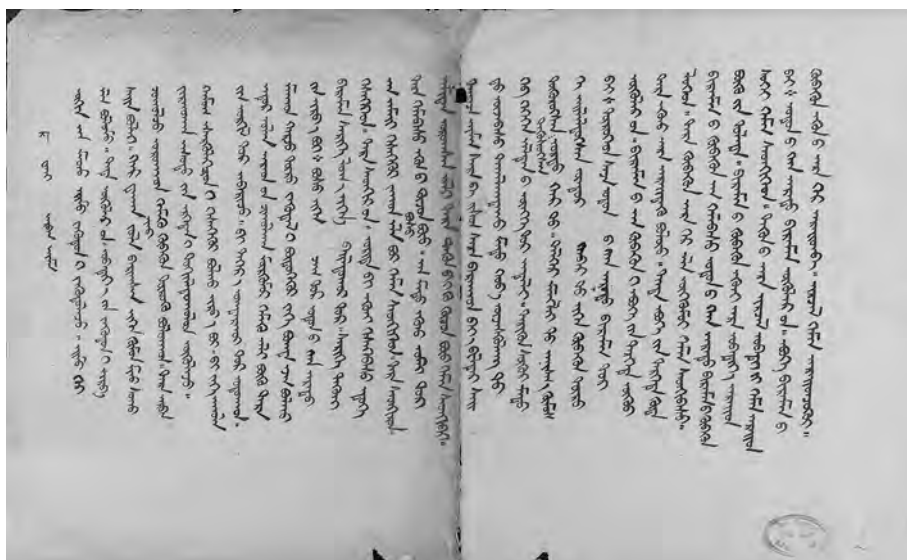
Text: *Vinayavastu* (Tib. *dul ba gzhi*; Mong. *nomuyadqaqui sitügen*), Chapter 1, translated into Mongolian by *Ünüküi Bilig-tü Dai Güši*.<sup>14</sup>

Ff. 2 and 3 contain the full text of a previously undescribed folio of JGF. The current location of the antigraph is unknown. It has been identified as JGF based on a combination of several minor details, primarily, the descriptions jotted in the upper margins of both folios: *Schwarzes Papier mit Goldschrift recto* (f. 3) and *verso* (f. 4). The number of lines per page (28–29) and the presence of two decorative circles on each side correspond to the appearance of JGF as well. Finally, the copies convey the same features of ductus as f. 1, as well as some of the archaic orthography characteristic of JGF, such as the letter *d* in its medial form (loop and short tooth) written before vowels (e.g., f. 3, line 1: *metü*).<sup>15</sup> All the surviving folios of JGF come from the first (*ka*) volumes of different sections of the Kanjur, and this fragment is no exception. Four other folios from the same volume (and the same text) have been identified among the surviving fragments of JGF (preserved at the University of Glasgow and IOM, RAS).<sup>16</sup> A collation with the corresponding fragment of PK has shown few variant readings that mostly come down to differences in orthography and word forms, which allowed to identify the text as belonging to the same translation (see full text collation below).

<sup>14</sup> KASYANENKO 1993: 183 (No 599(1). Cf. PK, Vinaya, vol. *ka*, f. 6r. A translation of this fragment (based on the Tibetan Derge Kanjur) is published on the website of the “84000” Project (<https://read.84000.co>). See The Kangyur / Discipline / Chapters on Monastic Discipline / The Chapter on Going Forth, sections 1.-136 — 1.-143: <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh1-1.html#UT22084-001-001-section-1> (last accessed August 24, 2024).

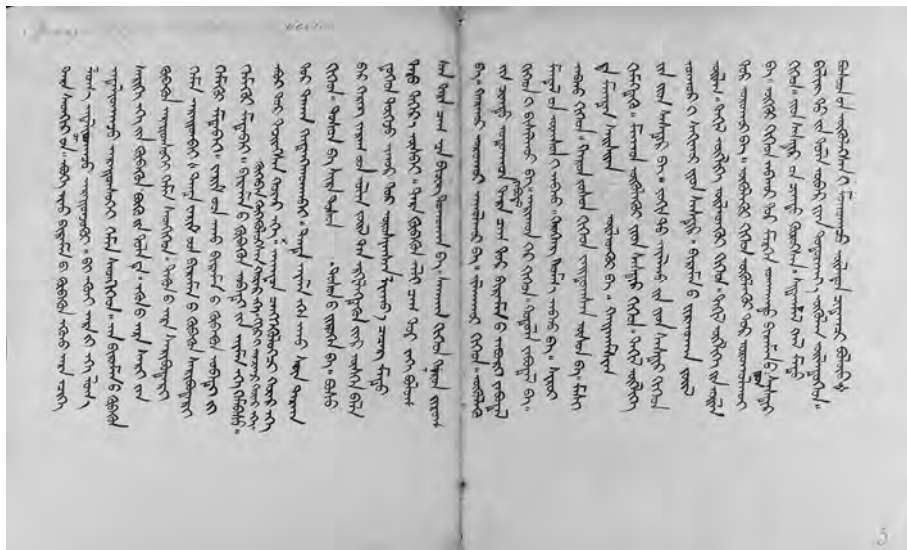
<sup>15</sup> The characteristic orthography of JGF is described in ALEKSEEV 2019: 11–12.

<sup>16</sup> ALEKSEEV 2019: 16.



Pl. 3.

F. 2. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph:  
JGF, Vinaya, vol. ka, f. 18r, Vinayavastu, Chapter 1.



Pl. 4.

F. 3. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph:  
JGF, Vinaya, vol. ka, f. 18v, Vinayavastu, Chapter 1.

The copy contains few corrections and no question marks, suggesting that the antigraph was fairly well-preserved. The nature of the corrections varies: some of them were made by the copyist to rectify his own errors, others were copied from the antigraph. The former include *tegün-i*, *neretü* (f. 2, lines 15, 21), *adalidqaǰu*, *yarun* (f. 3, lines 2, 15). These corrections are executed in the same way as one can observe on f. 1, i.e. by crossing out the false letters and writing in the correct ones if needed (a manner uncommon for 17th c. Mongolian manuscripts) and originate from confusing the letters that look similar to the eye. One case, on the other hand, displays the traditional Mongolian style of filling in the missing words (the insertion between lines 8 and 9 on f. 3): the words are written in on the left of the line they belong to, and the exact place of insertion is marked with a cross (×). One can positively attribute this correction to the 17th c. scribe. In several cases, the nature of the corrections remains under question: the words *inu*, *busu*, *tegüsügen* (f. 2, lines 4, 14, 19), *yabudal*, *vid* (f. 3, lines 18, 27) could have been inserted by either the copyist or the scribe.

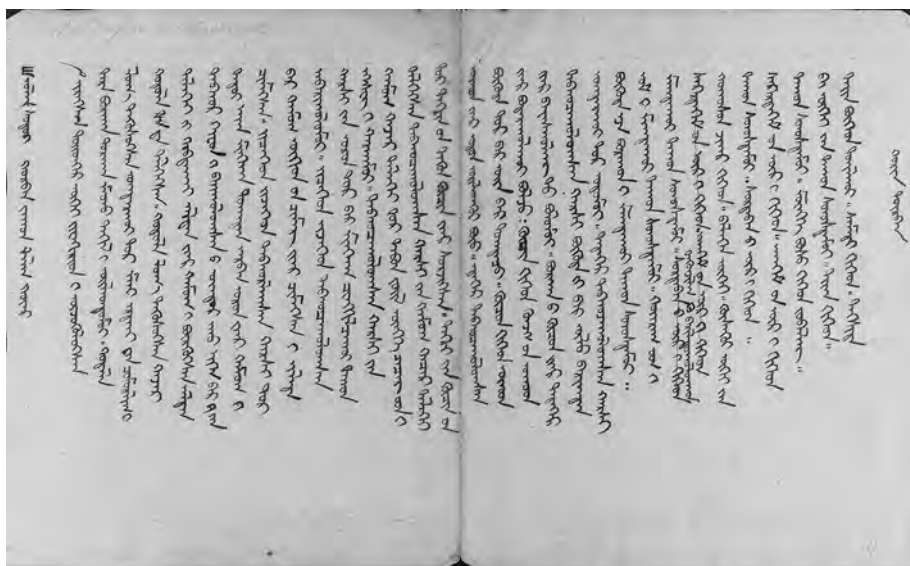
The fragment also contains four uncorrected mistakes. One of these was committed by the copyist who misread the word *vinai* (Vinaya — the name of the Kanjur section written in the left margin of the original folio) as *dani*, which suggests that he was not aware that the text belonged to the Kanjur. The other three mistakes could occur in either the copy or the antigraph: *ügüü* instead of *ögčü* (f. 2, line 22), *niyur* instead of *naγur* and *onqor* instead of *iγayur* (f. 3, lines 13, 24).

#### **Ff. 4 and 5 (Pl. 5, 6).**

Antigraph: JBF1, Sutra section, vol. *ja*, f. 372 (*recto* and *verso*).

Text: *Niṣṭhāgatabhagavajjñāna-vaipulya-sūtra-ratnānanta* (Tib. 'phags pa bcom ldan 'das kyi ye shes rgyas pa'i mdo sde rin po che mtha' yas pa mthar phyin pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo; Mong. *qutuγ-tu ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-u belge bilig delgeregsen sudur erdeni-yi kijayar-a kürügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur*), Chapter 3, translated into Mongolian by *Güsi Nangsu*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> KASYANENKO 1993: 204, No. 635(1). Cf. PK, Sutra, vol. *ja*, ff. 76v–77r. A translation of this fragment (based on the Tibetan Derge Kanjur) is published on the website of the “84000” Project (<https://read.84000.co>). See The Kangyur / Discourses / General Sūtra Section / The Precious Discourse on the Blessed One’s Extensive Wisdom That Leads to Infinite Certainty, sections 3.582–3.583: <https://read.84000.co/translation/toh99.html#UT22084-047-001-section-3> (last accessed August 25, 2024).



Pl. 5.

F. 4. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph: JBF1, Tantra, vol. *ja*, f. 372r, *Niṣṭhāgatabhagavajjñāna-vaipulya-sūtra-ratnānanta*, Chapter 3.



Pl. 6.

F. 5. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph: JBF1, Tantra, vol. *ja*, f. 372v, *Niṣṭhāgatabhagavajjñāna-vaipulya-sūtra-ratnānanta*, Chapter 3.

Ff. 4 and 5 contain the full text of a previously undescribed folio of JBF1. The current location of the antigraph is unknown. The pencil notes in the upper margins describe it as written on “white paper with a frame” (Germ. *Weisses Papier mit Rand*), which corresponds to the appearance of most folios of JBF1 (as well as many other Mongolian manuscripts). So does the number of lines per page (28–31). One particular detail, however, helps to identify it as JBF1: the number 24 (Mong. *qorin dörben*) written boldly in the middle of the right margin. This number is part of the working foliation (draft numeration of folios put there by the scribes in the process of their work), and this particular way of marking folios (i.e., writing the numbers in the Mongolian language openly in the right margin) prevails in JBF1 (the scribes of JBF2 marked their folios more discreetly). Among the surviving fragments of JBF1, there is at least one folio from the same volume (preserved at IOM, RAS).<sup>18</sup>

A collation with the corresponding fragment of PK has revealed few variant readings that allow to attribute it to the same translation (see full text collation below). Some of these variant readings probably emerged as a result of the copyist’s inaccuracy: e.g., *ber-i* instead of *ber-e*, *uyin* instead of *unin* (f. 4, lines 6, 17), *oyun-u* instead of *oron-u*, *silüggleü* instead of *silügglejü* (f. 5, lines 4, 25).

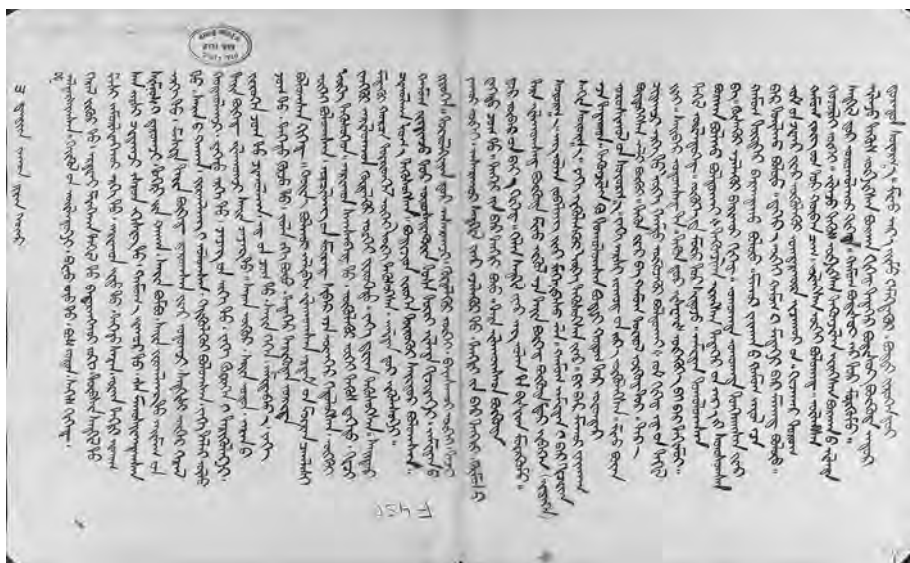
The copy contains four corrections, two of which can be attributed to the copyist (f. 4, lines 4, 24–25), as in both cases the mistakes are corrected by crossing out the erroneous elements of text. In lines 24–25, the copyist committed the mistake of homeoarchy, but, unlike the error on f. 1, did not leave it unnoticed. On f. 5, there is a correction that was copied from the antigraph: the word *tedeger* is marked with two strokes on the right (see Pl. 6) — a traditional way of “crossing out” falsely written words in Mongolian manuscripts. The nature of the insertion on f. 5, line 7, remains under question.

On f. 4, there is a slight and minute pencil note written in the upper margin right above line 17 — an attempt to interpret the reading of the first word of this line (*önöd*) in Latin transcription: *nogod? öniüd?*. The manner of writing the Latin letter *d* is different from the one in the German pencil notes in the upper margins, which could mean that this note was left by another scholar who studied the copy later and questioned the spelling. However, this difference could also be explained by the fact that the German inscriptions were jotted down in a quicker cursive, while this one is written rather neatly.

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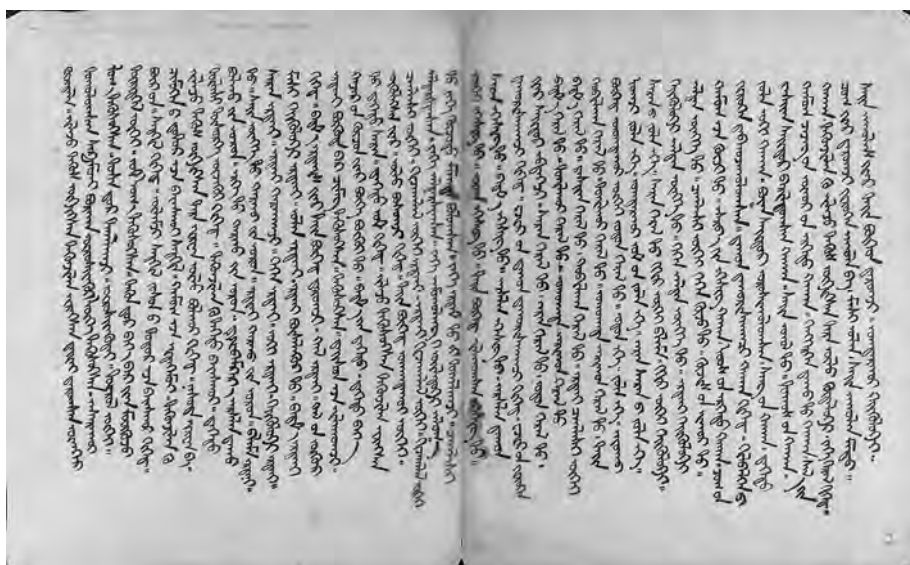
<sup>18</sup> IAMPOL'SKAIA 2015: 54.





Pl. 7.

F. 6. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph:  
JBF2, Tantra, vol. ya, f. 162r, *Ārya-mahāpariṇāmarājāsamantraka*.



Pl. 8.

F. 7. F 450, Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Manuscript Department. Antigraph:  
JBF2, Tantra, vol. ya, f. 162v, *Ārya-mahāpariṇāmarājāsamantraka*.

**Ff. 6 and 7 (Pl. 7, 8).**

Antigraph: JBF2, Tantra section, vol. *ya*, f. 162 (*recto* and *verso*).

Text: *Ārya-mahāpariṇāmarājasamantraka* (Tib. *'phags pa yongs su bsngo ba'i rgyal po chen po sngags dang bcas pa*; Mong. *qutuy-tu oyoyata irügel-iün yeke qayan tarni-luy-a nigen-e*), anonymous translation.<sup>19</sup>


Ff. 6 and 7 contain the full text of a previously undescribed folio of JBF2. The current location of the antigraph is unknown. Its identification is based on several details. The German inscriptions in the upper margins refer to the original folio as “white paper with red borders” (*Weisses Papier mit rothen Leisten*), where the word *Leisten* ‘slats’ is used to describe the specific form of text frame found on many folios of JBF2: double vertical lines that mark out the left and right margins (common in Oirat manuscripts), as opposed to the rectangular frame in JBF1 (referred to in the pencil notes as *Rand* ‘border’). These lines could be drawn in either black or red ink. The collection of IOM, RAS preserves 7 other folios of JBF2, volume *ya* of the Tantra section, and six of them have this type of border lines drawn using red ink (one folio has no border at all).<sup>20</sup> JBF2 is a manuscript of a larger format, with longer lines, the number of which varies from 30 to 40 per page. On the other surviving folios of Tantra, volume *ya*, the average number of lines per page is 39, which is close to what one sees on ff. 6 and 7 of F 450 (40 and 41 lines). The copy also recreates a specific type of *virga* (the sign that marks the beginning of text on each folio, see Pl. 7) that is used on other surviving folios from the same volume of JBF2.

The most significant detail, however, has been preserved thanks to the meticulous work of the copyist who managed to render certain characteristic traits of the ductus of JBF2. Written down in Dzungaria, JBF2 features a specific Oirat handwriting style characterized by a recognizable slant (oblique, rather than horizontal transverse lines). The scribes who created this manuscript had obviously been used to writing in Clear Script (Oir. *todo bičiq*, the Oirat alphabet created in 1648), and incorporated some of its elements into the Mongolian text.<sup>21</sup> As has been stated above, the German copyist was not skilled in Mongolian penmanship well enough to render the aesthetic nuances of the handwriting, but he did pay attention to the ductus and managed to capture two Oirat elements of the antigraph. First of all, the

<sup>19</sup> KASYANENKO 1993: 126, No. 478(65). Cf. PK, Tantra, vol. *ya*, f. 76r.

<sup>20</sup> IAMPOL'SKAIA 2015: 56.

<sup>21</sup> This feature of JBF2 (Ms2) was first noted by Gyorgy Kara and is discussed in detail in YAMPOLSKAYA 2022: 78–81.

letter *i* written with a “notch” in the middle (as opposed to the “long tooth” in Classic Mongolian) — this letter, borrowed from Clear Script, occurs practically universally on ff. 6–7 (see f. 6, line 1: *geyigül-ün üiledugči*, etc.). The second element of *todo bičiq* occurs only once on f. 7, line 2 in the word *saky<sup>a</sup>muni*, where the syllable *ya* is rendered with the *yaliγ* sign  used specifically in Clear Script.<sup>22</sup>

Based on a collation with the corresponding fragment of PK, the text on ff. 6–7 can be attributed to the same translation (see full text collation below). The copy contains three corrections, all of which were made by the copyist. In two cases, he crossed out the superfluous element (long horizontal “tail”) that he had erroneously attached to the final letter *d* in the words *kiged* (f. 6, line 39) and *mayad* (f. 7, line 20). The third corrected mistake (f. 7, line 25) is yet another case of homeoarchy. On f. 6, end of line 23, there is an insertion: the word *ibegen* ‘protect’ (Converbium Modale) is followed by the word *idegen* ‘food’ enclosed in parentheses. As signs similar to parentheses were not used in 17th c. Mongolian manuscripts, this insertion was probably made by the copyist in an attempt to interpret the meaning of the word.

## Concluding remarks

The collation of f. 1 with its antigraph (WF), combined with the observations made while studying ff. 2–7, characterize the work of the 19th c. copyist as a relatively reliable text source. The presence of mistakes compels one to question the details, including the nuances of spelling and the exact wording, when reconstructing the texts of the missing antigraphs. That said, the copies are accurate enough to safely identify the sources, attribute the texts and translations, allowing to use F 450 as a valid source in the study of the structure and content of the Kanjur manuscripts that the original folios belonged to.

According to the inscription on the cover of F 450, the folder contained copies of five manuscript folios from three different libraries. F. 1 was copied in Wolfenbüttel, where its antigraph is still preserved. Ff. 2–7 must represent the three fragments from Dresden: it is likely that they were copied at the same time and place, as they are written on the same kind of paper (the paper of f. 1 is different), and labeled in the same manner (pencil notes).

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<sup>22</sup> This element is discussed in YAMPOLSKAYA 2022: 83.

Therefore, the copy of one more fragment is missing, and that has to be the fragment preserved in Weimar.

All the Mongolian manuscripts preserved at the Saxon State and University Library in Dresden today were described by Walther Heissig.<sup>23</sup> No similar Kanjur fragments are listed among them, and it is possible that the materials sought for have not survived World War II. The Weimar fragment remains a mystery for now: not only do we not know which manuscript it was copied from (one can only assume that it was one of the Dzungar Kanjurs), the library in which its antigraph was preserved is not named either.<sup>24</sup>

## Transliteration

Variant readings are given in the footnotes. The text of f. 1 is collated with its antigraph (WF), the text of ff. 2–7 — with the corresponding fragments of the Kanjur manuscript preserved at St. Petersburg State University Library (PK). The multiple differences in punctuation between ff. 2–7 and PK are not listed here, being of secondary significance for text identification.

### F 450, f. 1.<sup>25</sup>

/1/ siri:<sup>26</sup> miri riti: yiri<sup>27</sup> siri-y-a suvaq-a nom-un degedü bodoi<sup>28</sup> /2/ kemebesü: küseksen qamuγ jiryalang-i öggügči bolai.<sup>29</sup> oom /3/ tari tüntari turi suvaq-a: nom-un mudur abasu ele: /4/ burqan-u bodi qutuy-i sayitur bütügekü ele bügesü: busud /5/ qatud-i taki yayun ügületele: dvang<sup>30</sup> bau-a tata ty-a<sup>31</sup> /6/ /degedü mudur kemebesü: qamuγ egerel-i tegüskegči nom-un ene<sup>32</sup> /7/ siri včir-a badm-a bata ba muka yogisvar-a /ai ai ai /8/ ai ai<sup>33</sup> nom-

<sup>23</sup> HEISSIG 1961: 490.

<sup>24</sup> Mongolian manuscripts preserved at libraries in Weimar have not been listed in catalogues.

<sup>25</sup> For the collation of WF and PK see ALEKSEEV et al. 2015: 70–72.

<sup>26</sup> WF: sir(\*i)

<sup>27</sup> WF: niri

<sup>28</sup> WF: (\*mu)dur

<sup>29</sup> WF: bolai:

<sup>30</sup> WF: drang

<sup>31</sup> WF: tr-a

<sup>32</sup> WF: dr-a ta tr-a/: qamuγ бүкү egerel-i tegüskegči nom-un ene /7/ degedü mudur kemebesü: qamuγ egerel-i tegüskegči bolai::

<sup>33</sup> WF: qi qi qi /9/ qi qi

un degedü mudur {kes} kemebesü: qamuγ /9/ yirtinčüyi<sup>34</sup> sayitur /ebdejü?  
 <ebdegči> (...) ? <boyono> č(...)n od(...)i ebdebei<sup>35</sup> /10/ bolai:: ayalγu  
 dayun-u öndör boyono<sup>36</sup> kiged qoγolai-yin /11/ egesig-i ĵasaĵu uriqiu-luy-a:  
 čay-tayan masi amurliγsan /12/ degedüs-iyer: qung terigüten-ü dayun-i  
 dayulayad: qamuγ /13/ ayalγus-iyar ker küregseger<sup>37</sup>: yambar-iyar  
 edügülküi-tür /14/ qota<o>la<sup>38</sup> dayun-iyar: qung kemekü dayun-u mudur-iyar:  
 /15/ čoy-tu včir satu-a-yi sayitur bütügekü bolai:: /16/ qamuγ ökin tüis<sup>38</sup>-ün  
 degedü ökin tngri-yin: qubč{i}ad /17/ čimeg-ün yosuγar büĵĵü: kakala  
 sadbala

### F 450, f. 2<sup>39</sup>

/upper margin/ *Schwarzes Papier mit Goldschrift recto*

/left margin/ *ka*<sup>40</sup> dani (= vinai) arban naiman

/1/ ökin ene metü eyimü ĵegüdün-i ĵegüdüleĵü: eyimü<sup>41</sup> ker /2/ ele  
 bolumui: tede ügüler-ün: ubadiy-a-yin ĵegüdün-i iru-a /3/ sayin bolai: ĵar-  
 dayan<sup>42</sup> ĵula bariγsan nigen kümün minü suγu /4/ čoyulĵu oroγad<sup>43</sup> kemekü  
 <inu> köbegün törökü boluyad: tere arban /5/ ĵirγuyan nasutu-yin erketen-i  
 tokiyalduyulun ügüleĵü: /6/ qamuγ esergülegčid-i /kesegeküi bolqu<sup>44</sup> iru-a  
 bui: bi yeke ayula/7/-yin orgil-tur abariĵu: bi deger-e<sup>45</sup> oγtaryui-tur oduγad:  
 /8/ nadur olan arad-un čiyulγan mörgümüi kemekü ali bükü tere /9/ mayad  
 ĵarču törö ĵegüdel-i bütügeküi<sup>46</sup> yeke boyda eĵen bolqu/10/-yin iru-a bui::  
 busu nigen čay-tur odon-u qan neretü /11/ biraman sarika-luy-a nigen-e  
 bayilduqui-tur: sarika tegüni /12/ kesegeged: tere sedkir-ün: urida bi egüni  
 kesegebesü edüge /13/ ene namayi kesegeküi yayun ele bui kemen sedkiged:  
 tere sedkirün<sup>47</sup>: /14/ tere kemebesü egün-ü<sup>48</sup> küčün <busu> buyu: ene metü

<sup>34</sup> WF: yirtinčüs-i

<sup>35</sup> WF: ebdegči (\*buyu: nom-un mudur-i medeküi)

<sup>36</sup> WF: boyoni

<sup>37</sup> WF: küsegseger

<sup>38</sup> WF: tngris

<sup>39</sup> Corresponds to PK, Vinaya, vol. *ka*, f. 6, lines 4–18.

<sup>40</sup> Tibetan letter.

<sup>41</sup> PK: emü

<sup>42</sup> PK: ĵar-tayan

<sup>43</sup> PK: oroqun (sic)

<sup>44</sup> PK: kesegegči bolqui

<sup>45</sup> PK: degere

<sup>46</sup> PK: bütügegči

<sup>47</sup> PK: sedkir-ün

<sup>48</sup> PK: egünü

egünü umai-tur /15/ amitan oroysan ali tere tegün{-ü}-i kü küçün buyu kemen sedkibei: /16/ tendeçe naiman sara ba yisün sara barayad bey-e bilder<sup>49</sup> sayi/17/-du üjebesü tayalaydaqu metü you-a üjesküleng-tü /18/ keb gegegen altan-u öngge-tür adalı: /terigün sükür/<sup>50</sup> metü /19/ /dügürügsen <tegüsügsen><sup>51</sup> urtu yar-tu: delger manglai-tu anisγ-a kümüs/20/-ke neyileldügsen öndör qabar-tu nigen köbegün törö/21/bei:: töröged saça odon-u qan ner{ü}<e>tü biraman-tur /22/ ügüler-ün<sup>52</sup>: biraman-u ene köbegün-i ebüge-yin dergede ügüü<sup>53</sup> /23/ tere /egünü nere nereyidekü/<sup>54</sup> boluyu: tende ebüge-yin dergede köde/24/lüged: tere /köbegün nere/<sup>55</sup> ker ele öggümüi kemen sedkibesü: /25/ biraman-u köbegün ene kemebesü odon-u qan neretü biraman-u köbegün /26/ bükü-yin tulada: biraman-u köbegün /egüni nere ubadiy-a/<sup>56</sup> nereyid/27/sügei kemen sedkiged: /tegün-ü nere/<sup>57</sup> irjal ubadi-yi<sup>58</sup> kemen nereyid/28/bei:: odon-u qan neretü biraman ügüler-ün<sup>59</sup>: ebüge biraman-u /29/ köbegün /egün-ü nere/<sup>60</sup> ker nereyidbe: irjal kemen nereyidjüküi:

#### F 450, f. 3<sup>61</sup>

/upper margin/ *Schwarzes Papier mit Goldschrift recto*

/1/ tere sedkir-ün: ebüge inu biraman-u köbegün egünü /nere eçige/2/-luy-a/<sup>62</sup> adalı{uu}<d>qaju nereyidjüküi: bi /egüni nere-yi eke-luy-a/<sup>63</sup> /3/ adalidqaju nereyidsügei kemen sedkiged: ene biraman-u köbegün /4/ sarika eke-yin köbegün bükü-yin /tula-da: egün-ü nere/<sup>64</sup> sari-yin /5/ köbegün nereyidsügei kemen sedkiged: /tegün-ü nere/<sup>65</sup> saribudari /6/ kemen

<sup>49</sup> PK: belder

<sup>50</sup> PK: terigün-tür šükür

<sup>51</sup> PK: tegüsügsen

<sup>52</sup> PK: ügülerün

<sup>53</sup> PK: ögçü.

<sup>54</sup> PK: egüni ner-e nereyidkü

<sup>55</sup> PK: köbegün-ü ner-e

<sup>56</sup> PK: egünü ner-e ubadini

<sup>57</sup> PK: tegünü ner-e

<sup>58</sup> PK: ubadini

<sup>59</sup> PK: ügülerün

<sup>60</sup> PK: egünü ner-e

<sup>61</sup> Corresponds to PK, Vinaya (Mong. *'dulba*), vol. *ka*, f. 6, lines 18–32.

<sup>62</sup> PK: ner-e eçige-lüge

<sup>63</sup> PK: egünü ner-e-yi eke-lüge

<sup>64</sup> PK: tulada: egüni ner-e

<sup>65</sup> PK: tegünü ner-e

nereyidbei:: tende ʃarim-ud biraman-u köbegün saribudari /7/ kemeküi<sup>66</sup>  
 medebei: ʃarim-ud anu biraman-u köbegün ubadi-yi<sup>67</sup> /8/ kemeküi medebei:  
 biraman-u köbegün ubadi-yin<sup>68</sup> naiman eke kemebesü: /9/ ebür-tür  
 teʃiyegsen qoyar eke: <kökeben kökegölügsen qoyar eke: kkir-i arçıyçı qoyar  
 eke:> nayadun čenggegölügči qoyar eke/10/-tür dayan qatangyadqabai:  
 tende<sup>69</sup> naiman ekes anu sün tarya /11/ kiged: toson ba sira<sup>70</sup> toson: toson-u  
 ʃirüken ba: busu /12/ ber kereg yaray-ud olan jüil-ten<sup>71</sup> erkilegdekün-iyer  
 /ösgeñ bele/13/düged tügejü<sup>72</sup> niyur<sup>73</sup>-tur orosiysan linqu-a čečeg metü /14/  
 daru deger-e ösbei: tere köbegün ali čay-tur yeke boluy/15/san tere<sup>74</sup> čay-ača  
 bičig toyoğan<sup>75</sup> ba: sanayan kiged ʃ{u}arun<sup>76</sup> ʃiruy /16/ ba: ʃarqui oroqui  
 ayulqui ba: ilyaqui kiged: ügülekü/17/-yin činadu oduyad tere čay-tur  
 biraman-u aburi yabudal /18/ kiged-i bisilqui <yabudal> ba: ariyun ker  
 kiged: qotala yabudal ba: /19/ mandal-un ünesün-i abču<sup>77</sup>: karakang qumq-a  
 abqu ba: sirui /20/ abqu<sup>78</sup> kiged: ʃarun<sup>79</sup> yosun kiged ʃayiduysan üsün ba:  
 masi/21/da maytan sayisiyan üiledküi ba: ʃayiqamsiʃ /22/ kemegdekü:  
 mayad ügülekü<sup>80</sup> vid sastir kiged: takil öglige/23/-yin vid sastir ba: ʃokis-tu  
 ayalu-yin vid sastir kiged /24/ onqor<sup>81</sup>-i sakiqui<sup>82</sup> vid sastir: biraman-u  
 ʃiryuyan jüil /25/ üiles: takil öglige üiledküi kiged: takil öglige-yin üile/26/  
 -tür oroqui ba: ügüleküi kiged ügüleküi-tür oroylulqui /27/ ba: ögküi kiged  
 abqui-tur mergen uqayantu biraman-u <vid> sastir /28/ kiged: vid sastir-un  
 činadu kürügsen: sitayamal ʃal metü /29/ bilig-tü-yin tula öber-iyen  
 todorqay-a ügülen üiledüged: /30/ busud-un ügülegsen-i moqoʃaju üiledün  
 čidayči boluyu::

<sup>66</sup> PK: kemeküi-yi

<sup>67</sup> PK: ubadini

<sup>68</sup> PK: ubadini

<sup>69</sup> PK: tede

<sup>70</sup> PK: sir-a

<sup>71</sup> PK: jüil-den

<sup>72</sup> PK: ösgeñ teʃigejü üiledüged:

<sup>73</sup> PK: nayur

<sup>74</sup> PK: terekü

<sup>75</sup> PK: toyan

<sup>76</sup> PK: ʃar-un

<sup>77</sup> PK: abču ba

<sup>78</sup> PK: abqui

<sup>79</sup> PK: ʃar-un

<sup>80</sup> PK: ügülekü

<sup>81</sup> PK: iʃayur

<sup>82</sup> PK: sakiku-yin

F 450, f. 4<sup>83</sup>/upper margin/ *Weisses Papier mit Rand recto*/left margin/ *ja*<sup>84</sup> olan sudur yurban jayun dalan qoyar

/1/ @ iregsen tüidker<sup>85</sup> ügei vivagirid<sup>86</sup>-i üjügölügsen /2/ tere burqan toryan metü takil-i üiledümüi<sup>87</sup>: qotala/3/-luy-a tegüsügsen oytaryui-tur mani erdeni-yin čomorliy-i /4/ qotola{-ta}-da<sup>88</sup> delgegsen: qotola-luy-a tegüsügsen yaǵar /5/ delekei-yi<sup>89</sup> qabtayai altan-iyar qamuy-i<sup>90</sup> bürkügsen altan /6/ dabqur keyid-i bayiyluysan-u öndör anu<sup>91</sup> nigen ber-i-yin<sup>92</sup> /7/ tedüi nayan mingyan toytan arban oron-iyar qamuy-i<sup>93</sup> /8/ čimegsen: niǵeged niǵeged dabqurlaysan /qarsi-tur /9/ ber<sup>94</sup> qamuy /nököd-ün čimeg-iyer čimegsen-i<sup>95</sup> ilede /10/ abariyulumui: niǵeged niǵeged dabqučayuluysan /11/ qarsi-yin oron-tur ber mingyan činggiljaqui<sup>96</sup> dayun /12/ egesig-i yaryamui: dabqučayuluysan qarsi-yin /13/ qamuy yaǵar delekei-tür /tabun jüil öngge<sup>97</sup> čečeg-üd-i /14/ delgegsen dabqučayuluysan qarsi-yin qamuy yaǵar delekei/15/-tür<sup>98</sup> tngri-ün tegüs küjis-iyer surčigsen: tngri-yin küjis-ün /16/ önöd-iyer<sup>99</sup> utus üiledküi buyu: edeger dabqučayuluysan /17/ bügüde-tür ber uyin<sup>100</sup> ber toytaju: küčün kiged önöd/18/-iyer budarayulqui bolju: küjis kiged küjis-ün önöd/19/-iyer bayasqulang-tu bolumui: burqan-u küčün-iyer tedeger /20/ dabqučayuluysan qarsi /bügüde-yi ber<sup>101</sup> ülü bariydan<sup>102</sup> /21/ oytaryui-tur odumui: tedeger dabqučayuluysan qarsi /22/ bügüde-eče burqad-i

<sup>83</sup> Corresponds to PK, Sutra (Mong. *eldeb*), vol. *ja*, ff. 76v, lines 29–44.

