

# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

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REVIEWS



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## في بيان مناقب الامام الشيخ الكامل

عبد اللطيف بن سبانه بن ابي ارم قل القصصه يلغوى مولدا والشيخ موطنا له نشأ قرية قصصه يلغى  
 وقرية صغيرة في ناحية بشهر بلخاي فتعلم العلم في قرية اداى في طريق ارس في تربيتهم اميرجان  
 بن قوصقا رحمة الله عليه الضيفي ابنه نقله عن بعض مالكيه رحمة الله عليه في عايش كتابه واخبرني ابنه  
 محمد الصديق نقله عن ابيه وعنه روى عنه بالشيخ المذكور انه في ايام طلبه كان يروى وقبر شيخ بابا الذي دفن  
 في مقبرة عوده القوية اداى وحصل له ببركة الوعد والمحبته لم تعالي وكان رجلا قارئا في نهاية حسن  
 الصمت بالقراءة فاقوا وقع له في قلبه شوق في زيارة بيتهم المحرم فخرج قاصدا اليه وبلغ مصر القاهرة فلقى  
 الشيوخ الزاهرة وعرف ما حفظه من السور والابيات على اشياح القراءات في عوده البلدة وبوم  
 القراء فاجازته من عرض له ثم بلغ مقصده وطاف البيت والسننم الحبر ورجع سالما بلخ فمزم ساوا الي الحار  
 الشريف قاصدا لسلك الطريق فحسب الشيخ المشهور رتبة لمان رضي الله عنهما ملاه يديق قال  
 الشيخ عبد اللطيف ولقيت الشيخ تلمانه رضي الله عنهما بالبشاشة والنصرة وهو في خطب الي كلامه  
 ايشان ايشان في فتحييت من خطاب بذلك ولم اعلم اراها عنك فصحيبت معم بالهجرة الي هجرة  
 وتحدثت عن من ال وراو الاعمال والا تطبيق ان افعل فيما عيسى من الوردان لان فعال فتخيرات في امرى  
 صى كما وان يغلب عقله فذ صحت الشيخ دولتشاه وهو الذي تشيخ في ناحية اوله في قرية ايماعل  
 وعويوم في نارا وكان جارا له هو الشيخ ومنى وقال تعلمت منه وفعدت كلمه في وقت  
 امرني الشيخ ان افعل في هذه الوقت ووجدته امرامنا في نفسه وصحبت مرة ثالين معم فاجازني  
 بالتعليم وكتب الي خطه ال رشاد فعلمت ان ما حصل الي حصل في قبر شيخ بابا وانا لا اعلم فظلم  
 خطاب الشيخ في ال ابتداء واخبرني <sup>من ارس</sup> رحمة الله عليه فلما رجع الي قرية الذي نشأ وهو قصصه  
 يلغى وعظ الكاسن وامرهم بالموافق فلم يقبلوا منه فممنهم متسلما بقوله الرسول الكريم صل الله

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Pl. 1. Archives of Orientalists, IOM, RAS, Fund 131, Inventory 1, p. 192

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Tatiana A. Pang

## Two Manchu-Chinese *Gaoming* 誥命 Diplomas from the Collection of Nikolay Petrovich Likhachev

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*Abstract:* Nikolay P. Likhachev (1862–1936) was an outstanding specialist in diplomacy, sphragistics, numismatics, paleography and codicology of ancient and medieval manuscripts. His collection of various documents was exhibited in the Museum of Paleography that he founded in 1925. The Museum was closed in 1930, and manuscripts in Oriental languages were sent to the forerunner of the present IOM, RAS. Among the documents in Arabic, Syrian, Coptic, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Japanese and other languages there were two Manchu-Chinese diplomas. The diplomas were acquired by N.P. Likhachev from different people. The first one is dated by 1682, and bestows the civil official Yatu the 4th rank title *zhongxian dafu*, and his wife from the Tunggo clan a corresponding title. The second diploma is dated by 1881. According to its Chinese text, the patent of nobility is given to the official Wei Zhu and his wife from the Liu clan. The Manchu text of this diploma does not make sense, since it is a combination of disconnected phrases. It could be assumed that it was put into the diploma as a formal, decorative part of an official document which was supposed to be in two languages. The second diploma was issued almost at the end of the Qing empire, when the Manchu language was sometimes used as a formal attribute to the official court documents for the Chinese subjects. This statement is supported by other late Manchu-Chinese diplomas from the collection of the IOM, RAS. The article publishes two Manchu-Chinese diplomas from the collection of N.P. Likhachev with transcription and translation of the texts.

*Key words:* Qing dynasty, Kangxi, Guangxu, *gaoming*, N.P. Likhachev, Manchu-Chinese diploma, Institute of Oriental manuscripts, RAS

Nikolay Petrovich Likhachev (1862–1936) was an outstanding specialist and collector of manuscripts. His works are known to everyone who deals with diplomacy, sphragistics, numismatics, paleography, codicology of ancient and medieval manuscripts. His professional knowledge allowed to



collect an outstanding set of materials which showed the development of script and documents during five thousand years. The aim of his scholarly activity was to organize a public museum where one could find samples of scripts and writings, as well as different forms of documents, and which could be used as a research basis for Russian scholars of various specializations. During 30 years he has collected 80 thousand written monuments, and in 1925 N.P. Likhachev opened the Museum of Paleography in Leningrad in his own house. Unfortunately, the museum existed only till 1930 when N.P. Likhachev was arrested and then sent to exile. The Museum of Paleography was reorganized into the Museum of Book, Document and Script and transferred from his house to the building of the Library of the Academy of Sciences.<sup>1</sup> In 1938 the museum was closed and the collection of N.P. Likhachev was distributed between various scientific centers: the Institute of History, RAS, the State Hermitage Museum, the Library of the Academy of Sciences, the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, and the State Art Museum of the Tatar Republic in Kazan.

In 1938 the IOM, RAS (at that time — the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences) acquired the materials from N.P. Likhachev's collection. According to the "List of manuscripts and documents transferred to the Institute of Oriental Studies USSR AS from the Institute of Book, Document and Script", 28 boxes contained printed books, lithographs, manuscripts, blockprints, seals, texts on palm leaves. The texts were in Arabic, Syrian, Coptic, Hebrew, Ethiopian, Persian, Armenian, Georgian, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Japanese and other languages.<sup>2</sup> Later, the manuscripts from the collection of N.P. Likhachev were added to the collections of the corresponding Oriental funds.<sup>3</sup>

In 2012, the State Hermitage Museum organized a large-scale exhibition "Only Letters Sound..." dedicated to the 150th anniversary of N.P. Likhachev, having collected the manuscripts once acquired by the collector and currently stored in various museums and academic institutions. Among the Oriental texts presented was a diploma in Manchu and Chinese, issued to the official Yatu in 1682. This diploma was first introduced by Irina F. Popova in the exhibition catalogue<sup>4</sup> with a brief description of the scroll and its

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<sup>1</sup> MESHCHERSKAYA & PIOTROVSKAYA 2012: 55.

<sup>2</sup> The number of the boxes in the list is 28, but after No 20 there is a mistake in numeration (IOM, RAS, Archive of Orientalists, f. 152, op. 1a, N 604, ff. 76–78).

<sup>3</sup> MESHCHERSKAYA & PIOTROVSKAYA 2012: 59.

<sup>4</sup> POPOVA 2012: 486–487.

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content, and a Russian translation of the whole diploma was published later by T.A. Pang in 2021.<sup>5</sup> Based on archival materials, I.F. Popova writes that this imperial diploma was bought for N.P. Likhachev by *chargé d'affaires* of the Russian diplomatic mission in Beijing, Mikhail Sergeevich Shchekin, approximately, in 1910–1911.<sup>6</sup> The fact that this document once belonged to the collection of N.P. Likhachev is proved by an old inventory number on the reverse side of the scroll on the right: “VI SM23. From the collection of N.P. Likhachev”. Now it is included in the Chinese collection of manuscripts and blockprints under the shelf-number H 178 Nova.

The diploma is a scroll 322.5 cm long and 31.1 cm wide, the text is written on colored silk, fixed on a thick paper base. A colored silk cover is attached to the right edge of the scroll: drawings of lotus flowers and bats, symbols of purity and longevity, are woven on red silk, but the reverse (inside) silk (usually of yellow color) is missing. The left side of the scroll is fixed to a wooden stick, at the ends of which there once were jade or bone tips that are now lost. At the beginning of each text (for Chinese on the right side, for Manchu — on the left), between two dragons (descending and ascending) is a woven name of the diploma: in Chinese *fengtian gaoming* 奉天誥命, in Manchu *abkai hese g'aoming* “Imperial Decree”. The silk scroll itself consists of stripes of various colors, and as the scroll unfolds from right to left, the following stripes appear: brownish-gray with a Chinese name (60 cm), red (45.5 cm), yellow (46 cm), white (45.5 cm), light brown with a Manchu name (60 cm), white with clouds embossed on it (16 cm). On the edge of the cover, there is a vertical half-erased ink inscription in two languages. The first Manchu word and two Chinese characters have been lost, but they are restored from the text of the diploma itself: Manchu. [*baitalabure*] *hafan Yatu-i sargan Tunggo hala*, Ch. [拜他]喇布勒哈番牙圖妻通倭氏 “wife of *baitalabure hafan Yatu* from the Tunggo clan” and a postscript in Manchu: *hešeri hala* “Hesheri clan”. The Chinese text is located on the right side of the scroll and is read first as the scroll is unrolled. The text consists of 18 vertical lines from right to left. The Manchu text is located on the left side of the scroll and is written in 17 vertical lines from left to right. The Manchu text is written along vertical lines, made beforehand, that were pressed on silk by a sharp instrument. At the end of the Manchu text, the date bears a red square seal with a clear bilingual

<sup>5</sup> PANG 2021: 25–311.

<sup>6</sup> POPOVA 2012:483, 486.

legend: in Chinese *zhigao zhi bao* 制誥之寶, in Manchu *hese wasimbuhe boobai* “Seal for Decrees”. Usually, a seal is put both on Manchu and Chinese dates, but in this diploma, it is missing on the Chinese date. The date in both languages corresponds to February 1, 1682. Both Manchu and Chinese texts are written in clear script.

### The Chinese text of the scroll

奉天承 / 運

皇帝制曰國家推恩而錫類臣子懋德以圖功 / 懿典攸存忱恂宜勗爾拜他喇布勒哈番牙 / 圖持心克謹蒞事惟勤俾典厥司特加任用 / 奉公罔懈盡職靡愆盛典既逢宜加新命茲 / 以覃恩特授爾階中憲大夫錫之誥命於戲 / 式弘車服之庸用勵顯揚之志尚欽榮命益 / 矢嘉猷 /

初任六品阿 / 敦大二任今職 /

制曰靖共爾位良臣既効其勤黽勉同心淑女 / 宜從其貴爾拜他喇布勒哈番牙圖妻通倭 / 氏克嫻內則能貞順以宜家載考國常 應褒 / 嘉以錫寵茲以覃恩封爾為恭人於戲敬為 / 德聚實加儆戒以相成柔和女箴愈著匡襄 / 以永賚 /

康熙二十年十二月二十四日

### The Chinese text with punctuation

奉天承運皇帝制曰：國家推恩而錫類，臣子懋德以圖功，懿典攸存，忱恂宜勗。爾，拜他喇布勒哈番牙圖，持心克謹，蒞事惟勤。俾典厥司，特加任用。奉公罔懈，盡職靡愆。盛典既逢，宜加新命。茲以覃恩，特授爾階中憲大夫，錫之誥命。於戲！式弘車服之庸，用勵顯揚之志。尚欽榮命，益矢嘉猷。

初任六品阿敦大，二任今職。

制曰：靖共爾位，良臣既効其勤；黽勉同心，淑女宜從其貴。爾，拜他喇布勒哈番牙圖妻通倭氏，克嫻內則，能貞順以宜家；載考國常，應褒嘉以錫寵。茲以覃恩，封爾為恭人。於戲！敬為德聚，實加儆戒以相成；柔和女箴，愈著匡襄以永賚。

康熙二十年十二月二十四日



Pl. 1 The Chinese text of the diploma. H 178 Nova, IOM RAS

## Translation from Chinese

Receiving the destiny of Heaven, the instruction by the Emperor:

The country gives out kindness by spreading graciousness; the officials perform meritorious deeds with diligent contributions. Fine institutions will be preserved, integrities should be encouraged. You, *baitalabule hafan*<sup>7</sup> Yatu, have a devoted heart and diligently treat the affairs, and you fully deserve a promotion. Pursue public affairs without slackness and perform the duty without faults. On the occasion of grand ceremony, a new appointment ought to be added. Here, by a deep favor, I specially bestow you the grade of *zhongxian dafu*<sup>8</sup> and present you an Imperial diploma. Oh! By increasing the honor of carriages and costumes, I encourage your distinguished ambition. Respecting the glorious appointment, you could demonstrate more fine strategies.

Initially you were appointed *adonda*<sup>9</sup> of the sixth grade, then appointed to the present position.

The imperial instruction reads: Consider holding your post, a fine officer has already contributed his diligence; endeavor in one mind, the fair lady ought to get encouragement with him. You, Lady from the Tong'ο clan, the wife of *baitalabule hafan*, Yatu, being familiar with the regulations of a wife, are living harmoniously in chastity and compliance; thus, according to the country's rules, you ought to be honored by giving a favor. Now, by a deep favor, I bestow you the title of *gongren*.<sup>10</sup> Oh! Respect being accumulated by moralities ought to be supplemented by admonishments; gentle female observations should constantly help and support.

24th day of the 12th moon, the 20th year of Kangxi (February 1, 1682)

## Transliteration of the Manchu text

Abkai hesei forgon be aliha /

Hûwangdi hese. gurun boo. kesi be selgiyeme neigen isibumbi. amban oho niyalma. erdemu be wesihuleme gung be / kicembi. sain kooli bisire be dahame. unenggi gûnin-i sithûci acambi. baitalabure hafan Yatu sini / mujilen ginggun bime. baita de kicebe seme tušan de afabufi baitalaha.

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<sup>7</sup> *baitalabule hafan* 拜他喇布勒哈番 is a Manchu *baitalabure hafan* (dignitary hereditary title of the 4th grade).

<sup>8</sup> *zhongxian dafu* 中憲大夫 a title of the official of the 4th grade

<sup>9</sup> *adonda* 阿敦大 is a Manchu *adun da* (caretaker of state herds)

<sup>10</sup> *gongren* 恭人 «respectable wife», an honorary title of an official of the 4th grade

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afabuha babe heolendehakû. / tušan be akûmbume endebuhakû. amba kooli be ucaraha be dahame. doshon hese be isibure / giyan. te kesi selgiyehe doroi simbe tušan de faššaha amban fungnefi. g'aoming buhe. Ai. / sejen eteku-i temgetulere be badarambufi. iletulere algibure gûnin be huwekiyebuhe. ele wesihun / hese be gingguleme. sain bodogon be nememe kice. //

sucungga tušan ningguci adun-i da. / bihe. jai tušan de ere hafan. //

Hûwangdi hese. beye-i tušan be gingulere be dahame. sain amban kiceme faššambi. uhei mujilen-i kicehe be dahame. mergen hehe sasa wesihun ojoro giyan. baitalabure hafan Yatu-i sargan Tonggo (sic.)<sup>11</sup> hala / dorgi durun be urefi. akdun ijishun-i boo be hûwaliyambume mutehe. gurun-i kooli be kimcici. / saišara temgetulere doshon be isibuci acambi. te kesi selgiyehe doroi simbe gingguji hehe fungnehe. / ai. ginggun erdemu-i isahangge ofi yargian-i jombume targabuha be dahame. ishunde akdafi mutebuhe. / nesuken hehe durun de acanafi. tuwacihiyaha aisilahangge iletulehe be dahame. enteheme kesi isibuha. //

Elhe taifin-i orici aniya. jorgon biyai orin duin de

## Translation from Manchu

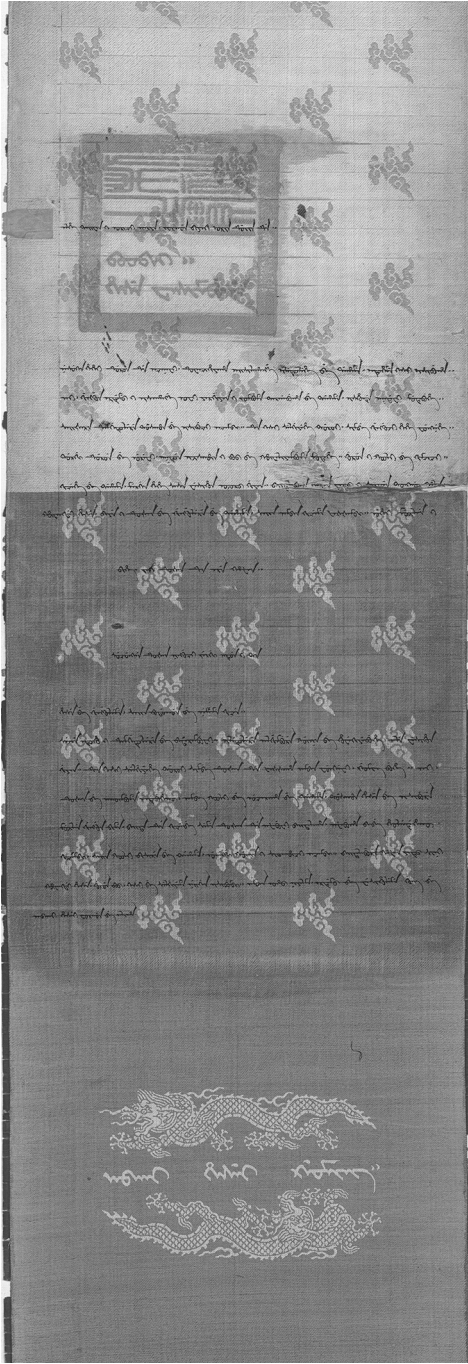
By the will of Heaven and the dictates of fate [we], the Emperor, command.

The imperial decree reads: the reigning house spreads mercy everywhere. The one who holds an official position highly honors virtue and diligently fulfills [his] duty. Since the existing good laws are consistent with the diligent implementation of sincere intentions, then you, *baitalabure hafan* Yatu, have a devoted heart, [you] are honest in business and when you perform duties, you do things diligently and accurately. In order to follow the great law, it is fair to issue a special decree. Now, by the law extending the sovereign's mercy, you are granted the diploma of the official *faššaha amban*,<sup>12</sup> Oh! Display insignia on clothing and crew to publicize [our] desire to glorify a celebrity. Rendering every respect to the supreme decree, zealously carry out good thoughts.

At first, [you] had the position of an official of the *adun da* of the 6th rank, now [you get] this position (i.e. he is promoted by two ranks — *T.P.*).

<sup>11</sup> In the Manchu text the name is written as *Tonggo*, while on the label on the cover of the diploma the name is given as *Tunggo*, and it corresponds to the Chinese transcription of this name *tongwo* 通倭.

<sup>12</sup> *faššaha amban* — “a zealous, diligent dignitary”, a title of the official of the 4th grade.



Pl. 2. The Manchu text of the diploma. H 178 Nova, IOM RAS

The imperial decree reads:

Showing respect for his position, a good official serves diligently. In order for zeal to be unanimous, it would be fair to promote a wise wife to the rank. [You] are from the Tonggo clan, the wife of *baitalabure hafan* Yatu, trained in court rules, can maintain harmony, reliability and loyalty in the house. After carefully studying the state laws, you are worthy of signs of encouragement and favor. Now, according to the gracious decree issued, you are granted the title of *gongzhi hehe*.<sup>13</sup> Oh! To multiply devotion and virtue, follow the instructions, supporting each other. [You] are a model of a meek and affectionate wife, and to glorify [you], I grant eternal mercy.

24th day of the 12th moon, the 20th year of the reign of Elhe taifin (February 1, 1682)

This diploma is one of the earliest in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. It should be noted that in the Chinese text, the Manchu titles are transcribed with Chinese characters: 拜他喇布勒哈番 — Manchu: *baitalabure hafan*, 阿敦大 — Manchu: *adun da* (caretaker of state herds). At the same time, the titles borrowed by the Manchus from the Chinese titlature are given in the Chinese original: 恭人 — Manchu: *gongzhi hehe*, or translated into Manchu: 中憲大夫 — Manchu: *faššaha amban*.

The second Manchu-Chinese diploma from the collection of N.P. Likhachev was bought from a book-seller either in Moscow, or in St. Petersburg in the beginning of the 20th c.<sup>14</sup> This diploma like the previous one is mentioned in the “List of manuscripts and documents transferred to the Institute of Oriental Studies USSR AS from the Institute of Book, Document and Script” (Archive of Orientalists, f. 152, op. 1a, N 604, f. 76) under inventory number VI SM 22. Now it is kept in the IOM, RAS under the shelf-number H 179 Nova.