<sup>84</sup> Tibetan letter.

<sup>85</sup> PK: tüidker-i

<sup>86</sup> PK: viyagirid

<sup>87</sup> PK: üiledümüi

<sup>88</sup> PK: qotolada

<sup>89</sup> PK: delekei

<sup>90</sup> PK: qamuy-a

<sup>91</sup> PK: inu

<sup>92</sup> PK: ber-e-yin

<sup>93</sup> PK: qamuy-a

<sup>94</sup> PK: qarsi-tur

<sup>95</sup> PK: nököd-ün čimegsen-i

<sup>96</sup> PK: janggiljaqui

<sup>97</sup> PK: tabun öngge

<sup>98</sup> PK: delekei

<sup>99</sup> A note is written in the upper margin above the word *önöd* in Latin transcription: *nogod? önüd?*

<sup>100</sup> PK: unin

<sup>101</sup> PK: bügüde-yi

<sup>102</sup> PK: bariytun



maytaqui dayun sonosdamui: /23/ nom-i maytaqui dayun sonosdamui: quvaray-ud-i /24/ maytaqui dayun sonosdamui: {surtaban-u ür-e kiged /25/ sakardagam-un ür-e kiged: anagam-un ür-e kiged} <tegünçilen kü barilduyuluyad> /26/ qoyosun çinar kiged: beleges<sup>103</sup> ügei: küseküi ügei-yin /27/ dayun sonosdamui: surtaban-u ür-e kiged: /28/ sakardagam-un<sup>104</sup> ür-e 'kiged: anagam-un ür-e kiged /29/ dayun<sup>105</sup> sonosdamui: möngke busu kiged jöbalang: /30/ bi ügei-yin dayun sonosdamui: diyan 'kiged: /31/ teyin büged tonilqui: samadi kiged: tegside<sup>106</sup>

/right margin/ qorin dörben

#### **F 450, f. 5<sup>107</sup>**

/upper margin/ *Weisses Papier mit Rand verso*

/1/ orolduqui-tur mayad orosiqu-yin<sup>108</sup> dayun sonosdamui /2/ ridi qubilyan-u jüil-ün<sup>109</sup> dayun sonosdamui: tngri/3/-yin<sup>110</sup> nidün kiged: tngri-yin çikin-ü dayun kiged: /4/ sedkil-ün jüil-ün dayun uridu oyun-u<sup>111</sup> dayun /5/ 'sonosdaqui: türidkel-ün dayun sonosdamui: /6/ jarim-ud anu<sup>112</sup> tonilqui kiged nayiralduqu-yin dayun /7/ buyu aliba tedeger dabquçayuluysan qarsi tere <bügüde-eçe aldarsimui: tedeger / dabquçaysan qarsi> /8/ oytaryui-bar<sup>113</sup> odqu-yin 'emüne bas-a<sup>114</sup> küjis-ün /9/ usun-u qura<sup>115</sup> masida oroyad: üneker nögçigsen /10/ tngri-ner-ün çeçeg-ün 'qur-i orobai:<sup>116</sup> tere tegünçilen /11/ iregsen tüidker yivangirid<sup>117</sup> üjügülügsen tere burqan-u /12/ emüne<sup>118</sup> aju: 'tabun jüil tümen tabal-un tabun jüil /13/ çeçeg-iyer dügüigejü:<sup>119</sup> iledede saçubai: /14/ tedeger saçuysan 'bügüde ber<sup>120</sup> burqan-u küçün/15/-iyer yaajar-

<sup>103</sup> PK: belges

<sup>104</sup> PK: sakardagam-un

<sup>105</sup> PK: kiged anagam-un dayun

<sup>106</sup> PK: kiged tegsi-de

<sup>107</sup> Corresponds to PK, Sutra (Mong. *eldeb*), vol. ja, ff. 76v, line 44 — 77r, line 7.

<sup>108</sup> PK: yarqu-yin

<sup>109</sup> PK: jüil

<sup>110</sup> PK: tngri

<sup>111</sup> PK: oron-u

<sup>112</sup> PK: sonosdaqui: jarim-ud inu

<sup>113</sup> PK: oytaryui

<sup>114</sup> PK: emün-e basa

<sup>115</sup> PK: qur-a

<sup>116</sup> PK: qur-a masida oroyad: üneker nögçigsen tngri-ner-ün çeçeg-ün qur-a orobai:

<sup>117</sup> PK: vivagirid

<sup>118</sup> PK: emün-e

<sup>119</sup> PK: tabun tabil-un tabun jüil çeçeg dügürgejü

<sup>120</sup> PK: bügüde

tur ülü uqayad: {tedeger} /degere /16/ saçar-un<sup>121</sup> čomorliḡ delegeḡsen<sup>122</sup> bolbai: tendeče /17/ mayad aldarsiḡsan dayu-tu<sup>123</sup> /yeke sal-i /18/ modon metü tere: biraman ene metü /19/ ridi qubilyan brati qubilyan<sup>124</sup> edeger-i /20/ üjeḡ yambar bükü buyan-u ündüsün-ü /21/ küčün-i /olbasu tere metü buyan-u ündüsün-ü /22/ küčün-i oluḡsan-iyar: doloyan sal-i<sup>125</sup> modon-u /23/ tedüi /oytaryui-tur üleḡü abai: tere oytaryui/24/-tur odču<sup>126</sup> ilaḡu tegüs nögčigsen-tür /25/ tere silügletü<sup>127</sup> ilede maytar-un: bayatur sedkil/26/-tü kümün-ü arslan simnus-un küčün-i /27/ sayitur ebdegči nisvanis-un čiyulyan-i /28/ ebden odqui medegsen-iyer jiryalang-tu

**F 450, f. 6<sup>128</sup>**

/upper margin/ *Weisses Papier mit rothen Leisten recto*

/left margin/ *ya*<sup>129</sup> dandira ḡayun jiran qoyar

/1/ @ aldarsiḡsan: geyigül-ün üledügči. binu oyu-tu. bus odon. /sakas kiged. /2/ genel nigür-tü.<sup>130</sup> erdini<sup>131</sup> mingyan takil-tu badarangyui oḡi. töbsin sedkil-tü /3/ masi amurlingyui erke-tü<sup>132</sup>. ariyun nidü-tü<sup>133</sup>. degedü saran. ünen tngri niyuy/4/san arsi<sup>134</sup> čidayči esrua egesig-tü. qamuḡ-a niyur-tu. ese mayusiḡdayḡsan /5/ simnus-i daruyči. tngri-yin qayan. sayin bumbu. sayin jiryalang-tu ayimay-un /6/ erke-tü.<sup>135</sup> masida teyin büged daruḡsan-iyar odoḡči.<sup>136</sup> sedkisi ügei genel/7/-tü: saran-u qayan. jiryalang-i oluḡsan. geyigülküi boluḡsan. yeke dalai ülü<sup>137</sup> /8/ qodqolayči. degedü erke-tü.<sup>138</sup> čečeg-ün erke-tü.<sup>139</sup> yeke küregen-i terigülegči. /9/ teyin /büged ilayuyči

<sup>121</sup> PK: deger-e čečeg-ün

<sup>122</sup> PK: delegeḡsen

<sup>123</sup> PK: dayutu

<sup>124</sup> PK: yeke modon metü ene metü ridi qubilyan

<sup>125</sup> PK: olbasu: doloyan salm-a (sic)

<sup>126</sup> PK: oytaryui-tur odču

<sup>127</sup> PK: silügletü

<sup>128</sup> Corresponds to PK, Tantra (Mong. *dandir-a*), vol. *ya*, f. 76r, lines 4–28.

<sup>129</sup> Tibetan letter.

<sup>130</sup> PK: sakis kiged: genel-tü jigür-tü

<sup>131</sup> PK: erdeni

<sup>132</sup> PK: erketü

<sup>133</sup> PK: nidütü

<sup>134</sup> PK: marsi

<sup>135</sup> PK: erketü

<sup>136</sup> PK: odogči (sic)

<sup>137</sup> PK: olqu

<sup>138</sup> PK: erketü

<sup>139</sup> PK: erketü

sayin çeçeg-tü: saran<sup>140</sup> nökör. sayin odon. /naran-u /10/ jirüken çoy-tu  
 çiyulıyan. ed-ün çoy-tu. sayin gegen. amitabau-a. yeke /11/ çoy-tu. degedü  
 küçü-tü<sup>141</sup>. jula eke buyu. tedeger terigüten urida /12/ boluysan /kiged:  
 qoyin-a<sup>142</sup> bolqui aiba. ilayuyısan erdem-ün mören çaylası /13/ ügei boluysan.  
 orçilang-un möred sibar-aça üneker getülügsen. ögküi/14/-lüge tegüsüged:  
 ariyun sayıabad-tu. ügüleküi ügei tegüs degedü. kiçi/15/yenggüi arıluyad  
 ködelküi ügei jirüketü: yeke diyan tegüsügsen: sayitur /16/ medeküi qurça  
 türidkel ügei-lüge tegüsügsen: amitan-dur<sup>143</sup> nigülesügçi: /17/ çiyulıyan-luy-a  
 tegüsügsen: bodiçid jirüken töröküi sayitur boluysan: /18/ qamuı yırtınçü-tür  
 /örösiyeküyin tusa düri<sup>144</sup> ilede kiçiyegçi: amitan-u /19/ jirüken: /törölkiten-  
 dür asarayçı. ködelküi ügei. bayasqui ügei. taçi/20/yaqui ügei. asaraqui<sup>145</sup>  
 sedkil-iyer ejeleküi-tü. tngri-yin ber tngri<sup>146</sup>. kümün-ü /21/ degedü çoy-tu:<sup>147</sup>  
 tngri-yin ber tngri buyu: tere /ılayuyısad bögüde/22/-dür<sup>148</sup> öber-ün bey-e  
 kiged: kelen sedkil-iyer eng olan-ta<sup>149</sup> bisiren mörgümü: /23/ tere ilayuyısad  
 bögüde minü nigül-eçe teyin bögüde bögüde-dür<sup>150</sup> ibegen (idegen)<sup>151</sup> /24/ soy-  
 urq-a: eng olan jöbalang-iyar emgenibesu<sup>152</sup> ele: qamuı amitan-i ber kiçiyen<sup>153</sup>  
 /25/ sakın soyurq-a: yeke nigülesküi-lüge tegüsügsen-iyer: bi ber mayui  
 jayayan/26/-aça tataıad: tegünçilen kü toıoluyısan bodhi<sup>154</sup> qutuy-tur ödter /27/  
 orosiıul-un<sup>155</sup> soyurq-a: yeke arsi-nuyud-un ner-e ügülegsen: minü buyan /28/  
 bütügögsen<sup>156</sup> ali büküi: tegün-iyer ba<sup>157</sup> qamuı töröl-nügüd-tür: ter-e<sup>158</sup> /29/

<sup>140</sup> PK: bögüde sayin çeçeg-tü sayin

<sup>141</sup> PK: naran jirüken çoytu çiyulıyan: edün çoytu sayin gegen amindu-a yeke çoytu degedü küçütü

<sup>142</sup> PK: kiged yeke çoytu: degedü küçütü jula eke buyu: tedeger terigüten urida boluysan kiged: qoyına

<sup>143</sup> PK: amitan-tur

<sup>144</sup> PK: örösiyeküi-yin tusa-tur-i ilede kiçiyegçi

<sup>145</sup> PK: törölkiten-tür asarayçı ködelkü ügei bayasqui ügei taçiyaqui ügei asarayçı

<sup>146</sup> PK: tegüni

<sup>147</sup> PK: çoytu

<sup>148</sup> PK: ilayuyısan bögüde-tür

<sup>149</sup> PK: olan

<sup>150</sup> PK: bögüde-tür

<sup>151</sup> The word *idegen* is enclosed in parentheses by the copyist.

<sup>152</sup> PK: emgenibesü-e

<sup>153</sup> PK: masida kiçiyen

<sup>154</sup> PK: bodi

<sup>155</sup> PK: orosiıulun

<sup>156</sup> PK: bütügögsen

<sup>157</sup> PK: bi

<sup>158</sup> PK: tere

čidayči erke-tü<sup>159</sup>-lüge qamtu nököčeküi boltuyai:: nom kiged ed-ün takil/30/-iyar sayibar /oduysad-ta: tegün-dür<sup>160</sup> nisvanis ügegüy-e bi ber takimui: /31/ takil üiledüged: nöğüge-de mör-tür sitüjü: amitan toyluysan /32/ burqan bolqu boltuyai:: tegünčilen iregsen tedeger-ün ner-e-yi sonosuysan /33/ ba: küseküi ečeleküi bariqui kiged: oyooyata oyooyata tungyaysan-iyar /34/ qamuy tüidker baraydaqu boluyu: mayui jayayan-u qamuy ayul-ača /35/ ber tonilqu boluyu: deger-e ügei qamuy-i medegči ber mayad boluyu: /36/ nom-un činar-iyar /ügüleküi oytaryuyin<sup>161</sup> ijayur-un: kižayar toroy /37/ qamuy<sup>162</sup> жүг-үд-түр ғурбан чай: ülegsен ügei boluyad: ülegsен /38/ qočorli ügei: ilažu tegüs nöğčigsen tegünčilen iregsen burqan-u ilede /39/ sedkil-dür<sup>163</sup> oroγulqui kiged {e}: qamuy bodisung-nar-tur<sup>164</sup> mörgümü: /40/ ilažu tegüs nöğčigsen burqan kiged /tedeger bodisug<sup>165</sup> bügüde nadur /41/ duradun<sup>166</sup> soyurq-a: minü ner-e eyimü kemegdeküi: /bodhi žirüken-dür<sup>167</sup>

#### F 450, f. 7<sup>168</sup>

/upper margin/ *Weisses Papier mit rothen Leisten verso*

/1/ kürtele: ilažu tegüs nöğčigsen tegünčilen iregsen dayini daruysan üneger /2/ toyluysan saky<sup>a</sup>muni<sup>169</sup> burqan örösiyeküi-lüge tegüsügsen: asaraqui/3/-luy-a tegüsügsen: tusa-dur<sup>170</sup> tayalayči: örösiyekütei: töröl ügei: /4/ türidkel ügei<sup>171</sup>: nom-luy-a tegüsügsen: tegün-dür<sup>172</sup> bey-e-ber-iyen mörgüjü /5/ бүр-үн<sup>173</sup>: sedkil kiged: ülemji sedkil yosun-u dotor-ača bayasqui kiged: /6/ čimügen-ü<sup>174</sup> dotor-ača bayasqui sedkil: qamuy-ača itegemüi: tegünčilen kü /7/ ilažu tegüs nöğčigsen tere nirvan ülü bolqui kiged: nasuda

<sup>159</sup> PK: erketü

<sup>160</sup> PK: oduysad-da: tegün-tür

<sup>161</sup> PK: ügüleküi-yin <oytaryui-yin>

<sup>162</sup> PK: qamuy-a

<sup>163</sup> PK: sedkil-tür

<sup>164</sup> PK: bodisung-tur

<sup>165</sup> PK: qamuy tedeger bodisung

<sup>166</sup> PK: durad-un

<sup>167</sup> PK: bodi žirüken-tür

<sup>168</sup> Corresponds to PK, Tantra (Mong. *dandir-a*), vol. ya, f. 76r, lines 28–52.

<sup>169</sup> PK: sakyamuni

<sup>170</sup> PK: tusa-tur

<sup>171</sup> PK: örösiyeküi-tei türidkel ügei

<sup>172</sup> PK: tegün-tür

<sup>173</sup> PK: бүрүн

<sup>174</sup> PK: čimegen-ü

nirvan ba: /8/ tülesi tösürge üjeküi kiged: tegünçilen kü degedü bayasqui: degedü /9/ /bolqu-yin oron: erke-tü<sup>175</sup> yarqu-yin oron: dhibamkar-a arslan dayu/10/-tü<sup>176</sup>: sayin öngge-tü<sup>177</sup> yarqu-yin oron: erdini<sup>178</sup> yarqu-yin oron: blama<sup>179</sup> erdeni: /11/ saran erdeni: erdeni yaryayçi: gegen erdeni: /ogi erdeni: geyigülügçi erdeni:<sup>180</sup> /12/ masi geyigülügçi erdeni: olan erdeni: erdeni büselegür-tü: badm-a erdeni /13/ kiged: badm-a erdenis-iyer teyin büged daruyçi: yal erdeni: yal-un nökör /14/ erdeni bögüde-ber čimeg /tegüsügen: tegüsügen:<sup>181</sup> dayisun-ača ilayuyçi: /15/ yajar-un küčün-iyer büke büküi-tü: badm-a-yin degedü: degedü bey-e/16/-tü degedü saran: degedü nom kiged: ilaju tegüsügen<sup>182</sup> tegünçilen iregsen /17/ ügülegsen-iyer: ülü bosuyçi kiged: teyin büged uqaydaqui ügei: /18/ çaylasi ügei: kijayalal ügei erdeni: erdeni kijayalal ügei: /kijayalal ügei /19/ aldarsiysan<sup>183</sup>: yeke aldarsiysan: /yeke amuyulang-i<sup>184</sup> üiledügçi aluy-a/20/-tu yeke küčütü mayad{a} boluysan: yeke erdem-tü-yi toyalayçi:<sup>185</sup> çaylasi /21/ ügei egesig-tü: ünen egesig-tü: teyin büged ilayuyysan egesig-tü: /22/ saran egesig-tü: badm-a<sup>186</sup> egesig-tü: arslan egesig-tü:<sup>187</sup> arslan dayun /23/ dayurisqayçi kiged: včir-un<sup>188</sup> dayun dayurisqayçi kiged: včir-ün<sup>189</sup> jirüken/24/-iyer sayitur ebdegçi: saran gerel-tü. naran gerel-tü. odon gerel-tü. /25/ {badm-a gerel-tü: tonilqui gerel-tü: oyojata ariyun gerel-tü} /26/ badm-a gerel-tü: rasiyan gerel-tü. qubilyan gerel-tü: erdeni çaylasi ügei /27/ qubilyan gerel-tü: tonilqui<sup>190</sup> gerel-tü: oyojata ariyun gerel-tü. teyin /28/ büged onoydaqui ügei odon gerel-tü: odon eke: jula eke: ayuyu/29/luyçi jula eke: oytaryui nom-un jula eke: naran saran-u jula eke: /30/ /saran-u jula eke: saran gerel-tü kkir ügei blama:<sup>191</sup> kkir ügei

<sup>175</sup> PK: bolqu-ača oron erketü

<sup>176</sup> PK: dayutu

<sup>177</sup> PK: önggetü

<sup>178</sup> PK: erdeni

<sup>179</sup> PK: blam-a

<sup>180</sup> PK: geyigülügçi erdeni

<sup>181</sup> PK: tegüsügen:

<sup>182</sup> PK: tegüs nöğčigsen

<sup>183</sup> PK: kkir kijayalal ügei yartu kijayalal ügei aldarsiysan

<sup>184</sup> PK: yeke yeke amuyulang-yi

<sup>185</sup> PK: toylaqui

<sup>186</sup> PK: badma-yin

<sup>187</sup> PK: egesigtü-i

<sup>188</sup> PK: včirun

<sup>189</sup> PK: včirun

<sup>190</sup> PK: tatačlaqui

<sup>191</sup> PK: saran gerel-tü: kkir ügei blam-a

geyigülügçi: /31/ altan /öngge-tü: çaylasi ügei gegen kücü-tü:<sup>192</sup> küjis-ün niyur-tu: /32/ qamuγ-ača küji-tü: esru-a-yin<sup>193</sup> egesig qayan. luus-un erketü qayan: çoy-un /33/ jirüken dabquçayuluysan: /dayun dayurisqayçi/<sup>194</sup> qayan kiged: kilbelgen-ü /34/ jula ogi qayan: buyan sayitur orosiγuluysan. sang-un qayan. dededü /35/ rasiyan sayitur barilduysan qayan: /sayin onol-tu: toyos-un/<sup>195</sup> qayan: /36/ qamuγ çeçeg-ün /önör-ün erketü/<sup>196</sup> qayan: /kenggergen dayu-tu qayan. sal-a-yin/<sup>197</sup> /37/ qayan. tegünçilen kü ilaju tegüs nögçigsen tere ülü ködelügçi. yeke genel kiged: /38/ çoy-iyar daruγçi jirüken ayula ba. /masi olan. sayin ayulan/<sup>198</sup> metü: /39/ sayin ayulas-iyar teyin büged daruγçi: oytaryui geyigülügçi:

## Special Signs

- < > text written in as correction
- { } text crossed out by the scribe or copyist
- (\*) text reconstructed based on other sources
- (=) correct reading of a misspelled word
- ? question mark used by the copyist to denote controversial readings
- /1/ number of line in manuscript
- / / fragments of texts that contain variant readings
- @ virga (marks beginning of folio in manuscript)

## Abbreviations

- JBF1 the “black” Kanjur fragments from Dzungaria, Ms1
- JBF2 the “black” Kanjur fragments from Dzungaria, Ms2
- JGF the “golden” Kanjur fragments from Dzungaria
- PK the St. Petersburg Kanjur manuscript (St. Petersburg State University Library, Oriental Department, no shelfmark)
- WF the Kanjur fragment preserved at the Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel (Cod. Guelf. 9 Extrav)

<sup>192</sup> PK: önggetü: gegen altan önggetü: erdeni geyigülügçi: altan önggetü: çaylasi ügei gegen küçütü

<sup>193</sup> PK: esrua-yin

<sup>194</sup> PK: tere dayurisqaui

<sup>195</sup> PK: saran onol-tu toy-un

<sup>196</sup> PK: önörün erketei

<sup>197</sup> PK: kenggergen-ü dayutu qayan: sala-yin

<sup>198</sup> PK: yeke ayula masi ayula sayin ayula

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Xu Peng

**Amendments for the Edition  
of Tangut *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*  
Published in *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia***

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DOI: 10.55512/wmo642582

*Abstract:* Volumes from 15 to 20 of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* selectively represent the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* in Tangut language held by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The fundamental edition of the Collection certainly is not free from some invalidities, which became evident with the time. For the Tangut version of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, (1) some folios of different volumes were mistakenly spliced together; (2) the order of the folios of the same volumes were mixed up. The problem of identifying of the text was also aggravated by omissions made by the Tangut people, who copied the text of *Sūtra*. This paper suggests some new readings and identifications in the Tangut version of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.

*Key words:* Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia, Tangut documents, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

## Preface

Among the Tangut documents housed in Russia, the majority belongs to the Buddhist literature. Among these, the Tangut text of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* is notably the largest in volume, with over 1700 entries logged by Professor Evgenii Kychanov into his *Catalogue*.<sup>1</sup> Volumes 15 to 20 of the edition of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* for the first time represent the paginated folios of the *Sūtra*. This allowed the aca-

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<sup>1</sup> KYCHANOV 1999: 48–266.

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demics all over the world to have a full view on this profound text and have an idea about “the relationship between Buddhism in the Tangut state and the Buddhism on the North China Plain”.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, when the team of the compilers of the edition was working in St. Petersburg in the 1990s<sup>3</sup> because of the extensiveness of the material and hectic schedule of the editorial work, volumes of the published Tangut text of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* were not cross-referenced with the Chinese version. In this paper we try to correct some invalidities in the edition of the Tangut version of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* published in the *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia*.

### Some folios of different volumes were mistakenly spliced together

One of the problems with the Tangut version of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* published in *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* is the mistakenly done splicing of folios belonging to different parts (*juan*) of *Sūtra*, for example of part 41. There are two documents published in volume 15 of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia*: ИHB. № 2750 and ИHB. № 7731, mentioned in Professor Kychanov’s *Catalogue of Tangut Buddhist Monuments* (hereinafter — *Catalogue*).<sup>4</sup> The last three lines of ИHB. № 2750 are the folios following the beginning of ИHB. № 7731 do not belong to part 41. Subsequently, two questions arise: does the text of ИHB. № 7731 belongs to part 41? And for which part of *Sūtra* does the text, not belonging to part 41, pertain to?

ИHB. № 7731 contains the conclusion of part 41. Therefore, employing a method of cross-verifying is possible to determine the order of folios. Through this approach, we can swiftly confirm that 08.1<sup>5</sup> “this meaning to the translation indicates that from folios from 06.1 to 07.6 belong to part 68 of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, equivalent to folios from 12.6 (the third character) to 15.2 (the seventh character) in part 68 of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia*. The corresponding Chinese text begins with “The Dharma

<sup>2</sup> Zhongguo shaoshumingzu gujizongmutiyao Xixiajua, 24.

<sup>3</sup> *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian* (continuing edition, 1st vol. published in 1996).

<sup>4</sup> KYCHANOV1999: 137, 59.

<sup>5</sup> In this article we adopt the numbering method of Professor Han Xiaomang’s on construction of the Tangut Buddhist literature corpus, and encode each part of Buddhist scriptures folio by folio and line by line, such as 08.1 is representing the first line on the 8th folio.

realm's tranquility remains undispersed. Shāriputra! Even in the tranquility of different realms, there is no dispersion" 法雲地寂靜亦無散失。舍利子！異生地寂靜亦無散失<sup>6</sup> and extends to "Shāriputra! Even when the realm of the ear is distant, there is no dispersion. Whether it's the realm of sound, the consciousness of the ear, or the sensations arising from contact with sound through the ear, even when these are distant, there is no dispersion" 舍利子！耳界遠離亦無散失，聲界、耳識界及耳觸、耳觸為緣所生諸受遠離亦無散失。<sup>7</sup> In folios from 01.1 to 05.6, the prevalent terms in this section of the scripture are “𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦” and “𑖦𑖦𑖦𑖦”. Simultaneous locating of these terms in the database gives evidence that this section originates from part 35 “初分教誡教授品” of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. The corresponding Chinese text spans from “Venerable Sir! For all Bodhisattvas, whether their actions are distant or not distant, ultimately they cannot be grasped. Their nature is inherently non-existent” 世尊！一切菩薩摩訶薩行遠離不遠離，尚畢竟不可得，性非有故<sup>8</sup> to “Subhūti! Once again, what do you observe regarding what is said: Whether all Bodhisattvas have afflictions or are free from afflictions, does the mention of increase or decrease apply to Bodhisattvas” 善現！汝復觀何義言：即一切菩薩摩訶薩行若有煩惱若無煩惱增語非菩薩摩訶薩耶。<sup>9</sup> Volume 16 of *Heishu-icheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* contains ИHB. № 2167 and ИHB. № 130;<sup>10</sup> after combining both numbers, there are still incomplete parts. Consequently, the content of folios from 01.1 to 05.6 in ИHB. № 7731 serves as a suitable complementarity, rendering part 35 more comprehensive.

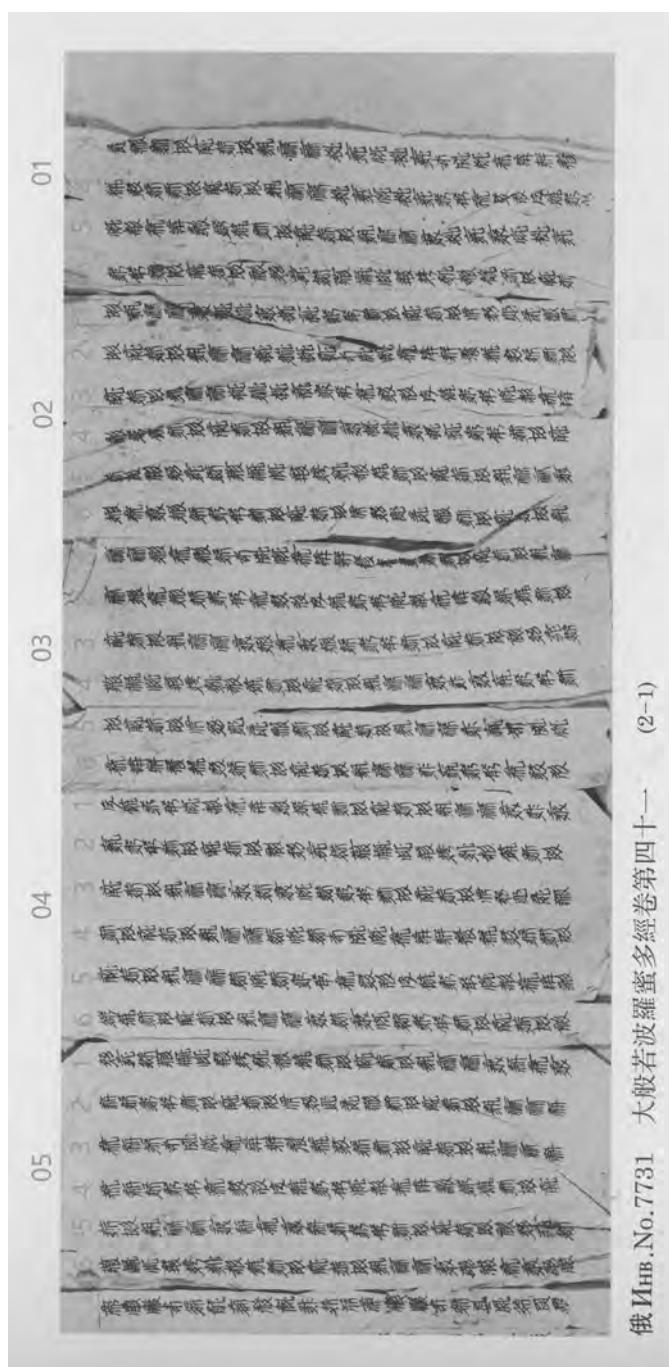
<sup>6</sup> *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 5 1924–1932:383.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.: 196.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> *E cang Heishuicheng wenxian* 16 2011: 32–37.



俄 Инв. No. 7731 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第四十一 (2-1)

Pl. 1.  
The Tangut collection, IOM RAS, Inv. No. 7731



Pl. 2.

The Tangut collection, IOM RAS, Inv. No. 7731

**The order of the folios in the same volumes were mixed up**

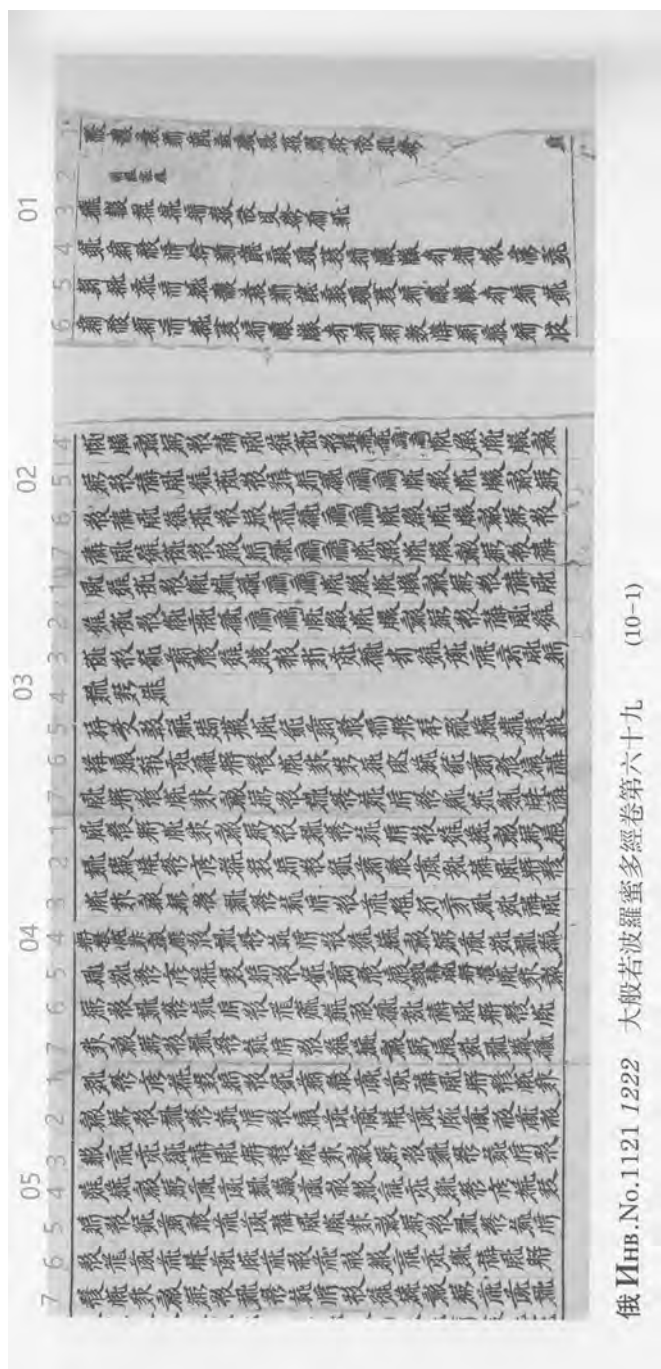
[illegible]

<sup>15</sup> Ibid: 389.

<sup>16</sup> *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 5 1924–1932: 390.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.: 391.





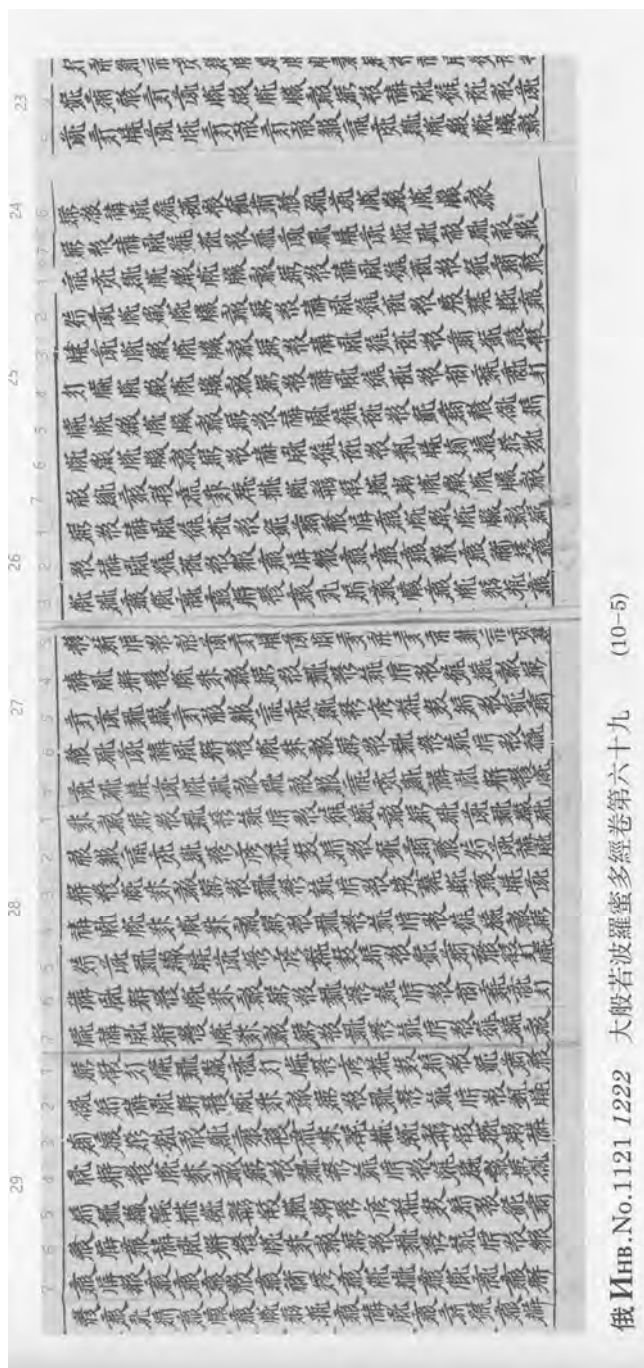
Pl. 3.

The Tangut collection, IOM RAS, Inv. No. 1121/222 (1-10)











俄 Ивв.No.1121 1222 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第六十九 (10-7)

俄 ИВ. №. 1121 1222 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第六十九 (10-7)

Pl. 9.  
The Tangut collection, IOM RAS. Inv. No. 1121 /222 (1–10)



44	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	40
43	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	41
42	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	42
41	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	43
40	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	44

Ив. No. 1121 1222 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第六十九 (10-8)

Pl. 10.  
The Tangut collection, IOM RAS. Inv. No. 1121 1222 (1-10)



[illegible]



## The errors of the Tangut scribes and editors

受過去眼觸為緣所生諸受空 and ending with “Sensations arising from future and present contact with the ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind as conditions are also empty. The nature of emptiness is also empty. Emptiness within emptiness cannot even be grasped, let alone the sensations arising from future and present contact with the ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind as conditions within emptiness can be grasped” 未來現在耳、鼻、舌、身、意觸為緣所生諸受即是空，空性亦空，空中空尚不可得，何況空中有未來現在耳、鼻、舌、身、意觸為緣所生諸受可得。<sup>22</sup>

At position 10.26 in ИHB. № 5092, the title tag reads “纒” (大), which corresponds to the case number of volumes within the range of the 411th to the 420th volumes.<sup>23</sup> This indicates that the scribe omitted the character “𦵏” (十) in the volume number “纒 纒 𦵏 𦵏 𦵏” (四百十九第) mentioned in the colophon, instead writing “纒 纒 𦵏 𦵏” (四百九第). Consequently, the compilers of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* failed to thoroughly examine its content and mistakenly attributed it to the 409th part of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. In reality, ИHB. № 5092 contains the content of the 419th part. As *Catalogue* doesn’t explicitly document the 419th part, and *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia* in its 20th issue didn’t publish the image plates of the 419th part, the content from ИHB. № 5092 is a valuable supplement.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.: 106–107.

<sup>23</sup> MYLNIKOVA & PENG 2013: 93.

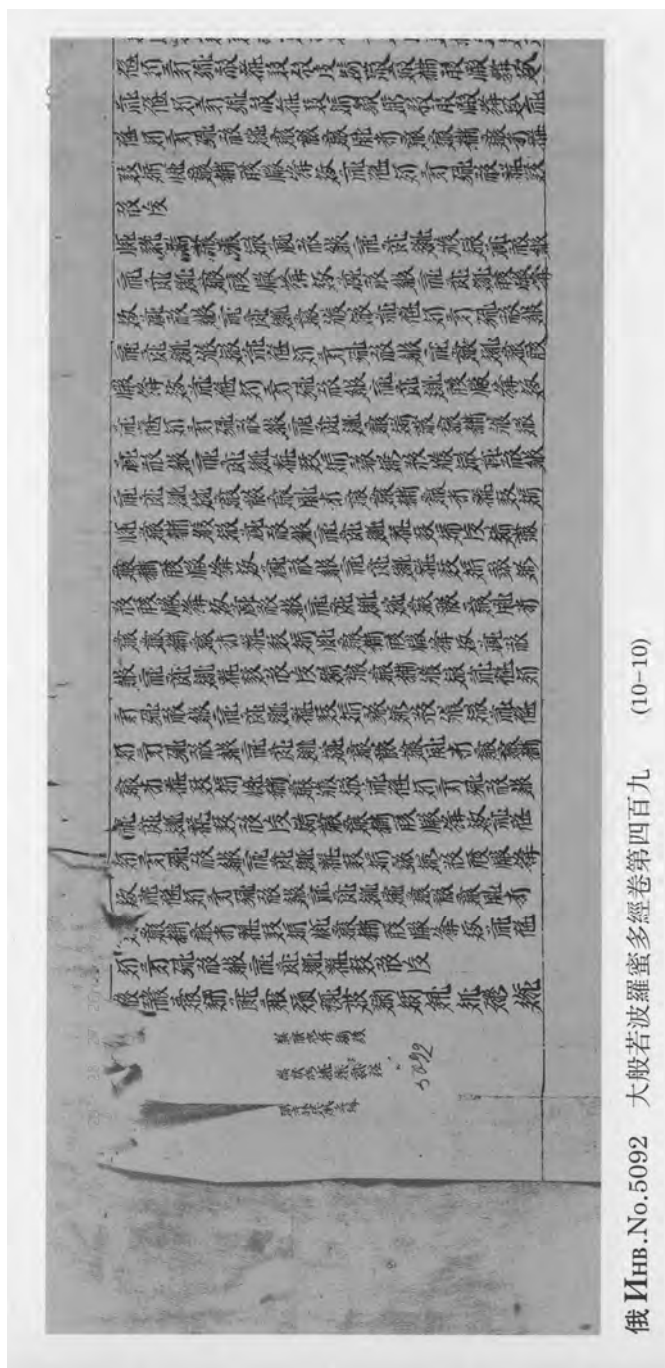


俄 ИВН. No. 670 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第四百九

(13-13)

Pl. 13.

The Tangut collection, IOM RAS. Inv. No. 670



俄 Ивв. No. 5092 大般若波羅蜜多經卷第四百九

(10-10)

Pl. 14.

The Tangut collection, IOM RAS. Inv. No. 5092

## Conclusion

The fundamental edition of *Heishuicheng Manuscripts Collected in Russia*, including the Tangut version of *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, certainly is not free from some invalidities, which became evident for the researchers with the time. In the process of study of the Tangut literature published facsimile, we need to pay attention to both its textual and codicological features, and identify the title of the manuscript after rigorous analysis. Mistakenly splicing together mixed texts can belong to different periods and are subject to thorough comparative research. We should keep in mind that when publishing literature, we should avoid arbitrary splicing or cutting, but for this we should seek for objective information.

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Olga V. Klimova

**The First Volume of *Roshia Ibun* 魯西亞異聞  
[Unusual Narrative about Russia]  
as a Source on Russian-Japanese Relations  
in the Beginning of the 19th C.<sup>1</sup>**

DOI: 10.55512/wmo634801

**Abstract:** This article examines the first volume of *Roshia Ibun* 魯西亞異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia], a unique handwritten manuscript which depicts the story of a Japanese guard, Torizō. He was one of four Japanese guards who spent the winter of 1806 on the Sakhalin island monitoring the situation at Kushunkotan settlement. Lieutenant Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov visited this settlement during his first expedition to Sakhalin in 1806. In his logbook he gave it an interesting name “Lyubopytstvo”, which can be translated into English as “Curiosity”. Curiously enough, this was the place where Khvostov and the four Japanese guards met for the first time. It is considered to be the first military clash between the countries and a turning point of Russian-Japanese relations, since Russia subsequently began to be perceived as a dangerous enemy. The first volume of the source gives especially valuable information about these events. It provides a detailed description of the voyage of the four Japanese captives to Kamchatka on board of a Russian ship, contains important information about the events during the second expedition of Khvostov and Davidov to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807 and relates the trip of the four Japanese guards back to Japan. The first volume of *Roshia Ibun*, which has never been translated into Russian nor published yet, gives us answers to the following questions. Who was the guard Torizō? How did he perceive the meeting with the Russians in 1806? Were there any official messages or demands from Russian officers? How did Torizō manage to get back to Japan and did he have a chance to share his story with anyone else along the way?

**Key words:** Sakhalin, Kuril Islands, Russia, Japan, Khvostov, Davidov

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<sup>1</sup> The reported study was funded by RSF, project number 24-28-00764.

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## Introduction

*Roshia Ibun* 魯西亜異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia] is a unique handwritten manuscript of the early 19th c. It consists of five volumes, which contain the stories of two Japanese guards, so called *bannin* 番人, named Torizō 西蔵 and Fukumatsu 福松, who were captured by lieutenant Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov<sup>2</sup> on Sakhalin in 1806.

Researchers from different countries agree that Khvostov's expedition to Sakhalin in 1806 was a turning point in the history of Russian-Japanese relations. However, assessments of Lieutenant Khvostov's actions during these expeditions differ greatly. In Japanese studies Khvostov is mainly depicted as an oppressor and pirate who attacked the Japanese and scared away the Ainu. On the other hand, in Russian studies Khvostov is described as a patriot, and the expeditions to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands are seen as the start of the exploration and development of Sakhalin.<sup>3</sup>

In various studies of Japanese scholars this expedition is mentioned under different names, such as “The Incident with Khvostov and Davidov” フヴォストフ・ダヴィドフ事件,<sup>4</sup> “Attack of Khvostov” フヴォストフ来寇事件,<sup>5</sup> “Russian assault” 露人の暴行,<sup>6</sup> “Sudden attack on Karafuto” カラフト襲撃,<sup>7</sup> “The Russian attack in the Bunka Years” 文化魯寇事件.<sup>8</sup> Russian and overseas researchers<sup>9</sup> tend to use a more neutral term — “expedition”.

In the pages of *Roshia Ibun* Khvostov's expedition to Sakhalin is called *ranbō* 乱暴 which can be translated from Japanese as “a riot, cruelty, outrage or lawlessness”.

According to archival documents, Khvostov made three stops during his expedition to Sakhalin in 1806, which are described in his logbook.<sup>10</sup> He

<sup>2</sup> Nikolai Aleksandrovich Khvostov (Хвостов Николай Александрович) 1776–1809.

<sup>3</sup> POLEVOI 1959; SENCHENKO 2006; CHEREVKO 1999; POZDNEEV 1909; SOKOLOV 1852; DAVIDOV 1848.

<sup>4</sup> ARIIZUMI 2003: 184.

<sup>5</sup> NAKAMURA 1904: 58.

<sup>6</sup> INOBE 1942: 219.

<sup>7</sup> KIMURA 2005: 63; HIRAKAWA 2006: 39.

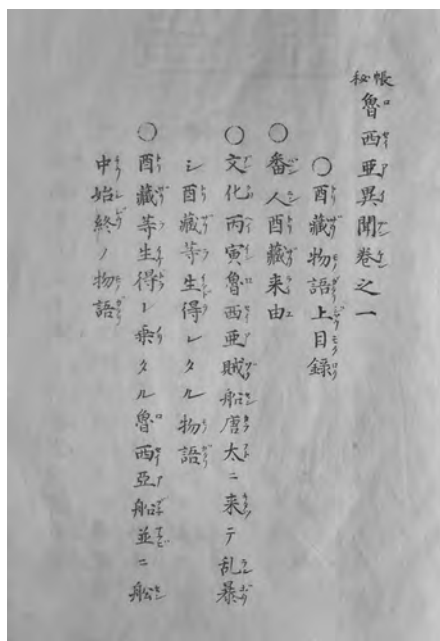
<sup>8</sup> MATSUMOTO 2006: 43.

<sup>9</sup> LENSEN 1959.

<sup>10</sup> *Ekstrakt iz zhurnala fregati Yunoni, plavaniia ot Okhotska v gubu Aniva i obratno v Kamchatku Gavan Petra i Pavla. Sentiabria s 24, noiabrya po 10e chislo 1806 goda* [The extract from the logbook of Frigate Yunona, the journey from Okhotsk to the Aniva bay and back to Kamchatka, the port of Peter and Paul. From 24th of September till 10th of November 1806]. RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183.

does not give a name to his first stop, but the second one he calls “*Sumnenie*” that can be translated into English as “Hesitation”, and the third one “*Lyubopytstvo*” (“Curiosity” in English). It is interesting that Japanese sources mention only the last two stops, which are called “*Ofitomari*” オフィットマリ (also mentioned as “*Ofidomari*” オフィドマリ) and “*Kushunkotan*” クシュンコタン, respectively. The last stop “*Lyubopytstvo*” or “*Kushunkotan*” is the most interesting but poorly researched part of the first expedition to Sakhalin in 1806. *Roshia Ibun* contains valuable information that sheds light on the course of these events.

At this last settlement lieutenant Khvostov met four Japanese guards, Torizō 西蔵, Genshichi 原七, Tomigorō 富五郎 and Fukumatsu 福松, who stayed there for the winter season to look after the settlement. He captured and took them on board of the *Yunona* (Russian ship) back to the port of Petropavlovsk to stay there over the winter. The stories of the first two captured Japanese guards, Torizō and Genshichi, are related in the pages of *Roshia Ibun*. It describes not only the first meeting with the Russians in 1806, but also their voyage on board of the *Yunona* frigate to the shores of the Petropavlovsk port, the events of the second expedition to the Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807, and their return trip to Japan.



*Roshia Ibun* 魯西亜異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia] is kept in the archives of the Historiographic Institute of Tokyo University 東京大学史料編纂所 in Japan and is a part of the “Collected Materials of Historical Seminars” (*Shidankai saishū shiryō* 史談會採集史料). There is a table of contents at the very beginning of the manuscript, which refers to each part as *maki* 巻, meaning “scroll”, although its pages are sewn into a notebook. Thus, the most neutral term, which will be used in this article, is “volume”.

*Roshia Ibun* consists of five volumes with text written in *kanamajiri*<sup>11</sup> style. It consists of two hundred forty-six unpaginated pages. The work has not been published or translated from Japanese language yet.

There is no information about the author of *Roshia Ibun* on the title page of the source, however, on the next page it is noted that these records were made based on the stories of two Japanese guards: Torizō and Fukumatsu. An interesting note at the very end of the first volume tells that Torizō shared his story with a *bakufu* official named Murakami Sakingo 村上左金吾. According to the Japanese source *Soya Tsumeai Yamazaki Hanzō Nisshi* 宗谷詰合山崎半蔵日誌 [The diary of Yamazaki Hanzō about different matters of [Cape] Soya], upon the order of the military government (*bakufu*) Murakami Sakingo was sent with ten vassals to Cape Soya where he was supposed to build fortifications to protect these lands. In 1807, when Khvostov and Davidov<sup>12</sup> reached these lands and burned everything to the ground, he was 36 or 37 years old. According to *Roshia Ibun*, upon return of Torizō and Murakami to Japan’s Hakodate, they lived together for a short while and had a chance to share their stories with each other. The story of Torizō became a part of *Roshia Ibun*, while the story of Murakami Sakingo is a part of the source *Hokusei Hidan* 北征秘談 [The Secret Narrative about the Northern Expedition].

The exact date when the source was written is also not indicated, but it is safe to assume that these records were made in mid- to late summer of 1807, i.e. after Torizō and Fukumatsu made their way back to Japan.

On the title page of *Roshia Ibun* there is a stamp of the Tokyo Imperial University Library 東京帝国大学附属図書館, which indicates the exact entry date of this text: March 26th, the 39th year of Meiji reign, i.e. 1906. At the beginning of each volume there is a special sign which classifies these materials as top secret, which makes this source even more significant. The

<sup>11</sup> *Kanamajiri* style 仮名交り — i.e. the text consists of *kanji* characters supplemented with *kana* syllabary.

<sup>12</sup> Gavriil Ivanovich Davidov (Давыдов Гавриил Иванович) 1784–1809.

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five volumes of *Roshia Ibun* are divided into two parts: the first one includes the first three volumes and the second one the last two.

The first volume contains the first part of Torizō's story, while the second volume tells the second part, in which Torizō describes the port of Petropavlovsk, residential buildings, people, clothing, food, weapons and everyday life of the Russians. The third volume of *Roshia Ibun* relates the story of another captured guard named Fukumatsu. It provides extremely important information regarding the unrest that occurred in Sakhalin in 1806, the sea voyage of captured Japanese guards to Russia and back to the shores of Japan.

The fourth volume contains the second part of Fukumatsu's story, in which he describes the port of Petropavlovsk and Kamchatka in general: dwellings, clothing, food, ships, weapons, etc. The fifth volume is a Russian-Japanese dictionary compiled by Torizō and Fukumatsu during their stay with the Russians in Kamchatka.

This article introduces and examines the first volume of *Roshia Ibun* which consists of fifty-three handwritten unnumbered pages. It is called "The First Part of Torizō's Story" and consists of three parts.

1. The origin of the guard Torizō.
2. The story of how, in the year of the Fire Tiger during the years of Bunka reign, a Russian pirate ship came to Karafuto, caused unrest and captured Torizō and others.
3. The story of how Torizō and others were captured, put on a large Russian ship, and about everything that happened on the ship.

### **The First Part [of the first volume of *Roshia Ibun*]**

This part of the source which consists of four handwritten pages provides a brief explanation about Torizō, what he did for living, about his duties as a guard (*bannin* 番人). One can find a detailed explanation about Japanese guards in the beginning of the 19th c. and their functions. It also provides concise information about how Torizō was captured by a Russian "pirate ship" and brought to Kamchatka. It makes an interesting reference to the fact that upon Torizō's return to Japan in the spring of 1807, he was able to get a job in Matsumae, however, after two or three months, when it became clear that he was in Russia, local government officials decided to fire him. They did ask him, however, to give a detailed explanation of his voyage to Russia and back, which became a significant part of *Roshia Ibun*.

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## Japanese text of the source

### 番人西藏来由

番人トハ何ゾ蝦夷ノ言語ニヨク通ゼル町人體ノ者ニテ松前家ノ時ヨリ蝦夷地一圓漁獵ノ都合宜所其處々々ヘ番家トテ衛府ヲ立ヲキ年々松前家ノ有司番人ヲ召ツレテ其處々々ヘ至リ番人ニ夷人ヲ指使セシメ青魚鯨鰯鱒魚ノ類ヲ捕セ米穀酒故衣煙草ナンド、交易セシム夷人命ニ逆フ時ハ番人答テ之ヲ治ム去ニヨツテ番人ハ夷人殊ノ外畏敬ヒ夷地ニテハ頗ル權アルモノナリ今郡縣ニナリテハ番人夷地ニ逗留中帶刀ヲモ許シ玉ヘリ扱コノ西藏と云ル者ハ松前ノ産ニテ文化丙寅ノ歲同ク番人福松源七富五郎ナル者ト唐太ノ「クシュンコタン」ト云ル所ノ番家 番家トハ即衛府ニテ一ニ曾所トモ云亦番家トモ云 二居タリケルガ同年九月四人共魯西亜賊ニ生得レ魯西亜出張地加模沙斯加ノ内ニテ越年シ翌丁卯ノ歲四人共免レテ松前ニ歸ルコトヲ得テ西藏ハ泊川ト云ル所ニ住居セリ西藏叔母一人甥一人アリ甥ヲ三次ト云リ予松前在營中二三ヶ月傭使リ就中西蔵等ハ一旦魯西亜ヘ虜タル者ナレバ官ヨリ禁ジテ妄ニ徘徊ヲ許シ玉ハズ予ハ赤賊防禦ノ為彼地ヘ至レルコトナルユヘ魯西亜事情心得ノ為ニモトテ西藏等ヲ召ヨセテ始終ノ物語を聞コトヲ許シ玉ヘリ聞ルママ左に録ス。

## Translation from Japanese

### The origin of the guard Torizō

The *bannin* [guards] are townspeople,<sup>13</sup> who often do not understand the language of Ezo. Since the time of the Matsumae clan, government institutions *efu*,<sup>14</sup> the so-called guard posts *ban'ya*<sup>15</sup> were built in places that were most suitable for hunting and fishing. [Representatives and] employees of the Matsumae clan were sent there every year. They controlled the Ainu<sup>16</sup> people there and forced them to fish herring, whales, trout, salmon etc. They

<sup>13</sup> *Chōnin* 町人 — townspeople, city people.

<sup>14</sup> *Efu* 衛府 — a general term for government agencies responsible for escorting members of the imperial court and providing security during pilgrimages. At the same time, the reading of these characters that is given in the source is *yakusho* 役所 — a government office.

<sup>15</sup> *Ban'ya* (番屋、番家) — a guard post.

<sup>16</sup> The text uses the following characters: 夷人 — *ebisu bito*, which literally translates as “barbarians”.

also traded in American sake, old used clothes and tobacco there. When the Ainu refused to obey their orders, they whipped them and forced to subjugate to their will. For this reason, the Ainu feared and respected them. They had great power in the lands of Ainu.<sup>17</sup> The guards (*bannin*) were even allowed to wear a belt sword<sup>18</sup> during their stay in the lands of Ainu.

Thus, Torizō also under the orders of the Matsumae [clan] in the year of the Fire Tiger<sup>19</sup> of the Bunka era, together with guards named Fukumatsu, Genshichi and Tomigorō, were at the guard post *ban'ya* on Karafuto in the settlement of Kushunkotan.

*(Guard posts ban'ya are also called government offices gafu. Some of them are called gathering places kaisho,<sup>20</sup> or guard posts ban'ya).<sup>21</sup>*

However, in September of the same year, all four were captured by Russian pirates and taken to Kamchatka, Russia, where they spent the winter. The following year, all four were released and returned to Matsumae. Torizō lived in a place [called] Tomarigawa. He had one aunt and one nephew. The nephew's name was Sanji. After this, he served in Matsumae for two or three months. However, when it was revealed that Torizō was once captured and taken to Russia, he was banned from office and was not allowed to move around at will.

For defense against red pirates and also for knowing the situation in Russia because they reached that land, I summoned Torizō and others and allowed them to tell their story completely. What they told is recorded below.

## **The Second Part [of the First Volume of *Roshia Ibun*]**

Nineteen handwritten pages of this part of the manuscript describe the first meeting of Khvostov and the Japanese guards, which took place in the third settlement. Khvostov names it “Curiosity”, while in Japanese sources it is known under the name of “Kushunkotan”.

<sup>17</sup> *Ich*i 夷地 — the land of barbarians. In this context, the lands of the Ainu.

<sup>18</sup> *Taitō* 帶刀 belt sword.

<sup>19</sup> *Heiin* 丙寅 the year of the Fire Tiger, 1806.

<sup>20</sup> *Kaisho* 會所 — during the Edo period, the name given to places where city and village officials gathered.

<sup>21</sup> A note in the text in smaller characters.

Interestingly, there are numerous explanation notes in *Roshia Ibun* that are located directly in the text, but written in smaller handwriting. Thus, when mentioning place names, there is always a comment with extra explanations about each toponym. The text is also provided with elucidations of certain words or expressions that two guards mentioned while telling their story. For instance, when Torizō describes the Russian ship, he says that her sails looked like mountains. Therefore, the text provides a detailed explanation of why this particular impression was made. There are also comments regarding Japanese ships, about the way the Russians shouted after their victory, and the reason why Russians fired cannons. These remarks help the reader to understand not only the peculiarities of the Russians' behavior, but also the impression that the Japanese had after communicating with them.

Examination of Russian archival materials clearly showed that Lieutenant Khvostov arrived in the settlement of Kushunkotan on October the 10th, 1806,<sup>22</sup> but due to the fact that it was getting late, he postponed disembarkation until the next day. On October 11th, Khvostov reached the shores accompanied by twenty-one crew members. They were all armed. Khvostov ordered the navigator Ilyin, who remained on board of the frigate *Yunona*: "if he hears even one rifle or falconet shot, then he should immediately send a copper landing gun with shells and a large number of people to the shore on the yawl that was on the frigate".<sup>23</sup> Khvostov went to the warehouses only with Karpinsky and Koryukin.

According to Khvostov, the three of them entered the warehouse and tried to start a conversation with the Japanese and the Ainu, who were sitting around three fires inside the barn. The greetings, according to Khvostov, went really well and it was a success. The Japanese took out "their book, in which they showed the plan of Nagasaki and Edo, saying that they were Japanese, fed us porridge and instead of spoons they gave us chopsticks, with which none of us could eat...".<sup>24</sup> After a short greeting and making acquaintances, Khvostov left Karpinsky and Koryukin "to entertain the Japanese with conversations",<sup>25</sup> and went to inspect the surroundings.

It is interesting that in the pages of *Roshia Ibun* we see a completely different picture. It becomes clear that the Japanese tried to treat Russians with "fish and rice porridge, which they just cooked, but the Russians flatly re-

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<sup>22</sup> Dates transcribed exactly as they appear in the source.

<sup>23</sup> RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183. L. 6.

<sup>24</sup> RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183. L. 6ob.

<sup>25</sup> RGAVMF. F. 14. Op. 1, ed. hr. 183. L. 6ob.

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fused”.<sup>26</sup> The content and meaning of conversations in Russian were absolutely unintelligible to the Japanese. The only word they could comprehend was “trade” and they admitted that “they could not understand this sparrow language at all”. Loud speeches and drumming were perceived as “knocking on the lid of a box”.

This chapter of the work contains a detailed description of the clash with the Russians, the voyage of captured Japanese on the Russian ship to the port of Petropavlovsk, as well as the general information about the actions of lieutenant Khvostov and midshipman Davidov during the second expedition to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807. It should be noted that this part reveals unique and previously unknown facts about the way the captured Japanese managed to get back to their homeland in Hakodate.

## Japanese text of the source

### 文化丙寅魯西亞賊船唐太に來テ乱暴シ西藏等生得レタル物語

唐太ハ西蝦夷地宗谷 埠頭ノ名 フ去コト海上十八里ニシテ宗谷ヨリ渡海ノ舳岸ヲ「シラヌシ」ト云コノ處ニ松前家ヨリ立オカレタル曾所アリ並ニ夷人ノ家十軒アリ皆離々ニ住ス「シラヌシ」ヨリ「コンブイ」名池 へ一日路「コンブイ」ニモ夷人ノ居アリ「コンブ」ヨリ「イカツキナイ」名池 へ一日路「イカツキナイ」ヨリ「クシュンコタン」名池夷言ニ村ヲ「コタン」ト云 へ一日路餘「クシュンコタン」ヨリ「オフィドマリ」名池 へ半日不足ノ道程ナリ「クシュンコタン」ニハ間口十間ノ番屋一軒外ニ交易物ヲ蔵ヲク十間ニ廿五間ノ板倉一ヶ所アリ「オフィドマリ」ニモ番屋アリ外ニ夷人ノ家二三戸アリ扱コノ「オフィドマリ」ヘハ松前家ヨリ年々早春有司ニ人健児四人番人ヲ召ツレテ至リ夷人ヲシテ魚獵ナサシメ例ノ如ク交易終レバ四五月ノ頃引払ヒ松前ヘ帰帆スルナリ又「クシュンコタン」ノ番屋ニハ春夏漁獵終リテモ番人バカリ四五人居残リイツモ越年スル例ナリシ此ニ文化丙寅ノ歲今年モ漁獵無恙終リ「クシュンコタン」ノ番屋ニハ西藏源七富五郎福松ト云ル番人都合四人越年ノ積ニテ残り居ケルニ九月十日ノ事ナリシ「クシュンコタン」ヨリ二三里隔リタル「オフィドマリ」ノ夷人一人アハタタシク來テ云様昨夕方赤人 魯西亞人ヲ云 ノ大船「オフィドマリ」ヘ來テ上陸シ吾々が家ヘ來リ卒暴シキ様子ナルユヘ皆ヲソロシク思ヒ青魚ナンド取出シ與ヘケレド一切ウケズ兎角スル内戸外ヨリ鉄砲打カ

<sup>26</sup> *Roshia Ibun* 魯西亞異聞 [Unusual Narrative about Russia].