The diploma is a scroll 392.5 cm long and 32 cm wide, the text is written on colored silk, fixed on a thick paper base. The scroll is unfolded from left to right, and its right end is fixed to a wooden stick, at the ends of which there are yellow bone tips. The Manchu text is in the beginning of the scroll on the left side, the Chinese text is located on the right side of the scroll. At the beginning of each text (for Chinese — on the right, for Manchu — on the left), between two dragons (descending and ascending) the name of the

<sup>13</sup> *gongzhi hehe* is a Chinese *gongren* 恭人 «respectable wife», an honorary title of an official of the 4th grade. Later in Manchu this title was rendered as *unenggi hehe*.

<sup>14</sup> POPOVA 2012: 483.

diploma is woven: in Chinese *fengtian gaoming* 奉天誥命, in Manchu *abkai hese ulhibure fungnehen*<sup>15</sup> “Imperial patent of nobility”. The silk scroll itself consists of stripes of various colors, and as the scroll unfolds from left to right, the following stripes appear: lilac with Manchu name (68 cm), white (64.5 cm), yellow (67 cm), red (67 cm), black (67 cm) with Chinese name. White silk stripes (11 cm) on both sides of the scroll are attached to a red silk cover with woven design of clouds and bats (on the left side) and a wooden stick with yellow bone tips (on the right side). On the edge of the cover is a blue paper stripe with a cancelled name of the owner of the diploma. But on the back side of the cover there is an inscription with the name written in black ink in Chinese: *Wei Zhu* 衛焮, as in the Chinese text of the diploma. The Chinese text is written in 25 vertical lines from right to left. The Manchu text is located on the left side of the scroll and is written in 23 vertical lines from left to right. At the end of the Manchu text, the date bears a red square seal with an unclear bilingual legend. The date of the Chinese text is 14th day of the 5th moon, the 7th year of Guangxu (June 10, 1881), the date of the Manchu text is not clear.

### Transcription of the Chinese text

奉天誥命

奉 / 天承運 / 皇帝制曰治佐旬宣聿奏保 / 釐之績職司法紀用嘉幹 / 濟之材爾直隸候補道加 / 三級衛杰駁歷著聲劇繁 / 就理握虎節以舉 / 帷車隨 / 甘雨綰麟符而叱馭路指 / 福星式逢慶典之頒用錫 / 寵章之 / 責茲以覃恩授爾 / 為通奉大夫錫之誥命於 / 戲克荷金湯之寄載宣鎖 / 鑰之猷拜比新綸勉乃茂績 /

制曰奉職恪公懋著勞臣之 / 績同心黽勉載嘉德配之 / 賢壺範攸昭 / 國恩斯沛爾 / 直隸候補道加三級衛杰 / 之妻劉氏毓自名家嬪於 / 望族 / 采藻蘋於碧澗允襄 / 修祀之誠詠絃絨於素絲 / 克勵自公之操茲以覃 / 恩 / 封爾為夫人於戲被寵光 / 於象服懿問交流錫榮獎 / 於鸞章惠風 / 益暢祇承欽 / 命彌勵闔儀

直隸候補道加叁級 /

光緒柒年伍月拾肆日 /

衛杰本身妻室 /

<sup>15</sup> *ulhibure fungnehen* — a letter of appointment for an official position of the fifth rank and above.

## Transcription with punctuation

奉天承運，皇帝制曰：

治佐旬宣，聿奏保釐之績；職司法紀，用嘉幹濟之材。爾直隸候補道加三級衛杰，駁歷著聲，劇繁就理。握虎節以舉帷，車隨甘雨；縮麟符而叱馭，路指福星。式逢慶典之頒，用錫寵章之賁。茲以覃恩，授爾為通奉大夫，錫之誥命。於戲！克荷金湯之寄，載宣鎖鑰之猷。拜比新綸，勉乃茂績。

制曰：奉職恪公，懋著勞臣之績；同心黽勉，載嘉德配之賢。壺範攸昭，國恩斯沛。爾直隸候補道加三級衛杰之妻劉氏，毓自名家，嬪於望族。采藻蘋於碧澗，允襄修祀之誠；詠絃緘於素絲，克勵自公之操。茲以覃恩，封爾為夫人。於戲！被寵光於象服，懿問交流；錫榮獎於鸞章，惠風益暢。祇承欽命，彌勵闔儀。

光緒柒年伍月拾肆日，直隸候補道加叁級衛杰本身、妻室。

## Translation from Chinese

Receiving the destiny of the Heaven, the Imperial instruction reads:

When assisting the government by declaring the policies everywhere, the achievements of maintaining stability should be reported; when obeying the institutions and regulations, the capable and efficient person should be awarded. You, Wei Zhu (杰 is a variant of 炏), the alternate director of the Zhili<sup>16</sup> Road with three grades added, became known in your official career and methodical in great affairs. Sitting in a carriage and holding a tiger tag,<sup>17</sup> the carriage is followed by sweet rain;<sup>18</sup> driving a carriage with coiling up a *qilin* tag,<sup>19</sup> the road goes directly to the star of happiness. On the occasion of the celebration, [our] duty is to award with grace and commendation. Here, by a deep favor, I bestow you the title of *tongfeng dafu*<sup>20</sup> and present you the Imperial appointment. Oh! Your capability can be entrusted with a metal city wall and boiling moat,<sup>21</sup> so I intend to take you as the lock and key.<sup>22</sup> Respectfully receive the new title, which encourages you to make greater achievements.

<sup>16</sup> zhili 直隸 now Hebei province.

<sup>17</sup> hujie 虎節 — a tag with a tiger design, a symbol of the governor.

<sup>18</sup> ganyu 甘雨 — blessed, rich rain, meaning “benefiting the masses”.

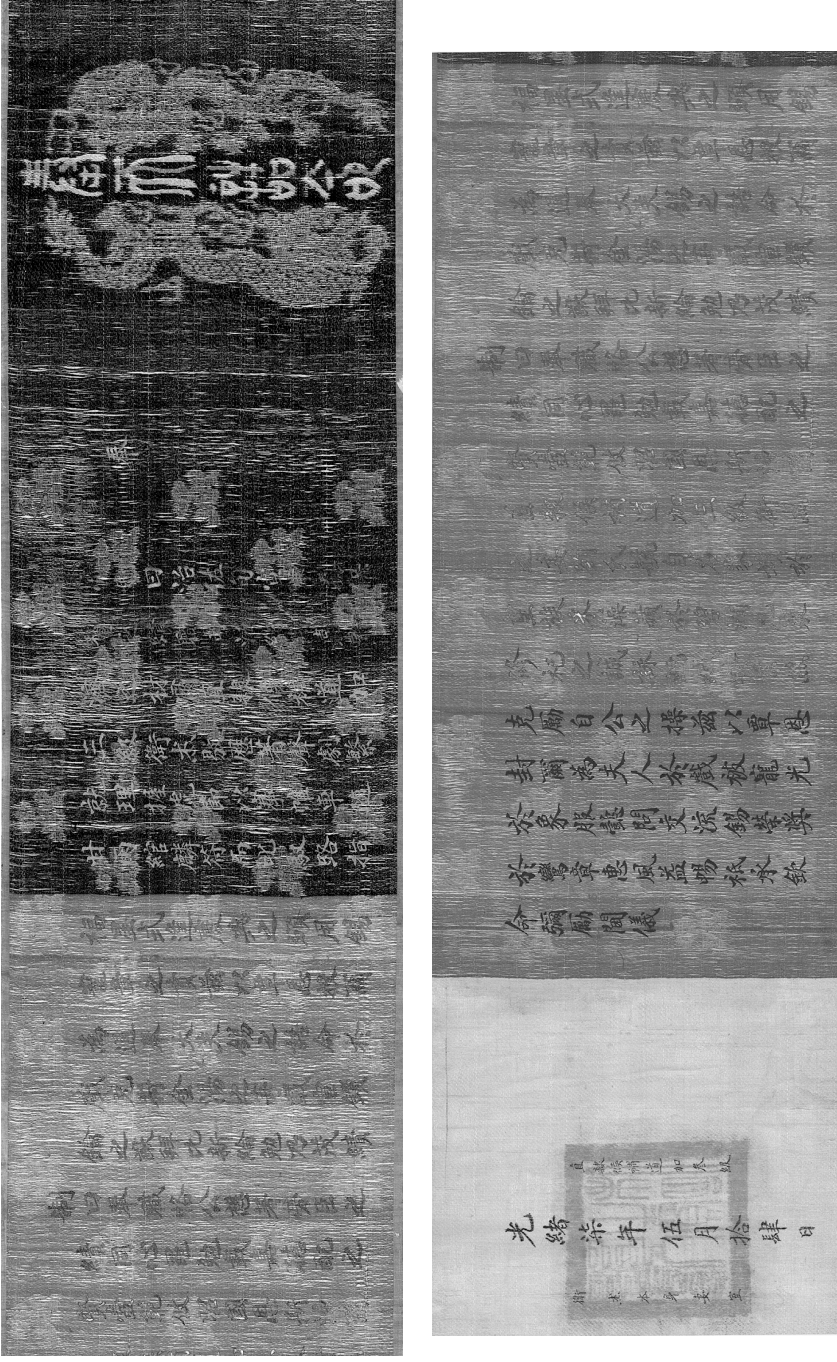
<sup>19</sup> lin fu 麟符 — a tag with a *qilin* design, a symbol of the ruler.

<sup>20</sup> *tongfeng dafu* 通奉大夫 — a high minister of the 2nd grade.

<sup>21</sup> jin tang 金湯 — an abbreviation form of 金城湯池 (a metal city wall and boiling moat), meaning “impregnable fortress”.

<sup>22</sup> suo yue 鎖鑰 a lock and a key, a metaphor of a key pass protecting the capital.





Pl. 3-4. The Chinese text of the diploma H 179 Nova, IOM RAS

## The imperial decree reads

Following the official duties, the achievements of the hardworking minister are splendid; working tirelessly together, the virtue of the chaste couple should be admired. The model within family is especially prominent, and the grace of the country becomes plentiful. You, Liu, the wife of the alternate director of the Zhili Road with three grades added, were born in a reputable family and married into an eminent clan. Picking up *zao* and *pin*<sup>23</sup> in a jasper-like stream, your loyalty in preparing sacrifices is shown; making stitches and seams on plain silk<sup>24</sup>, your ethics in public affairs is encouraging. Here, by a deep favor, I bestow you the title of *furen*. Oh! Formal dressing is covered by gracious brightness, your conversations are fine; your identification flags are present for awarding honor, a warm tender wind<sup>25</sup> becomes more unhindered. Obey the Imperial instruction reverently, and further strengthen your family regulation.

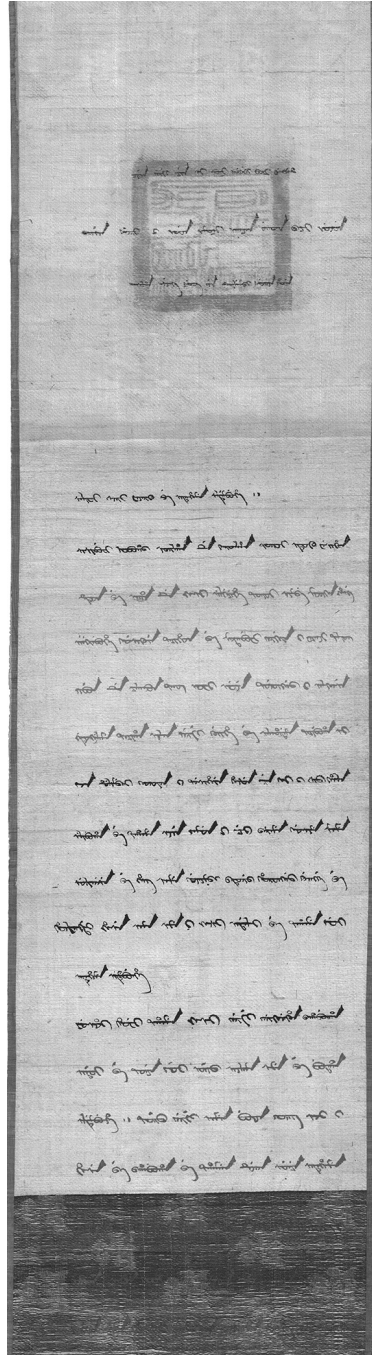
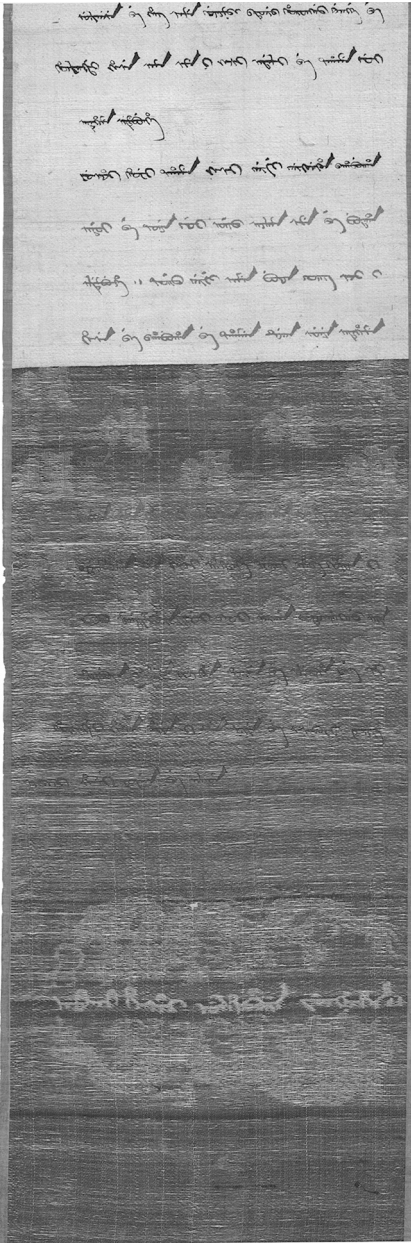
On the 14th day of the 5th moon, the 7th year of Guangxu (June 10, 1881) [given] personally to the alternate director of the Zhili Road with three grades Wei Zhu and his wife.

The Manchu text of this diploma is written on the left side of the scroll after the title *Abkai hese ulhibure fungnehen* “a patent of nobility [issued] by imperial order” woven between two dragons. The Manchu text is written in silver (5 lines), green (6 lines), blue 6 lines), red (4 lines) and black (2 lines) ink. Though the words are written in a relatively clear handwriting, the text is not readable: there are a lot of orthographical mistakes with missing diacritical marks, some combinations of the words could be read, but they do not make sense. There is an impression that the scribe did not know the language and simply copied phrases from other Manchu texts. The second Manchu part of the diploma, which usually refers to the female member of the family, contains some information. This part is addressed to the mother of a certain *baturu* whose name is not clear. She is from the clan *Šio hala* and is praised for a good upbringing of her son. This text is also full of orthographic mistakes and is a mixture of formal phrases. As a whole, the Manchu text of the diploma does not coincide with the Chinese text.

<sup>23</sup> *zao pin* 藻蘋 *zao* and *pin*, two kinds of water vegetables used for offering sacrifices.

<sup>24</sup> *yong tuoyu yu susi* 詠紵緘於素絲 “making stitches and seams on plain silk”, a metaphor of paying attention to details.

<sup>25</sup> *hui Feng* 惠風 a warm, tender wind, a metaphor for a grace of the ruler.



Pl. 5-6. The Manchu text of the diploma H 179 Nova, IOM, RAS

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Formally the diploma is written according to the tradition of the official patents of nobility: texts in two state languages of the Qing dynasty written on silk in multicolored ink. We may assume that the original patent of nobility was given to Wei Zhu and his wife from the Liu clan, and his merits and awards are listed in the Chinese text.

The diploma was issued on June 10, 1881, during the decline of the Qing empire, when the Manchu language was sometimes used as a formal attribute to the official court documents for the Chinese subjects. This statement can be supported by two other diplomas from the collection of the IOM, RAS, also compiled at the end of the dynasty — in 1904. There are three diplomas granted to the same family: the merits of Gong Wencai (shelf-number B 94mss) were spread to his parents (B 106 mss) and grandparents (B 107 mss). In the last two diplomas the Manchu text does not coincide with the Chinese text, and the names of other subjects and their deeds are mentioned.<sup>26</sup> These documents illustrate a formal attitude to the Manchu language which is also seen in the document dated by 1881.

The two diplomas of nobility from the collection of N.P. Likhachev are interesting samples of similar documents compiled in different times. The first diploma is one of the earliest in the collection of the IOM, RAS and dates back to the time of Kangxi (1682),<sup>27</sup> the second one was issued two hundred years later and dates to the Guangxu reign (1881). The early diplomas are usually done on good silk, the letters and characters are written in clear handwriting and the texts are relatively simple. At the end of the dynasty, the Chinese text of the diplomas became more elaborate with many metaphors from classical sources which were often not translated into Manchu. The Chinese text was the main text of these diplomas, while the Manchu text was seen as a necessary part of a state document, which actually was not even read and was written as a formal or even decorative part of the diploma.

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<sup>26</sup> PANG 2020a: 10–17.

<sup>27</sup> The earliest diploma in the collection of the IOM, RAS is dated by 1651. See: PANG 2020b: 24–32.

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## Three Fragments of an Oirat *Sungdui* Manuscript in the Collection of the IOM, RAS

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*Abstract:* The paper introduces three fragments of an Oirat manuscript of the *Sungdui*, or “Collected Dharani”, preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts. The fragments became part of the collection of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the 18th c., but had not been described until 2022. The manuscript is of special value, as only three other specimens of the *Sungdui* in Clear Script have been accounted for (these three manuscripts are preserved in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia). The St. Petersburg fragments come from a manuscript that was created between 1748 and 1795, presumably, in the Kalmyk Khanate. The dates were established based on the watermark found on the paper of one of the folios, and an inscription that was left on the same folio by Johannes Jährgig, the first scholar to catalogue the Mongolian and Tibetan collection of the Academy. In this paper, the text of the folios is published along with a commentary on the content and possible origin of the manuscript.

*Key words:* Oirat literature, Clear Script, *todo bičiq*, *Zaya paṇḍita*, *Sungdui*, Johannes Jährgig

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts preserves three folios of an Oirat manuscript of the collection of ritual texts known as the *Sungdui*. These fragments had been stored as unlisted materials of unknown provenance until 2022, when they were identified and obtained a shelfmark (Mong. Q 5146).

The title *Sungdui* (Tib. *gzungs bsdus* or *gzungs 'dus*; Mong. *sungdui / tarnis-un quriyanggui*; Oir. *gžungs bsdus*) literally means ‘collected dharani’. Its versions contain over a hundred texts of different genres, both canonical and non-canonical, predominantly shorter dharani-sutras used in ritual practice. The Tibetan tradition of putting together text collections of similar content and function goes centuries back: the earliest counterparts

of the *Sungdui* (miscellanea of smaller volume) were discovered in Dunhuang and Tabo,<sup>1</sup> while the archetype of the *Sungdui* as it is known today formed in the early 17th c. The latter was compiled by the Tibetan scholar *Tāranātha* (1575–1634) and served as a basis for the later versions in the Tibetan and Mongolian languages (the earliest xylographs date back to the 17th c. as well).<sup>2</sup> The *Sungdui* circulated in a number of xylographic editions and numerous manuscripts in both Tibetan and Mongolian (a comparative catalogue covering its multiple editions was published by Alexander Zorin as part of a book dedicated entirely to the study of the Tibetan *Sungdui* tradition).<sup>3</sup>

The Oirat translation of the *Sungdui* is not widely spread. According to the biography of the creator of Clear Script *Zaya paṇḍita Nam mkha'i rGya mtsho* (1599–1662), it was translated into Oirat by one of his disciples — *Erke Corji*.<sup>4</sup> The latter is mentioned in the same source as the leader of *Zaya paṇḍita*'s disciples after the death of their teacher, and plays a noticeable part in the narrative of the biography that refers to the years 1662–1689.<sup>5</sup> His authorship is confirmed by the colophon of the *Sungdui*, published in full by the Mongolian scholar Kh. Luvsanbaldan, which states that *Erke Corji Oqtoruyin Ilayuqsan Biliqtü* translated the volume on the request of *üyizeng ombo bKra' shis rGya mtsho* (the identity of the patron has not been established).<sup>6</sup> A postscript to the colophon states that the volume contains translations by *Zaya paṇḍita* that were completed by *Erke Corji* and two other lamas — *rab 'byam pa 'Jam dbyang* and *Thar bzang dge slong*.<sup>7</sup> Based on the years following the demise of *Zaya paṇḍita* during which *Erke Corji*

<sup>1</sup> HARRISON 1996; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2013: 881; ZORIN 2021: 22–23.

<sup>2</sup> ZORIN 2021: 30–31.

<sup>3</sup> ZORIN 2021: 147–292.

<sup>4</sup> RADNABHADRA 1999: 66 (no. 22 on the list).

<sup>5</sup> RADNABHADRA 1999: 88–102.

<sup>6</sup> Oir.: *aljīyas ügei üyizeng ombo bkrasirgya mco duraduqsan-du.: erke congkapa-yin šajin arban züq-tü delgerekü-yin tula: erkecüüd omoq-tu erike (sic!) cos rže oqtoruyin ilayuqsan biliqtü orčiulbai.:* ('the persistent *üyizeng ombo bKra' shis rGya mtsho* reminded, and *Erke Corji Oqtoruyin Ilayuqsan Biliqtü* translated [the *Sungdui*] in order to spread the faith of the great *Tsong kha pa* in the ten directions'). See: LUVSANBALDAN 2015: 272–273 (no. 41).

<sup>7</sup> Oir.: *xutuqtu-yin ese orčiuluqsan gzüngs bsdüs-yin dutuugiyini güyicēn erke cos rje erkelen güriü mergen dka bcu rab 'byam pa 'jam dbyang xoyor keletü tarbcang dgeslong bügüdēr xamsan: töbödiyin kele-ēce mongyoliyin kelendü orčiulun: tögöskebei:* ('to complete the parts of the *Sungdui* that were not translated by the *Xutuqtu*, in a joint effort *Erke Corji Erkelen Güriü Mergen dka' bcu, rab 'byam pa 'Jam dbyang* and *Tarbcang dge slong*' finished [the work], translating from Tibetan into Mongolian'). See: LUVSANBALDAN 2015: 272–273.

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is known to have been active, the translation can be dated to the period between 1662 and 1689.

The only specimens of the *Sungdui* in Clear Script listed in academic publications are three manuscripts preserved in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. They were studied by Kh. Luvsanbaldan and described in his seminal book *The Clear Script and its Monuments*, first published in 1975. According to Luvsanbaldan, two of these manuscripts (one of them incomplete) are preserved at the Mongolian National Library, while the third one belongs to the collection of the Institute of Language and Literature.<sup>8</sup> Apart from the colophon of the Oirat translation, the publication provides a list of the texts contained in it. The texts are numbered consecutively, but the original designations of the sections within the *Sungdui* are not reproduced, so the list does not fully reveal the original structure of the volumes. Moreover, the list includes only 99 texts, while in the Tibetan and Mongolian textual traditions the *Sungdui* contains over 150 texts (over 170 in certain editions).<sup>9</sup> As the manuscripts preserved in Ulaanbaatar could not be accessed in the course of my work on this paper, the differences between the list published by Luvsanbaldan and the other *Sungdui* editions cannot be explained here. The list is referred to below as the only source of information on the content of the Oirat *Sungdui* versions.

This makes the fragments from the fund of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts the fourth specimen of the Oirat *Sungdui* that has been accounted for so far. The three surviving fragments come from a manuscript written in black ink on handcrafted 18th c. Russian paper. Each folio has double foliation: the consecutive numbering of the folios in the whole volume and the numbering inside each section of the *Sungdui*, the section itself marked with a letter of the Tibetan alphabet and an abbreviated title in Oirat or Tibetan. To follow is a description of the folios. The transliteration of the text and facsimile are given at the end of the paper. As the texts are preserved in fragments, and, at the same time, are rather well-known, a translation from Oirat is not provided here: references to other translations of the same texts are given below.

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<sup>8</sup> LUVSANBALDAN 2015: 207. Luvsanbaldan does not mention the shelfmarks or inventory numbers under which the manuscripts were preserved in 1975. Oirat manuscripts of the *Sungdui* are not listed in the catalogues of the respective collections. See: *Mongol ulsyn ündesnii nomyn san* 2020; GERELMA 2005.

<sup>9</sup> KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2013: 884.

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**F. 188, section a, Oir. karagiyin eke, f. 2.**

Size 16.5×41 cm (See Pl. 3, 4).

The Oirat title of the section refers to the Tibetan *gza' yum*, full title — *gza' rnams kyi yum zhes bya ba'i gzungs* (Skt. *grahamāṭṛkā nāma dharanī*), ‘The dharani of the Mother of Planets’, a short astrological ritual text (dharani-sutra) dedicated to the deity *Grahamāṭṛkā*, included in the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjur.<sup>10</sup> This sutra is not mentioned on the list of texts translated by *Zaya paṇḍita* and his disciples, and I have not found any evidence of its Oirat or Mongolian translations circulating outside larger text collections. It is not mentioned in the content of the Oirat *Sungdui* published by Luvsanbaldan.<sup>11</sup> The surviving fragment contains the introductory part of the text, which begins with the enumeration of bodhisattvas (starting from the name of *Ratnaketu*) and ends with the first words of the planets’ speech addressed to the Buddha.<sup>12</sup>

**F. 291, section che, Oir. unal namančilaxu, f. 2.**

Size 16.5×42.5 cm (See Pl. 5, 6).

The Oirat title of the section refers to the Tibetan *byang chub ltung bshags*, full Tibetan title — *byang chub sems dpa'i ltung ba bshags pa*, ‘The Bodhisattva’s Confession of Downfalls’ (its Oirat equivalent is *bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup>-yin unal namančilaxu*). This text is one of the most popular short sutras — a confession prayer that circulated in numerous copies and was included in the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjur (there are differences between its canonical and non-canonical versions). Its canonical title is ‘The Noble Mahayana Sutra of the Three Heaps’ (Skt. *ārya triskandhaka nāma mahāyāna sutra*; Tib. *'phags pa phung po gsum pa zhes bya ba theg*

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<sup>10</sup> To locate the text in the Mongolian Kanjurs see: LIGETI 1942–1944: nos. 344, 638; KAS'IANENKO 1993: no. 243. For the translation and history of this text see: MAK 2018.

<sup>11</sup> The only text on this list connected with planets is no. 21 — the dharani titled ‘The Sutra of the Secret Adversary of the Planets’ (Oir. *kariq odun niyuucayin tengsen esürgecüqçi-ni sudur kemëkü toqtöl*). This most probably corresponds to another ritual text included in the *Sungdui* known under the short title ‘The Mother of Stars’ (Tib. *skar yum*), one of its longer titles being ‘The Sutra that averts all the harm [caused by the] stars’ (Tib. *skar ma ngan pa thams cad bzlog bar byed pa'i mdo*).

<sup>12</sup> For the translation of the corresponding fragment from Tibetan by Bill M. Mak see: MAK 2018: 248–249.

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*pa chen po'i mdo*; Mong. *qutuy-tu yurban čoyča neretü yeke kölgen sudur*).<sup>13</sup> In Mongolian and Oirat translations it is also known under the popular title 'Illustrious Sandal' (Mong. *čoytu čandan*; Oir. *coqtu zandan*).<sup>14</sup> This text was translated by *Zaya paṇḍita*. In the content of the Oirat *Sungdui* published by Luvsanbaldan, this text is listed under no. 38. It is not marked as *Zaya paṇḍita*'s translation (presumably, because it has no colophon in the *Sungdui* manuscripts preserved in Ulaanbaatar), but the text on f. 291 fully corresponds to his translation. The fragment in question contains the larger part of the text, from the homage to the Completely Victorious Buddha and up to the very end.<sup>15</sup>

### **F. 310, section *ju*, Tib. *sdud pa*, f. 11.**

Size 17.5×43.2 cm (See Pl. 7, 8).

The Tibetan title of the section ('Summary') is an abbreviation of '*phags pa mdo sdud pa*, or *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa* (Skt. *prajñāpāramitā ratnaguna samcayagāthā*), 'The Verse Summary of the *Prajñāpāramitā*' — one of the shorter sutras on *prajñāpāramitā* ('perfection of wisdom') in verse (the Oirat translation is prosaic), included in the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjur.<sup>16</sup> It is not mentioned on the list of texts translated by *Zaya paṇḍita* and his disciples. In the content of the Oirat *Sungdui* published by Luvsanbaldan, a text under the same title (Oir. *xutuqtu biligiyn činadu kürüqsen xurangyui šülüq*) is listed under no. 2. Luvsanbaldan mentions the title of the translator (presumably, based on the colophon) — *olon xubitani zögüyin cuulyan cenggeqči metü*, which can be translated as 'the red lotus of the fortunate ones'.<sup>17</sup> The full sentence from

<sup>13</sup> To locate the text in the Mongolian Kanjurs see: LIGETI 1942–1944: no. 1041; KAS'IANENKO 1993: no. 773.

<sup>14</sup> For the description and translation of the Oirat version see: MIRZAEVA & DOLEYEVA 2020.

<sup>15</sup> To locate this fragment in the translation by Saglara Mirzaeva and Aisa Dolejeva see: MIRZAEVA & DOLEYEVA 2020: 62–69.

<sup>16</sup> For the description of the textual tradition of the *Prajñāpāramitā Ratnaguna Samcayagāthā* in several languages see: YUYAMA 1976. To locate the text in the Mongolian Kanjurs see: LIGETI 1942–1944: no. 767, 638; KAS'IANENKO 1993: no. 542.

<sup>17</sup> LUVSANBALDAN 2015: 207. The literal translation of the title from Oirat is 'resembling the one that gives joy to the swarm of bees of the fortunate ones', where the phrase 'giver of joy to the bees' is a metaphor for the red lotus (Tib. *bung ba dga' byed*). See: KOWALEWSKI 1849: 2420.



the colophon is not cited, and it is not clear whether the title belongs to the translator into Oirat or Tibetan (I have not found evidence of this title used to describe *Zaya paṇḍita* or other Oirat lamas). In the Tibetan and Mongolian traditions, the ‘Verse Summary...’ is divided into eight chapters (Tib. *skabs*; Mong. *ḡabsar*). The Oirat fragment on f. 310 belongs to Chapter 8, starting from the words uttered by the Buddha on practicing the six perfections (*pāramitā*) and up to *Subhūti*’s plea to grant the teaching that saves from suffering.<sup>18</sup>

The numbers of the sections to which these three texts are assigned (*a*, *che*, *ju*) coincide with those found in the two main lineages of the *Sungdui* textual tradition,<sup>19</sup> giving no ground to presume that the version copied in our manuscript was different from them. Its concordance with the three manuscripts preserved in Ulaanbaatar remains to be confirmed (the structure of Luvsanbaldan’s list is different). The page numbers show that the three folios come from one and the same volume, and there is no indication to whether this manuscript had a second volume (the *Sungdui* is often divided into two volumes, but it is not always the case).

The text is calamus-written, with a thinner pen on ff. 188 and 291, and a thicker one on f. 310. The handwriting styles differ as well: the hands on ff. 188 and 291 are characterized by the tendency to ‘curl’ the tails, and a rather insignificant difference between thin and thick lines compared to the hand on f. 310. This only confirms the obvious: this voluminous manuscript was copied by several different scribes. The orthography of the text does not deviate from classic Oirat used in Buddhist manuscripts.

The text is written on handcrafted paper typical of the 18th c., with visible chain and laid lines (chain lines 23–26 mm apart; 10 laid lines per 10 mm). In the lower part of f. 310, there is a fragment of a watermark: a letter combination and an emblem (see Pl. 1). Although only the upper part of the watermark has survived, it can be identified as the combination of three Russian letters Я03 and the coat of arms of the city of Yaroslavl —

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<sup>18</sup> For the English translation of the fragment see: <https://edharmalib.com/lib/ekangyur/ekprajna> (the text was translated from Tibetan and Sanskrit by Karma Gendun Chopel and corresponds closely to our Oirat fragment). In this translation, the corresponding piece belongs to Chapter 14 ‘Equality’ (Sanskrit: *aupamyā*): this division into chapters comes from the Sanskrit text (which has 32 chapters) and does not coincide with that of the Tibetan text (eight chapters).

<sup>19</sup> ZORIN 2021: 233 (no. 81), 241 (no. 124), 242 (no. 130), 260 (no. 74), 264 (no. 116), 266 (no. 128).

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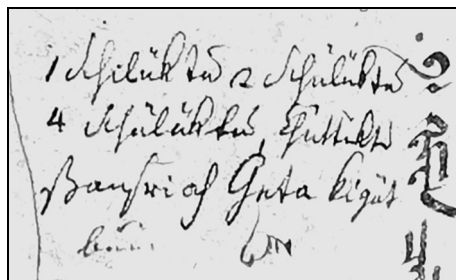
a walking bear holding a halberd on an escutcheon with mantling on both sides (the surviving part shows only the legs of the animal and the lower part of the escutcheon). The letter combination stands for *Ярославская фабрика Затрапезнова* ‘The Yaroslavl Mill of Zatrapeznov’ — the famous textile mill founded by the merchant Ivan Zatrapeznov in 1722. Throughout its history of papermaking, the mill used a range of watermarks with variations of the Yaroslavl coat of arms and different letter combinations. This particular type of the coat of arms (with elaborate mantling) paired with the letters ЯФЗ was used in the years 1748–1751.<sup>20</sup> This allows to date the manuscript, making the year 1748 its *terminus post quem*.



Pl. 1. Watermark on f. 310.  
Tracing by Liubov I. Kriakina, Chief Conservator at the IOM, RAS.

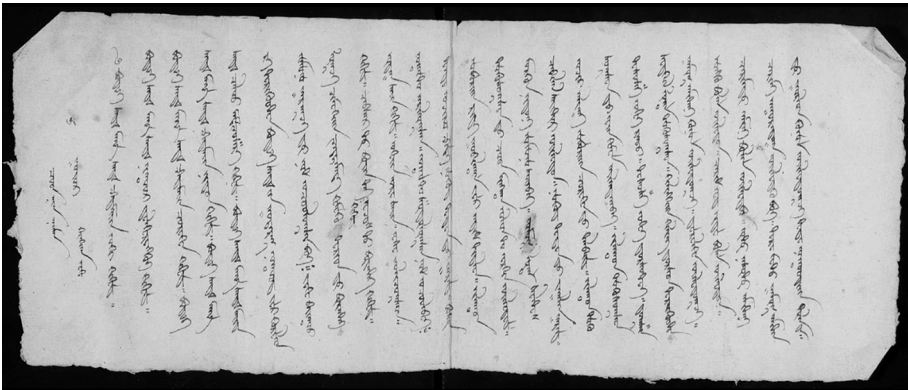
F. 310 bears another detail that helps to date the manuscript and casts light on its history: on the *recto* side, in the upper left corner there is an inscription made by a European hand (see Pl. 2). The text is arranged in four lines and can be read in the following way:

*1 Schilüktü 2 Schülüktü  
4 Schülüktü Chüttüktu  
Bansriah Geta kigät  
büi.*

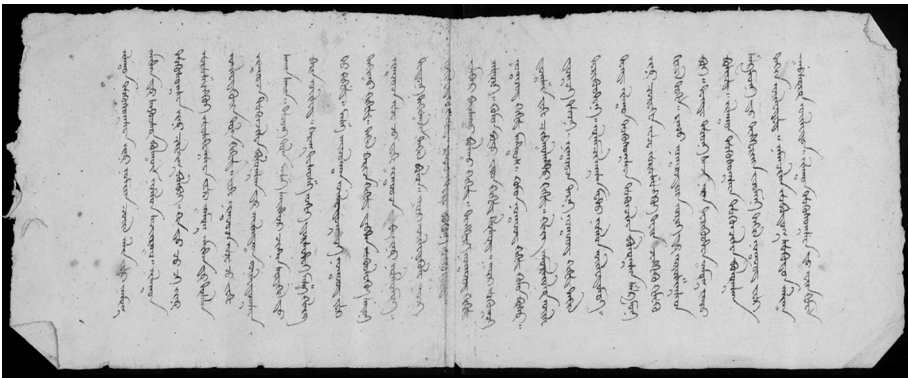


Pl. 2. Marginal inscription on f. 310.

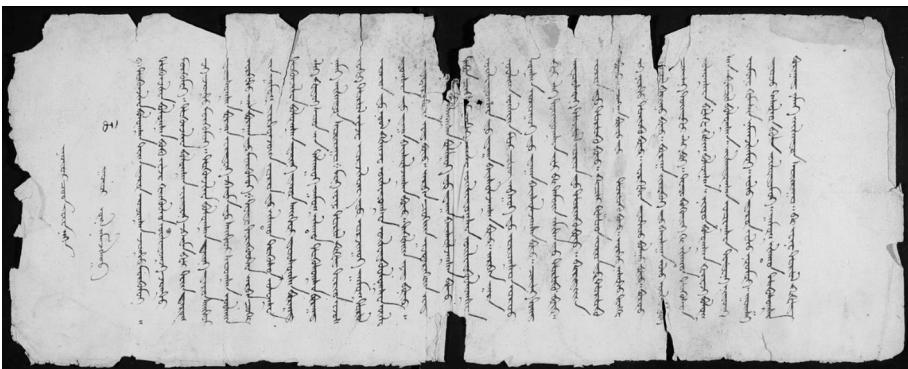
<sup>20</sup> See: KLEPIKOV 1978: 326–237 (no. 3 in the table).



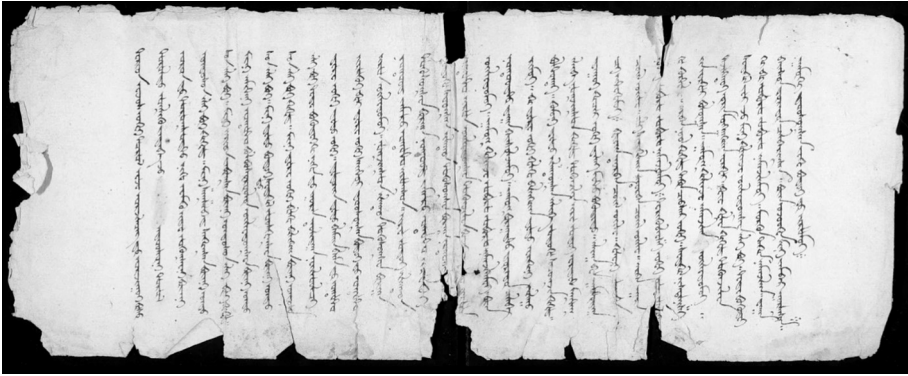
Pl. 3. *Sungdui*, f. 188 *recto*, section *a*, Oir. *karagiyn eke*, f. 2. IOM, RAS, Mong. Q 5146.



Pl. 4. *Sungdui*, f. 188 *verso*, section *a*, Oir. *karagiyn eke*, f. 2. IOM, RAS, Mong. Q 5146.



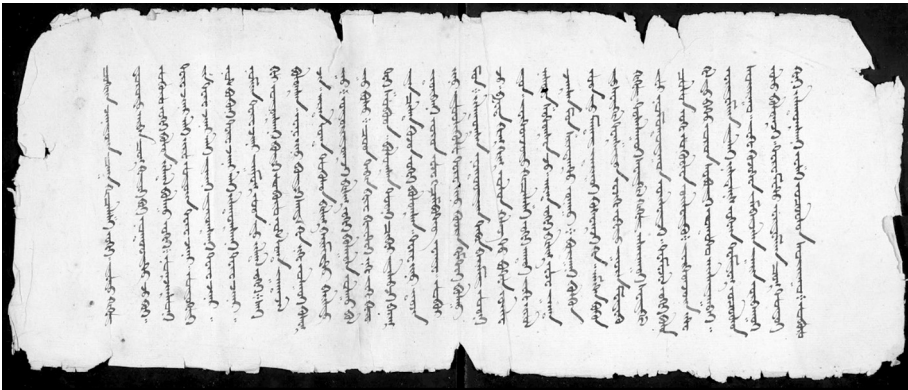
Pl. 5. *Sungdui*, f. 291 *recto*, section *che*, Oir. *unal namančilaxu*, f. 2. IOM, RAS, Mong. Q 5146.



Pl. 6. *Sungdui*, f. 291 verso, section *che*, *Oir. unal namančilaxu*, f. 2. IOM, RAS, Mong. Q 5146.



Pl. 7. *Sungdui*, f. 310 recto, section *ju*, *Tib. sdud pa*, f. 11. IOM, RAS, Mong. Q 5146.



Pl. 8. *Sungdui*, f. 310 verso, section *ju*, *Tib. sdud pa*, f. 11. IOM, RAS, Mong. Q 5146.