ケ驚シ夷人一人捕ヘ彼船ヘツレ行ケルユヘ吾々モ如何ナル憂目ニヤ  
 アハント其まま逃出シ来タリ間モナク此處ヘ来ンモ計レズ先吾々ヲ  
 救テタベト云ルニヨリ西藏源七ナンドモコハ如何ニ「オフィドマリ」  
 ヨリ此處ヘハ纔ノ道程ナレバ今ニヤ来ラン去ナガラ上ヨリアヅカレ  
 ル板倉ヲ棄ヲキ逃去ンモ本意ナラズ亦後日ノ尤モ如何アラン所詮コ  
 ノママ止リ居テ様子ヲ見届ンモノヲト衆議一決シテ今ヤ今ヤト海上  
 ヲ見守リ居タレド其日ハ何事モナク翌十一日晚方ニ程ナク大船現出  
 タリ帆カサ恰モ山ノ如シ魯西亜ノ船ハ帆数々アリテ舳艫ト左右ヘハ  
 リ出テ斜ニカクレユヘ船ヨリハ帆仰山に見ルト云リ若テ四人番人共  
 ハ最早叶ジト覚悟ヲ極メ終夜見守リ居タレドサナガラ急ニ近キモセ  
 ズ程ナク夜モアケ十二日ノ朝五半時ニモナリケレバ何レモ空腹ニナ  
 リ西藏等地爐ニ茶ヲカケ食事セント支度スル内イツノ間ニヤラン小  
 舟ヲ三艘下シ都合三十八人乗組諸處ノ汀ヨリ上陸シ直ニ番屋ヘ押カ  
 ケテ四五人ソト内ヘ入壤中ヨリ何ヤラン帳面ノ如モノトリ出シ頻ニ  
 何ヤラン云ノノシレド鳩舌ニシテ些モ通ゼズ若テ西藏等謀テ云ルハ  
 兎ニモ角ニモ多勢ニ無勢機嫌ヲトルニ如ハアラジト有合食物ナンド  
 トリ出シ羞ケレド一切ウケズ一向帳面ヲ開見テモノ云ナガラ栖箱ノ  
 如キ物持来リ蓋ヲ開キ赤キ囉紗様ノ物ナド取出シ蓋ヲ叩テ帳面見ナ  
 ガラモノ云ル内唯「アキナヒシマシテモ」ト云一言ノミ分リケルユヘ  
 西藏等一同ニ買賣交易ハ私ニナラズト頭ヲフリテ諭シケレバ番屋ノ  
 門戸ハ左右ヨリ鉄砲ウチ違テ堅メ頭分トオボシキ者劔ヲ抜テ下知ス  
 ルヤ否西藏等一人ニ夷賊四人充飛カカリケルガ西藏ハスコシカモア  
 リ即坐ニ三人ナゲ倒シケレド兎ニモ角ニモ大勢ナレバ卒ニ肱ノ所ヘ  
 縄ヲカケ後手ニ縛レタリ西藏餘リ口惜ノママ賊ノ尻ヘ咬ツキケルト  
 ゴ餘ノ者共モ西藏同様相應ニ働ケレド是非ナク盡ク面縛シテ彼傳馬  
 ヘ乗ラレタリ然ニ賊等ヨリ集テ何

ヤラン立談シケルガ再ビ乗タル傳馬ヘ来リ西藏一人舟ヨリ上板倉  
 ノ前ヘツレツレ行何ヤラン云鑰ヲ渡セト諭スニヨリ詮方ナク鑰ノア  
 リ所ヲ教ヘケレバ鑰ヲ持来テ西藏ニ明サセ十一ヶ所ノ板倉ヲ盡ク開  
 キ有アヘル米俵其外麴青魚網故衣煙草ナンドノ類盡ク奪取同十六日  
 マデニ本船ヘ運終リ十六日ノ晚方明タル板倉十一ヶ所ヘ火ヲ放テ焼  
 払ヒ其ヨリ「クシュンコタン」ニ泊セル船十二三艘ノ何物ヲ盡ク奪取  
 船ヲモ皆焼払リトゾ若テ西藏ハ彼板倉ノ前ヨリ初乗タル傳馬ヘ乗九  
 月十二日ノ晚方本船ヘ移シナ七日ノ子時纔ヲトキ同十九日唐太ノ地  
 ヲハナレ唐太ノ北方ハ滿州ヘ近シ山丹ハ唐太ノ西方ニ隣ト云リ北ノ  
 地ヘト走リケルガ十月十日魯西亜出張地「ベイトロパアウシコイ」  
 ト云ル港ノ地方ヘ向同十二日港口ヘ入同十四五日ノコロ着岸シ今年  
 ハ此處ニ越年シケリ是「ベイトロパウシコイ」ト云ル港ヘハ唐太ノ

「クシュンコタン」ヨリ水程凡ソ三百里不足アリテ順風ナレバ三日程ニテ至ル又「エトロフ」ヨリハ二百里許ノ海路ナリトゾ 扱西藏ハ若シテ後イカナル憂目ニアフコトヤト夢ウツツニ日ヲ送リケルガ天ノ見ステ玉ハザルニヤ文化四年丁卯四月不思議ニ帰<sup>27</sup> 國定リテ同四月十二日彼港ヲ出帆シケルニ雪未七八尺積リ海上ハ氷トケズ船動カザルニヨリ斧ヲ以氷ヲ破兎角シテ港ノロマデ出ケル所同十三日ノコトナリシ北亜墨利加ノ方ヨリ流来ル氷ノ大塊或ハ一丈或ハ一丈八九尺幾箇トモナク押カケ来バ港ノロヲ出ルコトアタハズ翌十四日マデ同ジ處ニマギリ居シカ兼テ用意ヤシタリケン船底ヨリ大ナル棒幾本モトリ出シー本ニ二三人充カカリ彼押カケ来ル氷塊ヲカヲ極テ支ヘトメ漸シテ船ヲ出シ順風ニ走セケルニ程ナク同十四日「エトロフ」島ノ名周回二百里ノ「ナイボウ」地名ノ沖ヘ来リ暫クコノ處漂テ地方ノ様子ヲ伺ヲキ翌廿五日「ナイボウ」ヲ乱暴シ有合米穀酒煙草ナンド盡ク奪取り其ヨリ同島ノ内「シャナ」地名ヘ来リ地方ノ虚實ヲ伺ヲキ五月朔日「シャナ」ヲ乱暴シ同晦日「リイシリ」島ノ名周回二十里ヘ来リ彼島ニ泊シ居ル萬春丸官船宜辛丸函館運船禎祥丸松前用船誠龍丸松前商船ト云ル四艘ノ船ヘ大筒小筒夥ク打カケ驚シ船中ノ者共傳馬ヲ下シ追々逃去ヲ見スマシ米穀其外有アヘル物盡ク奪取萬春丸ノ赤船萬春丸ハ官船ニテ官船ハ皆赤色ニ塗り以ソノ章ヲ別ニ積残リノ三艘焼払ヒ同音ニ勝関関ハ「オラオラオラヲ、ファ」ト呼フトゾヲ作り本船ヘ帰リケレバ本船ヨリモ大筒三発打勝利ヲ得テ帰リタルヲ祝スル意ナリトゾ奪取タル品ヲ本船ニ移シ萬春丸ヲモ焼払リ然ルニ是焼払ヒケル船ニ乗組タル日本人ノ内ニ大將體ノ者若「リイシリ」ヘ逃隠テヤ有カト三十人バカリ上陸シテ此彼ト尋行直ニ「リイシリ」ヲモ乱暴シテ番屋トモ焼払五月三日七時分西藏等四人トモ「リイシリ」ニ焼残シ有誠龍丸ノ傳馬ニ乗何方ヘナリトモ行ベキ由ニテ米三俵故衣一枚其外羅紗綿花布綿花布ハ西藏破片一寸ヲ恵テ今ニ蔵セリノ切類少々充與ケリ就中西蔵ヘハ表ハ緋羅紗裏ニハ木綿ノ付タル胴着ヲ贈リケレド釦ガケニテ究屈ユヘ服セズコノ邦ヨリ下着ニシタル浴衣一枚拾一枚着タリトゾ若テ「リイシリ」ニ棄置去ケル四人ノ者共殊ノ外渴シ上陸シテ水ヲ尋レトモ不得此彼ト吟内西藏ヤガテ款冬多ク茂タルヲ見付水ヤ有ント行ケルニ果シテ叢ノ中モ呼集メ手ニ櫛シテ渴ヲ凌ギ桶ニモ汲コミ用水トナシ其ヨリ舟ヨリ舟ヲ蕩出テ更々終夜コギ兎角シテ明六時分西蝦夷地「ユウブツ」ト云處ヘ着岸シ「バツカイ」ト云ル處マデ行ケルニ向ニ萬春丸ニ乗組賊船ニ遇逃去タル函館所司田村左仲並ニ内野五郎左衛門ナンドニモ邂逅互ニ不慮ノ危難ヲ語り打ツレテ函館ニ至リケルトゾ

<sup>27</sup> The text (including spaces) faithfully follows the original Japanese manuscript.

## Translation from Japanese

### The story of how, in the year of the Fire Tiger of the Bunka era, a Russian pirate ship came to Karafuto, caused disturbances and captured Torizō and others

At a place called Shiranushi Pier, which is located at the distance of eighteen *ri*<sup>28</sup> by sea from Soya (*the name of a pier*) in the Western Lands of Ezo, on Karafuto, there is a *kaisho*, a place for meeting, which was established by the Matsumae clan. There were ten Ainu houses that were located at a distance from each other. It took one day to get from Shiranushi to Konbui. There were also Ainu dwellings in Kombui. From Kombu<sup>29</sup> to Ikatsukinai (*a place name, toponym*) it was [also] a one-day journey. From Ikatsukinai to Kushunkotan (*kotan is a village in the Ainu language*) it was a journey of a little over one day. From Kushunkotan to Ofidomari it was a half-day journey.

In Kushunkotan, in addition to one guard post (*ban'ya*), 10 [*ken*] in length,<sup>30</sup> there was one warehouse measuring 10 by 25 *ken* that was made of wooden boards and used for storing goods for trade. In Ofidomari there was also a guard post (*ban'ya*), as well as two or three Ainu dwellings.

So, in early spring, to this [place called] Ofidomari, the Matsumae clan sent two military men<sup>31</sup> and two guards (*bannin*), who supervised the hunting and fishing of the Ainu. After finishing trading, around the fourth or fifth moon, they left [this place] and returned back to Matsumae.

Four or five guards (*bannin*) stayed at the guard post (*ban'ya*) in Kushunkotan, even after the end of the spring and summer fishing and hunting seasons.

As usual, on the year of Fire Tiger<sup>32</sup> of the Bunka era, four guards, Torizō, Genshichi, Tomigorō and Fukumatsu, remained at the guard post in Kushunkotan after the end of the hunting and fishing season for the winter.

<sup>28</sup> 1 *ri* 里 — 3.9 km, 18 *ri* = 70.2 km.

<sup>29</sup> In the text it is written Kombu, not Kombui. Possibly a mistake.

<sup>30</sup> Approximately 18 m, 1 *ken* 間 = 1.8 m.

<sup>31</sup> This source uses the two-character compound word *kenji* 健児, which also has a reading *kondei*. This term appeared in Japan in the 7th c. and denoted people who formally performed the function of soldiers of the Japanese army. In the absence of external threats, the *kondei* were primarily engaged in security and police activities. In the 12–15th cc. the term *kondei* was synonymous with “cavalryman” or “samurai servant”. At the beginning of the 19th c. it mainly had the meaning of “warrior” and “samurai”.

<sup>32</sup> *Heiin* 丙寅 the year of the Fire Tiger, 1806.

It was on the 10th day of the 9th moon, when one Ainu from Ofidomari, which was located two or three *ri* from Kushunkotan [settlement], came running here in a hurry. He said that at sunset of the previous day a large ship of red people<sup>33</sup> (*that is how the Russians are called*) arrived in Ofidomari. They entered the house and looked so terrifying, so [we knew] that it could not bode well. We offered them herring many times, but they refused. They shot their guns outside the houses, scared us, took one Ainu to their ship. We were afraid that similar misfortune could happen to us, so we ran away and immediately came here to ask for your help. Torizō and Genshichi knew that Ofidomari was not far from here. They did not even consider leaving this place and abandoning all the warehouses, even if [the Russians] came at that moment. After giving it some thought, they decided to stay and observe the situation.

They peered into the sea, but nothing happened during that day. By the evening of the next 11th day, a large ship appeared [on the horizon], the sails were like mountains.

*(In general, Russian ships have many sails that exceed the width of the ship. They hang over the ship to the right and left. There are also those that are placed obliquely, diagonally. They say that these sails look like mountains).*

All four guards (*bannin*) quickly got ready, took their positions and waited until the end of the night. However, the ship never approached. So, the night passed, and it was 9 o'clock<sup>34</sup> in the morning of the 12th day. Torizō and the others got hungry, put tea on the fireplace and began to prepare food. Just at that moment, three boats suddenly landed, and a group of 38 people got ashore. Four of five men immediately entered the guard post [building]. They pulled out something that looked like a book, said something, but we did not understand this sparrow language at all.

Having weighed everything up, Torizō and the others, realizing that they were outnumbered, tried to treat [the guests] with the food that they had, but they flatly refused, continued to look in their book and kept saying something. They brought something similar to a box, opened the lid, took out something similar to a red cloth, knocked on the lid and said something while looking in the book. We understood only one word — “trade”. Torizō

<sup>33</sup> *Akabito* 赤人 — literally “red people”.

<sup>34</sup> 5:30 in the morning (朝五半時) in Edo period time corresponds to modern 9 o'clock in the morning.

and the others shook their heads as a sign that they could not buy [anything] or trade. Then they started shooting at both exits of the guard post. A man who looked like their leader drew his sword and ordered something.

Four barbarians jumped up to Torizō, but Torizō was very strong. He immediately threw two or three people [to the side]. Since they had numerical advantage, they [were able] to tie his elbows behind his back with a rope. However, his mouth remained free, so he bit the pirate's buttock with his teeth. The others, in order to immobilize him, had to wrap him in a cloth and placed him in a boat. However, [at that moment] the pirates gathered and began to discuss something. [After a while, they] approached the boat in which Torizō was, took him from the boat to the warehouse that was made of wooden boards and demanded the key. They asked to show the place where the key was and forced Torizō to open it. He opened eleven warehouses. They took everything that was there. In addition to 700 bags<sup>35</sup> of rice, [they also took] malt, herring, nets, old clothes and tobacco. Before the 16th [day of the same moon], they set fire to all eleven warehouses and burned them to the ground. After this, twelve or thirteen boats that were in Kushunkotan [settlement] carried out all the stolen goods, after which they burned those boats as well.

Then, they put Torizō in the same boat near the warehouse. In the evening of the 12th day of the 9th moon [the captured guards] were transferred to the main ship, on the 17th day in the middle of the night they unmoored and on the 19th day they departed from the lands of Karafuto.

*(The northern part of Karafuto is very close to Manchuria, it is said that Santan is close to the western part of Karafuto).*

We sailed in the northern direction. On the 10th day of the 10th moon we headed towards Russia, to the port which is called “Beitoropaausikoi”. On the 12th day of the same moon they reached the destination and stayed there for the rest of the winter.

*(This so-called port “Beitoropaausikoi” is located approximately 300 ri<sup>36</sup> away from Kushunkotan by sea. With a fair wind it can be reached in three days. The distance from here to Iturup is approximately 200 ri<sup>37</sup> by sea).*

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<sup>35</sup> 1 hyō 俵 = 60 kg.

<sup>36</sup> 1170 km.

<sup>37</sup> 780 km.

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So, poor Torizō spent his days in painful anticipation of inevitable grief, but Heaven had mercy on him and on the 4th moon of the 4th year of the Fire Rabbit<sup>38</sup> of the Bunka era, he miraculously returned to his homeland. On the 12th day of the 4th moon of the same year, they set sail from that port. The thickness of the snow cover was 7–8 *shaku*,<sup>39</sup> the entire surface of the sea was still covered with ice. In order for the ship to leave [the port], they [had to] cut through the ice with an axe. With great difficulty we were able to get out of the port. On the 13th day of the same moon, a huge block of ice with a height of 1 *jō*<sup>40</sup> or 1 *jō* 9 *shaku*<sup>41</sup> sailed [towards us] from North America. No matter how much they tried to move it, nothing worked, and they could not leave the port yet again. The next day, on the 14th, we got stuck in one place. They got many large poles out from the ship's hold; two or three people held one pole. They used all their force to push away the blocks of ice. Finally the ship could [leave the port] and sailed to the open sea. With fair wind, quite quickly, on the same 14th day, we reached Iturup.

*(The name of the island. The distance to it is 200 ri<sup>42</sup>).*

We reached Naibo.

*(The name of the place).*

We drifted there for some time and examined the shore. On the next 25th day, there were acts of violence at Naibo. They seized everything that was there: rice and other grains, sake, tobacco. Then we went to the center of this island, to a place [called] Shana.

*(The name of the place).*

After some investigation, on the 1st day of the 5th moon they devastated Shana. At the end of the same moon they arrived in Riishiri.

*(The name of the island. The distance to it is 200 ri<sup>43</sup>).*

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<sup>38</sup> *Teibō* 丁卯 the Fire Rabbit, 1807.

<sup>39</sup> 1 *shaku* 尺 = 30.3 cm, 7–8 尺 *shaku* = 212–242 cm.

<sup>40</sup> 1 *jō* 一丈 = 3 m.

<sup>41</sup> 1 *jō* 9 *shaku* 一丈八九尺 = 5 m 73 cm.

<sup>42</sup> 1 *ri* 里 = 3.9 km, 200 *ri* = 780 km.

<sup>43</sup> 1 *ri* 里 = 3.9 km, 200 *ri* = 780 km.

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They attacked four ships that were there with small cannons: *Banshun-maru* (government or state ship), *Giko-maru* (cargo ship from Hakodate), *Teimyō-maru* (Matsumae ship), *Seiryō-maru* (Matsumae merchant ship). They got all the boats from the ship and watched as everyone was running away. They took rice, grain and everything that was there, and loaded everything onto the red ship *Banshun-maru*.

(*Banshun-maru* was a state ship, and all ships of this kind were painted red. This was their distinguishing feature).

They burned the other three ships and let out victorious shouting. (*The shouting sounded like this: “Ora ora ora o fa”*). As soon as they got back to their ship, they fired three salvos from a large cannon. (*This [meant] that they had won and were ready to leave*).

All the captured goods were transported to their ship, and the ship *Banshun-maru* was also burned. Moreover, among the Japanese crew members whose ships were burned on Riishiri, there were commanders who also ran away and hid on Riishiri. About thirty [Russian] people, thinking that the Japanese might be hiding on Riishiri, landed, searched here and there, and laid Riishiri to waste too, and burned all the guard posts (*ban'ya*).

On the 3rd day of the 5th moon at 4 o'clock in the morning, they set four guards [free] and left all of them, including Torizō, on the burned Riishiri. They put them in a boat that was left from the ship *Seiryō-maru* and allowed them to go anywhere they wanted. In addition to three bags of rice and one old dress, they gave cloth and cotton fabric. (*Torizō still keeps a small piece<sup>44</sup> of this cloth that he got [from the Russians]*).

He got some more clothes.

Torizō was wearing a scarlet color cloth on the outside and a padded jacket on the inside, which was given to him, but it was impossible to fasten the buttons because it was too small for him. He was wearing a yukata underneath as underwear and had only one layer of clothing on him. The four guards were abandoned near Riishiri. They got very thirsty, so they landed on the shore [of this island] and went to look for water. They wandered around there for some time. Finally, Torizō found some densely growing

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<sup>44</sup> In the text it is written 1 *sun* 三寸, which literally means 3.03 cm, but in this context it means a small piece of cloth.

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coltsfoot and decided to check if there was some water there. He went into the bushes and found dirty water, which made him immensely happy. He called everyone, scooped up the water with his palms and quenched his thirst. Then, he filled all [available] containers with water. They pushed the boat away from the shore and rowed tirelessly all night. At 6 o'clock in the morning they reached the Western Lands of Ezo, the place called "Yuubutsu", and walked on foot to the place called "Batsukai".

There they accidentally met [government] officials from Hakodate named Tamura Sachu and Uchino Gorosaemon, who managed to escape from the ship *Banshun-maru*. They shared stories with each other about all the difficulties and threatening experiences they had to go through. [Finally] they managed to reach Hakodate.

### **The Third Part [of the First Volume of *Roshia Ibun*]**

The third part of *Roshia Ibun*, which consists of twenty-one handwritten pages, gives detailed description of Russian ships and the military weapons they were equipped with. It also offers a fascinating account of the everyday life of the Russians of the early 19th c. from the perspective of the Japanese guards. This kind of narrative was new and unusual for Japan in that period, which is probably the reason why the source received the title "Unusual Narrative about Russia". There are some interesting references to the rules and daily routine on the Russian ship during the voyage. It contains rare information about punishments applied to crew members during the voyage, about the ship's food menu and the goods that were taken by Russians during Khvostov's expedition. There is also information about the members of the crew with their names and occupations.

Moreover, in addition to the information about the first expedition in 1806, it contains important facts about the second expedition of Lieutenant Khvostov and midshipman Davidov to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in 1807. It depicts the damage done by the Russians in Iturup, in the settlements of Naibo and Shana. It also provides rare details about the Ainu and their appearance, and about how the Russians tried to distinguish the Japanese from the Ainu.

It contains highly significant information about the message from Khvostov, about the flags that the Japanese guards received from him to be used as a sign of their agreement or rejection to open trade with Russia, and

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about the consequences of their decision. The letter from Khvostov is also mentioned in the source, but it is quite interesting that Torizō decided to refrain from disclosing detailed information about it.

One can also find details about the journey that captured Japanese guards had to make to return to Japan, and about all the difficulties along the way. It is quite notable that an unusually large portion of text of this part, two pages out of twenty-one, is a description of their moral exhaustion and psychological stress. According to the source, even a waterfowl's sound could frighten them. Apparently, they were so scared that everything, even a drifting tree, reminded them of a Russian ship.

## Japanese text of the source

### 西藏等生得レ乗タル魯西亜船並ニ船中始終ノ物語

○文化丙寅唐太ヲ乱暴シ西藏等ヲ生得乗タル魯西亜船ハ北亜墨利加ニテ造リタル船ニテ長十五間横四間吃水一丈五尺程檣三本帆数三十一帆維ヲ張レルコト蛛網ノ如シコノ邦ノ二千石積程ノ船ニ見ヘタリト左仲語レリ一方ニ鉄眼十二左右合セテ二十四有テ各大銃ノ長三尺四尺五尺位ナルヲ架アリ鉄眼ノ大ハ何レモ方一尺八九寸程尤木蓋モ有テ内ニテ鉤匙ヲモテトムル如クナセリ又別ニ玉目三百目位ノ旋転昂低自在ニシカケタル筒六挺アリ又長七尺位玉目三貫目位ノ筒四挺アリ是ハ出船ノ時毎モ打曾戰ノ時モ偶打又長一尺七八寸玉目三百目位ノ短筒四挺アリ是モ旋転自由ノシカケナリ又三十目位ノ筒数挺アリテ曾戰ノ時ハ多分コノ筒ヲ用ユ忽ジテ大銃ハ紫金筒小銃ハ鉄筒ナリシトゾ

○艀ト云モノ一切ナシ搔楫バカリニテ船ヲツカフサレバ手甚痛様子ナリシ

○大将ノ名ハ「ミコラアラキサンタライチ」是ハ魯西亜本國ヨリ来レル由

○裨將ノ名ハ「イハンペトロイチ」同ク「ヒヨドロマルキイチ」

○舟師ノ名ハ「ヒヨドロキシヤノイチ」小光頭ハ「ピンカ」ト云リ

○船中ニ火工銃工鍛冶大工其外一切ノ諸職人盡アリ火工ハ名ヲ「コシテンキン」ト云リ銃工ハ名ヲ「エビヅル」治工ハ「ニブソロ」雜役合セテ六十人乗組タリ

○船中ノ物共頭ニハ緋羅紗ノ巾ヲ被リ領回ハ紗羅紗ノ切ニテ包ミ上輩ハ羅紗下輩ハ羅背板の釦ガケニ製シタル服ニ同ク釦ガケノ股引

ヲ穿リサレバ屈伸ハ甚不自由ナル様子ナリシ尤戦闘ニ臨デモ甲冑ト云フ更ニナシ

○股引ノ腰ヨリ上ニ左右同ク袋ヲ設アリテーノ基ニ筒挺銃ツキタル長一尺八寸玉目五錢目位ノ鳥銃ヲ左右ノ袋ニ一挺充挿リ 股引ハ西藏惠テ今ニ蔵セリ

[...]

○喧嘩ハ相仕置ナリ相手同士互ニ答シム尤喧嘩ヲシカケタル者ヲシカケラレタル者ヨリ先ヘウタシム

○忽ジテ船中起 寝食船ノ進退帆ノ上下其外何事ニヨラズ大将一人ノ令ノママナリサルニヨッテイカ程風烈テモ將ノ令ナキ内ハ帆ヲモ下ズ居眠シテ居令アレバ立ニ従フ影響毫モアヤマツコトナシ

[...]

○西藏生得レ初テ本船ヘ乗移タル時船中臭氣甚クタトヘン方ナシ是氣ニ撲レ何レモ病テ食事セザルコト三四日バカリサレド日数ヲ歴ニ從ヒナレタル故ニヤ後ニハ臭氣ヲ覺ザレシ

○船中ニテ食事ハ一日ニ三度麦ノ粉ノ餅ヲ子リ大方一尺五寸バカリニ堅タルヲ切テ鉢ニ入上ヘ布ヲカケテ持出火ニアブリテ各寄合テ食ス又食事ノ間ニ茶ノ中ヘ極テ色白冰糖ノ大塊ヲ一入一日ニ兩度充飲偶米ヲ食スルコトアレバ權ニカケテ粥ニタキ大将自ラ嘗め試淡ケレバ又米ヲカケ合テ加下々ヘモ食セシム西藏初生得レ當分ハ日本人ハナレバトテ格別ニ米ノ飯ヲ炊食セシメタリ但シ米ハ三斗入位ノ革ノ袋ニ入貯リトゾ

○偶味噌ヲモ食セシコトアリ米味噌共ニ盡クコノ 邦ヨリ奪取タル品ナリシ

○忽ジテ魯西亜ニハ茶産セズ唐山ヨリ交易シ来タルヲ貯持リ

○「ナイボウ」ヲ乱暴シタル時酒モ數十樽有ケルニ毒酒ニテハ無カト疑シニヤ先ズ西藏等不殘ヘ與ヘ暫クシテ何事モナキ様子ヲ見テ船中ノ者共盡ク集リ宴ヲ設テ歌ヒ舞ヒ様々興ヲ盡セシトゾ

○「シャナ」を乱暴の時ニ至「シャナ」ニハ東都ノ所司使ナドモ大勢アリ且南部家ヨリ警固ノ兵士モ數多アリ大小銃玉藥モ澤山アレバ彼等上陸シタリトモナドカ勝フヲ得ベキ今ニ鑿ニアハンコトノ心地ヨヤト西藏等耳語居ケルニ案ニ相違シ勝利ヲ得テ勝鬨ヲ作り歸リシユヘ皆切齒ナセシトゾ但シ「エトロプ」ニテ六人虜ニシ西藏等ト合テ十人船中ニテ一所ニヲケリ

○「エトロプ」ノ夷人共ハ近来 官ヨリ御手入 日本ノ俗ニ化セシメントニテ彼地衛宇近辺ノ夷人ハ男ハ魁頭サセ女ハ髪ヲ 日本風ニ理セ男女共コノ 邦ノ服ヲキセ差 日本人ニ異ナルフ無リシカバ彼地乱暴ノ時モ 日本人カト誤テ夷人ヲモ大勢カラメ来リシ若テ各本船ヘ移シ面

縛ヲトキ何ヤラン私語セシガ彼生口ノ者共ヲ盡ク裸體ニシケルニ渾身ニ毛ナキ者六人有テ餘ハ残ラズ毛在ケレバ毛ナキ者ハ留ヲキ餘ハ無用ノ者ナリトテ盡ク送リカヘセシトゾ

○船中ニテ地方ノ地形を圖スルニハ大ナル鏡ヲ立ソレヘ移シテ圖スルナリ山川城市田畝村落巧ナルコト譬ン方ナシ又日本ノ一枚画圖アリ細密ナルコト絶類ナリ

○何地ニヨラズ地方ヘ近ハ法馬ノ如重ヲ付タル縄ヲ下浅深ヲハカリテ過忽ジテ魯西亜ノ船ハ船底極テ深ユヘ水底ノ巖石ニテ碎ンコトヲ恐テナリ

○丙寅ノ歳生得レタル富五郎源七 唐太ノ藩人前ニ見ユ 西藏等ト同ク帰 國ヲ許サレ同船シテ帰リケルガ賊等クリカヘシ彼等ニ云ルハ汝ガ國交易ヲ許サズハ何マデモ汝ガ國ヲナヤマシ此度ノ如キ手並ヲ見スベシ明年四月ニハ又来ルベシトテ合圖ノ旗ヲ二本與フーハ白地ニ黒色ヲ以斜ニ十文字ヲ描タル旗一ハ青赤黒ニ三筋ノ旗ニテ明年再来リシ時交易ヲ許スナラハ三スデノ旗ヲ揚テ號トシ交易ヲ許サズバ十文字ノ旗ヲ揚ベシ其ヲ合圖ニ直ニ戰ヲトリ結バン尤唐太ト「エトロプ」ノニケ所ノ中ニテ互ニ旗ヲ合スベシト懇ニ云ヲクレリトゾ別ニ書翰ノ文アレド憚テコニ漏シヌ

○丁卯ノ歳西藏等「リイシリ」島ノ名前ニ見 ヨリ城龍丸ノ三枚船ニ乗蝦夷地ヲサシテ漕出シケル時遥向ノ沖間ヨリ異國船ト思シクテ千石餘ノ大船進來ルコハ又如何ナル憂目ニヤ遇ト進退途ヲ失ケルガ兎角スル内漸近ヨルニ從ヒ能々見レバ船ニハアラデ流レ木ニテ有シ梢ハ枹竿[帆柱]ノ如ク枝ハ帆綱ノ如ク遥ニ見レバ其状正ク魯西亜ノ如シカカル時節芒ノ穂ニモ怖ルルトヤラ西藏ナドハ心モ剛ニ力量モ普通ノ人ニマサリ血氣ノ若者ナリシカド最早自國モ近ナリ虎口ヲ逃シタル心地シテ自然ト氣モ緩ルニヤカカルコトニモ驚リ水鳥ノ羽音ニ驚タルモ寸<sup>45</sup>モ有ベキコトナラント云キ又最前「リイシリ」ニテ焼ステラレタル 官船萬春丸ニ乗組タル者ニ村上左金吾ト云ル者アリ是船未異変ナキ前有故中途ヨリ上陸シ西蝦夷地「オフィニシャ」ト云ル處ヲ過ケル時遥ニ大船ノ漂ルヲ見テ魯西亜船カト思ヒ狼狽シテ宗谷ヘ至ベシトノ 命ナルヲ宗谷ヘハ行ヤラデ逸足出シテ逃出シ函館サシテ帰リケルモ皆是流木ノ所為ニテ有シトゾ其後左金吾西藏トモ松前ニ来リ予ガ旅館ノ東隣故松前家ノ参政飛内龜右衛門ナル者ノ空邸ニ同居シテ居タリケルガ兩人折角コノ事ヲ物語リ互ニ坻掌セシトナン 村上左金吾ガ事跡ハ北征秘談ニ詳ナリ

<sup>45</sup> 寸 — とき (時)

## Translation from Japanese

### The story of how Torizō and the others were captured, put on a large Russian ship and about everything that happened on the ship

○ The Russian ship that committed violent acts on Karafuto in the year of the Fire Tiger of the Bunka era, and which carried the captured Torizō, was made in North America. Its length was 15 *ken*,<sup>46</sup> width 4 *ken*,<sup>47</sup> and the draft of the vessel was approximately 1 *jō* 5 *shaku*.<sup>48</sup> [The ship had] three masts, thirty-one sails, stretched sailing ropes looked like a spider's web. (*It says here that in appearance this ship was similar to Japanese ships, the carrying capacity of which is 2,000 koku*<sup>49</sup>). There are twelve gun ports on each side, for the total of twenty-four holes. The [barrel] length of most large guns is approximately 3 *shaku*, 4 *shaku* and 5 *shaku*.<sup>50</sup> There are suspension bridges. The size of the gun ports is 1 *shaku* 89 *sun*,<sup>51</sup> with wooden covers that were closed from the inside with a hook. In addition, there were six swivel guns,<sup>52</sup> the weight of the core of which was approximately 300 *me*,<sup>53</sup> There were also four guns, approximately 7 *shaku*<sup>54</sup> in length, with cannonballs weighing 3 *kan*.<sup>55</sup> They are fired upon departure [of a ship] and during battles. There were four more short-barreled guns, 1 *shaku* 7 or 8 *sun*<sup>56</sup> long, with cannonballs weighing approximately 300 *me*. Also with free rotation [of the barrel]. Several more guns with a 30-*me*<sup>57</sup> barrel. Most likely they were used during battles. Large guns had gilded barrels, and small ones had iron barrels.

○ There are no oars. They steer the ship using a steering wheel, which causes pain in the palms of their hands.

<sup>46</sup> *Ken* 間 — traditional Japanese unit of length 1.82 m, 15 *ken* = 27.3 m.

<sup>47</sup> 4 *ken* = 7.28 m.

<sup>48</sup> 1 *jō* 丈 = 10 *shaku* 尺 = 3.03 m, 1 *shaku* 尺 = 30.3 cm, 1 *jō* 5 *shaku* = 2 m 51 cm.

<sup>49</sup> 1 *koku* 石 = 180 liters. 2000 *koku* = 360 000 liters.

<sup>50</sup> 3 *shaku* 尺 = 90.9 cm, 4 *shaku* 尺 = 121.2 cm, 5 *shaku* 尺 = 151.5 cm.

<sup>51</sup> 1 *shaku* 尺 89 *sun* 寸 = 5 m 70 cm, 1 *sun* 寸 = 3.03 cm.

<sup>52</sup> A swivel gun is a small rotating artillery piece mounted on the side of a ship. In the Japanese text it is written as follows: 旋轉昂低自在, which can literally be translated as “low-rotation gun”.

<sup>53</sup> *Me* 目 = 3.75 gr, 300 *me* = 1 kg 125 gr.

<sup>54</sup> 7 *shaku* = 21.2 m.

<sup>55</sup> 3 *kan* 貫 = 11.25 kg (1 *kan* = 3.75 kg)

<sup>56</sup> 1 *shaku* 7 *sun* = 51 cm, 1 *shaku* 8 *sun* = 54 cm.

<sup>57</sup> 30 *me* = 112.5 gr.

○ The commander's name is "Mikora Arakisantaraiti". He is originally from Russia.

○ The names of assistant commanders are "Iwan Batoroichi" and "Hiyodoro Marukichi".

○ The name of the boatman<sup>58</sup> is "Hiyodoro Kishiitanoichi", the name of the person who is in charge of signal lights is "Binka".

○ There were representatives of different professions on the ship. Among the ship's crew there were: a person responsible for flares, weapons, a blacksmith, a carpenter and others. The name of the person in charge of the flares was "Koshitenkin". The person in charge of the weapon is "Ebizuru", the blacksmith is "Nibusoro". In total there were sixty crew members on [the ship].

○ The head of the crew was wearing a scarlet colored felt cloth with a wool gauze fabric around the collar. The senior ranks were wearing clothes made of felt, while the junior ranks were wearing thin woolen fabric, both had buttons attached to it. [They also] wore pants with buttons. They looked really uncomfortable and restrictive. During the battle they were not wearing armor.

○ Just above the waist, there were two identical bags that were attached to the right and left sides of the tight-fitting pants,<sup>59</sup> each of them contained one double-barreled gun — a musket,<sup>60</sup> the length of which was 1 *shaku* and 8 *sun*,<sup>61</sup> and the bullets were approximately 5 *sen*<sup>62</sup>. (*Torizō was given these pants. He still has them to this day.*) [...]

[...]

○ In case of a quarrel, both parties were punished by beating with sticks. The party that started the quarrel was punished first, and then the one that got involved in it.

○ Everything was done according to the general's decree: sleeping, eating, lowering and raising the sails. Even in strong winds, no one dared to lower

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<sup>58</sup> The characters 舟師, used in the original text, have two meanings: 1) boatman; 2) in the Edo period, a merchant who owned a cargo vessel and carried out shipping activities.

<sup>59</sup> 股引 — *momohiki* — tight-fitting trousers from the waist to the ankles.

<sup>60</sup> The term for musket which is used in the text of the source is *chōjū* 鳥銃, which literally translates as "bird" pistol. There are two reasons why the musket is called bird pistol in Japanese. First: the sound of the musket resembled a bird's cry. Second: this weapon was often used for hunting birds.

<sup>61</sup> 1 *shaku* and 8 *sun* — 54 cm.

<sup>62</sup> 18.75 gr.

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the sail without proper instructions. However, if the order was carried out with delay, there were certain consequences of such misbehavior as well.

[...]

○ When Torizō was captured and brought to the ship for the first time, the malodorous smell there was incomparable. Sickness overtook him and he did not eat for three or four days. He lost track of time. Because he got used to it, later he did not feel the stench.

○ They ate rye *mochi* two or three times a day on the ship. Its size was more or less 1 *shaku* 5 *sun*.<sup>63</sup> These hard [*mochi*] were cut in pieces, placed on a plate, covered with a cloth, fried over a fire, [and served for] everyone to eat. In addition, a couple of times a day during meals they drank tea with one large piece of snow-white candy sugar. When they ate rice, they weighed it and cooked porridge [from it]. The general himself tried it, and if the porridge was too watery, they added more rice. Everyone was fed, including those of lower rank. Even the captured Torizō was given the same portion as everyone else. Since he was Japanese, they separately prepared [a portion of rice] for him. Rice was stored in leather bags, the size of which was 3 *to*<sup>64</sup> each.

○ They even fed us *miso*. All the rice and *miso* were stolen from our country.

○ Tea is not produced in Russia, but purchased from China.

○ In Naibo, where the violent acts took place, there were several dozen barrels of sake. In order to check whether it was poisoned or not, they first gave it to Torizō and other [Japanese guards] to drink. Only after a while, when they were sure that they were fine, everyone gathered and celebrated. They sang and danced.

○ During the unrest in Shana, there were many [government] officials, envoys from the Eastern capital,<sup>65</sup> as well as a large number of warrior guards from the Nanbu clan.<sup>66</sup> There were many guns of various calibers, cannonballs and gunpowder. Torizō and the others whispered: “Even if they<sup>67</sup> landed, how could [they] win? I feel that soon they all will be killed”.

<sup>63</sup> 1 *shaku* 尺 5 *sun* 寸 = 45 cm.

<sup>64</sup> 3 *to* 三斗 (18 liters × 3) = 54 liters.

<sup>65</sup> The capital in the East. In Kyoto, the term “Capital in the East” was used to refer to Edo (modern Tokyo).

<sup>66</sup> The Nanbu clan 南部家 — a Japanese samurai family that ruled most of the Northeastern Honshu for over 700 years, from the Kamakura period until the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

<sup>67</sup> The Russians.

Since, contrary to all expectations, they won, shouted a victory cry and returned, all [Japanese] were gnashing their teeth [in anger]. However, on Iturup [the Russians] captured six people. A total of ten [Japanese] people, including Torizō and the other [three Japanese guards], were already onboard.

○ Recently, the Ainu on Iturup were under the tutelage of [Japanese] officials<sup>68</sup> and were experiencing Japanese influence, so the Ainu men who lived in the protected area tied their hair, and the Ainu women wore Japanese clothes and were practically no different from the Japanese. Therefore, during the unrest on their lands [the Russians] mistakenly captured many Ainu and took them to their ship. They untied their hands behind their backs while muttering: “What are we going to do?” They undressed all the prisoners. [They found out that] six had no hair on their bodies, but the rest did. They left only those who had no hair on their bodies, the rest were sent back, because they did not need [those with hair].

○ In order to create a map of the area, a large lens [a telescope] was placed on the ship and with its help they made sketches of mountains, rivers, castles, fields, and settlements. An example of peerless craftsmanship. It is like an exquisite Japanese painting with detailed descriptions.

○ No matter which shore they reached, they lowered a rope with something heavy at its end, similar to a weight, and measured the depth. Since Russian ships had low draft, they were afraid of a possible collision with underwater reefs.

○ Captured in the year of the Fire Tiger,<sup>69</sup> Tomigorō, Genshichi (*who were mentioned earlier and were guards on Karafuto*), together with Torizō and others returned [to their homeland].

○ Although they were allowed to return to the country by boat, the pirates repeatedly told them that if they still did not agree to open trade with their country, then they would continue to cause unrest, just like this time. They promised to arrive on the 4th moon of the next year. They gave us two signal flags. One was white with black diagonal stripes and a cross on it. The other flag had three stripes of blue, red and black. The following year, upon their re-arrival, if we agree to trade, the tricolor flag should be raised. In case of refusal, a flag with a cross on it. [However] if that signal [is raised], there will be an immediate military action. Moreover, they said that it was neces-

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<sup>68</sup> 官 *kan* or *tsukasa* — means “government agency” or “government official”.

<sup>69</sup> Heiin 丙寅 the year of the Fire Tiger, 1806.

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sary to coordinate signals between two places: Karafuto and Iturup. In addition, [they] handed [us] a letter, but I will refrain from mentioning it here.

○ In the year of the Fire Rabbit,<sup>70</sup> Torizō and the others got into a boat from the *Seiryō-maru* ship and began to row towards the lands of Ezo. At this time, something similar to a foreign ship of 1000 *koku*<sup>71</sup> in size appeared in the sea and it was approaching them. Anticipating misfortune, they no longer knew which way to swim. While they were thinking what to do, it finally approached. When they looked closely, they realized that it was not a ship, but a drifting floating tree. The top of the tree looked like a mast, and the branches looked like the rigging of sails. From a distance it looked very much like a Russian ship. At that time, even ears of susuki grass could have frightened them. Torizō and the others had brave hearts and were stronger than any ordinary person. Although they were young and ardent people, the homeland was already close, they felt as if they had escaped from the tiger's mouth. At that moment, even the sounds of flapping wings of waterfowl could frighten them. Moreover, there was a man named Murakami Sakingo among the crew of the government ship *Bansen-maru* that was burned on Riishiri a while ago. He disembarked the ship before [these events] while it was in full working order. As he passed a place called “Ofinishia” in the western lands of Ezo, he saw a huge ship drifting in the distance, and thought that it was a Russian ship. In confusion, even though the order was “must reach Soya”, he did not go as far as Soya, galloped fleeing, and returned in the direction of Hakodate. All this happened because of the drifting tree. Subsequently, Sakingo and Torizō arrived in Matsumae and for some time lived together in the vacant room of a man named Kame Uemon from Tobinai<sup>72</sup> [village], the executive<sup>73</sup> of the Matsumae clan in the East, in my *ryokan*. It was there that they shared their stories with each other. (*Murakami Sakingo described all events in detail in [a work titled] Hokusei Hidan 北征秘談 [The Secret Narrative about the Northern Expedition]*).

<sup>70</sup> Teibō 丁卯 The year of the Fire Rabbit. 1807.

<sup>71</sup> 1 *koku* 石 = 180 liters. 1000 *koku* = 180 000 liters.

<sup>72</sup> Tobinai 飛内 — a name of village in the beginning of the 19th c. Nowadays it is a district in the Aomori Prefecture.

<sup>73</sup> Executive *sansei* 参政 — during the Edo period (1603–1868) this was the name given to vassals of *daimyo* — feudal lords. Essentially, they were representatives of local authorities. Their responsibilities included managing the domains.



## Special Signs

[...] — text is omitted

[ ] — additional comments of this article's author

(...) — explanation notes in the text of *Roshia Ibun* in smaller characters

## Conclusion

According to *Roshia Ibun*, Torizō served as a guard at Kushunkotan settlement on Sakhalin. From this source we learned that guards did not understand the language of the lands of Ezo, they were very similar to townspeople, but had great power over local Ainu inhabitants and used their force to make them obey their orders. Upon his extraordinary return to Japan, Torizō could get a job at Matsumae, but was fired a few months later. The source does not mention any information about his further destiny.

The way Torizō perceives the meeting with the Russians differs greatly from the way it is described in Russian archival materials. He states that the Russians “pulled out something that looked like a book, said something but we did not understand this sparrow language at all”. It becomes clear that the Japanese could not understand anything from their conversations, except one word “trade”.

This source contains valuable information about the signal flags and the letter that the four Japanese guards received from Lieutenant Khvostov. Although Torizō does not mention details about the letter's content, he describes the flags and how they were meant to be used. He also claims that Khvostov intended to return to these lands to obtain an answer to the main question: whether Japan was ready to open trade with Russia or not.

Torizō and other four guards were set free at the Riishiri island. Later on, in the western lands of Ezo they met several government officials from Hakodate. According to Torizō, they were Tamura Sachu and Uchino Gorosaemon, who managed to escape from the ship *Banshun-maru*, and Murakami Sakingo who was also among the crew of the *Bansen-maru*. Here it should be noted that this is the name of one ship (the characters are identical, but for some reason the source gives two different readings of the same name). It is important, however, that all of them shared their stories and experiences with each other, and this might explain the fact that there are similar stories about these four guards in other Japanese sources of the beginning of the 19th c.

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## Franks in the Post-Crusade Merits of Jerusalem (*Fada'il al-Quds*): Narratives and Conceptualization<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract:* Merits of Jerusalem (*Fada'il al-Quds*), which belong to the genre of Islamic sacred geography, constitute a valuable but still under-researched source for studying the memory of the Crusades in the Levant and Egypt after the expulsion of the Crusaders from the Holy Land. Analysis of the most popular works of this genre created after 1291 shows that in the subsequent centuries the theme of the Crusades and the violation of the Islamic sacred spaces by the Franks played an increasingly important role in treatises of this type. In the works from the late 15th c., a comprehensive narrative of the Frankish invasion was established, centered around the struggle for Jerusalem and the figure of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, while contemporary Islamic historiography had not yet developed a comprehensive history of the conflict with the Franks at that point. The works of the period under review also blame the Franks for interrupting the transmission of Islamic knowledge.

*Key words:* Crusades, Islamic history, Arab history, Jerusalem, Palestine, sacred spaces

### Introduction

Sacred spaces of Palestine, and especially Jerusalem itself, have been a subject of conflict many times throughout history. Examining the cultural memory of the various stages of this struggle in the Middle Ages is significant for studying the background of dramatic events in the region during the 20th and 21st cc. One of the most important periods, the memory of which it is essential to analyze, is the epoch of the Crusades.<sup>2</sup> The usual main sources for this kind of research are treatises of medieval historians and writings of

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<sup>2</sup> HILLENBRAND 1999: 589–590, SOKOLOV 2023a: 13–15.

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travelers.<sup>3</sup> The image of the Crusades as it was presented in folk culture of the Levant and Egypt has also been explored recently.<sup>4</sup> In this paper, I will discuss in detail *Fada'il al-Quds* (the Merits of Jerusalem), a genre of medieval Islamic sacred geography, which represents another significant type of sources that have previously been understudied in the context of the image of the Crusades and the perception of the Franks<sup>5</sup> (Western Europeans) in the cultural memory of the Middle East in the Late Middle Ages.

As noted by Fadi Ragheb, author of the most recent and in-depth study on the *fada'il* tradition, the *fada'il* literature is a large corpus of Muslim writings from early to late medieval period. These writings were composed to extol the religious '*faḍīla*', merit or excellence, of different topics, such as the Qur'an, the Companions of the Prophet, and Muslim cities. *Fada'il al-Quds* are religio-historical writings on medieval Islamic Jerusalem that were composed to praise the religious and historical importance of the city in Islam.<sup>6</sup> A comprehensive bibliography of recent research on the *Fada'il al-Quds* genre can be found in recent publications by Ragheb.<sup>7</sup> The seminal study of manuscripts of this genre is the fundamental work by 'Asālī.<sup>8</sup>

*Fada'il* are an important type of sources that have been studied extensively in the last decades, but these treatises have mainly attracted attention of scholars of sacred spaces and Islamic shrines in the Levant. They have not been widely considered a useful source for studying the memory of the Crusades, despite being a popular type of literary work in the Islamic culture of the Mamluk era, when this genre flourished.<sup>9</sup> *Fada'il*, however, are significant for memory studies precisely because they constitute a rich source of images of the Franks as they were being depicted after the Crusades. I will limit the discussion to the period prior to the Ottoman Conquest, during which the popularity of the *fada'il* genre decreased.<sup>10</sup>

This study is aimed to examine the contexts in which the Franks are mentioned in the post-Crusade works of the genre, as well as how the Frankish presence in the Holy Land was understood and conceptualized. Of particular

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<sup>3</sup> BAUDEN 2014, GABRIELI 2010.

<sup>4</sup> SOKOLOV 2023b.

<sup>5</sup> Until the early 20th c. the Western Europeans were denoted in Arabic by lexemes *fīrandj*, *ifrandj* or *farandja* i.e. the Franks.

<sup>6</sup> RAGHEB 2020: 79.

<sup>7</sup> RAGHEB 2020: 75–122; RAGHEB 2023: 69–99.

<sup>8</sup> 'ASALĪ 1981.

<sup>9</sup> RAGHEB 2023: 73.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

interest are the contexts describing actions of the Franks towards Islamic sacred spaces. This article, in a way, serves as a continuation of Suleiman Mourad's research comparing the treatises of the *Fada'il al-Quds* genre from the era before the Crusades with those written during the Frankish occupation of the Holy Land.<sup>11</sup> I focus specifically on the historical accounts about the Franks found in *fada'il* from the 14th and 15th cc. For the scrutiny and classification of historical narratives about the Franks in post-Crusade *fada'il* I apply the methods of the history of ideas, focusing on the concepts and constructs the authors of *fada'il* created in relation to the Franks and the history of the Crusades. Hayden White, discussing the process of creating historical narratives, focused on "the universal need not only to narrate, but also to give to events an aspect of narrativity".<sup>12</sup> Based on this, the approaches to the organization of texts of the treatises are also examined.

This kind of study also requires the method of discourse analysis. As Keith Jenkins noted, "history is one of a series of discourses about the world. These discourses do not create the world but they do appropriate it and give it all the meanings it has".<sup>13</sup> Thus, it is essential to examine not only the events that the author of a historical work incorporates into the constructed images of the past and the cause-and-effect relationships he establishes among them, but also the terms and the literary means by which he presents the subject of the narrative. This approach enables us to obtain supplementary, sometimes crucial, information about the character of cultural memory regarding the subject under study. It should also be noted that although the Crusaders in the treatises under consideration are mentioned not only as the Franks, but also contextually as 'Christians' and 'infidels', the study is limited to examination of the contexts in which the lexemes *firandj*, *ifrandj* and *farandja* are used. Since the article is mainly focused on the portrayal of the Franks as an ethnic group, it is essential in what contexts the authors employ these specific terms.

## Sources of the study

Five of the most prominent and widely circulated works of the *fada'il* genre, written by Muslim authors between the end of the Crusades in 1291

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<sup>11</sup> MOURAD 2010: 3–8.

<sup>12</sup> WHITE 1987: 4.

<sup>13</sup> JENKINS 2004: 6–7.

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and the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and the Levant in 1517, have been selected as primary sources for this research.<sup>14</sup>

1. *Bā'ith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-quds al-mahrūs* (The motivator of souls to visit the protected Jerusalem) by Abū Ishāq ibn al-Firkāh (1262–1329). Manuscript V280 from Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (Leipzig). Copied 1129 H (1717 CE), 28 ff.<sup>15</sup>

2. *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-quds wa al-shām* (The introducer of passion about visiting Jerusalem and al-Sham) by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḥdīsī (d. 1363). The critical edition under consideration is based on the Manuscript 1667 from the National Library of France (Paris).<sup>16</sup>

3. *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas* (The flourishing garden of the merits of Jerusalem) by Abū al-Naṣr Tādj al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī (1387–1470). Manuscript 22860 (Ādāb 674), Azhar Library (Cairo). Copied 1061 H (1651 CE), 195 ff.<sup>17</sup>

4. *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa bi-faḍā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā* (A gift to friends about the merits of al-Aqsa) by Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (1410–1475). The critical edition under consideration is based on the Manuscript 1829 from Dār al-kutub (Cairo).<sup>18</sup>

5. *Al-Uns al-djalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-quds wa al-khalīl* (The glorious history of Jerusalem and Hebron, 1496) by Mudjīr al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī (1456–1522). The critical edition under consideration is based on the Manuscript B.L. 8516 from the British Library (London).<sup>19</sup>

It is necessary to note the key difference between the most famous post-Crusade *fada'il* and the *fada'il* of the Crusader period, which consists in the fact that in the two most famous *fada'il* of the Crusader era the Franks are practically not mentioned. Moreover, not only the lexeme Franks (*fīrandj*) is absent, but also the lexemes infidels (*kuffār*, *kafara*) and Christians (*naṣārā*) are almost never found. In *Faḍā'il al-quds*<sup>20</sup> (Merits of Jerusalem) by Abū al-Faradj 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī ibn al-Jawzī (1116–1201) the lexem

<sup>14</sup> RAGHEB 2023: 73; KRACHKOVSKY 1957: 504–510.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn al-Firkāh, Abū Ishāq. *Bā'ith al-nufūs ilā ziyārat al-quds al-mahrūs* [The motivator of souls to visit the protected Jerusalem]. Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig (Leipzig), Ms. V280.

<sup>16</sup> AL-MAQDISI 1994: 41–46.

<sup>17</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, Abū al-Naṣr Tādj al-Dīn. *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas* [The flourishing garden of the merits of Jerusalem]. Azhar Library (Cairo), Ms. 22860 (Ādāb 674).

<sup>18</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ, 1982: I, 34–38.

<sup>19</sup> AL-'ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 42.

<sup>20</sup> IBN AL-JAWZĪ 1980.

*firandj* is mentioned once,<sup>21</sup> the same as *kuffār* (in the context about King Sulaymān (Solomon), and *naṣārā* is not mentioned at all. In *Faḍā'il bayt al-maqdis*<sup>22</sup> (Merits of Jerusalem<sup>23</sup>) by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisi (d. 1245) *firandj* and *naṣārā* are not mentioned, while *kuffār* are mentioned once in a quotation from a hadith.<sup>24</sup>

In post-Crusade treatises the situation is different. While the Franks are still not mentioned in *Bā'ith al-nufūs*, in *Muthīr al-gharām* and *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras* they appear in important contexts. Furthermore, in *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* they are cited in many dozens of passages. Before proceeding to the analysis of the narratives about the Franks, it is worth noting that *Bā'ith al-nufūs* seems to be typologically similar to *fada'il* from the Crusader period, as they are characterized by Suleiman Mourad,<sup>25</sup> since it is also short and focuses on 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb's (582/583–644) conquest of Jerusalem. In this treatise the term *kāfir* is mentioned once in the context about the deeds of prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham), while *naṣārā* is not mentioned at all.

## Conceptualization of the Frankish invasion

*Muthīr al-gharām* and *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras* do not give a general overview of the struggle against the Franks, noting only the facts of their capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the reconquest of the city by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187.<sup>26</sup> In contrast, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* provide a much more complex perspective. Let us examine two significant aspects of how the Frankish presence in the Levant is conceptualized in the last two mentioned sources.

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<sup>21</sup> Hillenbrand notes that Ibn al-Jawzī praised Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (1137–1193) for recapturing Jerusalem, but he is mentioned in this treatise in only one small fragment. HILLENBRAND 1999: 179. However, Ibn al-Jawzī describes in detail the history of the struggle against the Franks in his main historical work *al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa al-umam*.

<sup>22</sup> AL-MAQDISI 1988.

<sup>23</sup> The translation of the title coincides with the one of Ibn al-Jawzī's work because two different names of Jerusalem, al-Quds and Bayt al-maqdis, are used in the Arabic titles of these treatises.

<sup>24</sup> On less widespread *fada'il* of the Crusades era, see: HILLENBRAND 1999: 238; MOURAD 2010: 4–8.

<sup>25</sup> MOURAD 2010: 7–8.

<sup>26</sup> The images of these events in the post-Crusade *fada'il* will be analyzed in the next section.

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The first aspect is the creation of a coherent narrative around the conflict with the Franks, starting with the events of the First Crusade. These sources provide a detailed account of the battles against the Crusaders and relevant information regarding their desecration of holy places, with particular focus on the events of the First (1096–1099), Third (1189–1192), Fifth (1217–1221), and Sixth (1228–1229) Crusades. Regarding the reasons for defeats and the loss of control over Jerusalem, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* highlight internal conflicts among Muslims as the primary cause.<sup>27</sup>

Description of events following the Sixth Crusade varies slightly in these two sources. In *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa*, after a description of the surrender of Jerusalem to Frederick II (1194–1250), there is a detailed account of the capture of the city by al-Nāṣir Dawūd (1206–1261), the ruler of al-Karak, in 1239. This passage emphasizes his bravery and the symbolic importance of his victory<sup>28</sup>. According to al-Suyūṭī: “*al-Nāṣir defeated the infidels and polytheists, the enemies of the [true] faith, on the day of their greatest holiday, in which they gather for infidelity, wine drinking and raising of the cross as they ordinarily do on the days of their holidays*”.<sup>29</sup>

The narrative about the history of Jerusalem and the conflict with the Franks in *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* ends at this point, and the author presents events as if in 1239 the city was conquered by Muslims and never lost again. That is, the work does not mention al-Nāṣir Dawūd’s surrender of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in 1243 nor the reconquest of the city by the Khwarezmians in 1244. In turn, *al-Uns al-djalīl* provides a detailed report of Frederick II’s capture of Jerusalem,<sup>30</sup> followed by the capture of the city by al-Nāṣir Dawūd in 1239<sup>31</sup> and its subsequent transfer back to the Crusaders,<sup>32</sup> and finally the conquest of the city by Khwarezmians in 1244.<sup>33</sup> According to Haim Gerber’s evaluation of the information about the Crusades in *al-Uns al-djalīl*: “Then we are given an account of fresh efforts by the Franks to take Jerusalem, a description of the wrangling over the destruction of the city’s walls in 1219 (an effort to prevent another massacre), the ceding of the

<sup>27</sup> See, for example: AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 281–282; AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 65.

<sup>28</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 286–289.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.: I, 288. Intṣāra al-nāṣir ‘alā al-kafara wa al-mushrikīn a’dā’ al-dīn yawm ‘īdihim al-akbar allādhī yadjtami’ūn fīhī ‘alā al-kufr wa sharb al-khamr wa raf’ al-ṣalīb ‘alā ‘ādātihim fī ayām a’yādhim.

<sup>30</sup> AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 555–556.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.: II, 31–34.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.: II, 34–35.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.: II, 36–38.



city to the German emperor in 1229 and the final reconquest in 1244. With this event Mujir al-Dīn's account of the Crusades breaks off. There are no more episodes concerning Jerusalem, so there is no further reason to deal with the Crusades, as he himself states".<sup>34</sup>

This statement, however, does not seem to be entirely accurate, since Mudjir al-Dīn actually describes all the key episodes of the confrontation with the Franks in the Mamluk period, but in the section on the outstanding rulers of Jerusalem. Among them, after 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, he singles out Baybars (1223–1277),<sup>35</sup> Qalāwūn (1222–1290)<sup>36</sup> and al-Ashraf Khalīl (1262–1293).<sup>37</sup> This part of Mudjir al-Dīn's description of the final stage of the fighting against the Crusaders is separated from the main narrative that begins in 1099 and ends in 1244 with the section about Jerusalem's sacred spaces. Nevertheless, the reader is informed about the ending of the conflict, since Mudjir al-Dīn describes the expulsion of the Franks until the fall of Acre in 1291. He especially emphasizes the finality and irreversibility of the cleansing of the Levant from them: "*And [the lands of] the Levant and the coasts were purified from the Franks, after they had set against the lands of Egypt and possessions of Damascus and other [lands of] of the Levant*".<sup>38</sup> And further: "*And the fall of the Franks and the destruction of their state in the lands of Islam and the coasts happened in a manner from which there is no return*".<sup>39</sup>

In *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa*, a similar concept of the eternal exile of the Crusaders is found, which Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, however, associates with the recapture of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187: "*And mentioning of its*<sup>40</sup> *conquest by the sultan, the victorious king Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf bin Ayūb and rescuing it from the hands of the Franks and elimination of their traces from it and returning al-Aqsa and the noble Dome of the Rock to how they have to be, and the lasting of it until now and until the Day of Judgment, if Allah wills*".<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> GERBER 2008: 63.

<sup>35</sup> AL-'ULAYMĪ 1999: II, 151–155.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.: II, 155–157.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.: II, 157–158.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.: II, 158. Wa taṭaḥharat al-shām wa al-sawāḥil min al-ifrandj ba'da an kānū ashrafū 'alā al-diyār al-miṣriyya wa 'alā mulk dimashq wa ghayrihā min al-shām.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.: II, 158. Wa kāna inqitā' al-ifrandj wa zawāl dawlatihim min bilād al-islām wa al-sawāḥil zawl lā rujū' ba'dahu.

<sup>40</sup> I.e. the conquest of Jerusalem.

<sup>41</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 225. Wa dhikr fath al-sultān al-malik al-nāṣir [ṣalāḥ al-dīn] yūsuf bin ayūb lahu wa istinqādhihi min ayday al-farandj wa izālat āthārihim minhu wa i'ādat al-masdjid al-aqṣā wa al-ṣakhrā al-sharīfa ilā mā kāna 'alayhi wa istimrārihi 'alā dhalika ḥattā al-ān wa ilā yawm al-qiyāma in shā'a allāh.

The logical explanation for this may be that after this event, the sacred spaces of al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock were never desecrated again by the Crusaders, despite their occupation of the city between 1219 and 1244. In this context it is important that *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* thus provide a symbolic conclusion of the conflict with the Franks. Moreover, although this structural element is also found in the works of post-Crusade Arab historians, in their works the events of the conflict are listed alongside other wars in the Islamic world, either divided among dynastic histories or biographies.

It is essential for us to note that the accounts of the conflict with the Franks constitute significant parts of *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl*,<sup>42</sup> as these works detail the struggle against the Crusader presence, with Jerusalem undoubtedly at the heart of the narrative. Based on this, a significant feature of *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* is their conceptualization of the conflict from 1099 to 1244 as a continuous and comprehensive narrative of the struggle against the Franks in the Levant and Egypt. It is noteworthy that these works were created several decades before *al-I'lām wa al-tabyīn fī khurūj al-farandj al-malā'in 'alā diyār al-muslimīn* (The Exposition and Explanation of the Cursed Franks' Departure to Muslim Lands) by Aḥmad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1526), which was the first historical work entirely dedicated to the history of the Frankish invasion.

The second important aspect is the representation of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as the main figure in the narratives about the Franks. In the historiographical construct of the struggle against them which was formed in the post-Crusade period, Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (1118–1174), Baybars and Qalāwūn played a key role, but they are hardly mentioned in *fada'il* (with only a brief mentioning of Baybars and Qalāwūn in *al-Uns al-djalīl*), since they were not involved in the reconquest of Jerusalem. Although the prominence of the image of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in *al-Uns al-djalīl* has been noted by scholars such as Donald Little,<sup>43</sup> Diana Abouali,<sup>44</sup> Haim Gerber<sup>45</sup> and Jonathan Phillips,<sup>46</sup> all of

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<sup>42</sup> With regard to *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Haim Gerber noted this, but not in the context of conceptualizing the war with the Franks as it is presented in Islamic sources. See: GERBER 2008: 63.

<sup>43</sup> LITTLE 1995: 241.

<sup>44</sup> ABOUALI 2011: 179. Along with *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Diana Abouali also briefly mentions *Muthīr al-gharām* in connection with the promotion of the image of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

<sup>45</sup> GERBER 2008: 63.

<sup>46</sup> PHILLIPS 2020: 333. Among post-Crusade *fada'il*, Phillips briefly mentions only *al-Uns al-djalīl*, noting the central role of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in it.

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these authors focused specifically on the depiction of this historical figure. For our study of the image of the Franks, it is important that *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* offer an alternative perspective on the struggle against the Crusaders through the lens of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's leadership, which is unusual for the parallel historiographical tradition of the Mamluk period that ascribed the glory of defeating the Franks to him, Nūr al-Dīn and the abovementioned Mamluk sultans. It is also worth noting that historical writings from the 14th and 15th cc. highlight the struggle against the Franks in Egypt, giving detailed descriptions of the Fifth (1217–1221) and Seventh (1248–1254) Crusades, while the *fada'il* narratives, although they include the confrontation with the Franks in other regions, are centered on Jerusalem. As noted in *al-Uns al-djalīl*: “Then I mention the dominance of the Franks and their capture of Jerusalem after that due to the weakness of the Fatimid state and their bad organization, then I mention righteous conquest with which God Almighty delighted by the hands of the sultan the victorious king Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn”.<sup>47</sup>

Likewise, the concept of the conflict with the Franks in *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* is focused on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, as the author equates the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 with the conquest of the city by ‘Umar bin al-Ḥaṭṭāb, which he refers to as *al-faḥayn al-‘azīẓayn*<sup>48</sup> (the two precious conquests). At the same time, the recapture of Jerusalem by al-Nāṣir Dawūd in 1239, although it is surely less significant, is presented as a glorious continuation of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's deeds. When describing the capture of the city by al-Nāṣir Dawūd, the author quotes the poem about the ritual purification of Jerusalem, in which the ruler of Karak is associated with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn:<sup>49</sup> “And the victorious one purified it firstly and the victorious one purified it finally”.<sup>50</sup> Thus, all three mentioned conquests of the city by Muslims in *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* appear to be connected through the character of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.

<sup>47</sup> AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 65. Thumma adhkurū taghallub al-farandj wa istilā’ahum ‘alā bayt al-maqdis ba‘da dhalika li ḍu‘af dawlat al-fāṭimiyyīn wa sū’ tadbīrihim thumma adhkurū al-faḥ al-ṣalāḥī allādhī yasurruhu allāh ta‘ālā ‘alā yad al-sulṭān al-malik al-nāṣir ṣalāḥ al-dīn.

<sup>48</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 126.

<sup>49</sup> Word play: Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's *laqab* ‘al-malik al-nāṣir’ (the victorious king) and al-Karak ruler's name al-Nāṣir (the victorious).

<sup>50</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 289. Fa nāṣir ṭahharahu awwalan wa nāṣir ṭahharahu ākhiran.

## Narratives of the fall (1099) and reconquest (1187) of Jerusalem

As for the events of 1099,<sup>51</sup> all four treatises describe the capture of Jerusalem during the First Crusade (1096–1099), focusing on the fate of its Muslim population and plunder of sacred spaces.

In *Muthīr al-gharām*, following the account on the conquest of Jerusalem by ‘Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb, there is a passage describing the capture of the city by Crusaders following the siege during the First Crusade: “*The Franks were besieging it for more than forty days and captured it on the morning of Friday of [that] year, and a large number of Muslims were killed there in one week, and in al-Aqsa mosque more than seventy thousand were killed, and they took from the Dome of the Rock golden and silver vessels which cannot be counted, and the Muslims in other lands of Islam became very anxious because of that*”.<sup>52</sup> Further, there is a brief mention of the conquest of other towns by the Franks along the Levantine coast. The statement about Muslims’ great worry reflects a prevalent tendency to emphasize the importance of liberating Jerusalem from Frankish occupation, which developed during the times of Nūr al-Dīn, and intensified under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn’s rule.<sup>53</sup>

In *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras*<sup>54</sup> and *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa*<sup>55</sup> the history of the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders is given with references to *Muthīr al-gharām* and contains the same facts. *Al-Uns al-djalīl*, in turn, provides a more detailed report on the capture of the city. It describes the killing of an immense number of Muslims, plunder, and a three-day siege of the al-Aqsa

<sup>51</sup> For a detailed analysis of the Islamic discourse on the fall of Jerusalem in 1099, see the article by Konrad Hirschler (HIRSCHLER 2014: 37–76).

<sup>52</sup> AL-MAQDISI 1994: 168–169. Aqāma ‘alayhi al-farandj nayyif wa arba‘in yawm wa malakūhu ḍuḥā nahār al-djum‘a min al-sana wa qutila fihi min al-muslimīn khalaq kathīr fī muddat usbū‘ wa qutila fī masjid al-aqṣā mā yazīdu ‘alā sab‘in alf wa akhadhū min ‘inda al-ṣakhra min awānī al-dhahab wa al-ḥiḍḍa ma lā yaḍbituhu al-ḥaṣr wa inza‘adja bi sababihi al-muslimūn fī sā‘ir bilād al-islām ghāyat al-inzi‘adj.

<sup>53</sup> The reaction of contemporary Muslims to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 is difficult to assess, as there is limited information available from the historical records. See HILLENBRAND 1999: 69–74.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī, Abū al-Naṣr Tādī al-Dīn. *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas* [The flourishing garden of the merits of Jerusalem]. Azhar Library (Cairo), Ms. 22860 (Ādāb 674): 81v.

<sup>55</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 246–247.

Mosque.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, it includes a narrative about the flight of surviving residents and their request for assistance from Caliph al-Mustazhir (1078–1118) in Baghdad.<sup>57</sup> The passage about the massacre of seventy thousand Muslims, first appearing in the work of Ibn al-Jawzī (1116–1201), was further disseminated through the writings of Ibn al-Athīr (1160–1233) and replicated in subsequent sources.<sup>58</sup>

A correlation of the examined descriptions of the capture of Jerusalem by the Franks allows us to draw the following conclusions. We observe the preservation of a traumatic narrative of the conquest being replicated within the *fada'il* genre, as *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras* and *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* cite *Muthīr al-gharām* on this. However, it is remarkable that the narrative of *Muthīr al-gharām* does not follow the three-part structure for describing the fall of the city (massacre, plunder, delegation to the caliph), which Hirschler attributes to Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr, instead, only two elements, massacre and plunder, are given in it. Thus, the popular post-Crusade *fada'il* provide their own two-component short narrative, which differs from the much more detailed three-component one popularized in the post-Crusade historical literature. Among the popular *fada'il* under consideration, only *al-Uns al-djalīl* differs from the rest, since this treatise is based precisely on the post-Crusade Arab historiographical tradition, and presents a classic three-component structure. Thus, it is possible to supplement the statement of Hirschler, who noted that “the development of jihād-treatises and treatises on the merits of Jerusalem thus mirrored the development in historiographical texts, where the increasingly hegemonic Islamic narrative replaced the previously broad range of perspectives”.<sup>59</sup> In this case, it is safe to distinguish two different narratives about the capture of Jerusalem in the post-Crusade *fada'il*: one originated from historical writings of the late 12th c. and has become established within the *fada'il* tradition since *Muthīr al-gharām*, while the other one represents a direct adaptation of the dominant historical narrative of the 13th–15th cc.

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<sup>56</sup> Hirschler noted that the narrative created by al-'Ulaymī for the first time in the written tradition mentions the three-day ultimatum to leave al-Aqsa. Al-'Ulaymī replaced with it Ibn al-Athīr's passage about the three-day siege of the Tower of David. See: HIRSCHLER 2014: 68.

<sup>57</sup> AL-'ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 445–448.

<sup>58</sup> HIRSCHLER 2014: 54.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.: 70.

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Another important narrative about the Franks in the considered *fada'il* is the story of the reconquest of Jerusalem by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187.<sup>60</sup> In *Muthīr al-gharām*, in the section on prominent personalities of the city, the mention of the very fact of the reconquest precedes the section on sermons, including the first *khutba* read after the capture of the city: “*Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Franks more than ninety years, until Allah conquered it by the hand of the victorious king Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*”.<sup>61</sup> However, in the following section, al-Maqdisī refers to the opponents of the Sultan by the general terms ‘Christians’ and ‘infidels’, not mentioning the Franks, while citing the texts of sermons and commenting on them, as well as providing information about the deeds of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.<sup>62</sup> In *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras*, which relies heavily on *Muthīr al-gharām* and refers to it, the passages about the reconquest are relatively brief, while the Franks are referred to using an almost identical phrasing.<sup>63</sup>

The latest treatises *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* give voluminous, detailed, yet similar descriptions of the capture of the city that comprise the following components: the siege, discussions regarding the terms of capitulation, the process of the Crusaders’ withdrawal, descriptions of the alterations they made to the sacred spaces of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa.<sup>64</sup> These *fada'il* also describe how these shrines were reclaimed by the Muslims after the recapture, as well as the first *khutba* after the expulsion of the Franks. In terms of the facts presented, these two works provide a similar picture, but *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* gives more details regarding the siege, while its depiction of the recapture of Jerusalem is more extensive overall due to the fact that this work is considerably more emotional and filled with literary flourishes, while *al-Uns al-djalīl* presents a narrative which is closer to the style of *khiṭaṭ* (historical chronicle) genre.