The text is a transcription of a Mongolian (possibly, Oirat) sentence. The handwriting and the specific manner of transcribing Mongolian words leave no doubt that the author of the inscription was the German scholar Johannes Jährig (1747–1795), the first specialist in Mongolian employed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences.<sup>21</sup> I suggest that Jährig transcribed the following Mongolian phrase: *1 šilügtü 2 šülügtü 4 šülügtü qutuytu sančay-a gata kiged bui*:

This is a sentence from a *garčay* (table of contents) of the *Sungdui* that lists four texts that make up section *ju*. The first three texts — ‘One Verse’, ‘Two Verses’ and ‘Four Verses’ (Tib. *thigs su gcig pa / thigs su gnyis pa / thigs su bzhi pa*) are short poems that praise the Buddha, the Teaching, etc. The fourth one is the ‘The Verse Summary of the *Prajñāpāramitā*’, i.e. the very text that is written on f. 310. Presumably, Jährig copied this sentence from a Mongolian *Sungdui* when he was attributing the text on this folio.<sup>22</sup> He was probably not familiar with the Sanskrit title of the text (*samcayagāthā*) which resulted in its awkward transcription. The way he spelled *gāthā* suggests that the source he was copying from was in Mongolian, not Clear Script: in Mongolian this word is usually spelled as *gata*, and it is not possible to distinguish between *a* and *e* (in Oirat they are rendered by two different signs).

If Jährig was indeed trying to identify the text on the folio, it means that the manuscript came into his possession in fragments, not as a complete volume. This assumption is further corroborated by the fact that each of the three folios has a heavy crease in the middle, which shows that they were folded in half and stored like that for a long time (a complete *pothi* volume would be too thick to fold). It is unlikely that Jährig, who was very well familiar with Mongolian book culture, would fold *pothi* folios in this manner, damaging the text. However, similar ways of handling fragments of Tibetan and Mongolian books were typical of 18th c. Europeans who were not acquainted with these

<sup>21</sup> The inscription was compared to Jährig’s handwritten works preserved at the Archive of Orientalists, IOM, RAS, in particular — his works on Mongolian and Oirat writing (Fund 21, Inventory 1, Unit 3). He used the same system for transcribing Mongolian and Oirat. A few of its distinguishable features can be observed in the spelling of the word *Chütüktu*: duplication of consonants, using the letter *š* to render the short vowel *u* (the same in *büi*), and the combination *ch* to render the *kh* sound. Another typical example is the spelling of the word *kigēd* as *kigät*.

<sup>22</sup> For example, in the Peking blockprinted edition of 1727 this sentence looks like this: *nigen silüg-tü: qoyar silüg-tü: dörben silüg-tü: qutuy-tu sanzây-a gata kiged buyu*.

cultures.<sup>23</sup> It is possible that the fragments were discovered by travelers or scientists in the areas populated by Oirats and brought to St. Petersburg where Jährig studied them as part of the Mongolian collection of the Academy (he was employed by the library from November 1773 until his death in 1795). Neither a *Sungdui*, nor its fragments are mentioned on the list of Mongolian books compiled by Jährig (and published after his death),<sup>24</sup> but it is known that not all the materials kept at the Academy at that time were listed there (in particular, Jährig did not mention the fragments of the Kanjurs brought from Dzungaria, although he had studied them).<sup>25</sup>

The fact that the manuscript was written on Russian paper suggests that the Kalmyk Khanate was its likeliest place of origin. However, no indication to its possible provenance has been discovered.<sup>26</sup> As for dating the manuscript, the year of Jährig's death establishes the *terminus ante quem*, thus limiting the possible period of its creation to 1748–1795.

## Transliteration

[188/2 recto — *a* — karagiyin eke] bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup> mahā sadw<sup>a</sup> padmayin oki kigēd: / bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup> mahā sadw<sup>a</sup> niyuur delgerenggüi kigēd: / bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup> mahā sadw<sup>a</sup> padmayin züreken kigēd: bodhi / sadw<sup>a</sup> mahā sadw<sup>a</sup> padmayin nidün kigēd: bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup> mahā / sadw<sup>a</sup> zaluu mañžušri kigēd: bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup> mahā sadw<sup>a</sup> mayida/ri terigüüten bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup>-yin xuvaraq-noyoud-yēr kurēlen / ömönö xaraqči-du nom üzүүлүqsen bui:: yeke bayiyuu/luqči čimegeyin žaṇdamaṇi kemēkü teriün-du buyantai / kigēd: zabsar-tu buyan-tai <kigēd> ecüs-tü buyantai kigēd: / udxa sayin kigēd: ügeyin üre sayin: ese xolicoqson: / oḡoto ariluqsan: oḡoto šuduluqsan nom üzүүлbei:: / tende oçiro pāṇi nököd teden-dü xarād: bosun / öböriyin ridi xubilyān-yēr adis-tidlen: ilayun / tögösüqsen-dü zoun mingyan olon-to ergin üiledēd: / mörgön nidüni ömönö soubai: omoq-luyā seltes / zabilal sayitur üiledün: nököd teden-dü yaxālin xarād: / uçir alixai öböriyin züreken-dü

<sup>23</sup> For example, some folios of books that were discovered in abandoned Dzungar monasteries in the 18th c. and delivered to Russian and European collections were folded or rolled up. See: ZORIN 2015: 162.

<sup>24</sup> BUSSE & JÄHRIG 1796.

<sup>25</sup> BAIPAKOV et al. 2019: 233.

<sup>26</sup> For a description of other manuscripts of unknown provenance that were delivered to the Imperial Academy of Sciences in the 18th c. see: SIZOVA 2022.

talbīd: ilayun tögü/süqsen-dü eyin kemēn ayiladxabai: ilayun tögösüqsen / tesüši ügei rahu: tesüši ügei dürsütei: doqšin / sedkil-luyā tögüsüqsen: kilinggiyin kiling dürsün terigüüten / xamuq amitani könōn üiledüqçi: dērelken üiledüqçi: / ögkü bulān üiledün: zarim ed idē bulān üiledün: / zarimdu amini bulān üiledkü: u[r]tu nasutu amitani / zarimi axuradxan üiledkü bui: tere metü xamuq amitan/-du xorlon könōn üiledüqçi tede-noyoudiyın tula-da: [188/2 verso] ilayun tögüsüqsen inu nomiyin züyil ali-yēr xamuq / amitan-du sakuusun bolxuyā nomlon soyirxo: ilayun / tögüsüqsen inu zarliq bolboi: ken-dü cu çi inu / öröšōnggüi ösukeqsen-yēr xamuq amitan-du tuslan / üyiledküyın tula kigēd: yeke niyouca-ēce cu yeke / niyouca tögünçilen boluqsan-du ayiladxan üyiledüqsen / sayın sayın: töüni tula maši sayitur çingna sedkil-dü / barin üyiled: karaq tesüši ügei dürsütei maši kiling/-tü kigēd: maši ayoulyan üyiledüqçi-noyoud-yēr / takixu kigēd: takil barica kigēd dabtān ögöüleküi sayını / niyouca-ēce cu yeke niyouca bi inu nomlomui: / tedeni takixulā takil bolun: xor üyiledküle xor / üyiledkü kigēd: rahu tere büküni ögkü kigēd: / yambar bayasxu bolxu kigēd: tenggeri-noyoud kigēd / asuri: kümün buyu youn kigēd: klusud: xur (!) ögüqçi/-noyoud kigēd mangγus: kümün-noyoud kigēd kümün busu: / doqšin yeke jibxulangtu kigēd: kiling amurlulun üyile/düqçi töüni: niyouca tarni-nuyoud kigēd takil / terigöüteni: ulamjilaqsan metü nomlon üyiledümüi: / tende ilayun tögüsüqsen tögünçilen boluqsan šāky<sup>a</sup>-muni / inu züreken-ēce öröšōnggüi teyin cenggekü kemēkü / genel tügēn: rahu-noyoudiyın oroi-du öröšiçsön / bui: tende töüni saca naran terigüüten xamuq rahu / bosōd: ilayun tögüsüqsen tögünçilen boluqsan / šāky<sup>a</sup>-muni-du tenggeriyın youmani takil-noyoud-yēr / takin üyiledēd: namançılan öböduq sögödün alixa / xabsurun üyiledün: ilayun tögüsüqsen-dü eyin kemēn

[291/2 recto — *che* — unal namançilaxu] tögünçilen boluqsan teyin darun oduqsan coqtu mürgümüi: / tögünçilen boluqsan bükü-ēce geyigüülün üyiledüqçi coqtu / mürgümüi: tögünçilen boluqsan erdeni padma bēr teyin daruq/çi coqtu mürgümüi: tögünçilen boluqsan dayini darun sayitur / dousuqsan burxan erdeni padma-du sayitur souqsan oulayın / erketü xān burxan-du mürgümüi:: tede terigüüten arban zügi/yın xamuq yertüncüyın oron-du ilayun tögüsün üleqsen / tögünçilen boluqsan dayini darun sayitur dousuqsan burxad / ali kedüi soun-yın tālaxui xamuq ilayun tögüsüqsen burxad / namayi ayiladun soyirxo:: mini ene töröl kigēd teriün ecüs / ügei töröl-ēce orçilong-du orçixui xamuq töröl / oron-du nüül kilince üyiledüqsen üyiledküülüqsen üyile/düqsen-dü daxan bayasulcaqsan buyu: takiliyın ed

buyu: / xuvaragiyn ed buyu: arban zügiyn xuvaragiyn ed / (\*bulāqsan bu)layaqsan bulāxui-du daxan bayasulcaqsan buyu / tabun zabsar ügei üyile üyiledüqsen üyiledküülüqsen / üyiledüqsen-dü daxan bayasulcaqsan buyu: arban xara / nüüliyin üyileyin mör zöb abxui-du oroqson orou/luqsan oroxui-du daxan bayasulcaqsan buyu: zayāni tūyid/ker ali tūyidüqsen-yēr bi tamuyin amitan-du törökü buyu: / aduusuni töröl oron-du törökü buyu: biridiyin / oron-du törökü buyu: kizār kešöün oron-du törökü / buyu: čingxa buruu-du törökü buyu: urtu nasutu tengge/ri nertü törökü buyu: erketen dotou bolxu buyu: buruu / üzel barixu buyu: burxan ireküi-dü bayasxan ülü üyil(\*edk)üi / zayāni tūyidker ali bui: tede bügüdei-gi ilayun tögösün / üleqsen belge biliq boluqsan: nidün boluqsan gereči boluq/san: kemjil boluqsan: ayiladuqsan üzeqsen tedeni nidüni / emüne gemšin namančilamui: ülü darun ülü nuumui: xoyiši/docu tasulun bün üyiledümüi: xamuq ilayun tögüsüqsen / burxad namai ayildun soyirxo: bi ene töröl kigēd [291/2 verso] teriün ecüs ügei töröl-ēce orčilong-du orčiqui busu / töröltü öqlikö yadaba cu adousuni töröl / oron-du töröqsödtü nige emkü idē ögüqseni buyani / ündüsün ali bui kigēd: mini šaqšābad sakiqsan buyani ündü/sün ali bui: mini ariun yabuqsan buyani ündüsün ali bui kigēd: / mini amitani oγōto bolbosuruulun üyiledüqsen buyani ündü/sün ali bui: mini dēdü bodhi<-du> sedkil öüskeqsen buyani ündü/sün ali bui kigēd: mini dēre ügei belge biligiyn buyani ündüsün / ali bui tede bügüdei-gi nigen-dü xurān γulidxan neyilöüljī / dēre ügei dēdü ügei: dēdüyün dēdü blamayin blama-du oγōto / iröküi-bēr dēre ügei sayitur dousuqsan bodhi-du oγōto / irōn üyiledümüi: nōqčiqsōn ilayun tögüsüqsen burxan/-noγoud yamāru oγōto irōqsōn: irē ödüi ilayun / tögüsüqsen burxan-noγoud yamāru oγōto iröküi / ödügē souqsan ilayun tögüsüqsen burxan-noγoud (\*yamāru) / oγōto irōn üyiledüqsen tögünçilen bi (\*cu oγōto) irōn / üyiledümüi: xamuq kilince öbörö öbörö namančilamui: buyan/-noγoudtu daxan bayasulcamui: xamuq burxadtu duradun zalba/rimui: bi dēre ügei belge biligiyn dēdü erkini olxu / boltuyai: kümüni dēdü ilayuqsan aliba ödügē souqčın kigēd: / aliba nōqčiqsōn kigēd tögünçilen irē ödüi erdem maqtaq/daxui kizār ügei dalaı metü bügüdedü: alixa-bēn xamtudxa/jī itegemüi: beyeyin γurban züyil üyile: keleni (\*dör)bön / züyil üyile: ali sedkiliyin γurban züyil üyile: arban xara / nüüli öbörö öbörö namančilamui: terigüüleši ügei-(\*ēce ödü)/gē kürtele: arban nüül kigēd tabun zabsar ügei: sedkil nisvāniši/yin erkēr boluqsan: xamuq kilince namançılan üyiledümüi: / tacāngyui urin mungxagiyn erkēr beye kelen kigēd tögünçilen / sedkil-yēr cu mini kilince üyiledüqsen ali bui: tede



bügüdei/-gi bi öbörö öbörö namančilamui: mürgün takin namančilan: daxan / bayasun duradun zalbariqsan: buyan üçüüken mini yambar xurāqsan: / xamugi dousuqsan yeke bodhi-du irōmüi: ::

[310/11 recto — *ju* — *sdud pa*] kemēn zarlıq bolboi: ögligö kigēd šaqšābad köli/cenggüi kigēd <tögünçilen> kicēnggüi: samadi biliq bodhi-du / oγōto zorin üyiledkü: bodhiyin coqco-du / šunun dēdü-dü barin bu üyiled kemēn: teriün üyi/letü tōün-dü teyin kemēn üzüülün üyiledkü: tere / metü yabudal sayitur aqçi ögüüleliyin sara-noγoud: / amitani ibēl kigēd ömō sadun kigēd oron mün bui: / šütēn kigēd noyod tib kigēd oγōto uduriduq/çi udxa küseqçin: todorxoi üyiledüqçi zula/-yin dēdü nom ögüüleküi-dü ülü endöüreqçi / mün: yeke aldar tögüsüqsen-noγoudiyin berke / üyileyin zemseq üyiledçi: coqco oron kigēd / törön tügeküi-noγoudiyin zemseq busu: γurban / kölgöni xurān medeküi-ēce xayacan oγōto barixu / ügei: ülü urban kelberil ügei bolun endüürel ügei / (... ... \*luyā) tögösün / tuurbil ügei: damnal xōmoi xoyor sedkil-ēce / xayacan udxa-luyā tögüsüqsen: biliq baramidi / sonosöd ülü damnaqçi: busudtu ülü ontoγu/dan xaril ügei-dü meden üyiledkü: uduriduq/çi-noγoudiyin gün nom ene üzeküye berke: ken cü / ülü onon olxu ügei boluyu: tōüni tula tusalan / üyiledüqçi örōšōnggüi tögüsüqsen bodhi oluq/çi ene: amitani coulyan ken medekü kemēn sedkiliyin / dayıbalγan bayadxan üyiled: amitan-noγoud inu / oron-du bayasun oron-noγoudi küsekü: barildu / orošin mergen busu γani mungxaq xarangγui metüs: / olon üyiledüqçi nom inu oron baril ügei bui: / teyikülē yertüncü terigüten-luyā temecel boluqsan / mün: oqtorγuyin oron inu urγuxu züq kigēd / baroun züq: tögünçilen šinggeküi züq kigēd zōün / [310/11 verso] zügüiyin çinaduyin zaxa kizālāši ügei: dēdü kigēd / dorodu arban züq kedüi bui-noγoudtu cu bui: / öbörö ügei bolun ilγal bolxu ügei: nōqçiqsōni / tere çinar ali irē ödüyin tere çinar: ödügēdi/yin tere çinar ali dayini daruqsani tere çinar: / nom büküni tere çinar ali ilayuqsani tere çinar: / nomiyin tere çinar xamuq öün-dü ilγal ügei: sayi/bēr oduqsani bodhi öbörö nom-luyā xayacal / boluqsan: ene inu bodhi sadw<sup>a</sup> ken nige olxui küseqçin: / arya-luyā tögösün biliq barimidtu barildu/xu: uduriduqçi biliq ügei bolxula olxu bol/xu busu: zoun tabin bere beyetei nige yeke {beye/tei} šöböün: boluqsan tōüni çiber dalabçi baraq/dan jilya küçün ügei boluqsan: tere inu γuçin / γurbani oron-ēce 'jambutib ende: öbör / inu döülikülē tere inu buuran gemtei bolxu / mün: ilayuqsan-noγoudiyin tabun baramid öüni / cu: by<sup>d</sup> kraq kraq olon kalab-tu bütēn üyile/dün: yertüncüdü kizālāši ügei aγui yeke irōl / nasuda šütüqsen cu: arya ügei biliq-ēce xaγa/caqsan mün šravaqtu unaxu: burxani kölgön /

öün-dü mayad ɣarxui küseqçi ken: amitan bükün/-dü sedkil teqšidün eçige ekedü xurān medekü / kigēd: tusalaxui sedkil kigēd asaraxui sedkil/-yēr nomoyodxon üyiledçi: temecel ügei bolun / zōlön üge ögüülen üyiledkü:: yertüncüyin ite/gel-dü batu oron subuti oγōto ayiladxabai: / erdemiyin dalai nisvānis ügeyin temdeq üzüülün / soyirxo: yeke kücüten yambarçılan xarin urbaxui / ülü boluqçi: tere metü erdemiyin züq tödüi/keni ilayuşqani eşi üzüülün soyirxo:: öbörö

### Special Signs

- (...) text torn out or erased  
 <> text written in as correction  
 { } text crossed out by the scribe  
 (\*) text reconstructed based on other sources  
 [ ] grapheme left out by the scribe

### Additional Signs in Oirat

č 𐰇	ž 𐰈	d 𐰉	n 𐰊	w <sup>a</sup> 𐰋
ž 𐰌	' 𐰍	ñ 𐰎	p 𐰏	y <sup>a</sup> 𐰐

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**The Heritage of N.F. Katanov and the Prospects of its Study:  
Diaries and materials of his Travel to Siberia  
and Xinjiang (1889–1892)  
(Tuva–Khakassia–East Turkestan)<sup>1</sup>**

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*Abstract:* In 2022, Russia celebrated the 160th anniversary birthday of the famous Khakass scholar, Turkologist, teacher, traveler and educator Nikolaj Fedorovich Katanov (1862–1922), who played a significant role in the study of the language and culture of the Tuvan people. Katanov’s biography and research works allow us to study the origins and the contemporary state of development of the humanities. The biography and legacy of N.F. Katanov are of academic and especially scientific, educational, and humanistic interest. They reflect important trends in Oriental studies both in Russia and abroad, especially in Turkology. N.F. Katanov’s doctoral dissertation “A Study of the Uriankhai language” laid the foundation for the scientific study of the Tuvan language, and his handwritten diaries and materials from the period of travel in Tuva, Khakassia, Xinjiang and Eastern Turkestan, entered the golden fund of Russian and European Turkology. His comprehensive studies of Turkic peoples of Eurasia at the turn of the century remain relevant and valuable at present. The article presents the research work on the heritage of N.F. Katanov scattered in archival centers of Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg and several

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foreign institutions. For the most part, the written materials (diaries, letters, unfinished manuscripts, etc.) of N.F. Katanov, revealed by the authors, bear the stamp of the era of the late 19th — first decades of the 20th cc. and its socio-political life. Introduction into scientific circulation of N.F. Katanov's manuscripts allows us to identify the directions and features of his research work and to form an objective basis for the preparation of an academic biography of the classic of Russian Turkology.

*Key words:* Russia; Eastern Central Asia; Tuva; Khakassia; East Turkestan; Oriental studies; Turkology; Tuvan Studies; N.F. Katanov; history; ethnography; archives

Nowadays it still remains relevant to continue the search, study, systematization and introduction into scientific circulation of the unpublished archival heritage of the Kazan University Professor Nikolaj Fedorovich Katanov (1862–1922), one of the brightest and most prominent national scholars and sages of Russian science, education and culture, an outstanding representative of the Khakass people. Research work on the archival heritage of N.F. Katanov is driven by the need to search for his various handwritten materials in archival centers of Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg and several foreign institutions (Hungary, Turkey, and Germany). Moreover, it is necessary to compare archival materials with published works of the scholar. For the most part, the archival manuscript heritage (diaries, letters, unfinished manuscripts, etc.) of N.F. Katanov, revealed by the authors, bears the stamp of the era of the late 19th — first decades of the 20th cc., its socio-political life and the research directions current at that time. The search for and introduction into scientific circulation of N.F. Katanov's manuscripts allows us to identify the directions and features of his research work and to form an objective basis for the preparation of an academic biography of the classic of Russian Turkology.