<sup>60</sup> For a detailed analysis of the Islamic discourse on the reconquest of Jerusalem, see the article by Javier Albarrán (ALBARRÁN 2024: 161–182), which focuses mainly on the views of Muslim historians and theologians.

<sup>61</sup> AL-MAQDISĪ 1994: 367. Lam yazil al-bayt al-muqddas fī ayday al-farandj nayyif wa tis‘īn sana ilā an fatahahu allāh ta‘ālā ‘alā yad al-malik al-nāṣir ṣalāḥ al-dīn.

<sup>62</sup> In her analysis of the image of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Diana Abouali only notes that this historical figure is mentioned in *Muthīr al-gharām*. ABOUALI 2011: 179.

<sup>63</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, Abū al-Naṣr Tādj al-Dīn. *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas* [The flourishing garden of the merits of Jerusalem]. Azhar Library (Cairo), Ms. 22860 (Ādāb 674): 82r.

<sup>64</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 247–275; AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 474–486.

These two *fada'il* also give a similar description of the changes made by the Franks in al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock, with quotations borrowed from 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī (1125–1201), Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr and Abū Shāma (1203–1267): “*And as for the Dome of the Rock, the Franks built a church and an altar above it <...> and decorated it with pictures and monuments and assigned places for monks and a stand for the Gospel*”.<sup>65</sup> Both *fada'il* also contain the story of the Franks cutting off a piece from the Dome of the Rock and selling it in Constantinople for its weight in gold.<sup>66</sup> At the same time, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* provides more details, in particular, the story about the Footprint of the Prophet, which the Crusaders called the Footprint of Christ, taken from 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī: “*And [they] dedicated to the Footprint a small gold-plated dome on columns erected from marble and said [that it was] a footprint of Christ*”.<sup>67</sup> The treatises also actively emphasize the ritual cleansing of Jerusalem from the Franks after its conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. For example, al-Suyūṭī says that: “*Jerusalem was consecrated from filth of the Franks, people of the taint*”.<sup>68</sup>

Both works, after the passages regarding the capture of Jerusalem, also discuss the impact it had on Europe and describe how large forces of the Franks departed from there to wage war against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. For instance, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* reports that an envoy from the Holy Land attempted to assemble forces of the Franks in Europe following their crushing defeat: “*And he dramatized this for the Franks and the arrogance of ignorance took them and they were gathering until the number of men and money [which] cannot be counted came to them*”.<sup>69</sup> We also find a passage regarding the gathering of troops even from the most remote Frankish regions in *al-Uns al-djalīl*: “*Refugees from the infidels arrived in the farthest lands of the Franks, and they were impersonating the image of Christ, peace be upon him, and the image of the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, with a club in his hand, and he was chasing Christ to strike him, and Christ was running away from him, and they raised hideousness and noises in their*

<sup>65</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ: I, 270–271; AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 484. Wa ammā al-ṣakhrā fa kāna al-farandj qad banū ‘alayhā kanīsa wa madhbah <...> wa qad zayyanūhā bi al-ṣuwar wa al-tamāthīl wa ‘ayyanū bihā mawāḍi‘ al-ruhbān wa maḥaṭṭ al-indjīl.

<sup>66</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ: I, 272; AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 484.

<sup>67</sup> AL-SUYŪṬĪ 1982: I, 271. Wa afradū bihā li mawḍi‘ al-qadam qubba ṣaghīra mudhahhaba ‘alā a‘midat al-rukhkham muntaṣiba wa qālū maḥall qadam al-maṣīḥ.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.: I, 261. Taqaddasa al-quds min radjas al-farandj ahl al-fisq.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.: I, 276. Fa a‘zzama dhalika ‘alā al-frandj wa akhadhathum al-ḥamiyya ḥamiyyat al-djāhiliyya wa ḥashadū ḥattā intahā ilayhim min al-ridjāl wa al-amwāl mā lā yuḥṣā.

lands because of that, and their kings strengthened, prepared and equipped troops to march to the lands of Islam to fight king Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn”.<sup>70</sup>

Thus, it is important to note that *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl*, the most remote in time from the reconquest of Jerusalem, describe in detail the resacralization of the city by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, unlike *Muthīr al-gharām* and *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras*, authors of which limit themselves to nothing but a brief mention of the event itself. This is crucial because it allows us to observe a shift in the structure and composition of the latest *fada'il*, in which a detailed account of events leading to the expulsion of the Franks has become an essential part in creating the image of Jerusalem's importance to Islam. The idea of a large-scale gathering of Frankish troops for the war against Muslims is also notable in this context.

## Franks and the sacred spaces of Jerusalem

In addition to the stories about the desecration of the main shrines of Jerusalem, al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock, the Franks are also mentioned in connection with other sacred spaces. One common theme is the story of the prophets' tombs. This tradition was allegedly initiated by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maqdisī in his work *Muthīr al-gharām*. Citing a hadith, “there are the tombs of thousands of prophets in Jerusalem”, he blames the Crusader occupation for the loss of knowledge about these sites by Muslims: “*There are graves and monuments, remnants of which are seen but not known, and a lot of them were erased and grinded down because of the Franks' occupation of the city for a long time*”.<sup>71</sup>

*Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras* also mentions a hadith about the graves of thousands of prophets in Jerusalem and states that knowledge of them has been lost; however, it does not mention the Frankish occupation in this context.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 475. Waṣala al-mustanfirūn min al-kuffār ilā aqṣā bilād al-farandj wa maththalū ṣūrat al-masīḥ ‘alayhi al-salām wa ṣūrat al-nabī ṣallā allāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam wa bi yadihi ‘aṣā wa huwa yaqṣidu al-masīḥ li yaḍribahu wa al-masīḥ munhazim minhu wa aqāmū al-shanā’ wa al-ghawghā’ fī bilādihi li dhalika wa ishtadda mulūkūhum wa a’tadū wa djaḥḥazū al-‘asākīr li qaṣd bilād al-islām wa muḥārabat al-malik ṣalāḥ al-dīn.

<sup>71</sup> AL-MAQDISĪ 1994: 190. Fa inna thamma qubūr wa ma‘ālim yurā athāruhā wa lā tu‘lam wa kathīr minhā indarasa wa ‘afā li istīlā’ al-farandj ‘alā al-bilād mudda ṭawīla.

<sup>72</sup> AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, Abū al-Naṣr Tādj al-Dīn. *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā’il al-bayt al-muqaddas* [The flourishing garden of the merits of Jerusalem]. Azhar Library (Cairo), Ms. 22860 (Ādāb 674): 29v.



This passage is not found in *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa*, but is mentioned twice in *al-Uns al-djalīl*. Firstly, Mudjīr al-Dīn refers to the graves of the prophets and the Franks in relation to the history of Jerusalem's gates: "*And the gates known as Gates of Jericho were erased because of the long time and the Franks' occupation and no trace is left <...> and also the graves of the prophets, their place is unknown because of the long time and the Franks' occupation of the Holy land*".<sup>73</sup>

Later, the author once again cites this story in the section about the sacred spaces of Palestine surrounding Jerusalem, pointing out that there are thousands of graves of the prophets in Jerusalem, many of which were forgotten during the Frankish rule, and indicating that this is a quote from *Muthīr al-gharām*.<sup>74</sup>

Another widespread narrative is the story of the grave of 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit, a companion of the Prophet (583–655). As mentioned in *Muthīr al-gharām*, 'Ubāda died in Palestine and was buried either in Jerusalem or Ramla. However, the exact location of his tomb is currently unknown due to the Frankish occupation: "*Now, however, his grave is known neither in Jerusalem nor in Ramla, and this is only because of the Franks' occupation of this land for more than ninety years, [may] God diminish them, and their occupation caused destruction of the monuments, which had been known and famous before that*".<sup>75</sup> *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras* also suggests that his grave was forgotten due to the presence of the Franks in the area, "as stated in *Muthīr al-gharām*". However, the quote is shortened in comparison with the original text of *Muthīr al-gharām*, as it does not specify for how long the Franks were present in Jerusalem, nor does it mention any other forgotten graves in the same passage.<sup>76</sup> In *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl*, the tomb of 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit is mentioned using phrases from *Muthīr al-gharām*. However, while Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī provides a reference to

<sup>73</sup> AL-'ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 432. Wa al-bāb al-ma'rūf bi bāb arīḥā qad indarasa li ṭūl al-mudda wa istīlā' al-farandj wa lam yabqa lahu athar <...> wa kadhalika qubūr al-anbiyā' lā yu'lam makānuhā li ṭūl al-mudda wa istīlā' al-farandj 'alā al-arḍ al-muqaddasa.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.: II, 139.

<sup>75</sup> AL-MAQDISĪ 1994: 315–316. Fa ammā al-ān fa lā yu'raf lahu qabr bi bayt al-maqdis wa lā bi al-ramla wa mā dhalika illā li istīlā' al-farandj 'alā tilka al-nāhiya nayyif wa tis'in sana khadhalahum allāh ta'ālā fa indarasa bi sabab istīlā'ihim ma'ālim kānat qabla dhalika ma'rūfa mashhūra.

<sup>76</sup> AL-Ḥusaynī, Abū al-Naṣr Tādj al-Dīn. *Al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī faḍā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas* [The flourishing garden of the merits of Jerusalem]. Azhar Library (Cairo), Ms. 22860 (Ādāb 674): 99r.

this source,<sup>77</sup> Mudjir al-Dīn does not.<sup>78</sup> In all four works, however, the Franks are held responsible for the oblivion of ‘Ubāda’s grave.

It is also worth noting that although *al-Uns al-djalīl* is the most recent of the sources under consideration, it provides the most detailed information regarding the Franks’ presence and the sacred sites of Jerusalem. For example, Mudjir al-Dīn mentions that Dāwud’s grave<sup>79</sup> was in the hands of the Franks, and now it is in the hands of Muslims: “*The grave of Dāwud, peace be upon him, in the church of Zion,*<sup>80</sup> *which is outside of Jerusalem from the side of qibla, [and it was] in the hands of the Franks <...> The grave of Dāwud is in this place, it is now in the hands of Muslims*”.<sup>81</sup> He also mentions the use of extant Muslim religious buildings by the Franks, for example, the fact that the Hospitallers were housed in *zawiya al-Darkāt*.<sup>82</sup> “*And it was a house of the Hospitallers in the time of the Franks*”.<sup>83</sup>

Another topic related to the Franks in *al-Uns al-djalīl* is their role in interrupting the tradition of transmitting Islamic knowledge: “*And no longer was mentioned what I wanted to say about the biographies of the best men of noble Jerusalem from among those who were in it in the past times before the Franks’ occupation of it and I have not managed to find anything else because of the long time and the break of ancestors’ knowledge by the infidels’ occupation of the Holy land*”.<sup>84</sup> In this regard, Mudjir al-Dīn speaks in particular about the death of famous sheikhs during the capture of Jerusalem by the Franks. In the case of Sheikh Abū al-Qāsim Makkī bin ‘Abd al-Salām al-Rumaylī (d. 1099), he gives several versions of his death at the hands of the Franks: “*And when the Franks took Jerusalem in the year of 492, they took him prisoner <...> when they learned that he was from Muslim scholars and no one paid a ransom for him, they stoned him to death at the doors of*

<sup>77</sup> AL-SUYŪTĪ 1982: II, 29.

<sup>78</sup> AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 386.

<sup>79</sup> I.e. David.

<sup>80</sup> Nowadays, Abbey of the Dormition.

<sup>81</sup> AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: I, 218. Inna qabr dāwud ‘alayhi al-salām bi kanīsat šahyūn wa hiya allātī bi zāhir al-quḍs min dīḥat al-qibla bi ayday ṭā‘ifat al-farandj <...> inna qabr dāwud fī hadhā al-mawḍi‘ huwa al-ān bi ayday al-muslimīn.

<sup>82</sup> Built by al-Muẓaffar Ghāzī (d. 1247).

<sup>83</sup> AL-‘ULAYMĪ 1999: II, 98. Wa kānat fī zaman al-ifrandj dār al-isbitār.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.: I, 441. Wa qad intahā dhikr mā qaṣadtuhu min tarādjim al-a’yān bi al-quḍs al-sharīf mimman kāna bihi fī al-zaman al-sābiq qabla istīlā’ al-farandj ‘alayhī wa lam aẓfar bi ḡhayr dhalika li ṭūl al-azmina wa inqitā’ akhbār al-salaf bi istīlā’ al-kuffār ‘alā al-arḍ al-muqaddasa.

*Antioch*".<sup>85</sup> The author also cites another version, according to which the sheikh was killed by the Franks in Jerusalem. Another sheikh, whose death at the hands of the Franks is mentioned by Mudjir al-Din is Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Rāzī (d. 1099): "*He moved to Jerusalem and followed the path of piety and self-limitation to God Almighty until he became a martyr by the hands of the Franks, [may] God Almighty curse them*".<sup>86</sup>

It should also be noted that *al-Uns al-djalīl* contains references to activities of the Franks after the end of the Crusades. These include, for instance, information about Frankish pilgrims visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre;<sup>87</sup> funding of Christian churches and monasteries in Jerusalem by the Franks;<sup>88</sup> abduction of inhabitants of Alexandria by Frankish raiders;<sup>89</sup> the reconquista in Spain<sup>90</sup> as well as references to the anticipation of new Frankish invasions by residents of the Levant.<sup>91</sup>

## Conclusion

In summary, it is worth noting that references to the Franks and their presence in the Holy Land can be found in four out of five of the analyzed popular *fada'il* written after the Crusades: *Muthīr al-gharām ilā ziyārat al-quḍs wa al-shām*, *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras fī fadā'il al-bayt al-muqaddas*, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa bi-fadā'il al-masjid al-aqṣā*, and *al-Uns al-djalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-quḍs wa al-khalīl*.

A key feature of the mentions of the Franks in these *fada'il* is that in the chronologically most recent works, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* that date back to the last quarter of the 15th c., considerable parts are dedicated to the struggle against the Franks. While Jerusalem is at the center of the narrative, these works also describe the fighting against the Franks throughout the

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.: I, 435–436. Wa lammā akhadha al-farandj bayt al-maqdis fī sanat ithnayn wa tis'in wa arba'mi'a akhadhūhu asīr <...> lammā 'alimū annahu min 'ulamā' al-muslimīn fa lam ystafikkūhu aḥad fa ramaūhu bi al-ḥadjāra 'alā bāb anṭākiya ḥattā qatalūhu.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.: I, 436. Intaqala ilā bayt al-maqdis wa salaka sabīl al-wara' wa al-inqitā' ilā allāh ta'ālā ilā an istashhada 'alā yad al-farandj la'anahum allāh ta'ālā.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.: II, 134.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.: II, 124.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.: II, 443.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.: II, 377.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.: II, 134. The story of the keeper of the mausoleum 'Alī bin 'Alīl, who stored weapons there in case the Franks returned (the passage is mentioned in GERBER 2008: 64; PHILLIPS 2020: 333).

Levant and even Egypt. While much attention is given to the Crusades period in the writings of the post-Crusade Arab historians, in their works, unlike in *fada'il*, events of the conflict with the Franks are dispersed among other wars and conflicts in the region or spread among histories of different dynasties and biographies of notable figures. Therefore, a significant aspect of *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* is the development of a conceptual framework for the confrontation with the Franks between 1099 and 1244, i.e. the creation of coherent and complete narratives that describe the struggle against them.

It is also important that *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl* present a narrative about the struggle against the Franks with a focus on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which is unusual for the parallel historiographical tradition of the Mamluk period, in which his glory of the victor of the Franks is shared with Nūr al-Dīn and Mamluk sultans. Moreover, *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* correlates the conquests of Jerusalem by 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb (637) and al-Nāṣir Dāwud (1239) with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's conquest.

The descriptions of the capture of Jerusalem by the Franks in 1099, contained in *Muthīr al-gharām*, *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras*, and *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa*, represent a two-part narrative (massacre, plunder), which differs from the more detailed three-part (massacre, plunder, delegation to the caliph) narrative popularized in the post-Crusade historical writings. Among the popular *fada'il* I have examined, the three-part narrative is only present in *al-Uns al-djalīl*, as this treatise largely relies on the post-Crusade Arab historiographical tradition. Thus, two different narratives of the capture of Jerusalem exist in post-Crusade *fada'il* literature: one that originated from historical writings of the late 12th c. and became established within the *fada'il* genre, and another one that directly utilized the dominant narrative from the historiographical tradition of the 13th–15th cc.

As for the capture of Jerusalem in 1187 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, it is important to note that *Ithāf al-akhiṣṣa* and *al-Uns al-djalīl*, the latest of the considered *fada'il*, describe in detail the resacralization of the city by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, unlike *Muthīr al-gharām* and *al-Rawḍ al-mugharras*, which merely mention this event and the first *khutba* after the conquest. This is remarkable as it demonstrates a shift in the structure of the *fada'il* of the last quarter of the 15th c. with a more detailed account of the removal of the Frankish occupation forming an integral part of their narratives, which contributed to the establishment of Jerusalem's significance within the Islamic tradition.

In addition to the reports on the desecration of the main sacred spaces in Jerusalem, i.e. al-Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock, by the Franks, they are also referenced in connection with other holy sites. Another point is the disruption of the tradition of knowledge transmission, leading to the oblivion of the graves of the prophets and other Muslim figures because of the long Frankish occupation.

It is crucial that the Franks have been imprinted in post-Crusade *fada'il* precisely as a threat to the sacred spaces, and two centuries after the Crusades this genre continued to be enriched by works that paid great attention to the Frankish invasion. These findings are essential for further research on the images and perceptions of Europeans in the Levant and Egypt during the Late Middle Ages and Modern period.

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## **Icons versus Tughra: Eremia Ch‘elebi K‘ēōmiwrchean’s (1637–1695) Textual Passage on Popular Muslim Religious Practices**

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*Abstract:* Armenian polemical literature with Muslims from the early modern Ottoman context is very scarce. Unlike in Safavid Persia, public debates were not encouraged in the Ottoman Empire. Official polemical treatises from the Armenian milieu are lacking; little has survived in the historiographies, neo-martyrological accounts, and poetry about how Miaphysite (non-Chalcedonian) Apostolic Armenians positioned themselves within the cohabitation system of Ottoman society. Even less has survived in Armenian sources about popular Muslim religious practices. Therefore, a brief account of this matter provided by the 17th c. Armenian Constantinopolitan historiographer Eremia K‘ēōmiwrchean acquires great importance. The present article aims to explore the information provided by Eremia on popular Muslim religious practices, not only because it is a rare material preserved in the Armenian sources but, most importantly, because it reveals the topics of religious debates between Christians and Ottoman Muslims in everyday life.

*Key words:* Muslim-Christian relations, popular religious practice, Eremia K‘ēōmiwrchean, Armenian polemical literature, Ottoman Empire, early modern period

### **1. Introduction**

The passage on popular Muslim religious practices that this paper aims to discuss is found in a 17th c. polemical work written by a lay Armenian Apostolic (Miaphysite, non-Chalcedonian) historiographer and polemicist Eremia Ch‘elebi K‘ēōmiwrchean (1637–1695).<sup>1</sup> He was born in Constantin-

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<sup>1</sup> In the article we follow the transliteration/romanization table of the Library of Congress (LOC) <https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cps/romanization/armenian.pdf> (accessed 12.04.2024).

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ople into a wealthy Armenian priestly family that set the tone in the city's Armenian community.<sup>2</sup> An eyewitness and ear-witness to the events and developments of the environment in which he lived, Eremia, as a historiographer, recorded his time period describing in detail the communal life of the Armenians in Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire in general.

It was the historical period when Armenia was divided between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires by the Treaty of Zuhab in 1638. Years before the Treaty, in 1603/4, many Armenians were expelled by Shah Abbas I (1588–1629) to Isfahan (New Julfa) in Persia, while the spiritual center of the Armenians, the Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, remained in the eastern part of Armenia.<sup>3</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople became one of the most important cultural centers for Armenian communities in the Ottoman lands.<sup>4</sup> Eremia K'ēōmiwrcean, an integral part of the city's multicultural fabric, devoted his time to documenting important events. Eremia is known for his historiographical work. Not a theologian himself, he also wrote inter-Christian polemical treatises, catechisms, and neo-martyrologies to address issues of extreme importance for inter-communal interactions in the second half of the 17th c. The environment in which Eremia lived was confessionally tense: Catholic missionaries were actively proselytizing among the Eastern Christian communities of the Ottoman Empire. Toward the end of the 17th c., the strategy of crypto-Catholic Armenian priests (graduates of the Urbanian College in Rome, who infiltrated Eastern Christian communities and formed a “Catholic nucleus,” as Timothy Ware<sup>5</sup> called it) to win non-Chalcedonian Armenians to Catholicism became the main trend in the proselytizing project of Catholic missionaries. In one of his brief polemical pieces called *The Response with God's Help* (*Pataskhani Astutsov*), Eremia Ch'elebi introduced the questions of correct practice that might have been raised by such priests preaching clandestinely from the pulpits of the Armenian Apostolic churches in Constantinople, Bursa, Engür (Ankara), Izmir and other major cities of the Empire with large Armenian populations.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For Eremia's biography most recently see, AYVAZYAN 2014a. For the complete bibliography of Eremia's works see, AYVAZYAN 2014b: 349–398. See also, SHAPIRO 2022: 197–287.

<sup>3</sup> For more on these events see, DAVRIZHETS'I 1990. BOURNOUTIAN 2005–2006.

<sup>4</sup> For the Armenian community in Constantinople in the early 17th c. see, DARANAGHTS'I 1915; SHAPIRO 2022: 147–196.

<sup>5</sup> WARE 1964: 17–23, 36–37.

<sup>6</sup> [K'ēōmiwrcean], MS334, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, f. 146v. For the critical edition of the Armenian text and its English translation see, OHANJANYAN 2020: 49–68.



Speaking of the Catholic “innovations”, Eremia complained about crypto-Catholic priests who preached novel practices among the Armenians, attempting to “move the verses of the Psalms and the sermons back and forth... [they command] to say this and not that during the Divine Liturgy, or whether [it should be said] with raised or spread arms, or whether “Glory in the Highest” [should be sung] concordantly or voice by voice, or whether with a covered or uncovered head”.<sup>7</sup> As an arch-orthodox Armenian Apostolic, Eremia wrote extensively on inter-confessional issues, especially, toward the end of his life, when the situation became more arid due to increased Catholic infiltration into the Armenian flock and the Sultan’s prohibition of Catholic proselytism among his Christian subjects in 1693.<sup>8</sup>

Interestingly, Eremia never wrote polemical works against Muslims or Islam, nor did he write anti-Qura’nic works.<sup>9</sup> In his *Book of Histroiographies* (*Girk’ patmabanut’eants’*), an unpublished work preserved in the unique manuscript in the Mekhitarist Library in Venice, he describes Muslims in harsh terms calling them “snakes... cunning and insidious”<sup>10</sup> who, like “a vengeful mule,” “would kick when approached from behind and would bite when approached from the front”.<sup>11</sup> However, Eremia never wrote directly and specifically against Islam or the worship, customs, or popular religious practices and beliefs of Muslims. The only passage that provides a glimpse of Eremia’s, or, more broadly, Armenians’ views on Islamic popular religious practices as compared to that of Christian ones appears in his major polemical work written toward the end of his life, entitled *Apology of the Armenian Church* (*Jatagowut’iwn Hayastaneayts’ ekeghets’woy*).<sup>12</sup>

In the present paper, through contextualizing this rare textual passage, I attempt to analyze popular Muslim and, to some extent, Eastern Christian religious practices that went hand in hand and equally influenced and informed the multi-religious, multi-cultural environment of the 17th c. Constantinople.

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<sup>7</sup> OHANJANYAN 2020: 54, 66.

<sup>8</sup> MOTRAYE 1723: 159, 393–394.

<sup>9</sup> For the overview of the Armenian polemical literature with Muslims see, DADOYAN 2021.

<sup>10</sup> K’EÖMIWRCHENTS’, MS509, Mekhitarist Library, Venice, f. 235r.

<sup>11</sup> K’EÖMIWRCHENTS’, MS509, Mekhitarist Library, Venice, f. 234v.

<sup>12</sup> The critical edition of this treatise is forthcoming in 2025.

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## 2. The Treatise *Apology of the Armenian Church*

Eremia Ch'elebi's polemical work, the *Apology of the Armenian Church*, is one of the most important and hitherto overlooked texts from the period that introduces the cultural fabric of the late 17th c. Ottoman Constantinople and cross-communal interactions. Recently, I have discovered Eremia's autograph which is not catalogued. It is kept in the Mekhitarist Library in Venice, under the shelf-mark MS 621. To date, we have five copies of this work from Venice, Jerusalem, and Yerevan. Only two manuscripts bear the original title. In other manuscripts, the text appears under various titles, such as *Book of Questions* (*Girk' harts'mants'*, MS3699, St. James' Library, Jerusalem), or the provisional title *Polemics against Clemente Galano*<sup>13</sup> and the *Book Shield of Faith* (*Girk' vichabanut'yan ěnddēm Kghēmesi Galanosi ev Vahan Hawatoy matenin*, MS1955, Matenadaran, Yerevan).<sup>14</sup> The oldest copy (MS1841 (old. no. 317), dated by the cataloguer to 1695, is preserved in the library of the Armenian Catholic Mekhitarist Congregation of Venice. The cataloguer of the Armenian manuscript collection in Venice, Fr. Barsergh Sargisean, attributed it to another author and suggested a provisional title, *A Collection of Religious and Ritual Orations*.<sup>15</sup> A close reading of the manuscript reveals that it is, in fact, the earliest copy and the refined version of Eremia's book. According to Eremia's autograph MS 621, Mekhitarist Library, Venice. The date of writing is 1694–1695. Eremia did not finish the

<sup>13</sup> Clemente Galano a Teatine missionary to Armenia, Clemente Galano (1611–1666), who attempted to prove that the Armenian Apostolic Church used to be one with the Roman Catholic Church. Galano 1650, 1658, 1690.

<sup>14</sup> The book *Shield of Faith* (*Vahan Hawatoy*) (not to confuse with Mekhitarist Father Mik'ael Ch'amch'ian's (1738–1823) treatise with the same title) was the colloquial name of the book of the Capuchin friar and a missionary to the Levant Justinien de Neuvy known also as Michel Febvre, Michele Febure. The actual name of the book was *Praecipuae objectiones quae vulgo solent fieri per modum interrogationis a Mahumeticae legis sectatoribus, Judaeis et haereticis Orientalibus adversus catholicos earumque solutiones* (Romae: Typis de Propaganda Fide, 1679). It was translated into Armenian in 1681 and published in Rome. Justinien spent most of his life in Aleppo (1664–1687). For more on him see, HEYBERGER 2017: 579–588.

<sup>15</sup> MS1841 (old. no. 317), Mekhitarist Library, Venice. In the catalogue of Mekhitarist Library it is preserved under the name *Hawak'umn kronakan ew tsisakan charits'* [Collection of Religious and Ritual Orations], SARGISEAN 1924: 1296–1303.

A later hand changed the date in the catalogue to 1696 in pencil, perhaps to conceal the fact that this manuscript is the earliest copy of Eremia K'ēōmiwrchean, who died in 1695. However, even if the cataloguer tries to hide this fact (or not), he mentions that this work might even be an autograph of an unknown author.

book; he died in 1695, leaving some chapters incomplete or completely blank. In the pages of the book, he mentions that he was old: “And if this work of ours written in our old age, will be trampled upon according to their [i.e. Armenian Catholics] former manner, I hope in Christ, that I wrote it for the sake of God, and my work will not be ruined...”<sup>16</sup> The incomplete chapters of the autograph are copied identically in all other copies. The chapters that the author left blank in his autograph are missing in other copies as well.

The *Apology of the Armenian Church* is fashioned in the form of questions and answers. The author addresses various questions, thirty to be exact, posed by well-to-do (crypto)Catholic and crypto-Protestant Armenian youth, to which he attempts to respond in colloquial language and in a more casual manner, using examples not only from the Scripture but also from everyday practices of and encounters with religious and confessional “others.” Most of the questions relate to the orthopraxy issues in the Armenian Church, such as the length of the Armenian Divine Liturgy, the rigorous abstinence during the Great Lent, the manner of giving the Kiss of Peace in the Armenian Church, the practice of blessing of grapes on the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin Mary in the Armenian Church, the uselessness of pilgrimage to the holy sites and many other issues.<sup>17</sup>

The whole work is dedicated to inter-confessional and intra-Christian issues and does not necessarily reflect the accusations against Christian Armenians coming from the Muslims of the city. Interestingly, in the twentieth chapter, which discusses the accusations against the Armenians of idolatry because of their veneration of icons, for the first time Eremia Ch’elebi turns to the Muslims to describe their popular religious practices, such as the veneration of the imperial signature and the imperial banner with Muslim symbols on it, and equates them with the Christian veneration of the icons. His interlocutors are still Armenian Catholics (perhaps also Armenian Lutherans), but he mentions that since Catholics also venerate icons, and even more than Miaphysite Armenians, it seems to him that his interlocutors learned it not from Martin Luther and his followers, who did not accept icons and saints, but from contemporary Muslims who also rejected the veneration of icons.

The passage in which Eremia speaks of popular Muslim religious customs is a small but dense one written in the 17th c. colloquial Armenian with

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<sup>16</sup> MS1841 (old. no. 317), Mekhitarist Library, Venice, f. 27v.

<sup>17</sup> The list of the debated questions is found in MS1841 (old. no. 317), Mekhitarist Library, Venice, ff. 2v–3r. MS 533, St. James’ Library, Jerusalem, ff. 103r–v.

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admixture of Armeno-Turkish (Turkish written in Armenian script) words and expressions. It is worth noting that in the Eremia's autograph manuscript (MS 621, Mekhitarist Library, Venice, ff. 103v–104v) this passage is missing, but it is included in the refined version of this work, in the MS1841 (old. no. 317), Mekhitarist Library, Venice. From this brief passage, one learns that Eremia Ch'elebi had a first-hand information about popular Muslim worship, customs, and superstitions. As a Constantinopolitan Armenian from a well-connected wealthy family, he moved in the high society of the city. At the age of twelve, he began working in the family business — a bakery in the city market. In the same year, he began writing his *Diary* (*Öragrut'iwn*), a detailed, lengthy document about the life and condition of the Armenian community in Constantinople.<sup>18</sup> The information he gives in his books should be considered credible, assuming he was an attentive person who meticulously documented everything. In the passage in question, he also mentions his trip to Jerusalem in 1665. We know that at the age of thirteen, he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem between 1649 and 1650 with his custodian, a wealthy Armenian who owned bakeries in Constantinople, Mahtesi Ambakum (d. 1658), and his wife.<sup>19</sup> In late 1664, however, Eremia traveled from Aleppo to Jerusalem and back to Constantinople, which he reached in 1665. He speaks of this trip in a brief passage on popular Muslim religious practices. The reason for Eremia's visit to Aleppo and Jerusalem was to persuade the Armenian Bishop Eghiazar Aynt'apets'i (1612–1691), who was Eremia's teacher and friend, to abandon his idea of establishing an anti-Catholicosate and to separate the Armenian communities under Ottoman jurisdiction from the Armenian spiritual center in Etchmiadzin.<sup>20</sup> Eremia failed to convince Eghiazar, but the latter eventually failed as well, since a decade after the death of the Armenian Catholicos in Etchmiadzin, Yakob Jughayets'i (1655–1680), Eghiazar was invited to become the Catholicos of all Armenians and was consecrated in 1681, thus ending the provocative anti-Catholicosate in Jerusalem. It was on his way to meet with Eghiazar that Eremia met the Capuchin friar and missionary to the Levant Justinien de Neuvy (1664–1687) in Aleppo in 1664 and engaged in polemics with him on the orthopraxy of the Armenian Church. They particularly polemicized on Clemente

<sup>18</sup> K'ĒŌMIWRČEAN 1939. IVANOVA 2017: 239–260.

<sup>19</sup> K'ĒŌMIWRČEAN 1939: 309–310.

<sup>20</sup> Eremia describes these events in his hitherto unpublished book *Taregrakan patmut'iwn* [Annals] see, EREMIAN 1902b: 474. SANJIAN 1965: 104–109.

Galano's seminal treatise against the Armenians. Eremia mentions this debate in his polemical work *Apology of the Armenian Church*.<sup>21</sup> As noted above, the same polemical purpose was behind Eremia's passage in the *Apology* describing Muslim popular religious practices that he saw and heard in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Ottoman lands.

### **3. Muslim Popular Religious Practices through the Eyes of Eremia K'ēōmiwrchean**

Eremia's method of discussing popular Muslim practices is to compare and equate the Christian veneration of icons with Muslim aniconism and the veneration of calligraphy and other objects of worship. Eremia's focus is not only on the objects of worship but also on the religious behavior of the worshippers. His point is that Christians do not worship icons but the saints depicted in them, seeing them as windows into divine reality. The veneration of divine things is also manifested through the human body by kissing or kneeling before the object through which divine reality shines, by touching it with the forehead, or by placing it on the head. This behavior is common to Jews, Christians, and Muslims.<sup>22</sup> Eremia mentions that Muslims worship in this manner the *tughra* (seal and signature), the calligraphic emblem of the Arab, later Ottoman, rulers.<sup>23</sup> For the same reason, they worship silver and copper coins bearing the same emblem of the sultans.<sup>24</sup> In the same way, Eremia equates the worship of icons with the Muslim worship of Muhammad's handprint/signature (*pençe*). It is well known that in Ottoman diplomatic documents, the *pençe* was not only the print of Muhammad's hand but also a mark affixed to the margins of official documents issued by viziers and other higher officials from the Ottoman chancery.<sup>25</sup> It seems that because of the icons, Muslims accused Christians, including Armenians, of being idolaters (*putperest*), to which Eremia responds by pointing to the Muslim custom of venerating the crescent-painted banner (*sancak*) by praying to it with tears and trembling. To their contempt for the worship of the cross, Eremia responds by calling them to acknowledge their worship of Ali's two-

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<sup>21</sup> MS1841, Mekhitarist Library, Venice, f. 43r.

<sup>22</sup> On shared popular religious practices see, CUFFEL 2024.

<sup>23</sup> For more on *tughra* see, *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 2000: 594–599.

<sup>24</sup> Some samples of such coins can be found in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 2000, pl. XXVI.

<sup>25</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 1995: 293.

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edged sword, called *Zulfiqar* or *Zilfiqar*, stamped on green flags, walls of houses and mosques.<sup>26</sup> He responds to the kissing of church doors by pointing out that Muslims kiss the leather cover of the Qur'an. All of Eremia's objections are framed so as to seem convincing to him, for he mentions at the end of his passage on Muslim practices that he has conversed with many Muslims and has made the same arguments to them many times.<sup>27</sup>

Interestingly, in this small passage, Eremia speaks specifically about some Armenian Church customs and Ottoman manifestations of Islamic customs, but he also addresses pan-Christian worship practices and pan-Islamic objects of worship in general. However, some of his sentences are ambiguous. For instance, Eremia writes that Muslims called "us" water-worshippers, but it is not clear whether the pronoun "us" refers to Christians in general or to Armenians in particular. If "us" as water-worshippers referred to Christians, Eremia may have been alluding to Christians' visits to ayazmas (Gr. ἁγίασμα, holy spring) — a practice that was similarly popular among Muslims,<sup>28</sup> since ayazmas were shared places of worship and pilgrimage in the multi-cultural Ottoman society. If "us" referred specifically to Armenians, it may have been an allusion to the popular Armenian religious custom of "vardavar" (lit. feast of roses) on the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord, during which Armenians pour water on each other.<sup>29</sup> Whatever the case may be, Eremia did not elaborate more on this matter.

When talking about the Ottomans' behavior during natural disasters, Eremia takes the opportunity to share his own memories of the events, such as the fire of Constantinople in 1645. He was a nine-year-old boy when the fire engulfed the city and burned down the Armenian Church of St. Sargis. Eremia described watching the church burn and the tears rolling down the faces of his father and grandfather.<sup>30</sup> In this connection, he responds to the accusation of water worship by recalling an Ottoman practice related to Muhammad's mantle (*hirka*). According to him, when a fire broke out in the city, Muslims would soak the mantle in water, place it in a glass bowl

<sup>26</sup> For the various types of flags Eremia mentioned see, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 1986, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>27</sup> On conversations between Muslims and Christians about religion see, PFEIFER 2022: 133–165.

<sup>28</sup> K'ĒŌMIWRCHEAN 1913: 49. On water as a space of worship among Jews, Christians, Muslims see, CUFFEL 2024: 28–32.

<sup>29</sup> MARR 1905: 53–58. KHARATYAN-ARAKELYAN 2005: 201–226.

<sup>30</sup> EREMIAN 1902a: 368. AKINEAN 1933: 32. K'ĒŌMIWRCHEAN 1913: 141.

sealed by the Sultan's fingers, and a horseman would bring it and sprinkle it on the fire to extinguish it. It is also not clear which mantle of the Prophet Eremia mentions, *Hırka-i Şerif* or *Hırka-i Saâdet*.<sup>31</sup> It may have been the *Hırka-i Saâdet*, which was kept in a golden box or case in the Topkapı Palace and was especially revered by the sultans as a symbol of the caliphate. Grand viziers took it on military campaigns, Ahmed I (d. 1617) took it with him wherever he went, and there were *Hırka-i Saâdet* processions in the palace during Ramadan as part of the ceremony to visit this holy relic.<sup>32</sup> More importantly, Ahmed I started the practice of slightly dipping the mantle into a bowl and distributing the water among his close people.<sup>33</sup> There was also a custom of dipping one of the neck buttons of the mantle into rose water. This water, called the *Water of the Blessed Mantle* (*Hırka-ı Saâdet Suyu*), was believed to have medicinal and miraculous properties. Perhaps Eremia is referring to this water when he recalls the fire incident. Most likely, he was an eyewitness to this interesting practice, but remained unsatisfied because he thought it was highly superstitious and useless.<sup>34</sup>

The last Muslim popular belief that Eremia compared with the Christian veneration of icons was the veneration of the Covering of Kaaba (*Kâbe örtüsü*). He reported that the Covering was designed and sewn in Constantinople and that he himself saw the crowd of thousands praying before it in 1665. In reality, they were praying to the name of Muhammad, which Eremia refrained from writing and instead wrote “the Unmentioned”. Indeed, the first embroidered golden row on the Covering mentions Allah’s two names “Merciful to servants” (*Ya Hannan*) and “Tremendous in giving” (*Ya Mannan*). Muhammad’s name is embroidered in gold in the second row, which reads that Muhammad is the Messenger of God. The idea that Eremia wanted to convey was that Muslims did not pray to the cloth but to the name,

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<sup>31</sup> *Hırka-i Şerif* is the Prophet Muhammad’s mantle, which he gave to Umar and Ali before his death to deliver to Uways al-Karani, who wanted to visit the Prophet but could not. This relic is kept in the special octagonal mosque in the Fatih district of Istanbul, named *Hırka-i Şerif Cami*.

<sup>32</sup> *Hırka-i Saâdet* is the Prophet’s mantle that he gave as a gift to the poet Qa’b ibn Zubayr in return for the poem the latter recited when Muhammad embraced Islam.

<sup>33</sup> Nurhan Atasoy, “*Hırka-i Saâdet*”, *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hirka-i-saadet> (accessed 11.08.2024).

<sup>34</sup> There were other fires in Constantinople. The one in 1660 is called the Great fire. See, BAER 2004: 159–81. For Eremia’s experience of this dreadful event see, *Patmut ĩwn* 1991; EREMIAN 1902a: 367–369.

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seeing it as something that represented God and the Prophet Muhammad, just as Christians did not worship the images or icons but the one(s) that the images symbolized, that is, the Trinity, the saints, and the blessed ones.

The original Armenian text and its English translation, which I provide below, give a more complete picture and convey the discourse around Christian icons within the multi-cultural Ottoman society.

#### **4. The Original Text and the Translation of the Passage from the *Apology of the Armenian Church***

##### **a) Armenian original**

[91ա] Քսաներորդ, որք ասեն, թէ զի՞նչ են սրբոց պատկերս յեկեղեցիս անօգուտ և անպատշաճ: Ահա զայս ուսեալ է ի տանկաց ասել ի մերում ժամանակիս: Քանզի ամենայն լատինացիք ունին զպատկերս սրբոց, զոր միթէ՞ ոչ տեսանեն ի Ղալաթեայ: Միթէ՞ Լուսէրն իցէ զայս ասողն, և բնաւ իսկ տանիկ: Արդ, լուր, ո՛վ նշտասէր, զի տանիկ հակառակ պատկերաց, և թէ տեսանեն զքուխտ մի անկաճ ի գետին, զայն վեր առնուն, և ոչ թէ միայն զբաժ քուխտ, այլ և անգիր ևս: Ինքեանք թեոմա՞ի պատկերաց և խեթիւսիֆի քուղրային պատիւ առնեն: [91բ] Ինքեանք անարգեն զպատկերս և անխեղձայն փենչէին մեծարանա առնեն: Ինքեանք ներհակ պատկերաց, և զլուսնանկար ալէմն ամենուրեք արմա բարձարացուցանեն: Ինքեանք մեզ զծաղր առնելով՝ արհամարհեն վասն պատկերաց, և շորեղէն սանճաղին սալալաթ մատուցանեն: Ինքեանք զմեզ հայիոյեն պուրփէրէսդ ասելով, և յանուն քագաւորի կտրեալ արծաթ կամ պղինձ վերապատուեն: Ինքեանք ասեն՝ պատկերք ի դատաստանի ի պատկերահանացն հոգի պահանջեն, և ի տեսնել զսանճաղ անխեղձայն՝ վաղվադեալ լալով, դողալով յոտին կանգնեալ՝ երկիր պագանեն: Ինքեանք զխաչ արհամարհեն և զսուրն երկսայրի Մուրթուզայ Ալոյն պատիւ տան, և կանաչ շորով և չուխայիվ ի գլուխս վեր ամբառնան՝ ի նշան տանկութենէ իւրեանց, և յորմս տանց և մզկրաց և ի վեր դրանց նկարագրեն: Ինքեանք զսէկ գրեանց համբուրեն, զհամբոյր մեր ի դրունս եկեղեցւոյ կատակեն: Ինքեանք մեզ ջրապաշտ [92ա] ասեն, և յինքեանք զանխեղձայն խըրգան ի ջուր քացեալ, և լնուն յաման ապակի, կնքեալ մատամբ արբունի, առեալ սպասաւոր մի հեծեալ փութացուցանէ, յորժամ հրկիզուրին լինի ի քաղաքիս սրսկեն ի հուր, և այլ առաւել ևս բորբոքի: Ինքեանք զմեզ նախատեն, կատակեն վասն սրբոց պատկերաց, իսկ յորժամ տեսանեն զքեպէ օրթուսին, զրոհք բազմուցեանց դիմին ի տեսիլն աղաղաղկելով ի մօտոյ և ի



հեռուստ՝ էլֆ, էլֆ սելավաթ գոչեն շարեղէն լաթերաց, որոյ վերայ գրեալ զանուն անյիշելոյն: Զոր Իստամպօլ ձեռքին, կարեցին, և նոր ուղարկեն անդ ի Քէլպէ, և էլֆ, էլֆ, որք ի հեռուստ աղաղակեն, ես իսկ լուա և տեսի ի շամ ՌՃԺԴ. (1665) քիվն՝ յես դարձին իմ ի սուրբ Երուսաղեմայ հանդիպեալ: Եւ ընդ բազումս բազում անգամ խօսակցեալ այսպիսի պատասխանիս տուեալ եմ նոցա: Վասն որոյ զայս խոկացողք կամ ի բերան բերողք տանկաց առակերտեալք են, անմիտք և յանմտաց վարժեալք և ուսեալք, կոյրք և կուրաց հետեւեալք, թերամիտ և թերահաւատք, անկատարք ընդ անկատարիս, զան գրաստական և գնան գրաստական:

### b) English translation

[91r] Twentieth, to those who say, “What are the icons of saints in the churches — useless and improper?” Behold, in our time they have learned to say this from the Muslims (*tachkats*’), for all the Latins have icons of saints — do they not see [their icons] in Galata? Is it that [only] Luther says it, and the Muslims do not?

Now, listen, o truth-loving one, that Muslims are against icons, but if they see a piece of paper on the ground, they lift it up, and not only a written paper, but also an unwritten [one]. They are the enemies of icons, but they themselves honor the imperial signature of the Imperial Edict (*khēt’isherifi t’ughra*, Trk. *Hatt-ı Şerif-i tuğra*). [91v] They dishonor icons, but they themselves honor the claw/hand (*p’ēnch’ē*, Trk. *pençe*) of the Unmentioned (i.e. Muhammad).<sup>35</sup> They are against icons, but they themselves elevate the crescent-painted flag (*alēm* Trk. *alem*) everywhere as an emblem (*arma* Trk. *arma*). They despise us mocking [us] because of icons, but themselves say a prayer (*salavat*’ Trk. *salavat*) to the banner (*sanjagh* Trk. *sancak*) made of cloth.<sup>36</sup> They blaspheme us calling idolaters (*put’p’ērēst*’ Trk. *putperest*), but themselves venerate silver and copper [coins] cut in the name of the king. They say [that] because of the icons the iconographers’ souls will be charged on doomsday, but when they see the banner (*sanjagh* Trk. *sancak*) of the Unmentioned, they worship it instantly crying and standing up in shiver. They despise the cross, but they themselves honor the two-edged sword of Murtazâ<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Refers to Muhammad’s handprint/signature, honored among the Muslims as a relic.

<sup>36</sup> Here Eremia speaks about *Sanjak-i Şerif* (The Prophet’s Banner).

<sup>37</sup> The name of Ali, meaning “reverend”.

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Ali,<sup>38</sup> and [stamping it on] green cloth and drapery (*ch'ukha* Trk. *çuha*): they put it over their heads as a sign of their Muslimness, and they decorate [with the sign of Ali's sword] the walls of the houses and mosques. They are used to kissing the leather (*sek*) of the Scripture (i.e. Qur'an), but they make fun of our kissing the church doors. They call us water-worshippers [92r] while themselves soak the mantle (*kharga* Trk. *hırka*) of the Unmentioned<sup>39</sup> and put it [i.e. the water] into the glass vessel sealed by the imperial fingers. And a horseman servant hastens, takes it [i.e. the water] during a fire in the city to sprinkle it upon the fire [to extinguish it], but [because of that] the flames blaze even more. They scorn us, make fun of us because of the icons of saints, but when they see the *Covering of Kaaba* (*k'epē ort'usi* Trk. *Kâbe örtüsü*)<sup>40</sup>, the crowd rushes towards it to view it, shouting from near and far, "[Have] thousands, thousands [times] mercy" (*ēlf, ēlf selavat* Trk. *elf, elf salavat*)<sup>41</sup> they shout to the ragged cloth on which the name of the Unmentioned is written, which is cut and sewed in Istanbul, and then sent to Kaaba. And "thousands, thousands" (*elf*), those who shout from faraway. And I heard and I saw it one morning (*şam* or *akşam*) of the year 1665, catching [the glimpse of] it on my way from Jerusalem.

And many times, while conversing with many [Muslims], I have given them such answers. Therefore, those who think and speak like this have learned it from the Muslims (*tachkats*). Ignorant followed by ignorant! Blind followed by blind! Crackbrains and skeptics, defectives [communicating] with defectives! They come brutish and go brutish!

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<sup>38</sup> Here Eremia means Zulfaqar or Zulfiqar, which was the two-edged sword of Ali, Muhammad's cousin and son-in-law. Zulfaqar was frequently depicted on Ottoman war flags, used mainly by the Janissaries and Ottoman cavalry in the 16th and 17th cc.

<sup>39</sup> Refers to Muhammad's mantle, that is *Hırka-i Şerif*, or *Hırka-i Saâdet* venerated as a relic.

<sup>40</sup> The Covering of the Kaaba, or *Kisve-i Şerif*. It is the fabric that covers the Kaaba in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. It is changed during Hajj, on the 9th day of the month of Zıjjan every year, according to the Islamic calendar. The cover with golden embroidered calligraphy inscriptions on it is black, woven from a silk fabric. It is manufactured from forty-seven strips of cloth.

<sup>41</sup> Literally means "a thousand of prayers," but in Islamic tradition it is a prayer asking for the mercy of God.

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## **Collections of N.F. Katanov in Russia's Museums: the Kunstkamera Collections in St. Petersburg and Prospects of Studying Museum Repositories<sup>1</sup>**

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*Abstract:* Nikolai Fedorovich Katanov (1862–1922), a Russian scholar of Turkic origin (Khakas), was a valuable Orientalist who wrote important works in the field of Russian Oriental studies. The framework of his scientific work was formed by various fields such as linguistics, ethnography, folklore, culture, history, archaeology and museology related to various Turkic tribes and peoples living in Siberia and Central Asia at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th c. His works made a great contribution to the development of studies on the ethnography and culture of Turkic peoples in Siberia and Central Asia. Further research, study, classification, promotion and publication of the material cultural heritage consisting of unpublished archival and visual materials of Katanov, an exemplary representative of the Khakass people and Turkic-speaking peoples of Eurasia, remains important today. Currently, the personal museum funds and collections of Katanov are stored in Kazan, St. Petersburg, Abakan, Minusinsk and Askiz. In this study, a brief review and description of the Katanov's collections, which

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are preserved in the *Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography* (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, but which are little known today, will be made. These collections were collected by Katanov during his scientific expeditions to Siberia and East Turkestan<sup>2</sup> between 1889 and 1892 in the Minusinsk region, Uryanhai region and East Turkestan. These collections, exhibited at the Kunstkamera, are published for the first time. In the future, an overview and catalog of N.F. Katanov's Buddhist museum collections (sculpture, painting and ritual objects) will be presented at the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan and the Ethnographic Museum of Kazan Federal University.

*Key words:* Nikolai Fedorovich Katanov, Russia, Central Asia, Russia's Museums, Kunstkamera, Turkology, Buddhology.

## Introduction

The study of the historical, cultural and scientific heritage belonging to Russian Turkologists, including Professor Nikolai Fedorovich Katanov (1862–1922), is a topical issue for modern social and humanitarian studies.

2022 marks the 160th anniversary of the birth of the famous Hakas scholar, traveler, educator, and Turkologist N.F. Katanov. The year 2024 is associated with the 140th anniversary of admission to the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University and the 130th anniversary of arrival at Kazan University. In the new development period of Russian state and society, particularly within the Turkic world, Katanov's scientific and pedagogical legacy continues to be examined and remains relevant. Katanov's biography and scholarly heritage provide an opportunity to analyze the emergence and contemporary development of the humanities, especially Oriental Studies and Turkology, in Russia and Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Currently, a research project funded by the Russian Science Foundation is underway to investigate, analyze, and classify, collections, and materials dedicated to the life and heritage of N.F. Katanov (1894–1922), a Hakas orientalist, educator, Turkologist, and head of the Turkish-Tatar Language Department at Kazan University. This project focuses on archives and mu-

<sup>2</sup> Xinjiang (Autonomous Region in the People's Republic of China).

<sup>3</sup> VALEEV & TUCUZHEKOVA & etc. 2008–2009; VALEEV 2009: 85–90; VALEEV 2010: 21–32; VALEEV & TUGUZHEKOVA 2011a: 186–238; VALEEV 2011: 141–148; VALEEV & TUGUZHEKOVA 2011b: 114–119.

seum centers in Russia. N.F. Katanov's scholarly research, pedagogical, and social activities made significant contributions to Oriental Studies and Turkology in Russia and Europe during the 19th and 20th cc.

The Personal archive of N.F. Katanov in the State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan and the personal collections and materials of the scientist scattered in scientific and cultural centers of Russia (the Russian State Historical Archive, the State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg, the Archive of the Russian Geographical Society, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, etc.) and the Republic of Turkey (the personal library of N.F. Katanov in the library of the Istanbul University Research Institute of Turkology<sup>4</sup>), which are of great scientific and educational interest, were used in research, but their study was fragmentary and random. The N.F. Katanov Library, which continues to be known by the name of its owner today, contains manuscripts that are rare, perhaps the only copies in terms of Turkish language, religion, history, ethnography, literature, culture and social life, printed books of the leading Orientalists and Turkologists of the period, periodicals and magazine collections of various scientific societies. A written and electronic catalogue of the library was prepared by the library staff. Most of the books in the library were published in Russian in various publishing houses in Russia and Kazan. In addition, the library also contains works and articles written and published by N.F. Katanov himself, as well as books signed by N.F. Katanov himself.<sup>5</sup> In this regard, the purposeful and comprehensive search and study of the collections and materials of N.F. Katanov, fragmented and dispersed in the repositories, and their introduction into scientific circulation are relevant.

Comprehensive classification and rearrangement of museum repositories, collections, and materials preserved in Russian cultural museum centers related to N.F. Katanov require specialized research. This will enable the

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<sup>4</sup> With its current name, Istanbul University Research Institute of Turkology is an academic centre established in 1924 to study Turkish culture and civilization. Immediately after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the lack of an academic institution to conduct research and studies in all fields of Turkish culture and civilization was felt and it was established by the order of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk wanted an institute to be established to conduct research in the fields of Turkish language, Turkish literature, Turkish history, Turkish art, Turkish ethnography, Turkish geography and to announce the results of these researches to the scientific world. Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, the founder of Turkish Turkology, was appointed for this purpose. Mehmed Fuad was appointed as the director of the institute. See: GÜLEÇ 2012: 560.

<sup>5</sup> SAZAK & INALCIK 2022: 480.

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evaluation of the documentary and cultural value of the materials and collections preserved in museum warehouses and inventories, and displayed in central and regional museums of Russia. Since 1888, Katanov has not only studied the traditional culture of ethnic groups and peoples in Siberia, East Turkestan, and the Volga-Ural region based on oral and written sources but also expanded the source base by examining archaeological and ethnographic sources, collections, and visual materials.

The Russian academician and Turkologist V.A. Gordlevsky, in his speech entitled *In Memory of N.F. Katanov* (*Pamyati N.F. Katanova*), delivered on June 11, 1922 at a session of the Eastern Commission of the Moscow Archaeological Society, said the following about the scholar: "...a historian of Oriental studies will appreciate this long and arduous work contributed by Katanov, which has brought forth a considerable amount of high-quality material in languages that were previously little studied before Katanov".<sup>6</sup> In the *Vostok* journal, academician A.N. Samoilovich in a short obituary "In memory of N.F. Katanov" highlighted the following: "I would like to hope that the publication of N.F. Katanov's materials, long-awaited by the scientific world, will be carried out after his death, and until the publication, these materials will be stored in a safe place".<sup>7</sup>

The archival and museum research work with N.F. Katanov's "personal documents" (the scholar's manuscripts and museum collections) generally includes four fundamental research methods. The first method involves the systematic examination of the personal archives of orientalists located in archives and museums in Russia and some foreign countries. This method focuses on exploring, processing, and expanding the archive and source base where various materials (official documents, plans, notebooks, etc.) are found. The second method involves researching and categorizing materials related to the history of Oriental Studies and Turkology in Russia and Europe from the 19th c. to the early 20th c. The third method involves researching and expanding historical-scientific facts and information related to N.F. Katanov's biography. This includes writing about his biography, conducting source studies, museum work and research on specific issues and topics. The fourth method involves systematically interpreting the information and findings obtained to examine the panorama of Russian scientific and cultural life in the late 19th and early 20th cc. This includes organizing and interpreting the data to evaluate the scholar's contributions to the field.

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<sup>6</sup> GORDLEVSKY 1968: 401.

<sup>7</sup> SAMOYLOVICH 1922: 105.

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N.F. Katanov's scientific, pedagogical and social activities made a significant contribution to the academic success of Russian and European Turkology in the development of national, social, and humanities research and academic centers from the 19th c. to the early 20th c. Unfortunately, N.F. Katanov's life and heritage have not yet been sufficiently studied in domestic and foreign Oriental and Turkological studies and in the history of science and culture of the peoples of Russia. Particularly, they are not widely known among the youth. The framework of the scholar's work is largely focused on the unity and diversity of the history and culture of the peoples and ethnic groups in Russia.

His scientific expedition to Central Asia between 1889–1892 with the support of the Russian Geographical Society, the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian Ministry of National Education to study the languages and ethnography of the Turkic peoples was a turning point in N.F. Katanov's life and professional career.<sup>8</sup> N.F. Katanov's subsequent expeditions and travels in the Volga-Ural region, Siberia and Europe are of great importance for the scholar's museological activities.

Among a number of scientific expeditions to Central Asia, Mongolia, Siberia and East Turkestan in the second half of the 19th c. and the beginning of the 20th c., N.F. Katanov's travel to Central Asia between 1889–1892 is very important in terms of collecting geography, linguistics and historical-cultural materials. Among the scholars who carried out such great expeditions of scientific and cultural importance were Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, G.N. Potanin, N.M. Przhevalsky, brothers G.E. and M.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, V.I. Roborovsky, V.V. Radlov, P.I. Lerkh, V.A. Obruchev, P.K. Kozlov, G.N. Tsybikov, N.I. Veselovsky, V.V. Barthold, V.A. Zhukovsky, K.G. Zaleman and others.

As part of the Russian Science Foundation grant project, comprehensive research will accompany history, archival, and museum studies, focusing on N.F. Katanov's academic life, social and professional status, research results, and scientific and museological ideas based on both published and unpublished collections and materials. The life and scholarly heritage of N.F. Katanov will be emphasized within the framework of socio-political and socio-cultural changes in Russia during the late 19th and early 20th cc, as well as the development of Turkology studies.

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<sup>8</sup> VALEEV & MARTINOV & MARTINOVA & MINEEVA & TUGUZHEKOVA 2017: 70–77.

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## **Collections of N.F. Katanov exhibited at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences<sup>9</sup>**

The main museum repositories and collections identified for N.F. Katanov are located in Kazan (National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan and Kazan Federal University Ethnography Museum). These include collections of manuscripts and visual materials related to the decipherment of ancient Turkic inscriptions, an Arabic-scripted metal mirror, as well as archaeological and ethnographic materials donated by N.F. Katanov (including over 45 historical and cultural items such as plant-stamped diorite stones, Chinese coins, and bonds). These materials are preserved in Minusinsk (N.M. Martyanov Minusinsk Regional Museum)<sup>10</sup> and St. Petersburg (Kunstkamera).

The National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan houses “over 20 collections consisting of visual materials either collected by Katanov or touched by the scholar’s hand”.<sup>11</sup> When the Ethnographic Museum of the Kazan Federal University is evaluated in terms of N.F. Katanov’s museum activities and heritage during the Kazan period of his life (1894–1922), it has “a collection that is small in terms of the number of exhibits but very rich in terms of content...”<sup>12</sup>

Currently, the Buddhist collection of N.F. Katanov contains various ritual works in the museum centers of Kazan. It includes sculpture, painting, Buddhist miniature, clay relief images, woodcuts and objects. Shamanic objects, various Buryat and Yakut objects, etc. also make up the original part of ethnographic clothing collections.

The Buddhist iconographic collection of N.F. Katanov, preserved in the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan, creates a holistic view of the phenomenon of material and spiritual art in China, Mongolia, Buryatia and Kalmykia. Today, the State Museum of Fine Arts of the Republic of Tatarstan houses 54 Buddhist iconographic images.

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<sup>9</sup> The material in this section is based on a published article in Russian. See: VALEEV & CHEBODAEVA & VALEEVA & TUGUZHKOVA 2023: 255–267.

<sup>10</sup> For a brief review of the museum repositories, collections and archival materials of N.F. Katanov in the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan, the Ethnographic Museum of the Kazan Federal University and the Minusinsk Regional Museum of N.M. Martyanov, see VALEEV & TUGUZHKOVA 2008–2009: 194–218.

<sup>11</sup> GAZIZULLIN 2008–2009: 206–210.

<sup>12</sup> MASALOVA & STOLYAROVA 2008–2009: 210–215.

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N.F. Katanov's museum repositories, collections and materials illustrate the main aspects of his museological activities and heritage, both organizational and scientific in scope, during his scientific travels to Siberia and East Turkestan and his work in Kazan between 1889 and 1922.

In one of his unpublished letters to N.M. Martyanov, the founder of the Minusinsk Regional Museum in Kazan, N. F. Katanov expressed the following sentiments: "Throughout my life, I have seen around 30 museums, but I have never encountered individuals who love museums and materials for science as much as you do. I must admit that I have never met them anywhere. May God bless you with health and well-being for selflessly establishing your museum and preserving it solely out of your love for knowledge".<sup>13</sup>

N.F. Katanov's humanistic and scholarly attitude towards the concept of museums and their founders is vividly manifested in his assessment of his role in the creation of the Minusinsk Regional Museum: "Eternal glory to you who, with your energy and love, created this honorable Museum..."<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately, the collections preserved in the repositories of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences were unknown and had not been examined by the academic world. The only significant work presented to the academic world from the Kunstkamera's collection was the publication of the manuscript diary of N.F. Katanov's work Notes from the Uryanhay Territories (Ocherki Uryanhayskoy Zemli),<sup>15</sup> which contains interesting visual materials. The manuscript was preserved in the archive of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Fund No. 5 until its publication.<sup>16</sup> The work, written in the form of daily travel notes, serves as a primary source for researchers interested in examining the history, ethnography, daily lives, traditions, and customs of the Uryanhay people, known today as the Tuvan Turks (Tuvans/Tıvalar), at the end of the 19th c.

The collections preserved in the mentioned museums and a series of regional museums have not been adequately studied and/or have been the subject of very few research projects.

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<sup>13</sup> Archive of N.M. Martyanov Minusinsk regional Museum, Of. 11071/9. L. 174 ob.

<sup>14</sup> Archive of N.M. Martyanov Minusinsk regional Museum, Of. 11071/9. L. 174.

<sup>15</sup> See VAINSHTEYN 1968: 34; KUZHUGET 2006: 46–49; KATANOV 2011.

<sup>16</sup> KUZHUGET 2011: 3.

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N.F. Katanov's three collections (№ 197, 217, 221) are preserved in the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. Collection № 235 has been lost. These collections were brought to the museum after N.F. Katanov's scientific travels to the Minusinsk region (Khakassia), Uryanhay region (Tuva) and East Turkestan in 1889–1892. The collections encompass the ethnographic heritage of the peoples of the Minusinsk region, Southern Siberia, and East Turkestan, including the Khakas, Sagays, Kyzyls, Tuvans (Uryanhays), Chinese, Sarts, and particularly the Turkic peoples of Central Asia.

N.F. Katanov donated 13 pieces of visual material from his scientific expedition to the Uryanhay region (March 1889–August 1889), which are included in the “Tuva Collection” (№ 197) in the Kunstkamera inventory.<sup>17</sup>

The ethnographic materials described by N.F. Katanov in his letters and exhibited in the Kunstkamera collections and their inventory numbers are as follows:

№ 197-1. Two knives with a scabbard covered with fish skin and a scabbard with a ring at the end, Uryankhai inlaid pichakh (пічак), purchased from A.P. Safyanov on the banks of the Elechest River, a left bank of the Upper Ulug-Kem River (see appendix, pl. 1);

№ 197-2. A flint box made in the Mongolian style by a craftsman on the banks of the Elechest River, purchased from A.P. Safyanov, called ottuk (отрук) by the locals (see appendix, pl. 2);

№ 197-3. Small trinket called kocha (коча) depicting an elderly ascetic woman reciting a prayer called suzuk (сyzuk). Purchased from the priest of the Upper Udin (Verhneudinsk) Church, Platon Tyzhnov (see appendix, pl. 3);

№ 197-4. Two knives with scabbards and a fork called sabak (сабак) made by a Uryanhai in the middle part of the Ulug-Kem River. Purchased from M.F. Tarnov.

№ 197-5. Two pipes made from the goat's beard plant called soskan (соскан) in Mongolian, also known as tanza (танза). The white pipe was purchased from the Mongolian traveller Lama Lujun Sharir for 1/8 marash herb and 6 kapiks. The Lama lives on the banks of the Selenge River. Lama Lujun Sharir bought the pipe on the banks of the Bom-Kemchik River from a Uryanhai in exchange for prayers. The other pipe was purchased from

<sup>17</sup> MAE RAS. Collection inventory № 197. L. 1–2.

L.I. Byakov for 10 kapiks. The pipe was made by the Uryanhai named Cholban-Sarig from the Sarı-Glor “sumın”<sup>18</sup> living on the banks of the Bom-Kemchik River.

№ 197-6. Two hand-made stone bowls called аяк (айак), bought by an Uryanhai in the upper reaches of the Bom-Kemchik River for 3 cubits of calico and 50 kapiks (see appendix, pl. 4);

№ 197-7. A tobacco pouch called tamkı kalğı (тамкы калгы) made of Chinese cloth by Uryanhai craftsman Piçekkey from Saryglar sumın, worth 60 kapiks.

These statements of the traveler N. F. Katanov show that he was well acquainted with the principles and methods of collecting and compiling visual material. Katanov described and classified each material cultural property and indicated its sources.

The museum materials reveal the social and cultural context of the traditional life of the peoples of Siberia and East Turkestan and arouse aesthetic appreciation. Katanov’s descriptions and explanations of the materials delivered to the museum reveal the semantics and functional purposes of the collections.

In general, when museum collections are evaluated together with other sources, they reveal the theoretical and practical approaches and ideas of the scholar. The material cultural objects are analyzed in various types and forms. Archaeological and historical-ethnographic materials are an organic component of the material and spiritual culture of the ethnos and peoples of Siberia and East Turkestan. They arouse scientific, cognitive and artistic interest. Material cultural objects contain information about folk life, aesthetics and religious ideas. They provide important information about the level of culture and civilization. In Katanov’s museological heritage, the main ideas and provisions of the primary systematization and scientific description of future museum inventories are highlighted.

A letter written by N.F. Katanov to the scholar V.V. Radlov on September 14, 1889, from the village of Askı is preserved in the Kunstkamera. In the letter, Katanov wrote the following lines: “Dear Vasiliy Vasilyevich! I have the honor to inform you that I am sending you the following items made in Uryanhai... which I purchased during my scientific expedition to the territory of Uryanhai on behalf of the Imperial Academy of Sciences on 9 September [1889]. If you consider these items unnecessary, I ask you to hand them over

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<sup>18</sup> (In Uryanhai dialect) tribe.

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to the Museum of Anthropology”.<sup>19</sup> A total of 8 pieces of ethnographic material were sent by Katanov.<sup>20</sup> The historical and cultural materials among N.F. Katanov’s other collections in the Kunstkamera can be divided into the following groups: In 1889 N.F. Katanov acquired gloves called *meley* (мелей), which are included in the “Chinese Collection” (№ 217-7ab). These gloves were purchased by N.F. Katanov in the area between the Askis and Kamishta rivers, tributaries of the Abakan River. The scholar noted that the gloves are called *paloy* (палой) in the Sagay dialect and that they belonged to his sister Torlok Kyzylowa-Itpalina. He also stated that the gloves were made of black velvet, with a wide brocade border on the hand and a narrow strip of fur trimmed leather around the wrists. The entire back of the gloves and the thumbs are decorated with a floral pattern embroidered with grey, green, orange and white silk threads. A leather lining is sewn into the inside of the gloves.

In December 1889, N.F. Katanov collected a collection of 8 items (MAE RAS, № 235) during his scientific expedition to the Minusinsk district. The collection consisted of the following materials of a Siberian shaman: tambourines (№ 235-1; 235-2), tambourine bells (№ 235-3; 235-4), shaman’s headdress (№ 235-5; 235-6), shaman’s breastplate (№ 235-7) and shaman’s robe (№ 235-8). This collection is currently missing from the museum.

N.F. Katanov, Professor at the Imperial University of Kazan, wrote about this collection in a letter dated 8 March 1894 to the then curator of the Kunstkamera, F.K. Russov<sup>21</sup> (1826–1906):

“I have the honor to take this opportunity to inform you that the shaman’s accessories mentioned in your letter of 1 March this year were sent by me on behalf of the Academy of Sciences on 19 December 1889 during a trip to the Minusinsk district of the Yenisei province. Later, together with all the other accessories of the shaman costume, I sent a description of the tambourine, which was included in Letters from Siberia and East Turkestan (*Pisma iz Sibiri i Vostochnogo Turkestana*).<sup>22</sup> I sent them all to the Academy: 2 tambou-

<sup>19</sup> *Epistolyarnoe nasledie N.F. Katanova* 2016.

<sup>20</sup> MAE RAS Collection inventory № 197. Letter from N.F. Katanov to V.V. Radlov dated 14 September 1889. Avtograf. L. 1.

<sup>21</sup> N.F. Katanov uses the letters “G.F.” in his letter. Most probably he was mistaken.