Russian universities are the leading centers of Oriental studies. In general, they are also centers of social, scientific, cultural and political life in Russia and Europe. In modern times, further study of the development of university education and Oriental research in Russia and Europe is of socio-cultural and academic interest. Undoubtedly, the same holds true for the Turkic world, the understanding of the “university paradigm” for the phenomenon of Eastern civilizations and especially the formation of the national scientific and cultural elite. The authors' research focuses on the biography and creative heritage of N.F. Katanov (1894–1922), a Turkology scholar, a prominent representative of the Khakass people, a graduate of the Oriental

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Faculty of St. Petersburg University (1888) and a professor at Kazan University.

The Russian academician and Turkologist V.A. Gordlevsky in his speech “In Memory of N.F. Katanov” delivered on June 11, 1922 at a meeting of the Eastern Commission of the Moscow Archaeological Society noted: “...the historian of Oriental studies will be able to appreciate the long and unselfish work, which has produced abundant good-quality material on languages that were little studied before Katanov”.<sup>2</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>3</sup>

After graduating from the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University, N.F. Katanov decided to devote himself to scientific and pedagogical work. The period from May 28 to July 4, 1888 in his biography is associated with the main decisions about retaining him “at the university for further improvement in Turkic dialects”.<sup>4</sup> The initiative came from the graduate Nikolai Katanov and his teacher Professor I.N. Berezin, who gave a recommendation to his student. The decision of the Council of the Faculty of Oriental Languages and the petition of the rector of the university “to retain the candidate N. Katanov at the University for preparation for the academic degree” were supported by the trustee of the school district. On July 4, 1888, it was allowed to have N.F. Katanov “at the St. Petersburg University, at the Department of Turkish-Tatar literature for two years starting July 1, and providing him... a 600 ruble scholarship per year”.<sup>5</sup>

The next important milestone in personal life and professional career of Nikolai Katanov was a scientific expedition in 1889–1892 to Central Asia to study the languages and ethnography of the Turkic peoples. It was organized and supported by the Russian Geographical Society, the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and the Ministry of Public Education. The origins of this expedition’s organization are connected with the discussion of the note by V.V. Radlov about the prospects of “research of

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<sup>2</sup> GORDLEVSKY 1968: 401.

<sup>3</sup> SAMOILOVICH 1922: 105.

<sup>4</sup> Russian State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg (RSHA SPb.). Fond 14. Ser. 1. File. 8933, f. 1–5.

<sup>5</sup> RSHA SPb. F. 14. Ser. 1. File. 8933. f. 4.

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the remains of Turkic tribes in the Far East” at a meeting of the Department of Ethnography of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society on December 11, 1887 under the chairmanship of V.I. Lamansky.<sup>6</sup> At the meeting, it was decided to submit a note to the Board of the Society. In this note, V.V. Radlov gave a high assessment to N. Katanov, a fourth-year student of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University. V.V. Radlov wrote:

He studied with me for three years and has published several articles concerning his native dialect at the Academy. Judging from the words of his professors, and from my own observations, I have been convinced of his zeal, ability, devotion to science, and knowledge of his chosen subjects. No one can be found more prepared and more able to carry out the abovementioned enterprise.<sup>7</sup>

He also asked the Board of the Society to allocate 1.000 rubles in the 1888 budget, to organize a “commission to draw up a detailed plan” for the expedition, and also promised to “apply for the allocation of a subsidy to Mr. Katanov from the regular funds of the Imperial Academy of Sciences”.

This is one of the most famous Russian expeditions to Central Asia, Mongolia, Siberia and East Turkestan, which were carried out in the second half of the 19th — early 20th cc., considering the importance of discovered geographic, linguistic and historical-cultural materials. It is well known that among the participants of these large-scale scientific and cultural expeditions were Ch.Ch. Valikhanov, G.N. Potanin, N.M. Przhevalsky, brothers G.E. and M.E. Grumm-Grzhimailo, V.I. Roberovsky, 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.

In the archival and historical-scientific direction of studying the manuscript heritage of N.F. Katanov, the years 1889–1892 are of great interest — this significant period is the time of Katanov’s scientific expedition to Southern Siberia and East Turkestan. During these years, he has formed and developed his comprehensive studies of languages, traditional and new forms of economic and social life, everyday life, folklore and spiritual life of the Turkic peoples of Sayan-Altai and Xinjiang.

At a meeting of the Council of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University on January 28, 1889, the “Instruction for the Studies of the Can-

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<sup>6</sup> *Imperial Russian...* 1889: 421–423.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*: 421–423.

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didate Nikolai Katanov Sent Abroad for a Scientific Purpose”, compiled by Professor I.N. Berezin was approved.<sup>8</sup> In 1904, the extraordinary professor of St. Petersburg University and the Turkologist-linguist P.M. Melioransky (1868–1906), reviewing the fundamental work of N.F. Katanov “A Study of the Uriankhai Language” (1903), identified a number of significant linguistic and textual features of the texts collected by him. He wrote: “Generally speaking, the texts are written carefully, the transcription is accurate and consistent, the translation does not arouse doubts”.<sup>9</sup> P.M. Melioransky also noted that, “...as far as we can judge, the material given by the author on living modern Turkish dialects is accurate and reliable — moreover, for some dialects, for example, Kashgar, Yarkend, Turfan, Khamiy, and so[me] ot[her] material, it is entirely new. It was first collected by Mr. K[atanov] himself”.<sup>10</sup> N.F. Katanov’s “A Study of the Uriankhai Language” was highly evaluated by the Hungarian linguist, ethnographer, literary critic and folklorist, academician Bernart Munkácsi Bernát (1860–1937) and the German orientalist Martin Hartmann (1851–1918).

Works by N.F. Katanov in the fields of language, history, ethnography and culture of Tuva and the Tuvan peoples laid the academic foundation for modern integrated Tuvan studies<sup>11</sup>.

Unfortunately, a comprehensive work on Katanov’s 1889–1892 expedition — the unique event in his scientific biography, — was never published and did not become available for Russian and European Turkology.

In 1907, V.V. Radlov in the series “Samples of Folk Literature of the Turkic Tribes” published a set of N.F. Katanov’s Khakass and Tuva folklore materials. It includes 1122 songs, 160 riddles, 15 fairy tales and 35 myths, and “this volume seems incredible”.<sup>12</sup>

The most important primary sources are the diaries of the scholar, a significant part of which N.F. Katanov prepared for publication, but they were published with quite a serious delay. Thus, the diary of the expedition to the Uriankhai Region (Tuva) in 1889,<sup>13</sup> described by S. Weinstein in

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<sup>8</sup> RSHA SPb. F. 14. Ser. 1. File. 8933. f. 15–16 rev.

<sup>9</sup> MELIORANSKY 1904: 0151.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.: 0156.

<sup>11</sup> “Tuva.Asia”: <https://tuva.asia/> and special issue of the journal “The New Research of Tuva” entitled “The Republic of Tuva: A Sociolinguistic Portrait in Russia’s Ethnic and Linguistic Spectrum”: <https://nit.tuva.asia/nit/issue/view/56/>.

<sup>12</sup> RADLOV 1907.

<sup>13</sup> The manuscript is stored in the Archives of the MAE RAS (Fund 5. Description 1. Issue 526).

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1968, had been kept in the archive of the *Kunstkamera* until 2011, when it was finally published by Tuvan colleagues.<sup>14</sup> This interesting diary covers the first stage of the journey to Tuva — the period from March 9 to September 9, 1889. The text was completed by N.F. Katanov on September 26, 1889 in his native village Askys of the Minusinsk region in the Yeniseysk Governorate. Continuing the research tradition of preparing and publishing unpublished diaries and various unfinished texts by N.F. Katanov is significant in the historical, scientific and socio-cultural context of our time.

A diary describing N.F. Katanov's stay in Khakassia and his first trip to Semirechye, Tarbagatai and Xinjiang in 1890, was deciphered, commented on and published by our team of authors quite recently.<sup>15</sup>

The origins of the East Turkestan expeditions might be closely linked to the summer of 1890, when N.F. Katanov visited eight centers of Chinese Turkestan (Khotan, Kashgar, Ak-su, Kuchar, Karakash, Baya, Loguchen and Old Turfan), where he got acquainted with the language and ethnography of the Turkic population of East Turkestan.

The State Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan (hereinafter — SA RT) store the remaining manuscripts of the diaries, which are preserved in different conditions.

First of all, there is a voluminous case with the author's title "A trip to Semirechye and Tarbagatai. Diary of a journey made in 1891 on behalf of the Imp[erial] Russian Geographical Society by corresponding member... N.F. Katanov".<sup>16</sup> During 1893, in St. Petersburg, N.F. Katanov was engaged in processing his expedition materials and preparing for master's exams at the Oriental Faculty of the University. He passed these exams in December 1893.

The travel diary of 1891 was processed by N.F. Katanov and rewritten. The result is a large volume in the format of 22×35 cm, clearly rewritten in black ink on good quality paper, a total of 539 sheets with text on both sides.

The appointment of N.F. Katanov on November 9, 1893 as a teacher of Oriental languages at the Imperial Kazan University marked the next significant period in scientific, pedagogical and social activities of the scholar.<sup>17</sup> After his appointment to Kazan University, N. Katanov brought the manuscript to Kazan.

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<sup>14</sup> KATANOV 2011.

<sup>15</sup> KATANOV 2017.

<sup>16</sup> The State Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan (SA RT). F. 969. Inv. 1. D. 11.

<sup>17</sup> RSHA SPb. L. 14. Inv. 1. F. 8933, f. 50; SA RT. F. 977. Inv. F. 8904.

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The final part of the scientific expedition — a trip to the oases of Hami and Turfan and a return to Abakan — is also recorded in the diary entries. After the death of N.F. Katanov in March 1922 and the transfer of his personal archive to SA RT, the text was given the provisional title: “Diary of a Journey through Central Asia and Other Places (China, Mongolia)”.<sup>18</sup> The earliest date is also given incorrectly as March 16, 1892, but in the text the earliest recorded date is March 11. These draft notebooks are especially significant because they were written directly during the expedition and served as the basis for his further work.

In order to save money, the notebooks (judging by the quality and rare stamps) were made from wrapping paper in the format of 9×11 cm. The main problem is that the notebooks from the winter expedition from Ürümqi to Hami have not been preserved. All of them were numbered by the author on the title pages; only notebooks 15–31 have been preserved. Diaries numbered 15–27 are sewn together (without cover). The text describes the circumstances of the expedition from Hami through Turfan to the Russian border. It is important that the records of folklore were kept separately and were not included in these materials. The last notebook No. 31 (moving from Jarkend to Minusinsk and then to the Khakass families) has a different format: 18×11 cm. The text in all the listed materials is usually written in pencil, more rarely — in low-quality brown ink. The ink text is more difficult to read than the pencil one.

In addition to the actual historical, linguistic, ethnographic and other information and materials — diaries, for example, allowed us to clarify the chronology of the beginning of N.F. Katanov’s scientific expedition — a careful reading of them determines new directions for further archival research. For example, it follows from the records that Katanov’s companions, photographers Vasiliev and Tolshin, formed a photo archive of ethnic types of the local population in Xinjiang, part of which was at the disposal of the researcher.

In the coming years, an unpublished handwritten work, “Diary of a Journey through the Minusinsk District, the Yenisei Province, Will Be Prepared for Publication. Draft. 95 p.” by N.F. Katanov, will be prepared for print. Moreover, there is another object of great interest — the historical and archival study of the draft text of N.F. Katanov’s manuscript “Diary of the Altai”, covering the period from November 1, 1889 to January 16, 1890.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> SA RT. F. 969. Inv. 1. D. 76.

<sup>19</sup> SA RT. F. 969. Inv. 1. D. 75

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Some of the handwritten materials of N.F. Katanov made during his trip are also preserved in the archives of the Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg. These are “A Letter with a Brief Overview of the Trip to the Semirechensk Region in 1891–1893”,<sup>20</sup> “Descriptions of Copper Coins Minted in Chinese Turkestan”,<sup>21</sup> several official documents on the organization of the trip of N.F. Katanov and especially the first text of his report to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society dated March 3, 1889.<sup>22</sup>

In his report, N.F. Katanov gave geographical, economic, social and cultural information and facts about Khakassia and the region as a whole: “On the 26th of last January, I arrived in Minusinsk. From February 4 to 16, I was in the Sagai steppe... Here I wrote down several proverbs in the Koibal dialect and the legend of the stone old woman (kurtuyak-tas)... In the Sagai steppe Duma of the united heterogeneous tribes, located in the village of Askis, Minus[insky] district, I was sorting out the archive... Over time, I hope to add new information to the collection and present it to the public. <...> Despite the opening of the 2nd class school in Askys, the number of literate foreigners is not increasing. Livestock deaths and crop failures in the last 5 years have completely depleted national wealth of the Sagai Tatars, Beltirs and Koibals. The Kachin people are still considered excellent pastoralists; they still possess hundreds of cattle and thousands of small cattle. Recently, the most lively relations between the Minusinsk Tatars and the Kazan Tatars and the Uriankhai Turks have been established...”<sup>23</sup> In the 1920s, interest in the textual heritage of N.F. Katanov became particularly noticeable in Europe. In the 1930s and the first half of the 1950s, a number of N.F. Katanov’s texts related to his travels to Siberia and especially to East Turkestan (1889–1892) appeared in European Turkology at the initiative of the famous German orientalists Wilhelm Julius Bang<sup>24</sup> (1869–1934) and his student, the Slavist, Turkologist and Altaist Karl Heinrich Menges<sup>25</sup> (1908–1999). These outstanding founders of German classical Turkology formed and deepened the academic scientific tradition and directions of studying the languages, culture and history of the Turkic peoples of Eastern Europe, Siberia and Central Asia. The manuscript materials were handed over in

<sup>20</sup> Archive of the Russian Geographical Society (ARGS). Category 87. Op. 1. No. 15. 2 l.

<sup>21</sup> ARGS. Category 90. Op. 1. No. 30. 5 l.

<sup>22</sup> ARGS. F. 1–1886. Inv. 1. No. 20. 27 l.

<sup>23</sup> ARGS. F. 1–1886. Inv. 1. No. 20. f. 5–6.

<sup>24</sup> VOCHT 1929; KONONOV 1974; *Die orientalistische Gelehrtenrepublik...* 2012; et al.

<sup>25</sup> HAZAI 1976: VII–XVI.

1926 by A.I. Katanova, the wife of N.F. Katanov, to Professor V. Bang<sup>26</sup> of the University of Berlin. Editions of these texts by N.F. Katanov, carried out in Germany in 1933 and 1943 by K. Menges, were reviewed by S.E. Malov.<sup>27</sup> In 1952, Nicholas N. Poppe (1897–1991), a well-known Mongolian scholar and Altaist, professor at the University of Washington, published in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* his review of the texts of N.F. Katanov that had been published in Germany in 1943.<sup>28</sup>

In 1976 in Leipzig, at the initiative of the famous Hungarian academician and Turkologist Georg Hazai (Hazai Georges), in 1962–1983 professor at the Humboldt University, and under the editorship of K.G. Menges, the texts of N.F. Katanov were reissued under the title “Folk Texts of East Turkestan. From the Legacy of N.F. Katanov”. In his preface, C.G. Menges wrote: “In the autumn of 1973, Dr. Georg Khazai in a letter invited me to reissue in Leipzig through the GDR Central Second-hand Bookseller ‘Folk Texts of East Turkestan’, which I selected processing extensive materials collected by N.F. Katanov in East Turkestan (Chinese province of Xinjiang). I gratefully accepted the offer of Dr. Khazai, giving him, and later the Central Second-hand Bookseller, my consent to reissue. It was taken into account that the first part of the work was published in the collection ‘Records of the Meetings of the Prussian Academy of Sciences’, section Philosophy — History, volume XXXII (1933). It has been out of the public domain for quite a long time, and the ‘special circumstances’ prevented the publication of the second part, almost double in length, in the scientific notes of the Academy, where this second part was accepted in the spring of 1936”.<sup>29</sup>

Unfortunately, our archival research of the transferred handwritten texts of the diaries in Germany has not yet been successful. The same is true for the letters of N.F. Katanov addressed to a number of Hungarian Turkologists. In recent years, the search and systematization of the archival materials about Hungarian Turkologists of the late 19th — early 20th cc., who

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<sup>26</sup> A.I. Katanova, in a letter to the Soviet Turkologist S.E. Malov, as of December 7, 1926, wrote that in the summer of 1926, in Kazan, Dr. Fettikh, an authorized representative of the Berlin Scientific Organization, was shown the manuscripts of N.F. Katanov. Of these, “...he took 1) A trip to Semirechye and Tarbagatai, texts of chapters I and II. 2) Translations of chapters I and II and, as far as I remember, 3) Journey through Dzungaria, Siberia and Turkestan, 520 sheets” (see: St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter — St. Petersburg BARAS). F. 1079. Inv. 3. D. 121. L. 2.

<sup>27</sup> MALOV 1941; MALOV 1951.

<sup>28</sup> POPPE 1952.

<sup>29</sup> *Volkskundliche Texte...* 1976: 2.

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conducted scientific expeditions in the Volga region and the Urals (Bernat Munkachi, etc.), as well as collaborated and corresponded with N.F. Katanov, is being carried out.

Of particular interest is the diverse epistolary heritage of N.F. Katanov. The first letters he wrote to his teachers, friends, and colleagues date from 1884. The correspondence continued until his death in 1922.

The letters provide an opportunity to highlight and evaluate many significant events in the biography of N.F. Katanov, which remained for many years out of the field of view of many researchers who studied the life path of the student, traveler and professor N.F. Katanov.

We learn from these letters, for example, that the lack of full-fledged conditions for the study of Oriental languages at Kazan University and the Kazan Theological Academy determined the final decision of N.F. Katanov to go to the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University.<sup>30</sup> In making this decision, an important role was played by first mentors of the future scientist — N.I. Ilminsky and V.V. Radlov.

At present, a comprehensive search and systematization of the epistolary heritage of N.F. Katanov, in particular of his letters to famous Russian orientalists (V.V. Radlov, 1837–1918; V.R. Rosen, 1849–1908; K.G. Zaleman, 1849–1916; E.K. Pekarsky, 1858–1934; S.F. Oldenburg, 1863–1934); V.V. Barthold, 1869–1930; etc.), have been carried out. These letters were written by N. Katanov to his teachers and colleagues during the expedition and from Kazan. The epistolary legacy of N.F. Katanov is preserved in archives of Kazan, Moscow, St. Petersburg and, possibly, in some European countries.

Published letters of N.F. Katanov to Academician V.V. Radlov are known. They were written from April 17, 1889 to November 12, 1892. Professor Katanov wrote them during the complex ethnographic and linguistic expedition from the main centers of the southern strip of Siberia and East Turkestan. In September 1893, in his preface to the publication of these letters of the traveler N.F. Katanov, V.V. Radlov noted that they “contain much information that is new and interesting for ethnography and Tourkology” (Turkology. — *Authors*).<sup>31</sup> The founder of complex historical, ethnographic and linguistic expeditions of the second half of the 19th c. to places of residence of Turkic peoples of Siberia — V.V. Radlov — drew the

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<sup>30</sup> POKROVSKY 1923: 247.

<sup>31</sup> KATANOV 1893: III.

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reader's attention to the fact that the letters of his student "are of particular interest because they are written in the field and under fresh impressions".<sup>32</sup>

In 1890, N.F. Katanov in his letter to academician and Iranist K.G. Zaleman wrote:

I am now engaged in rewriting the ling[ui]stic materials collected from October 1889 to April 1890 (from the Minus[insk] Tatars and Karagas). In total, about 3,000 pag[es] are accrued.<sup>33</sup>

In 1892, N.F. Katanov also wrote to V.R. Rosen:

From St. Petersburg, I went to North[ern] Mongolia. I studied the Uriankhai dialect there. Then came to the East[ern] Siberia, where I studied the life and languages of the Karagas and Minusinsk Tatars. After that, in Mid[dle] Asia I studied the life and languages of the Cossacks-Kirghiz and Sart, Russian and Chinese. You can find out from V.V. Radlov and N.I. Veselovsky how much I have collected and submitted for publication.<sup>34</sup>

In 1901, this time from Kazan, he wrote to E.K. Pekarsky:

I found many similarities that South-Siber[ian] Turks and North[ern] Mongolia Uriankhais have with shamanism, as I studied the life, languages and beliefs of those ethnicities in 1889–1892. As you are quite scientifically and thoroughly engaged in studying the Yakut lang[ua]ge, I will be very pleased to bring you as a gift my extensive research on the Uriankhai language in the spring, and perhaps earlier. In my opinion, Uriankhai language, as well as the Karagas one, is similar to the Yakut language, and therefore my research will not be useless for you, and for Turkology it will not be without a trace, since you can look at it. You have better means than many of our Russian scientists. And you are standing near the source, which is little exhausted. What is more you have better means than many of our Russian scientists to capture knowledge from it.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> St. Petersburg BARAS. F. 87. Inv. 3. D. 175, f. 1–1 recto.

<sup>34</sup> St. Petersburg BARAS. F. 777. Inv. 2. D. 197, f. 1.

<sup>35</sup> St. Petersburg BARAS. F. 202. Inv. 2. D. 195, f. 4–5.

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In the coming years, it is planned to prepare and publish all these letters, which N.F. Katanov wrote to St. Petersburg Orientalists. These letters are preserved in their personal funds in the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Unfortunately, the letters that St. Petersburg Orientalists of the late 19th — early 20th cc. wrote to N.F. Katanov in response have not been found.

The manuscript heritage of N.F. Katanov contains the most valuable information about the cultures of the Turkic peoples of Eastern Siberia, Semirechye and Xinjiang. It was due to the absence of a language barrier between the researcher and the object of his research, that N.F. Katanov was able to present, on the pages of his diaries, an integral complex of the spiritual culture of peoples who were at different stages of the development of material civilization and belonged to different faiths, from Shamanism to Islam. At the same time, it should be noted that the task of creating a relatively representative body of works by N.F. Katanov is not only unsolved, but also extremely far from being resolved.

Today, based on the study of the heritage of Professor N.F. Katanov, it is important to understand the scientific and socio-cultural tradition of Oriental studies and Turkology at Russian universities — the study of the traditional multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, multi-confessional history, culture and social life of the Russian state, which manifested itself in the research and works of Russian Turkologists.

Currently, the research project is aimed at the comprehensive study of the academic biography of N.F. Katanov. Main attention is paid to the personal fund of N.F. Katanov in the State Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan and personal collections, as well as materials of the scientist scattered in scientific and cultural centers of Russia (Russian State Historical Archive, State Historical Archive of St. Petersburg, Archive of the Russian Geographical Society, St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, the Minusinsk Museum of Local History, etc.) and the Republic of Turkey (the personal library of N.F. Katanov at the Institute of Turkic Studies of Istanbul University). These funds and materials were used in various works, but their study was fragmentary and random. A promising research goal is the introduction into scientific and public circulation of lifetime publications of N.F. Katanov, which have become a bibliographic rarity, and especially his rich archival heritage.

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## A Sanskrit Manuscript in Proto-Śāradā Script: Fragments of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*

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*Abstract:* The article continues a series of publications of Sanskrit manuscript fragments written in the Proto-Śāradā script and kept in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). This article contains passages of stories from the “Garland of Jātakas” (Jātakamālā) by Āryaśūra. The article argues that the fragment from the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS belongs to the same manuscript as folios from the Turfan Collection (Berlin, Germany) and the Lüshun Museum (Dalian, PRC). All these scattered folios, which appear in different collections, used to be parts of one and the same manuscript of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā. The Sanskrit fragment of the Mahābodhi-jātaka from the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS, analyzed in this article, is a passage from a dispute between a Bodhisattva and various Indian teachers, in which the Buddhist ascetic refutes the arguments of his opponents.

*Key words:* Buddhism, Sanskrit manuscripts, Jātaka, paleography, ‘Proto-Śāradā’, Serindia, Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā

### Provenience

In the previous WMO issue we have published a new fragment of Mātrceṭa's Varṇārharvaṇa, a well-known hymn on the Buddha. Originally it belonged to the Petrovsky Collection, now part of the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS) in St. Petersburg.<sup>1</sup> This fragment is unusual for three reasons: first, it belonged to a manuscript written in a script that does not count among the standard scripts used for Sanskrit manuscripts in Central Asia, but

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<sup>1</sup> SHOMAKHMADOV & HARTMANN 2022.

rather suggests an Indian origin; second, it soon became clear that fragments of this manuscript were preserved not only in the IOM; and third, it was an extraordinary long manuscript consisting of more than 400 folios and containing at least three very famous and important poetical works: Mātr̥ceṭa's Varnārhavarṇa (a hymn on the Buddha), Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā (a collection of birth stories) and Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dr̥ṣṭāntapaṅkti (a collection of tales). For a description of the manuscript and its peculiarities we refer the reader to our previous article. There we also mentioned the fact that the Petrovsky Collection had contained a fragment of the Jātakamālā and the Petrovsky and Krotkov Collections each had one fragment of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.

Explaining this curious spread of fragments, we pointed out that Albert von Le Coq, the leader of the German expedition, is known to have presented manuscript fragments as gifts not only to other researchers, but also to officials. However, new information obtained recently speaks very strongly against this explanation. Now it seems much more plausible that various collectors and researchers visited exactly the same site and simply picked up what their predecessors had left on the ground. According to the description in the catalogue volume of the German Turfan Collection, the manuscript fragments were found among many others in the northernmost Buddhist monastery complex on the eastern bank of the Toyoq creek.<sup>2</sup> We owe Le Coq a brief description of the place and the find: "There, an enormous block of conglomerate rock had fallen from a height into a monk's cell, had partially blasted the walls and sat like a plug in the room. It was possible to remove this soft, crumbling rock, and to my delight I found the whole room, which, by the way, was built after the pattern of an Iranian room, filled with large piles of old manuscripts. Here we found Manichaeian, Christian and Buddhist manuscripts with Chinese scrolls and Indian palm leaves and birch bark leaves mixed together. ...After all, we found about two sacks full of manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries, intermingled, however, with later manuscripts".<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> SHT I: 286.

<sup>3</sup> "Dort war ein ungeheurer Block des Konglomeratgesteines aus der Höhe in eine Mönchszelle gefallen, hatte die Mauern zum Teil gesprengt und saß wie ein Pfropfen in dem Raum. Es gelang, dieses weiche, bröcklige Gestein zu entfernen, und zu meiner Freude fand ich das ganze Zimmer, das übrigens nach dem Muster eines iranischen Zimmers gebaut war, mit großen Haufen alter Manuskripte erfüllt. Hier fanden wir manichäische, christliche und buddhistische Handschriften mit chinesischen Rollen und indischen Palmbblatt- und Birkenrinde-Blättern vermischt. ...Wir fanden immerhin ungefähr zwei Säcke voll Manuskripte des achten und neunten Jahrhunderts, vermischt, allerdings, auch mit späteren Handschriften". See LE COQ 1926: 82.

It becomes clear that the German explorers made the room accessible and, therefore, that they must have been the first to enter it. However, it is not difficult to imagine that in view of the rich booty, no attempt was made to completely empty the room. This in turn might explain why later researchers were still able to find fragments. Recently it became evident that one of the collectors for the Japanese Count Ōtani Kōzui must have visited the same place and picked up some fragments, since the Ōtani Collection contains altogether three fragments of the *Jātakamālā*. Today, this part of the Ōtani Collection is kept in the Lüshun Museum (旅顺博物馆) in Dalian in Northern China. Another fragment in the collection, which must belong to the same manuscript, preserves a dogmatic text. Since this latter fragment is a part of the same folio as one of the fragments listed under the catalogue number SHT 638 in the German collection, it must come from the same place. This is a new insight — the combined manuscript must have contained at least one non-poetical text. Regrettably, the fragments come from the middle of the leaf and do not preserve the folio number, and therefore it is impossible to locate the text within the lengthy manuscript. There are more fragments of it with a dogmatic content in the Russian and German collections; we intend to publish all of them in the nearest future.

Finally, mention has to be made of yet another unexpected find: when Chinese archaeologists examined the Toyoq caves in the years 2010–2011, they also recovered manuscript fragments. It seems that there is at least one fragment, and perhaps more, of “our” manuscript, possibly even a fragment of the *Jātakamālā*. So far, only preliminary reports appeared,<sup>4</sup> and the final excavation report is still to be published. It is unlikely that a closer study of these fragments will become possible before its publication, and therefore we decided not to wait for it. At present, the find serves to confirm not only the original location, but also the fact that none of the earlier explorers was able or interested in completely clearing the cave of its manuscript fragments. Here we present unpublished fragments of the *Jātakamālā* from three collections, the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS in St. Petersburg, the Ōtani Collection in the Lüshun Museum and the Turfan Collection in Berlin. Each of the three collections contains a fragment from the same folio (no. 3 below).

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<sup>4</sup> CHEN 2012.

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## Jātakas in the manuscript fragments

The fragments examined in this article contain passages from three jātakas: 1) “The Jātaka on the High-minded One” (Mahābodhi-jātaka), which tells about the condemnation of false teachings, as well as the need to constantly feel compassion for living beings, even if one has been unjustifiably offended; 2) “Jatakas [about the inhabitant of the world] Brahma” (Brahma-jātaka), the main idea of which is, as in the previous story, the need to avoid the sin of adherence to false views, and 3) the Kṣāntivādi-jātaka, which we have introduced earlier.<sup>5</sup>

The Brahma-jātaka tells about one of Buddha’s previous births in the Brahma heaven. Once, a Bodhisattva saw Aṅgadinna, the king of Videha, who turned away from the Noble Path, falling into false views.<sup>6</sup> The Bodhisattva was imbued with compassion for Aṅgadinna, because the sins of the king threatened misfortune not only for him, but for his entire kingdom. Then the Bodhisattva appeared to Aṅgadinna in his entire splendor, and the king, seeing the ascetic’s glory, asked him about the truth of the existence of another, better, world. Moreover, the assurances of the Bodhisattva were not enough for the king, he needed logical arguments, and the Bodhisattva gave them. Also, the Bodhisattva told the king in detail about the suffering that sinners endure in hell spheres. Frightened by such fate, Aṅgadinna asked the Bodhisattva how he could avoid such torment after death. The Bodhisattva revealed to the king the essence of the Noble Path. And the king, as well as his advisers and all subjects began to follow the Noble Path.

The Brahma-jātaka fragments contain the Jātaka’s text with the arguments in favor of the existence of another, better, world.

The Kṣāntivādi-jātaka fragment contains a passage in which the king, waking up, did not see his wives next to him. The servants said that the queens went into the grove to listen to the sermon of a hermit named ‘One who teaches patience’ (Kṣāntivādin).

The Mahābodhi-jātaka tells of one of Buddha’s previous births, namely, a monk named Mahābodhi. Being an excellent householder, he diligently followed his social duty — dharma, i.e. he studied secular sciences. After leaving the house, he completely followed the rules of the hermit life with the same diligence, thereby earning honor and respect of many people.

<sup>5</sup> SHOMAKHMADOV & HARTMANN 2022.

<sup>6</sup> In this case the Jātaka text tells about Lokāyata (Indian materialism) views.

The king favored Mahābodhi, but his ministers secretly envied the hermit and began to set the ruler against the ascetic, assuring the king that Mahābodhi was a spy sent by enemies to lull the ruler's vigilance and turn him away from the rājadharma ("dharma of kings").<sup>7</sup> Then the king lost interest in the dharma and distanced Mahābodhi from himself. The hermit did not complain, but got ready and was about to leave the palace. Preserving the remains of righteousness, the king at the last moment stopped the hermit, asking why he was leaving and how the king offended him. Mahābodhi replied that he was not offended by the bad treatment of the king and his courtiers. But since the king turned away from the dharma, Mahābodhi wanted to leave him. The hermit retired to a forest, where he indulged in the meditation practice and achieved great success. And so, while in the forest, Mahābodhi remembered the king. He was sad, because the ministers continued to turn the ruler away from the True Path.<sup>8</sup> Then, Mahābodhi, dressed in the skin of a monkey, returned to the palace. The king met the guest with due respect. In the course of a dispute with the ministers, Mahābodhi refuted their entire teachings one by one. Thus, Mahābodhi returned the ruler to the True Path.

The manuscript fragments presented in this article from the Lüshun Museum, IOM, RAS and the Turfan Collection in Berlin contain the final phrase exposing the follower of the teaching on causelessness (ahetuvāda), as well as the beginning and end (SI 6782 verso) of the dispute with the follower of the concept of Creator (īśvaravāda).

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<sup>7</sup> 'The rules for a king' in the Brahmanic (Indian orthodox) tradition.

<sup>8</sup> The Mahābodhi-jātaka lists different Indian religious and philosophical views, orthodox as well as non-orthodox. Thus, the first opponent of the Bodhisattva is, rather, an Ājīvikavādin with the views on causelessness (ahetuvāda). The second one is a follower of the concept of the Creator (īśvaravādin); these views were popular in the Vedānta school, Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva traditions. The third opponent is a follower of a specific Indian 'determinism' according to which all in the universe is caused by the 'former deeds' (pūrvakarma). The fourth Bodhisattva's disputant is a follower of Cārvāka-Lokāyata and its doctrine of the total annihilation (ucchedavāda). And, finally, the fifth contradictor is an adherent of the 'Warrior Knowledge', 'The knowledge of ruling a kingdom' (kṣatравidyā).

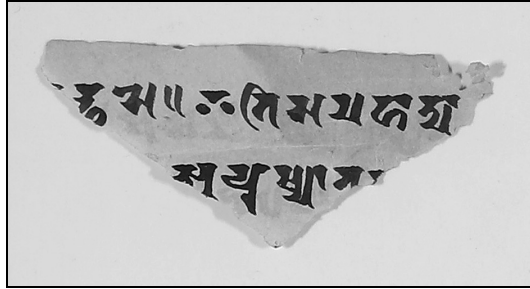
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## Survey of the fragments

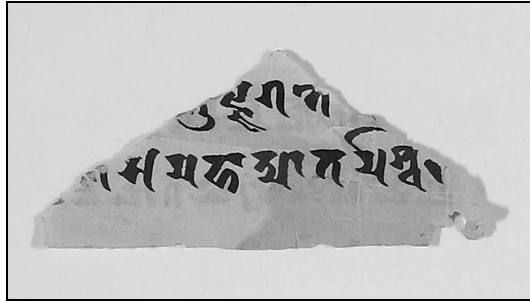
Two fragments are preserved in the IOM in St. Petersburg:

SI 2998 (B/130-3): story no. 28 (Kṣānti), identified and published by Shomakhmadov;<sup>9</sup>

SI 6782: story no. 23 (Mahābodhi), identified by Shomakhmadov, see below, no. 3.



Pl. 1. A fragment of the Mahābodhi-jātaka from the Serindia Collection.  
The Institute of Orient Manuscripts, IOM, RAS. SI 6782 recto



Pl. 2. A fragment of the Mahābodhi-jātaka from the Serindia Collection.  
The Institute of Orient Manuscripts, IOM, RAS. SI 6782 verso

Three fragments are kept in the Lüshun Museum:

LM 20\_1553\_17 (P.25.12, 1): story no. 23 (Mahābodhi), identified by Hartmann, see below, no. 3;

LM 20\_1551\_36 (P.3e): story no. 28 (Kṣānti), see below, no. 2;

LM 20\_1553\_17 (P.25.12, 2): story no. 29 (Brahma), identified by Hartmann, see below, no. 1.

<sup>9</sup> SHOMAKHMADOV 2022.



The Turfan Collection in Berlin contains 14 fragments identified by Else Lüders and edited by Friedrich Weller.<sup>10</sup> One of them, SHT 638g, belongs with LM 20.1553, 17 (P.25.12) and SI 6782 to one folio, see below, no. 3.

### Symbols used in the transliteration

+	a lost akṣara(s)
[ ]	akṣara(s) whose reading(s) is (are) uncertain
..	one illegible akṣara
.	illegible part of an akṣara
///	beginning or end of a fragment when damaged
	the double daṇḍa — punctuation mark

### Transliteration of the fragments

1) LM 20\_1553\_17 (P.25.12, 2), fragment 2: Jātakamālā 29 (Brahma), JM: 194.13–17

Recto

6: /// .. gyāsu [k]r] ///

Verso

1: /// saṃpratyayā .. ///

2: /// .. ce .. ++ ///

r6: JM: 194.13 *āhārayogyāsu kṛtaśramatvaṃ.*

v1: JM: 194.15 *paralokasaṃpratyayā.*

v2: JM: 194.17 *cet tad.*

2) LM 20\_1551\_36 (P.3e): Jātakamālā 28 (Kṣānti), JM: 185.18–186.13

Recto

1: /// ++ .y. iti [ś]. +++

2: /// ++ labhya śayanapāli ///

3: /// ++ [tsu]kamatir utthāya ///

4: /// ++++ ..ḥpurā + ///

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<sup>10</sup> WELLER 1955 and SHT I: 286, no. 638.

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## Verso

3: /// + + + + + prac. .. + ///

4: /// + + .. [ha]. bhoḥ asma + ///

5: /// + .[v]ā varṣavarāḥ saṣaṃ .r. ///

6: /// + + + yaṃ kṣāntivādī nā .e ///

r1: JM: 185.18 *devya iti śayanapālikāḥ*.r2: JM: 185.21–22 *copalabhya śayanapālikābhyaḥ*.r3: JM: 185.23 °*darśanotsukamatir utthāya*.r4: JM: 185.24 *antaḥpurāvacaraiḥ*.v3: JM: 186. *viraktakāntilāvanyaśobhaḥ pracalat kanakavalayau*.v4: JM: 186.8–9 *haṃho | asmattejaḥ*.v5: JM: 186.11 *tac chrutvā varṣavarāḥ saṣaṃbhramāvegā*.v6: JM: 186.12–13 *munir ayaṃ kṣāntivādī nāmeti*.

In the bottom line of the recto and the upper line of the verso another fragment is attached which, however, does not belong here and can be located neither in the Varṇārhavarṇa nor in the Jātakamālā.

rz /// [tā] yo hy ā[t]u .. ///

v1 /// .[ū]dhacetas (ta)[thā] ///

The fragment can be located in Kumāralāta's Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā

Drṣṭāntapañkti (identified by Klaus Wille)

Cf. SHT 21, fol 132 r5–v1 (IDP SHT 21/86):

r5 ----- [m]i kārūyenā[bh]i[p]īḍitaḥ 21

bhūtagrahāveśavimūdhaceta **yo hy ā** ----- ti na tatra vaidyaḥ  
(pra)karoti

v1 ----- (22 kleśa)grahāveś(avimū)**dhacetas tathā** jano  
'ya(m) prakaroti pāpam tatrā[tma] ----- (pī)ḍam kleśeṣu na kleśa  
rāj. t.

3) Jātakamālā 23 (Mahābodhi), JM: 149.21–150.19; three fragments of one folio: SHT 638 g, LM 20\_1553\_17 (P.25.12, 1), SI 6782. The fragments from the Lüshun Museum and the Serindia Collection are directly adjacent to each other, while the complete folio is reconstructed including the fragment from the Turfan Collection. This is possible with a fairly high degree of plausibility, since the Turfan fragment belongs to the left margin and the fragment of the Serindia Collection to the right one; in r1 and v6 both margins are preserved, and thus the total length of the line is ensured. To clearly mark each fragment, the one from Berlin is printed in *bold italics*,

the one from the Lüshun Museum in **bold** and the one from St. Petersburg in steep. The text lost in between is printed in *italics* within round brackets.

Recto

- 1: /// ++ **gar**[ha]se || iti sa mahātmā  
 2: /// + [**m**]. **ntryovāca** | [ā]yuṣmān. .. +  
 3: /// **rute** [y]. .[i] + + + + + + +

Verso

- 4: /// .. + + + + + + + + + + + + +  
 5: /// [**m**] **īśvara eva** [**vi**] .u [r j]. gat[o] + +  
 6: /// ++ **i**[t]i sa mahātmā tam īśva[r].