<sup>22</sup> See: *Pisma N.F. Katanova iz Sibiri i Vostochnogo Turkestana*, 1893. It was read during the session of the Imperial Kazan University Faculty of History and Philology on January 9, 1890.

rines, 2 cymbals for tambourines and 2 suits of clothes. All this was taken from the Beltir tribe and donated to the Academy of Sciences by my brother Nikolai Katanov, the deceased priest of the Upper-Yenisey Missionary Church of the Minusinsk district of the Yenisei province”.<sup>23</sup>

The “Chinese Collection”, based on the results of N.F. Katanov’s scientific expedition to the East Turkestan regions of the Qing Empire between 1890–1892, consists of 6 historical and cultural items<sup>24</sup> and the content of the collection is as follows:

№ 217-1. It is a Chinese wallet called *gan-da-za* (ган-да-за), worn on the back of the belt by the Hami Sarts. It is encircled by a rectangular strip of heavy paper covered with blue silk. It was given as a gift by Memet-tatr-bek, a resident of Hami city, on 7 March 1892;

№ 217-2. Four artificial flowers made of silk and paper;

№ 217-3. Chinese tobacco pouch. It is pear-shaped. Made of heavy paper covered with black silk. The edges are covered with blue braid. Embroidered with pink, green, white silk and gold glazed cord on black silk. A twisted yellow silk cord was pulled through the center of the wallet, and the same cord was sewn to the top edges of the wallet. One side of the wallet is tightly sewn and fastened at the top opening with a loop made of purple silk threads. The other side is open and only the top opening is fastened with the same purple loop. The wallet was made for smoking tobacco from a small pipe. Given on 27 February 1892 by Liu-bao-yuan as a gift in Hami City. The pouch used by the Hami Sarts was worn on the side and was called *janchuk* (жанчук) (see appendix, pl. 5).

№ 217-4. A pillowcase from the Loguchen Sarts. The cover is sewn from square, cream-colored calico. The embroidery depicts a stylized image of flower vases and is embroidered with green, yellow, purple and brown silk threads. The border is embroidered in diagonal wavy lines with a straight stripe in the center. The edges of the cushion cover are bent inwards by 3 cm. The pillowcase was made and gifted by Lyujut-ahun of the Loguchen Sarts. It was made in Chuguchak in October 1891 (see appendix, pl. 6).

№ 217-5. A snuffbox made from a water gourd belonging to the Sarts of Turfan. The bottom part of the snuffbox tapers sharply into a spherical shape in the middle. The box widens slightly after the middle and then narrows again.

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<sup>23</sup> MAE RAS. Collection inventory № 235. L. 1–2.

<sup>24</sup> MAE RAS. Collection inventory № 217. L. 1–3.

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№ 217-6. Chinese playing cards. Each card has the shape of an elongated rectangle. The front side of the cards is covered with yellow varnish, and the edges are covered with black and red paint. The back side of the cards is covered with red varnish. The cards are housed in a paper sleeve covered with yellow varnish. The cards were purchased in Chuguchak in October 1891. They were used by merchants, Kyrgyz Chinese and Sarts.

The ethnographic and decorative-applied works of art of the peoples of Central Asia preserved in the collections of the Kunstkamera compiled and donated by Katanov are as follows:

From the East Turkistan travel, three pieces were included in the “Khakas Collection” at the Kunstkamera: a leather sack belonging to a Kyrgyz woman from Semirechye (№ 221-2), another leather sack (№ 221-3), and a pair of boots (№ 221-6). This collection features six historical and ethnographic items, with three belonging to the “Khakas” collection and three to the “East Turkistan Collection”.<sup>25</sup>

The “Khakas Collection” preserved at the Kunstkamera, compiled by Katanov, contains materials gathered from his homeland. These include:

№ 221-1. The gloves are placed facing outwards. Fur inside and blackened on top. At the wrist there is a wide brocade and a narrow strip of fur. The backs of the gloves and thumbs are embroidered with red and green threads. They are decorated with floral ornaments. These gloves belonging to a Tatar woman of the Kachin tribe were obtained in 1892 from the right bank of the Abakan River in the Minusinsk district.

№ 221-4. Dark brown woolen socks knitted from coarse wool on skewers with front and back loops. The upper part is embroidered with a geometric pattern with embossed loops. The woolen socks were knitted by a Khakass woman of the Sagai tribe. Purchased in 1889 on the left bank of the Abakan River (see appendix, pl. 8).

№ 221-5. Black velvet gloves with a wide band of purple fabric at the wrist. The back of the gloves is embroidered with purple, orange, green and pink threads. The pattern is a floral pattern. The lining is made of brown cotton fabric. These gloves belonged to a Tatar woman of the Koybal tribe of the Khakasses and were purchased in 1892 on the right bank of the Abakan River (see appendix, pl. 9).

The main research principles of N.F. Katanov’s material collection activities were the description of each item and the recording of the original ethnic

<sup>25</sup> MAE RAS. Collection inventory № 221. L. 1–4.



names of these items. N.F. Katanov himself made the classification of the collected visual materials according to their types. He classified the items in the collections under headings (archaeological, historical, ethnographic), wrote his name and detailed descriptions on the materials he collected himself, and then compiled detailed descriptions of these materials into a scientific report.

N.F. Katanov's published and handwritten diaries of his scientific travels in 1889-1892 contain several entries describing drawings of historical-ethnographic and decorative-applied art materials of the peoples of Central Asia. In his diary dated 1890, N.F. Katanov described one of the gloves of a Khakas woman as follows:

"When I arrived in the city of Minusinsk the day before yesterday, my printer A.P. Behterev drew a sample of a glove made by a Tatar woman of the Kachin tribe. (...) The glove received from the narrator Koder on 17 May 1890... Covered with black velvet, black cloth... and brocade... Embroidered with blue and red silk. (...) This glove was cut, sewn, covered and embroidered by a young girl of the Kachin tribe named Kayak, daughter of 20-year-old Pidot Bolganovoy, who lived on the banks of the Kamishta River".<sup>26</sup>

N.F. Katanov's museological heritage is living proof of a comprehensive study of the languages, traditional and new forms of economic and social life, everyday life and culture of the Turkic peoples of the Sayan-Altai region. The Khakass, Tuva and Chinese collections reflect the material and spiritual aspects of the life of the peoples of Central Asia (economy, crafts and trade, housing, clothing, utensils, children's education, holidays and rituals, Buddhism, Shamanism and applied art). N.F. Katanov's collections, preserved in the central and regional museums, continue to offer a unique panorama of the periods to which they belong, outside everyday life. At the beginning of the 20th c. N.F. Katanov made a name for himself in Kazan as a well-known collector and expert researcher of archaeological, numismatic and ethnographic artefacts.

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<sup>26</sup> KATANOV 2017: 86.

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## Conclusion

As can be seen from the collections preserved and exhibited at the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, N.F. Katanov valued even the smallest material he found during his scientific expeditions. Even a small flint, a tobacco pouch, a glove, a piece of cloth or a small piece of wood were for N.F. Katanov first-hand sources of information about the languages, culture, history and ethnography of the Turkic peoples. In N.F. Katanov's eyes, these materials illuminate the origins of the national cultures of the peoples. In this context, N.F. Katanov's museological work plays an important role in illuminating the languages, history, ethnography and cultural values of various Turkic peoples and preserving them for the future. Being aware of this important role, N.F. Katanov did not entrust the cultural heritage he collected to anyone, but personally placed it in various museums, prepared inventories, conducted scientific studies and researches and published them in academic publications. As can be seen, N.F. Katanov spent a lot of effort on museological activities in addition to his scientific travels. Many museums established and developed with the artefacts he donated still continue to work today.

In summary, N.F. Katanov has rightfully taken his place among the famous collectors of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the National Museum of the Republic of Tatarstan and modern museum centers in the Khakassia and Krasnoyarsk regions. Further study of N.F. Katanov's museum collections will make it possible to make visible the traditional culture and life of the peoples of the regions where he carried out his scientific expeditions, and to evaluate more comprehensively his contribution to the ethnography, culture and museological activities of the peoples of Russia.

## Abbreviations

MAE RAS: Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
№: Number  
Of.: Accessible/Open Fund  
Op.: Opis (File number)

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**APPENDIX**  
**Visual materials exhibited in the collections of N. F. Katanov**  
**at Kunstkamera**



Pl. 1.  
Uryanhai knife and scabbard. MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 197-1



Pl. 2.  
Flint box. MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 197-2

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Pl. 3.

A trinket/figurine specific to the Uryanhai.  
MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 197-3



Pl. 4.

Stone bowl. MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 197-6



Pl. 5.

Chinese tobacco pouch. MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 217-3



Pl. 6.

Pillow case. Inventory № 217-4



Pl. 7.

A pair of gloves from the Chinese Collection. Inventory № 217-7

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Pl. 8.

Wool socks. MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 221-4



Pl. 9.

A pair of gloves belonging to the Khakas. MAE RAS. Collection inventory MAE № 221-5





Pl. 10.

New building of the Institute of Turkic Studies.  
The library of N. F. Katanov is preserved in this building.

[https://www.pinterest.com.mx/pin/347973508680562205/?amp\\_client\\_id=CLIENT\\_ID%28%29&mweb\\_unauth\\_id=&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.pinterest.com.mx%2Famp%2Fpin%2F347973508680562205%2F&from\\_amp\\_pin\\_page=true](https://www.pinterest.com.mx/pin/347973508680562205/?amp_client_id=CLIENT_ID%28%29&mweb_unauth_id=&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.pinterest.com.mx%2Famp%2Fpin%2F347973508680562205%2F&from_amp_pin_page=true) (22.05.2024)



Pl. 11.

Istanbul University, Research Institute of Turkology Katanov's Library.  
Archive of the Research Institute of Turkology

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Ramazan S. Abdulmazhidov,  
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## The Arabic-Language Manuscript Collection of Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** During the archaeographical fieldwork in August 2024 in the village of Bezhta (Republic of Dagestan), the collection of the Dagestani scholar, the *naib* of the Caucasian Imamate Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti, was explored, described and digitized. Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti, also known as Sultan-*dibir*, was a founder of an entire dynasty of scholars and public and political figures (among them are his sons, Kebedmuhammad and Abdulmazhid). The collection consists of classical works by Arab-Muslim authors, which were available in every Dagestan private manuscript library. However, each of these manuscripts contains a lot of important and valuable information that expands our understanding of the history and culture of this region. These include numerous glosses found in the margins, between the lines, on the flyleaf, and on the first and last pages of the manuscripts. The last page of the manuscript turns into a family chronicle, which fixes important events from the lives of relatives. Most often, copiists or manuscript owners preferred to leave such notes on the colophon page.

**Key words:** private arabographic manuscript collections; manuscript tradition in Dagestan; Bezhta; the Ankratl communities; the Caucasian Imamate, scholars

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During the archaeographical fieldwork in August 2024 in the village of Bezhta (Republic of Dagestan), the collection of one of the Dagestani scholar, the *naib* of the Caucasian Imamate Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti, was explored, described and digitized. Sultanmuhammad comes from Bezhta, one of the main villages of the confederation of unions of the Ankratl communities.<sup>2</sup>

Sultanmuhammad, the son of Mallamuhammad, the son of Muhammad, the son of Ramazan, the son of Muhammad, the son of Muhammad al-Bezhti, became the first Bezhta *naib* (deputy), who was appointed by Imam Shamil in 1844. After the fall of the Caucasian Imamate in 1864, he was a *qadi* in the village of Shaitl.<sup>3</sup> In the early 1870s, he lived in Irib,<sup>4</sup> where he probably also served as a *qadi*. Sultanmuhammad, along with many other prominent Muslim theologians, was subject to persecution. Together with several other villagers, he was sentenced to exile. But, as archival documents reveal,<sup>5</sup> he was not released in time and died while being imprisoned in the village of Verkhneye Kazanishche in October 1878. Recently, his grave has been discovered in this village. On the tombstone, there is an inscription: “The scholar Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti died while imprisoned in Verkhny Kazanishche on the month of *Shawwāl*, after the Jummaḥ prayer in midday, in the year 1295H. May Allah have mercy on his soul”.

Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti, also known as Sultan-*dibir*, became the founder of an entire dynasty of scholars and public and political figures. His eldest son, Kebedmuhammad al-Bezhti (1864–1922), continued the family's tradition. Like his father, Kebedmuhammad played a prominent role in the socio-political life of Southwestern Dagestan in the early 20th c. From 1896 to 1918, he held various positions, including deputy of the Gunib District Court, *qadi* of the Gunib District, and the *naib* of the Antsukho-Kapuchinsky district. Kebedmuhammad was a well-known arabist and legal scholar, who took an active part in the events that unfolded in Dagestan after the October Revolution. He was one of the leaders of the counterrevolutionary uprising in 1921 led by Nazhmuddin Gotsinsky. In his speeches to various Avar community groups, he called for resistance against the Bolsheviks and signed himself as “the manager of affairs of Nazhmuddin”.<sup>6</sup> Kebedmuham-

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<sup>2</sup> Ankratl is a confederation of community unions (Antsukh, Antsroso, Bezhta (Kapucha), Bokhnoda, Jurmut, Unkhada, Tash), now part of the Bezhtinsky site (Tsuntinsky district) and Tlyaratinsky district of the Republic of Dagestan.

<sup>3</sup> Shaitl — now the village in the Tsuntinsky district of the Republic of Dagestan.

<sup>4</sup> Irib — now the village in the Charodinsky district of the Republic of Dagestan.

<sup>5</sup> Central Historical Archive of Georgia. Col. 545. Inv. 1. File 1473. 367 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Central State Archive of the Republic of Dagesta. Col. 1. Inv. 1. File 38. Ff. 15–16.

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mad was one of the organizers of the resistance to M. Atayev's detachment in the area of Kosob village. Subsequently, he intended to emigrate to Turkey, but his relatives were taken hostage and sent to the prison in Khunzakh. Upon learning about this, Kebedmuhammad decided to surrender; after that, his relatives were released. He was imprisoned in Buynaksk (Temir-Khan-Shura before 1921) and was shot in 1922.<sup>7</sup>

Kebedmuhammad's younger brother, Abdulmazhid (1865–1933), was also known for his scholarship and profound knowledge of Arab-Muslim sciences. He attained his basic education from his father, Sultanmuhammad, and later continued studying Islamic sciences in the villages of Tlyarata, Tlyarosh, Koroda and Balakan. For several years, he worked as a clerk in the Antsukho-Kapuchinsky district, and for a long time, he held the position of a *qadi* in his hometown. Sultanmuhammad's grandsons, Khalil and Abdulmazhid, also received a thorough traditional Islamic education.

The collection contains manuscripts of both Sultanmuhammad himself and his relatives mentioned above. It contains 55 manuscripts from the 16th to 20th cc. The collection covers a wide range of genres, including interpretations of the Quran (*tafsir*), works on astronomy and mathematics. However, the most popular genre is Muslim law (*fiqh*) and its theory (*usul al-fiqh*). The earliest dated manuscript of this collection belongs to this genre and it is the work of the largest Muslim scholar from Egypt Zakaria al-Ansari: the manuscript is titled “Ghāyat al-wuṣūl fi lubb al-uṣūl” and discusses the theory of Muslim law. According to the colophon, it was copied in the Middle East by Ahmad b. ‘Ali b. al-Hasan al-Qasim al-Shafi’i al-Ansari al-Khazraji in May 1587. Another manuscript, also copied in the Middle East, is from the 1660s and 1690s. It is “Rawdat al-Talibīn” by the famous imam Abu Zakariya al-Nawawi dedicated to the Muslim law.

However, the vast majority of the manuscripts in this collection are of local origin. Many were personally copied by Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti and his sons, Kebedmuhammad and Abdulmazhid.

Of particular interest is the manuscript of Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī's famous work, “Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj”, which was copied in Dagestan in 1848. In addition to the numerous valuable comments written by Dagestani legal scholars in the margins, between the lines, and on inserts between pages, the colophon of the work gives the scribe's genealogy: Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti, son of Mallamuhammad, son of Muhammad, son of Ramazan, son of Muhammad al-Bezhti. It is also worth interesting that at the time when the

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<sup>7</sup> MUSAEV 2020: 588.

manuscript was copied the scribe was the *naib* of Imam Shamil, which he reports immediately after the colophon.

Another common genre in this collection is the grammar of the Arabic language, which includes rhetoric (*‘ilm al-balagha*) and philosophy of language (*‘ilm al-wad*<sup>8</sup>). This field is represented by classic works by Arab-Muslim authors who were popular in Dagestan, such as “*al-Fawāid al-Diya’iyya*” by ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Jami, “*Sharh Marāh al-arwāh*” by Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullah Dinqūzī al-Rūmī, “*Sharh Taṣrīf al-‘Izzī*” by Sa’d al-Din al-Taftāzānī and others. These manuscripts contain a large number of valuable and interesting notes and glosses, indicating that each manuscript went through a long and meticulous process of annotation. Moreover, every new owner or reader of these manuscripts continued to add their own annotations.

The works of local theologians in this field are particularly interesting in this collection. One of the manuscripts (convolute) contains a work by the major Dagestani legal scholar, Muhammad ‘Ali al-Chukhi, on grammar issues, in the form of answers to questions. This is immediately followed by another work by Abdul Hamid al-Gumuqi, which is a refutation of al-Chukhi's answers. The essay is titled “Rejecting Attacks on the Questioner's Questions” (“*Daf’ as-Sayil ‘an Masail as-Sayil*”). Both of these works were copied personally by Kebedmuhammad al-Bezhti in 1880.

Two small manuscripts, copied at the beginning of the 20th c., contain a number of works by Kebedmuhammad al-Bezhti himself and his villager Iman ‘Ali al-Bezhti on the issue of the number of prayers-*tarāwīh*. The creation of these works was prompted by a discussion that took place between these scholars, during which each of them demonstrated their deep knowledge of Sharia’ law and Arabic language.<sup>9</sup>

Exegesis is also represented by the classical works of Muslim scholars. In particular, the work of Nasir al-Din al-Bayḍāwī on the interpretation of the Quran “*Anwār al-Tanzīl [wa Asrar al-Ta’wil]*”, copied in the middle of the 18th c. and the famous “*Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*” — the interpretation of the Quran by two authors: Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti and Jalal al-Din al-Maḥalli.

Sufism is represented by only a few works. One of them is the work attributed to Imam al-Ghazali “*Minhāj al-‘ābidīn*”. This manuscript was copied

<sup>8</sup> See: “*Ilm al-wad*”, on the other hand, has no apparent counterpart among the branches of Western philology or linguistics; as a matter of fact, its subject matter, which will be unfolded in the course of the present study, does not seem to fall within the domain of the Western philologist's, or linguist's interests” (WEISS 1987: 339).

<sup>9</sup> See more: ABDULMAZHIDOV & ALIBEKOV 2021.

in June 1587 “in the *madrasah* of our lord and indefatigable Imam Ali, son of Husanshi (خُصْنَشِي)”. The question of whether this manuscript is of local origin remains open. In the same collection there is an essay by another famous sufi Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Hafs ‘Umar b. Muhammad al-Sahruwardī “A’lām al-Hudā wa ‘Aqīdatu Arbāb al-Tuqā” dedicated to Islamic dogmatics. The work was copied by the same scribe in the same *madrasah* and in the same year, but a month later.

There are several classical works on natural sciences, such as an essay on astronomy written by the Shafi’i jurist Ibn ‘Abd al-Haqq al-Sunbati, which was copied by Ishaq, the son of Malla Ibrahim al-Yirsi al-Tabasarani, in 1719–20. Another work is “al-Futūḥāt al-wahbiyah sharḥ al-risālah al-faṭḥiyah”, written by ‘Ali b. ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Nubaiti al-Hanafi and is a commentary on the work of Badr al-Dīn al-Mardini, which was also copied by the same person. The manuscript of “Umda Ulī al-Nuhā” on astronomy by Ridwan al-Misri, was copied in the Gunib fortress by Abdulmajid, the son of Sultandibir al-Bezhti, on May 3, 1898. The work on mathematics, “Khulāṣat al-ḥisāb” (“Symma of arithmetic”), written by al-‘Amili, is an invariable part of almost any Dagestan library and it was copied in 1886 by Kebedmukhammad “far from his homeland... in the village of Katekh<sup>10</sup>”.

As you can see, the collection consists of classical works by Arab-Muslim authors, which were available in every Dagestan library. However, each of these manuscripts contains a lot of important and valuable information that expands our understanding of the history and culture of this region. These include numerous glosses found in the margins, between the lines, on the flyleaf, and on the first and last pages of the manuscripts. Most of these glosses are devoted to analyzing and commenting on the texts within the manuscripts, and they are largely based on books by Middle Eastern Muslim scholars. In addition, there are also a significant number of comments written by local theologians, some of which are of particular interest, whether they are found in the margins of the manuscript or on.

For example, on one of these folios there is a note by the famous scholar Muhammad ‘Ali al-Ubri, in which he talks about the litigation that arose in the lesson of his teacher, the famous Muhammad, the son of Musa al-Quduqi. It was about the loot that the husband brought from military campaigns, mainly to Georgia. Al-Quduqi sides with the husband in this dispute, since, according to the Shafi’i *mazhab*, an authorized person cannot be appointed in matters of obtaining military loot. The person who captured the

<sup>10</sup> Now a village in the Balakan region of Azerbaijan.

trophy directly or participated in the risky business is the sole owner of their share of the war spoils. The note says the following:

*«Know that at the meeting (majlis) of Muhammad, son of Musa al-Quduqi (may Allah have mercy on him), there was a dispute between the spouses regarding the property that one of them had gained from the infidels. The wife said: "I cooked food, made all the preparations for the military campaign and took care of the household". The husband said: "I personally participated in a military campaign". Al-Quduqi, may Allah have mercy on him, considered this issue a matter of surety (wakala) and made a decision based on the words of Ibn Hajar that surety is impossible in those matters where the right to ownership is affected only by a direct participant, for example, military booty or picking up [abandoned or lost] things. If the dispute is about the property that the spouse gets by hunting or by developing virgin lands, i.e. where surety is possible, al-Quduqi, may Allah have mercy on him, ordered to husband to take an oath that the property he obtained was obtained with intent for both spouses, i.e. in general for the house. If the spouse refuses to take the oath, then the property is considered to be the common and equal property of both parties. This is an important issue. Ubri, May Allah have mercy on him».*

### **The book as the special subject of law**

In more rare cases, one can find notes in manuscripts about lawsuits in which the owners or copyists of the manuscripts were involved. Thus, on the last page of the list of essays on the theory of law "Sharh Jam' al-jawāmi" by Jalal al-Din al-Mahalli, there is no usual colophon but instead of it there is an inscription in a triangular shape, stating that he purchased the book in the summer of 1848 from Abdurahman of Antsukh for 13 rubles. There is a large text on the side in which Sultanmuhammad reports in more detail about the deal and the issues that arose after that:

*«Sultanmuhammad purchased the book named "Jam' al-jawāmi", from Abdurahman al-Ansukhi, the son of Tinamuhammad, for 13 rubles (غروش) of pure silver in 1264. Then, after some time, qadi Numan and qadi Isam testified that the book had been bequeathed as a waqf to the children [of the first owner]. In this regard, naib of the imam 'Adalav, with the decision (fatwa) of Hajimuhammad-afandi al-Bukhnudi, withdrew the book from them. So the book was in the possession of 'Adalav and his mufti for a year or more. I went to Abdurahman to collect the price paid to him for the book. How-*

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ever, both of them ('Adalav and the mufti) returned it to me, saying that the testimony of the witnesses had been found to be false and that they had revealed the lies. They also said: "We are afraid of Allah to take the cost of the book from the orphans of Abdurahman, besides, he was the owner and proprietor of the book. Abdurahman said during his lifetime: "All the books of my father Tinamuhhammad were given to me according to a reliable will (nazr)". He showed a corresponding written note as a proof. During his lifetime, Abdurahman had his own evidence, and after his death, this lie was revealed near the witnesses: 'Adalav, Hajimuhhammad, Muhammad, son of Irmî (إرمي), Ilyas, Muhammad b. Qurban and a large number of other people. In 1272,<sup>11</sup> it was thus established that the book belonged to its buyer Sultanmuhammad".

It is understood from the text that, after Sultanmuhammad bought the book in the summer of 1848, some *qadis* opposed this deal on the basis that Abdurahman's father Tinamuhhammad bequeathed the book to his children. Therefore, Abdurahman was not entitled to sell it. Based on the opinion of these *qadis*, *naib* and *mudir* of Imam Shamil, 'Adalav, withdraws this book for further investigation. It is noteworthy that the *naib* had his own *mufti*, who advised him on Sharia issues and issued religious and legal decisions (*fatwas*). For some unknown reason, the consideration of this controversial issue was delayed for several years. And only after the death of the person (Abdurahman) who sold the book, the *naib* comes to the conclusion that the transaction was legitimate, and therefore the book should be returned to Sultanmuhammad. In 1855–56, another court session was held, where, in the presence of a large number of people, the judgment was rendered in favor of Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti.

In general, the manuscripts in this collection contain numerous legal documents that were included on the first or last pages of the manuscript or on the flyleaf. These documents are important for the research of the economic history and legal culture of Dagestan. One example is a document about the bride's dowry. A note left on the last page of the Quran from the Bezhta collection dates back to the 18th c. This record states:

*"This is an explanation of the property of Patimat, the daughter of Mahdi Muhammad, which she handed over to her husband Musa, the son of Tami: household utensils worth six sheep; three silver chains worth three sheep; two leg bracelets worth several sheep; a cow worth four sheep; a fur coat worth two sheep; a chain... made of silver worth several sheep; [the book]*

<sup>11</sup> The year 1272 of the Hijri began on September 12, 1855.



*“al-Minhaj” worth three sheep; one sheep; three goats and one kid; one mutton (bazj); a tray worth several sheep; a share in a gun, worth two sheep; six and a half measures of barley. This is witnessed by Malla, the son of Yusuf, and Ilyas, the son of Muhammad in the village of Bezhta. Muhammadvali al-Bezhti was the author of these lines. May Allah be the best witness!”*

The following can be learned from this interesting source. Firstly, the main valuable items of that time are presented here: jewelry, cattle, dishes, weapons, books, grain, etc. Secondly, despite the fact that Persian, Ottoman and Russian money was already in circulation in Dagestan during this period, the bride's side preferred to value the property with a more stable equivalent — sheep. Thirdly, the purpose of such notes was to fix the dowry so that in case of divorce, it could be claimed back.

### Personal notes

Sultanmuhammad, on the last page of the work “Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj” by al-Haythamī immediately after the colophon, in which he reports that he completed the copying in the early summer of 1264H (1848), writes: *“I was the naib of Imam Shamil at the time of the beginning of the copy of this book and its completion. First i was his naib in 1260, and then again in 1264”*. Immediately after this note, there is a message from his son Kebedmuhammad, in which he writes about the death of his cousin and about his own location at the time of writing the note: *“On May 8, 1910, which corresponds to the 10th Jumādā al-‘ākhirah of 1328, Tal’i(?), i.e. the son of my paternal uncle, a meek scientist Ali-dibir, the son of Kurban-Ali al-Bezhti, died. May Allah forgive him and his parents. Me, the author of these lines — Kebedmuhammad, the son of Sultan-dibir al-Bezhti, wrote this in the fortress of Gunib, when I was the qadi of the Gunib district and my wife Aminat and her children were with me”*. Thus, the last page of the manuscript turns into a family chronicle, which fixes important events from the lives of relatives. Most often, copyists or manuscript owners preferred to leave such notes on the colophon page.

Almost every manuscript has the owner's notes on it. In one of them, the founder of the collection, Sultan Muhammad, provides some information about his family:

*“From the books of poor Sultanmuhammad, son of Mallamuhammad. His nickname is Chartli and he belongs to the Antlkilish (“six-fingered”) al-Bezhti tribe. May Allah have mercy on them, Amin!”*

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## Letters: official and private correspondence

Another important component of the Dagestan manuscripts is the presence of numerous letters embedded or pasted between their pages. For example, the collection of Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti includes a letter from Imam Shamil addressed to the Bezhta Jamaat:

*“And peace be upon you, and then. Your messengers have reached me with a letter, and I have read it and understood its contents, but remained unaware of your affairs. And I don't have anyone who knows the truth about your situation. And I have entrusted all your affairs to your Naib Sultanmuhammad and your mudir, the noble Emir Daniyal Sultan, and if this matters don't improve, then I will ask both of them. And indeed, hypocrisy often leads to strife, but prosperity and God's favor can be found in harmony. Your respected envoys will keep you informed about our affairs. And may peace be upon you. 28 Dhu al-hijjah 1262<sup>12</sup>”.*

The content of this letter becomes clearer when we turn to the historical context. During the trade and economic blockade imposed by the tsarist authorities in the early 1840s, the residents of Dagestan communities bordering Kakhети faced an extremely difficult situation. The Bezhtins and neighboring Antsukh communities needed to maintain trade relations with Kakhети for their economic activities. Due to the blockade, many refugees from the Bezhta Khanate were unable to descend into the Alazani Valley and went to Chechnya in search of food. Georgian archives contain documents about attempts by some residents of Bezhta to move to Kakhети in 1846, but these attempts were unsuccessful.<sup>13</sup> It seems that some of the people in the *naibity* were against joining the Caucasian Imamate due to the problems that arose. In order to resolve these conflicts, the representatives of the Bezhta community, in our opinion, turned to Imam Shamil.

Some personal letters in this collection are also very interesting, such as Kebedmuhammad's letter addressed to his elder brother, which contains exhortations to study:

*“To the venerable father, student Sultanmuhammad.<sup>14</sup> Salam alaykum.*

*And then, first of all, I wish you, your friends and your teacher well. May Allah protect you from diseases and misfortunes.*

<sup>12</sup> 16th December 1846.

<sup>13</sup> Central Historical Archive of Georgia. Col. 545. Inv. 1. File 1473. 367 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Such an appeal to the son or the elder relative (brother, nephew, by the name of the father) is common for the Bezhtins. The letter indicates the process of formation of the dynasty of the *'alims* and scholars in Dagestan — as the one who got an education himself supports his relatives on the same path.

*I am sending you a part of the tablet so that you may write on it what you wish. I also ask that you be diligent in your studies and in doing good deeds, and strive to become a great scholar like your father. And I ask you not to wander around the bazaars and not to sleep in the morning.*

*If I see how hard you are trying to gain knowledge, I will certainly sew beautiful outerwear for you, for which I will buy the best fabric from the merchant. Otherwise, you don't have to hope for it.*

*Next, give greetings to my brother Muhammad Shafi and tell him to obey his mother and not just waste precious time, being not busy with either worldly or ahirat.*

*Also send greetings to your friends Muhammadrasul and Jamaluddin and our neighbor Muhammad, as well as my sister's son Ramazan. Thursday. April 1892".*

The place of storage of letters in Dagestan has traditionally been handwritten books. Many letters were also used to write various comments on the manuscript. Most letters, as mentioned above, dealt with household and personal matters. However, it was not uncommon to find letters sent from one community to another or between feudal lords. For instance, in this collection, there is a letter where the community of Arakani village protects the property of one of its members:

*"From the residents of the village of Arakani to the venerable brothers: the Imam, the community and the residents of the village of Kudutl — may peace be upon you, the mercy of Allah and His grace!*

*Further, know, brothers, that Gazi lives among us under our communal law (rasm) and the law (hukm), therefore you are not allowed to charge ishkil from him. Release his donkey, just as the residents of Aymaki village released your fellow villager's donkey when we sent them a letter and demanded his release. Respect our rights by thinking carefully about how we respect your rights. You have to let him go. May the Almighty Creator have mercy upon you all, and may peace prevail!"*

The *ishkil* referred to in this document is the seizure of the property of a relative or fellow villager of the debtor, in order to force him to pay the debt. This practice was criticized by representatives of the Muslim clergy, nevertheless it was widely practiced in Dagestan.

Also the collection contains a letter from Hadis al-Machadi to a certain Haji Muhammad, the son of Churilav (that he did not know the answer to the question asked by Haji Muhammad earlier) dated approximately 1740–1760s. Hadis al-Machadi (1689–1770) is named by a number of sources among the

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most famous and competent Dagestani theologians of the 18th c.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the collection of manuscripts and documents of Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti, which preserved this letter, once again testifies to the ties between Dagestani scholars and the recognition of the authority of many of them.

### Other types of documents in the collection

In addition, it should be noted that the collection under study contains another type of document — a collection of legal regulations compiled in 1895. The title page of the manuscript says the following: “This collection includes the ‘*adats* of the societies of the Naib of the Antsukh-Kapucha and Bokhnoda region dated July 10, 1895”. At the same time, it must be said that the ‘*adat* regulations concerned not only the unions of communities named on the title, but cover all other jamaats, that were traditionally part of the *Ankratl* (or rus. *Semizemeli* — “The Seven Lands”) military-political union. And the presence on the title of only the names of three unions of communities is due to the fact that after the formation of the Dagestan region in the territory of *Ankratl*, two separate *naibities* were created, united by the period of compilation of the collection of ‘*adats* into the *naibity* “Antsukh-Kapucha and Bokhnoda” with the center in the village of Tlyarata.<sup>16</sup> The compiler of the collections of ‘*adats*, in our opinion, is Kebedmuhammad al-Bezhti.

Unlike many other Dagestani ‘*adat* codes, these ‘*adats* of Antsukh-Kapucha and Bokhnoda has a fairly well-organised structure. The numbered ‘*adat* regulations are set out in the form of a specific legal case and are divided according to the type of offense.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, this collection is a collection of valuable and significant sources on the history of Dagestan. The study of such Dagestan handwritten Arabic collections not only contributes to the study of local history, but also enhances our understanding of the evolution of the Arab-Muslim written tradition both in Dagestan and in general on the periphery of the Muslim world. On the

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<sup>15</sup> It is known that Hadis al-Machadi had many *fatwas*, which were widely spread in Dagestan; he also took an active part in the socio-political life of Dagestan — for example, in the ideological justification of opposition to the invasion of Nadir Shah. Hadis al-Machadi left behind a rich collection of manuscripts that had been collected for several centuries and in summer of 2023 was partially described and digitized by the project team. For the collection and personality of Hadis al-Machadi, see: ABDULMAZHIDOV & ANIKEEVA & SHEKMAGOMEDOV 2024.

<sup>16</sup> *Kavkazskii calendar*’ 1895.

<sup>17</sup> See more at: ABDULMAZHIDOV 2014.

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example of the Sultanmuhammad al-Bezhti manuscript collection, we can clearly see how a relatively small book collection contains the most diverse range of sources and materials on the history and culture of the region.

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*[The page contains dense handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a manuscript.]*

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