Reconstructed folio with omission of text-critical symbols

Recto

1 ***tad evam api ced bhā***(vān anupaśyasy ahetukān | ahetor vānaravadhe siddhe kiṃ māṃ vi) **garhase** || <31> iti sa mahātmā

2 ***tam ahetuvādinam vi***(śadair hetubhir niṣpratibhaṃ kṛtvā tam īśvarakāraṇikam ā)m(a) **ntryovāca** | āyuṣmān (apy asmā-

3 n nā) **rhaty eva vigarhitum īśva**(raḥ sarvasya hi te kāraṇam abhimataḥ | paśya | ku) **rute y**(ad) **i** (sarvam īśvaro nanu te-

4 naiva) **hataḥ sa vānaraḥ tava** (keyam amaitracittatā paradoṣān mayi yan niṣiṅcasi || 32 || atha vānaravīravai-

5 śasam) **na kṛtaṃ tena dayānu**(rodhinā | bṛhad ity avaghuṣyate kathaṃ jagataḥ kāraṇam īśvaras tvayā || 33 || api ca bhadra

6 sarvam ī) **śvarakṛtam iti p**(aśyataḥ | īśvare prasādāsā kā stutipraṇāmādyaiḥ | sa svayaṃ svayambhūṣ te yat karoti)

Verso

1 (tat ka) **rma** || **tvatkṛtātha ya**(d tījyā na tv asau tadakartā | ātmano hi vibhūtyā ya) **ḥ karoti sa kartā** || 35 || **īśvaraḥ kuru-**

2 te cet) **pātakāny akhilā**(ni | tatra bhaktiniveśaḥ kaṃ guṇaṃ nu samīkṣya || 36 || tāny adharmabhayād vā yady ayaṃ na karoti |

3 te) **na vaktum ayuktaṃ sarva**(m) **īśvarasṛṣṭam** || 37 || tasya ceśvaratā syād dharmataḥ parato vā | dharmato yadi na prāg īśva-

4 ra) **ḥ sa tato 'bhūt\*** **dāsa**(t) **ai**(va ca sā syād vā kriyeta pareṇa | syād athāpi na hetoḥ kasya neśvaratā syā-)

5 **t\*** || **evam api tu gate** (bhaktirāgād avigaṇitayuktāyuktasya | yadi kāraṇa) **m īśvara eva vi**(bh)ur j(a)gato (nikhi-)

6 *lasya tavābhima*(*taḥ | nanu nārhasi mayy adhiropayituṃ vihitam vibhunā kapirājavadhā || 40 ||*) **iti** sa mahātmā tam īśvara

### Translation of the fragment by J.S. Speyer<sup>11</sup>

‘Moreover, sir,

30. For the sake of happiness you pursue the objects you desire, and will not follow such things as are opposed to it. And it is for the same purpose that you attend on the king. And notwithstanding this, you dare deny causality!

31. And, if nevertheless you should persist in your doctrine of non-causality, then it follows that the death of the monkey is not to be ascribed to any cause. Why do you blame me?’

So with clear arguments the High-minded One confounded that advocate of the doctrine of non-causality. Then addressing to the believer in a Supreme Being, he said: ‘You, too, never ought to blame me, noble sir. According to your doctrine, the Lord is the cause of everything. Look here.

32, 33. If the Lord does everything, He alone is the killer of that ape, is He not? How can you bear such unfriendliness in your heart as to throw blame on me on account of the fault of another? If, however, you do not ascribe the murder of that valiant monkey to Him because of His compassionateness, how is it that you loudly proclaim, the Lord is the cause of this Universe?

Moreover, friend, believing, as you do, that everything is done by the Lord,

34. What hope have you of propitiating the Lord by praise, supplication, and the like? For the Self-born Being works those actions of yours himself.

35. If, however, you say, the sacrifice is performed by yourself, still you cannot disavow that He is the author of it. He who is self-acting out of the fullness of His power, is the author of a deed, no other.

36, 37. Again, if the Lord is the performer of all sins, however many there are committed, what virtue of His have you in view that you should foster devotion to Him? On the other hand, if it is not He who commits them, since He abhors wickedness, it is not right to say that everything is created by the Lord.

38, 39. Further, the sovereignty of the Lord must rest either on the lawful order of things (Dharma) or on something else. If on the former, then the Lord cannot have existed before the Dharma. If effected by some external cause, it should rather be called “bondage” for if a state of dependency should not bear that name, what state may not be called “sovereignty?”

<sup>11</sup> SPEYER 1895: 210–212.

Nevertheless, if in spite of this reasoning, attached to the doctrine of Devotion and without having well reflected on its probability or improbability,

40. You persist in holding the Supreme Being and Lord for the sole cause of the whole universe, does it, then, become you to impute to me the murder of that chief of monkeys, which has been decided by the Supreme Being?’

So reasoning with a well-connected series of conclusive arguments, the High-minded One struck dumb, so to speak, the minister who was an adherent of the Lord (Īśvara)-supreme cause. And turning to that minister who was a partisan of the doctrine of former actions, he addressed him in a very skillful manner, saying: ‘No more does it become you, too, to censure me. According to your opinion, everything is the consequence of former actions. For this reason, I tell you,

41. If everything ought to be imputed exclusively to the power of former actions, then this monkey has been rightly killed by me. He has been burnt by the wild fire of his former actions. What fault of mine is to be found here that you should blame me?’

## Abbreviations

SHT I: *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil I, ed. Ernst Waldschmidt unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Holzmann, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner 1965 (VOHD, X,1).

JM: *The Jātaka-mālā. Stories of the Buddha's Former Incarnations Otherwise Entitled Bodhisattva-avadāna-mālā by Ārya-Çūra*. Ed. by Kern H. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1891.

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Artiom Mesheznikov

## **Two Unpublished Fragments of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra in the Serindia Collection (IOM, RAS)**

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*Abstract.* Two newly identified fragments of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra from Central Asia are stored in the St. Petersburg's Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS under the call numbers SI 3045 and SI 4646. The uniqueness of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscript rarities lies in the fact that they represent the earliest known version of this popular Buddhist text of the Mahāyāna tradition. Found in the Southern oases of the Tarim Basin in a rather fragmented condition, the manuscripts of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra written in the Brāhmī script are currently scattered among various manuscript depositories of the world. Among the manuscripts of the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection eight fragments of this Sūtra have been identified so far, and this article aims to introduce two previously unpublished fragments. The fragments are parts of the pothi type folios of paper containing on both sides ten lines in Sanskrit recorded in the so-called Early Turkestan Brāhmī, and paleography permits to date these two manuscripts to the 5th c. AD. The set of codicological and paleographic features (the same number of lines and line spacing, identical writing style and form of Brāhmī akṣaras, similar paper characteristics and width of the fragments) allows to suggest that both fragments could belong to the folios of one and the same manuscript of Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra, or at least that they were created in one scriptorium. Moreover, these fragments also reveal similarities with other manuscripts of this sūtra in the Serindia Collection. The introduction of these newly identified Sanskrit fragments into scientific circulation will provide additional material for solving the problems related to the source studies of the Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra.

*Key words:* Central Asia, Khotan, Mahāyāna, Sanskrit manuscripts, Serindia Collection, Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra

Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra (“Sūtra of Golden Light”) is one of the most popular Buddhist sūtras of the Mahāyāna tradition throughout the history of Buddhism; it became widespread in Central Asia and the Far East in a large number of texts in various languages. Among them, certainly, of particular importance are Sanskrit manuscript rarities found in the oases of the Tarim Basin in the so-called Serindia area (the part of Central Asia currently spanning the Chinese province of XUAR) in the late 19th and early 20th cc. The Sanskrit originals of the Buddhist sūtras preserved in manuscripts from Central Asia are extremely valuable sources for studying and understanding the canonical period of the formation of Buddhist schools. This applies primarily to the Indian Mahāyāna. Sanskrit Buddhist canonical texts of the Mahāyāna tradition were being copied in monastic libraries of Serindia during the 1st millennium AD, and early versions of Buddhist sūtras, which in India itself were lost or replaced by newer variants, survived as manuscripts circulating in the oases of the Tarim Basin. In this regard, particularly the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in the Southern oases of Serindia with its center in Khotan, preserved archaic versions of the fundamental texts of Mahāyāna, which may provide the keys to understanding the early Mahāyāna Buddhism and studying its textual heritage. The same is true for manuscripts containing passages from the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra. Much remains uncertain about the origin and composition of the Sanskrit text of this Sūtra and the history of its different versions and their relationship. From this perspective, the Sanskrit texts that are extant as the manuscripts from the oases of the Tarim Basin are unique in the sense that the earliest parts of the currently available texts of Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra are found precisely in Central Asian manuscripts in Brāhmī dating from approximately the 5–6th cc. AD. This paper aims to introduce two previously unexplored fragments of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra kept in the St. Petersburg’s Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS under the call numbers SI 3045 and SI 4646.

The text of Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra was being formed and modified over the 1st millennium AD and it has a complex history of redaction and transmission as evidenced by various versions known through translations into numerous languages. Initially, some time before the beginning of the 5th c. the text was composed in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently,

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<sup>1</sup> Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit combines some elements of Middle Indic languages and dialects along with Sanskrit and has stable deviations from the classical Sanskrit grammar. Originally Buddhist tradition functioned in heterogeneous Prakrits — Middle Indic local

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the Sūtra was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese and Tibetan (at least three times into each of the two languages), and also into Japanese, Khotanese Saka, Sogdian, Old Uyghur, Mongol and Tangut. Moreover, several versions of *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* were included in the Chinese Buddhist canon and based on their contents ranging from 18 to 31 chapters in length, these versions can be designated as short, medium, and extensive.

The earliest known Chinese translation dates from 420 AD and is attributed to the Central Asian monk Dharmakṣema. This translation represents a short version, it consists of 18 chapters, and is considered to be the closest to the Central Asian Sanskrit fragments. Despite some relatively minor differences, the Sanskrit manuscripts found in Serindia agree with this translation almost entirely.

During the 6–7th cc. several additional translations were made into Chinese, in which the text of the sūtra was occasionally changed and expanded. The next, chronologically the second Chinese canonical version of the text of *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* is known to be a compilation of several translations made by the monk Baogui in 597. This “medium” version of the 18 chapters of the Dharmakṣema translation is supplemented with excerpts from the translations attributed to Paramārtha and Jñānagupta and includes additional chapters that are assumed to have been compiled and added in China.<sup>2</sup>

The most expanded version with 31 chapters is the third known Chinese translation completed in 703 by the Buddhist monk Yijing. This translation was subsequently highly influential in the process of spreading the Buddhist

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languages and dialects. But subsequently with the strengthening of the role of Sanskrit for Buddhism, the texts in Prakrits were being gradually Sanskritised. Through transformations in the process of oral transmission Sanskrit elements were penetrating more and more into Prakrit texts. Sanskritization was increasing exponentially, however some Prakrit elements were also retained, and Middle Indic forms were not completely purged. As a result, a written codification of Buddhist texts in an incompletely Sanskritised Prakrit formed an array of texts containing various ratios of Sanskritisms and Prakritisms. As for the language of Buddhist manuscripts in the Serindia Collection, although these manuscripts contain texts which mostly underwent changes in the direction of greater Sanskritisation, their language is quite separate and distinct enough from standardised Sanskrit. Words, forms of expression, grammatical features specific to the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and distinguishing it from the normative classical Sanskrit were stated in the seminal work “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary” by Franklin Edgerton (EDGERTON 1953), the author of the concept of “hybrid” Sanskrit as a characteristic applied to the language used in a class of Buddhist written monuments.

<sup>2</sup> *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* 2015: 249–250.

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teaching and served as the source text on which the Sogdian, Old Uyghur, Tangut, etc. translations were based.

In its most complete condition, the Sanskrit text of *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* is preserved not in Serindian written monuments, but in much later Nepalese manuscripts. For this reason, scientific studies of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* were based primarily on the material of the Nepalese manuscript tradition. Two known Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal attest to a relatively early stage in this tradition: the earliest, partially preserved palm-leaf manuscript held at the University of Cambridge dates from the 11th c. (so-called manuscript G), and the later one, the complete 1581 paper manuscript (manuscript J) kept in the Tōyō Bunkō Oriental Library.<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts G and J are both probably descended from a common ancestor and represent an archaic stage of the text, frequently preserving readings found in the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts.<sup>4</sup> By comparison with the bulk of later (late 17th — early 20th cc.) Nepalese manuscripts held in various collections, these two (mss. G and J) show a closer affinity to the more than 80 Central Asian Sanskrit fragments in Brāhmī, which roughly date from the second half of the 1st millennium AD.<sup>5</sup>

Manuscript G formed the basis of the most authoritative edition of the Sanskrit text of *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* prepared by the German scholar J. Nobel in 1937.<sup>6</sup> Two editions which were made prior to the publication of J. Nobel (the very first Indian edition of Ś.C. Dās and Ś.C. Śāstrī with only first fascicle being published in 1898 and Japanese edition prepared by B. Nanjio and published by H. Izumi in 1931) along with the edition by S. Bagchi (1967) were to some extent incomplete or less successful, so the researchers of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* mainly focus their studies on the work of J. Nobel. However, the Nobel edition is not ultimately comprehensive either, because for obvious reasons, namely, due to lack of research of the Central Asian manuscripts at that time, J. Nobel could not take into account a bulk of Sanskrit fragments written in Brāhmī. In this context, special attention should be paid to the edition prepared by the Norwegian scholar P.O. Skjærvø.<sup>7</sup> Relying on Nobel's work P.O. Skjærvø's edition is based on a much larger number of texts than that of J. Nobel, namely,

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<sup>3</sup> *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 2015: 249.

<sup>4</sup> SKJÆRVØ 2004: xxxvi.

<sup>5</sup> *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 2015: 249.

<sup>6</sup> See: NOBEL 1937.

<sup>7</sup> See: SKJÆRVØ 2004.

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numerous Central Asian fragments and not only in Sanskrit, but also in Khotanese Saka. This language was spread in the Southern oases of the Tarim Basin, especially in Khotan — a major Serindian center of Mahāyāna, where many manuscripts of the Serindia Collection were discovered.

Unlike the manuscripts from Nepal preserved in a relatively complete form, Central Asian manuscripts of *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* in Brāhmī script reached us fragmentarily, being scattered among various depositories of the world. In total, over 80 fragments are known now, most of them are stored in the British Library in London (more than 50 items).<sup>8</sup> Eight fragments have been registered so far in the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection. They are stored in four subcollections named after those scholars and diplomats who contributed to the formation of the St. Petersburg's collection of Serindian written monuments: three items are kept in the Petrovsky Collection (SI 1895; SI 3034/1; SI 3045); the other three items in the Lavrov Collection (SI 3329–1, 2, 3); one item in the Malov Collection (SI 4524); and one item in the Oldenburg Collection (SI 4646). The fragments from the Lavrov Collection were published by E.N. Tyomkin.<sup>9</sup> Two fragments under the call numbers SI 3045 and SI 4646, that appeared to contain excerpts from *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, have recently been identified by myself. At the same time, work on checking manuscripts of the Serindia Collection continues, and it is possible that some other fragments containing passages from *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* will be found in the near future.

### **Description of the fragments SI 3045 and SI 4646**

As has been established, two fragments kept in the Petrovsky and Oldenburg Collections respectively contain excerpts from *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*. Moreover, judging by a similar set of codicological and paleographic characteristics, both fragments could be parts of a single Sanskrit manuscript of *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* or at least could be copied in the same scriptorium. This is indicated by the similar number of lines and distance between them, by the features of paper material, by the same type of

<sup>8</sup> Apart from a larger number of Central Asian manuscripts preserved in the British Library some fragments of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* are kept in the following places in the world: Lüshun Museum, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Ryukoku University, Helsinki University Library (SKJÆRVØ 2004: xxxiii–xxxv).

<sup>9</sup> See: TYOMKIN 1995.

Brāhmī script (Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2), ca. 5–6th cc. AD)<sup>10</sup> and ductus of writing (proved by the similar size and forms of akṣaras).

**Fragment SI 3045** (Pl. 1, 2) measures 11.7×12.7 cm and represents the right edge of the pothi folio (right margin preserved: 0.7 cm). The text is put down in black ink on light brown paper, the fragment contains 10 lines on each side with the same line spacing (1.1 cm).

**Fragment SI 4646** (Pl. 3, 4) 11.7×12.4 cm in size belongs to the left edge of the pothi folio, which is indicated by the decorative circle (diameter: 3 cm) marking a binding hole that is always put in the manuscripts of pothi type closer to the left side of the folio. As in the previous fragment, the text is written on light brown paper with 10 lines on both sides, the distance between the lines is 1.1 cm.

It is important to note one additional point, which proves the assumption that both fragments could belong to one and the same manuscript of *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*. The following detail is of particular codicological interest: a gluing strip has been preserved on both fragments. Apparently, in order to make pothi folios of large size, they were glued together from several parts, which is confirmed by the presence of gluing lines. Most likely, folios of required size were first prepared by gluing, and after that the text was copied. Perhaps, after a while the glue dried up and parts of the folios separated from each other. In our two fragments, the gluing line is observed along the left edge of SI 3045 and in the case of SI 4646 this line can be seen on the right edge. In the course of work with the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection, similar cases were found, including relatively complete glued folios with gluing strips preserved in central parts of such manuscripts (strips are visible when folios are held up to a light). Although the Serindia Collection has rather few examples, but analyzing these samples, it can be assumed that this gluing procedure could be common for voluminous manuscripts with a large amount of text (for example, the folios containing *Prajñāpāramitā* texts in the Serindia Collection under the call numbers SI 2017 and SI 2019). Perhaps, this phenomenon was typical at a certain stage in the development of Serindian manuscript culture, and the production of large folios by gluing several parts was a necessary measure associated with the still insufficiently developed technology of producing paper material or with its shortage. At the same time, manuscripts of a later period (8–9th cc.) are written on completely preserved pothi folios of large

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<sup>10</sup> SANDER 2005: 135.

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size without any glue. Taking into account this codicological detail in conjunction with the other abovementioned external features, the fragments SI 3045 and SI 4646 are not only similar to each other but could also belong to the same manuscript as the fragments published by E.N. Tyomkin. Although these fragments are not connected with each other directly and represent different parts and chapters of text, most likely they once composed a single copy of the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*.

As already mentioned, the fragments SI 3045 and SI 4646 belong to different subcollections of the Serindia Collection, which suggests different circumstances and sources of obtaining these written monuments. According to the inventory of the collections of Sanskrit manuscripts of the IOM, RAS,<sup>11</sup> the fragment SI 4646 was brought to St. Petersburg along with the materials discovered during the S.F. Oldenburg's First Russian Turkestan Expedition (1909–1910) in the caves of Kyzyl-Karga. Of particular significance is the fact that the fragment SI 4646 was written in Early Turkestan Brāhmī (type 2), which was used for recording texts in the Southern oases of Serindia. But this fragment somehow came along with the materials found in Kyzyl-Karga located near the Northern oasis of Kucha, where other types of Brāhmī script were in use.<sup>12</sup> During the First Russian Turkestan Expedition S.F. Oldenburg visited the Northern oases of Serindia, and the Northern types of Brāhmī prevail in the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Oldenburg collection. In this regard, the manuscript SI 4646 presents a rare exception as its text is copied in the type of script which is typical for the Southern oases. From the report of S.F. Oldenburg<sup>13</sup> it is known that during the expedition he not only excavated, but also acquired manuscripts from local residents. It is impossible to say exactly how our fragment was found and ended up among the materials collected in Kyzyl-Karga. Most likely it was bought from locals or presented to S.F. Oldenburg during his expedition, but by its origin this manuscript belongs to the Southern oases of Serindia. This assumption is supported not only by the type of script, but also by the contents of the text. Mahāyāna sūtras including the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhā-*

<sup>11</sup> See: Spisok kollektzii Kokhanovskogo, Lavrova, Ol'denburga, Kolokolova, Berezovskogo, Klements, Kozlova (rukopisi Tsentral'noaziatskogo fonda na sanskrite) [List of the collections of Kohanovsky, Lavrov, Oldenburg, Kolokolov, Berezovsky, Clements, Kozlov (Sanskrit manuscripts of the Central Asian Collection)]. The Archives of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the IOM, RAS. Access number — Arch. 60. Inventory 1929.

<sup>12</sup> On Northern and Southern branches of Turkestan Brāhmī script see: SANDER 2005: 135.

<sup>13</sup> See: OLDENBURG 1914.

sottama-sūtra were intensively copied in the Southern Serindia, especially in Khotan, where the Mahāyāna was the dominating tradition, in contrast to the Northern oases, where the Hīnayāna predominated. Thus, even though the fragment SI 4646 was brought to St. Petersburg from the Northern Serindia, it is quite permissible to assume, judging by its script and contents, that this manuscript originates from the Southern oases.

The fragment SI 3045 belongs to the Petrovsky subcollection, which was accumulated through acquisitions of manuscripts in Khotan and Kashgar. It is noteworthy that being the Russian Consul General in Kashgar N.F. Petrovsky (1837–1908) played a significant role in collecting Sanskrit written monuments of Buddhism from the Southern oases of the Tarim Basin. N.F. Petrovsky acquired manuscripts through agents from among local treasure hunters and merchants, who obtained them mainly near Khotan, particularly, in the ancient Buddhist site at Khādalik. A bulk of Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia Collection had been found there and, presumably, our fragment SI 3045 was also discovered in Khotan.

When the fragments SI 3045 and SI 4646 were compared with the corresponding text of the well-known Nobel edition, it became clear that our fragments do not differ very noticeably from the published text, they show many similarities, and even verbatim coincidence in some places. Central Asian fragments have some differences from Sanskrit Nepalese texts mainly due to discrepancies between the standard Sanskrit of the Nepalese manuscripts and the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of the Serindian manuscripts. These differences, however, did not hinder identification of our fragments with certain passages from the chapters of Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra and reconstruction of the approximate appearance of the entire pothi folios to which the fragments belonged. Based on overlaps with the text most fully presented in the edition of J. Nobel, I was able to determine the approximate number of missing akṣaras on the lines of our fragments and to estimate the probable length of lines of complete folios. As a result, the average number of akṣaras per line was defined and, in both cases, almost similar figures were obtained (from 50 to 60 akṣaras per line). Considering the number of akṣaras per line, I managed to calculate the size of the entire folio: the average number and size of akṣaras along with the size of margins make it clear that the dimensions of the folios were originally roughly 11.7×40 cm.

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## Contents of the fragments

Upon comparing the text of our fragments with the Nobel edition, it became clear that the fragment SI 3045 follows the Nobel's text on pages 78–81, and the fragment SI 4646 corresponds to pages 209–215. Thus, our fragments contain text from two different chapters of *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, namely, from the sixth chapter “*Caturmahārāja-parivarta*” (“The Four Great Kings”) and the eighteenth chapter “*Vyāghrī-parivarta*” (“The Tigress”).

*Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* has a wide appeal due to a variety of useful teachings and richness of its contents. Probably it is the diversity of contents that makes this sūtra so popular. The sūtra's text covers such topics as basic tenets of Buddhist philosophical doctrines (*śūnyatā* “emptiness”, *pratīyasamutpāda* “the chain of causes and effects” etc.), the confession of sins (*uposatha*), considered as the core around which the sūtra was constructed, the praise of Buddhas, instructions for kings, stories about the early rebirths of Buddha Śākyamuni (*jātakas*) etc. *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* emphasizes tremendous benefits that derive from hearing, upholding, honoring this sūtra and protecting the sūtra's preacher. In this regard, in our fragment SI 3045 of the sixth chapter “*Caturmahārāja-parivarta*” the Four Great Kings (*Vaiśravaṇa*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, *Virūdhaka*, *Virūpākṣa*)<sup>14</sup> have a dialogue with the Buddha, talking about reverence to the sūtra and its preaching in relation to the world's welfare, and explaining the benefits for a human king and his kingdom accrued from honoring *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* and the preacher of the Law.

Being connected with everyday life, the *jātaka* stories attracted listeners and made preaching much easier. *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* comprises several such stories. Our second fragment SI 4646 presents an excerpt from the 18th chapter “*Vyāghrī-parivarta*”, which contains the well-known *jātaka* tale of the tigress. The story is about the Buddha's past life as prince *Mahāsattva*, the youngest of three princes. The story exemplifies the great compassion and self-sacrifice that are required of would-be bodhisattvas. According to the plot, in order to feed a hungry tigress and prevent her from eating her own cubs, prince *Mahāsattva* sacrificed his own body.

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<sup>14</sup> These four eminent Guardian Kings are celestial guardians, protecting the four cardinal points of the world (*lokapāla*).

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## Conclusion

Publication of Serindian Sanskrit manuscripts seems to be exceedingly important, since investigation of Sanskrit Buddhist texts can reveal new facts that will advance the study of the history of Buddhism and the cultural processes that took place in Ancient and Early Medieval India and Central Asia. As already noted, Serindian Sanskrit written monuments are valuable sources for studying the history of Buddhism in general and the tradition of Indian Mahāyāna in particular. Sanskrit manuscripts containing Mahāyāna sūtras are particularly important for advancing research on the period of time when Mahāyāna went beyond the boundaries of India and extended its influence to Central Asian countries. Scattered all over the world, Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts of Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra contribute substantially to the study of the history of composition and functioning of the text of this sūtra. And in this article we add two new fragments presumably belonging to a single copy. Each new fragment deserves special attention, primarily because there are no complete extant Central Asian manuscripts of the Sanskrit Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra. In such circumstances, the fragments SI 3045 and SI 4646 are undoubtedly exceptionally unique materials for solving the problems related to the source studies of the Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra.

Transliteration of the fragments, English translation, comparison with the corresponding text from the Nobel edition and facsimile are provided below.

## Transliteration, correspondences, and English translation

Symbols used in the transliteration:

( )	restored akṣara(s)
[ ]	akṣara(s) with uncertain reading(s)
+	one lost akṣara
..	one illegible akṣara
.	illegible part of an akṣara
///	beginning or end of a fragment when damaged
	daṇḍa – punctuation mark
	double daṇḍa — punctuation mark
*	virāma
‘	avagraha
:	visarga used as punctuation
○	decorative circle

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SI 3045 (Nobel 1937: 78.3–79.13, 79.14–81.2)

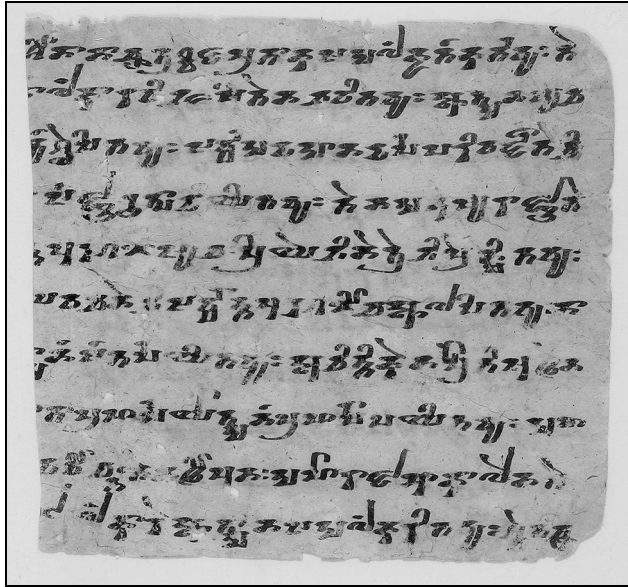
Recto

1. /// śo nānācchatradhvajapatāka samalaṃkṛtaṃ kartavyaḥ te-
2. /// (n)ālaṃkāravibhūṣitena bhavitavyaḥ ātmanasya ca
3. /// [r]yaṃ śleṣitavyaḥ sarvvamadamānadarpaparivarjite ci-
4. /// saṃjñā utpādayitavyaḥ tena manuṣyarājñā ta-
5. /// [t]a puragaṇasya ca priyebhi netrebhi prekṣitavyāḥ
6. /// [ya]vacane[bhi] sarvvāntapuragaṇo ca ālapitavyaḥ nā-
7. /// (t)[mā]naṃ saṃtarpayitavyaḥ acintikena prītisukhena
8. /// ..tā praharṣayātmanaṃ praharṣāpayitavyaḥ maha-
9. /// d avocat\* t[e][na] kho p(u)naḥ mahārājāhu kālena te
10. /// [ṇ]ālaṃkāre ātmāna samalaṃkaritavyaḥ [ś][v]etaccha-

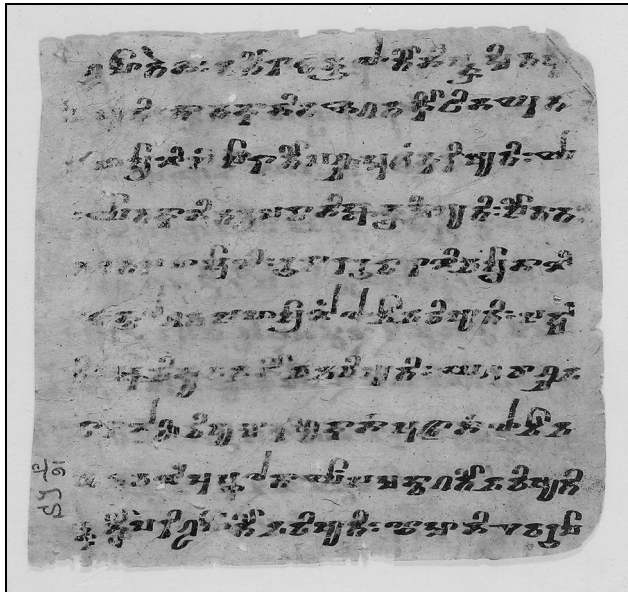
Nobel 1937, 78.3–79.13:<sup>15</sup> sa pradeśo **nānācchatradhvajapatākaiḥ samalaṃkartavyaḥ** | tena ca manuṣyarājñā susnātāgātreṇa bhavitavyaṃ sugandhavasānadhāriṇā navaruciravastraprāvṛtena **nānālaṃkāravibhūṣitena bhavitavyam** | **ātmanaś ca** nīcataram āsanaṃ prajñāpayitavyam | tatrāsane niṣīditvā rājyamadamattena na bhavitavyam | tatra rājyaiśvaryaṛaṅgeṇa na bhavitavyam | **sarvamānamadadarpavivarjitena cittenāyaṃ** suvarṇabhāsottamaḥ sūtrendrarājāḥ śrotavyaḥ | tasya ca dharmabhāṇakasya bhikṣor antike śāstr**saṃjñā utpādayitavyā** | **tena manuṣyarājñā tasmin** kāle tasmin samaye agramahiṣī rājaputrās ca rājaduhitaraś ca sarvāntaḥ**puragaṇāś ca priyahitābhyāṃ prekṣitavyāḥ** | priyavacanaiś cāgramahiṣī rājaputrās ca rājaduhitaraś cālāpayitavyāḥ | **priyavacanaiś ca sarvāntaḥpuragaṇā ālāpayitavyāḥ** | **nānāvicitraś ca** dharmāśravaṇapūjā ājñāpayitavyāḥ | acintyayā atulyayā prītyā**tmānaṃ saṃtarpayitavyam** | **acintyena prītisukhena** sukhāpayitavyam | sukhendriyeṇa ca bhavitavyam | **ātmanaś ca** mahābalena bhavitavyam | **mahatā praharṣeṇātmā praharṣayitavyaḥ** | **mahatā** premajātena dharmabhāṇakaḥ pratyutthātavyaḥ || evam ukte bhagavāṃś caturo mahārājña etad **avocat** || tasmimś ca khalu **punaḥ mahārājānaḥ kāle** tasmin samaye tena manuṣyarājñā sarvaśvetāni paṇḍarāṇi navaruciravastrāṇi prāvaritavyāni nānāvibhūṣaṇ**ālaṃkārair ātmā samalaṃkartavyaḥ** | **śvetacchatrāṇi** pariḡrhitavyāni |

<sup>15</sup> Hereinafter the text in bold letters shows the correspondences of the text from the Nobel edition to our fragments.





Pl. 1: A fragment of Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra from the Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Sub-Collection. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. SI 3045 *recto*



Pl. 2: A fragment of Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra from the Serindia Collection, Petrovsky Sub-Collection. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. SI 3045 *verso*

## Translation

“...That place should be adorned with various umbrellas, banners and flags. That king of men should have his body well-bathed, should wear perfumed garments, should put on new, brilliant clothes, and should be adorned with various ornaments. A lower seat should be prepared for him. When sitting on that seat, he must not be drunk with the sovereign power. There he should not be lusting for royal supremacy. With a mind removed from all arrogance, lust, haughtiness he should listen to this Suvarṇabhā-sottama, king of kings of sūtras. He should produce the notion of that preacher of the Law as his teacher. At that time, at that moment the king of men should look with his eyes full of pleasance and kindness at the queen, the princes and princesses, and the entire harem. With loving speech he should speak to his queen, the princes and princesses, and the entire harem. For listening to the Law he should order honors to be done. He should satisfy himself with inconceivable, unequalled contentment, should please himself with unimaginable love and happiness. He should possess happy senses and great power. He should rejoice himself with great joy. With great kindness he should stand up before the preacher of the Law.” When this had been spoken, Bhagavan said to the great kings: “Oh, great kings, furthermore, at that time, at that moment that king of men should be dressed in fully white-colored, new, brilliant clothes, should be adorned with many kinds of ornaments, should take white umbrellas...”

## Verso

1. /// grhītena tato rājakulāto niṣkramitavya
2. /// [ṣya]ti tāvakāni tathāgatakoṭinayuta-
3. /// (sa)hasrāṇi saṃsārāto paścāmukhaṃ kariṣyati : yā-
4. /// ..yātakāni ta[tra] padāni ākkramiṣyati : so tāta-
5. /// [ta](śa)[ta][sa][ha]srāṇi : udāra udārāni ca sthānāni
6. /// (rā)[ja]kulaśatasahasrāṇāṃ lābhī bhaviṣyati : sarvva-
7. /// .. āci.. vacano ca bhaviṣyati : yaśavāścā-
8. /// [d]ā[rā][ṇ]āñca divyamānuṣyakānāṃ sukhānāṃ lābhī bha-
9. /// [śu][bha]varṇapuṣkalatāyāṃ samanvāgato bhaviṣyati
10. /// [s]kandho parigrhīto bhaviṣyati : imāni eva rūpā-

Nobel 1937, 79.14–81.2: mahatā rājānubhāvena mahatyā rājavayūhayā nānāvicitramaṅgalaparigṛhītais **tato rājakulād abhiniṣkramitavyam** | tasya dharmabhāṅakasya bhikṣoḥ pratyudgamanāya gantavyam | tat kasya hetoḥ | yāvanti manuṣyarājā tatra padāny atikramiṣyati | tāvanti kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi **samsārāt** parānmukhāni bhaviṣyati | tāvatām cakravartirājakulakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇām lābhī bhaviṣyati | yāvanti sa **tatra padāny atikramiṣyati** tāvatām caiva dṛṣṭadhārmikāṇām acintyena mahatā rājyaiśvareṇa vivardhayiṣyate | anekāni kalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi **udārodārāṇām cāvasthānānām** saptaratnamayānām divyavimānānām lābhī bhaviṣyati | anekeṣām ca divyodārāṇām mānuṣyakāṇām **rājaputraśatasahasrāṇām**<sup>16</sup> **lābhī bhaviṣyati** | sarvatra ca jātiṣu mahaiśvaram prāptam bhaviṣyati | dīrghāyuskaś ca bhaviṣyati | cirajīvī ca bhaviṣyati | pratibhāṅavāṃś ca bhaviṣyati | ādeyavacanaś **ca bhaviṣyati** | yaśasvī ca bhaviṣyati | suviśālakīrtiś ca bhaviṣyati | praśamsanīyaś ca bhaviṣyati | sadevamānuṣāsurasya lokasya suhitaś ca bhaviṣyati | **udārodārāṇām ca divyamānuṣyakānām sukhānām lābhī bhaviṣyati** | mahābalaś ca bhaviṣyati | mahāvargabalavegadhārī abhirūpaś ca bhaviṣyati | prāsādiko darśanīyaś ca bhaviṣyati | paramayā **śubhavarṇapuṣkalatayā samānvāgato bhaviṣyati** | sarvatra ca jātiṣu tathāgatasamavadhānagato bhaviṣyati | sarvakalyāṇamitrāṇi ca pratilapsyate | aparimitaś ca puṇyaskandhaḥ **parigṛhīto bhaviṣyati** | **imāny evaṃ rūpāni** mahārājaguṇānuśamsāni sampāśyamānena tena rājñā dharmabhāṅako yojanāt pratyutthātavyaḥ |

## Translation

With great royal dignity and great royal appearance, having taken various auspicious items he should depart from that royal palace and approach the preacher of the Law. Why should he act this way? How many steps that king of men walks there, that great a number of hundred thousands of millions of Tathāgatas he propitiates.<sup>17</sup> That great a number of hundred thousands of millions of eons he will avoid the cycle of existence. That great a number of

<sup>16</sup> Read *rājakula-* for *rājaputra-* (NOBEL 1937: 80; SKJÆRVØ 2004: 122).

<sup>17</sup> This sentence is missing in the Nobel's text, but it is partially preserved in the third line of our fragment SI 3045 and is restored for translation according to P.O. Skjærvø's edition: *yāvanti manuṣyarājā tatra padāny atikramiṣyati tāvanti buddhakalpakoṭīniyutaśatasahasrāṇi ārāgayiṣyati* (SKJÆRVØ 2004: 122).

hundred thousands of millions of royal palaces of Cakravartin he will obtain. How many steps he goes, over that great a number of rulers he will increase in inconceivable royal power. And for numerous hundred thousands of millions of eons he will obtain exalted residences, and aerial cars made of the seven jewels. He will obtain numerous hundred thousands of exalted divine and human palaces. In all his births he will acquire great royal power. He will be long-lived. His life will be long. He will possess eloquence, his speech will be agreeable. He will be famous, his fame will be widespread everywhere. He will be praiseworthy. He will be blessed in the world of gods, men, and demons. He will get the highest blessings of gods and men. He will possess great powers. He will be handsome and will hold the strength and power of great crowds. He will be kind and good-looking. He will be endowed with supreme, fully splendid appearance. In all his births he will meet with Tathāgatas. He will obtain all good counsellors. He will obtain an unmeasurable heap of merit. Because of seeing these, such great royal virtues and privileges, that king should pass a whole *yojana*<sup>18</sup> to meet that preacher of the Law.

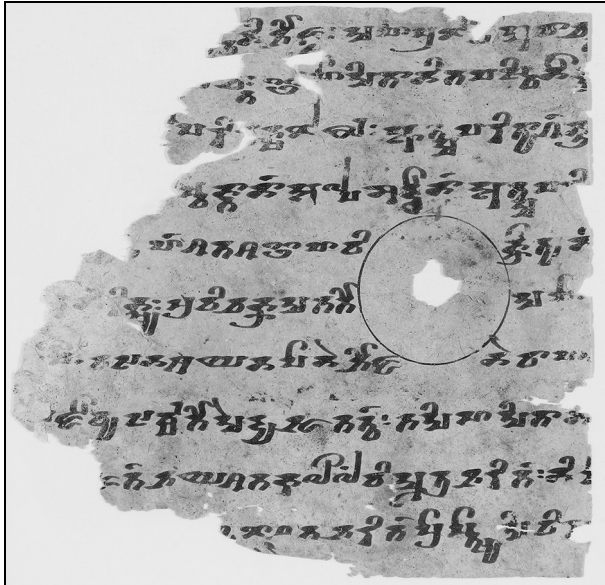
**SI 4646** (Nobel 1937, 209.2–212.2; 212.3–215.7)

Recto

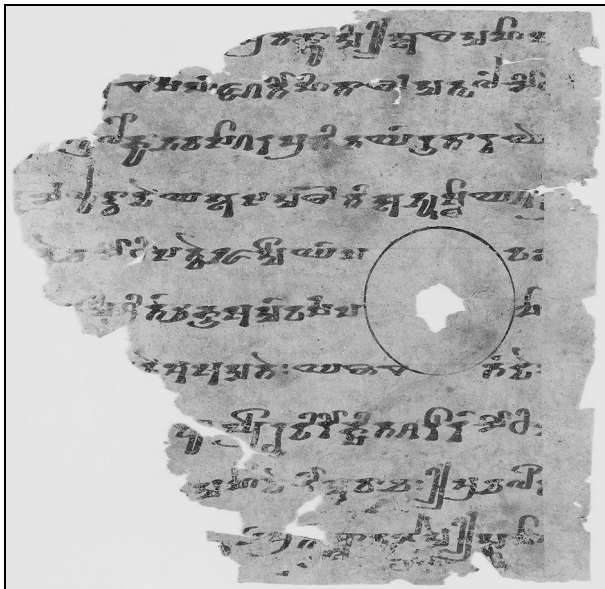
1. /// (s)v(i)ni bhoja : mahāpraṇ[ā]d[o]-m<sup>19</sup>-uvāca .. ///
2. /// ..c(a)t\* ih[ai]ṣā tāni tapasvīnī [kṣ] ///
3. /// pari[r]akṣaṇārtha : ātmaparityāgaṃ ku ///
4. /// ṣvaktānāṃ alpabuddhīnāṃ atmapari ///
5. /// ..haṃ śataśa iha vi○kkṛīya[n].. ///
6. /// [nu][ni]rikṣya : praviccakrama tato ○ ma[h]ā ///
7. /// ..[ṣī] : vasanaśayanapāne bhoja○ne vāha ///
8. /// ..[pa]jīvyā sarvvato medya bhūtatvaṃ : tam iha-m itā[n]+ ///
9. /// (bh)[ū]taṃ bhayaśatakalilaṃ vimūtrabhāritaṃ : ni.. ///
10. /// [gu]ṇaśatabharitaṃ prāpsyāmi vi[r]+ ///

<sup>18</sup> *Yojana* is a distance which is regarded according to some calculations to be equal to 4–5 miles; based on other calculations it is equal to 2 miles or even to 9 miles (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899: 858).

<sup>19</sup> In Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit such use of consonants inserted between separate words (commonly -m-; -r-; more rarely -d-; -n-; -y-) Edgerton defines as ‘inorganic’ sandhi-consonants or ‘Hiatus-bridgers’ (EDGERTON 1953: 35).



Pl. 3: A fragment of Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra from the Serindia Collection, Oldenburg Sub-Collection. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. SI 4646 *recto*



Pl. 4: A fragment of Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra from the Serindia Collection, Oldenburg Sub-Collection. The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. SI 4646 *verso*

Nobel 1937, 209.2–212.2: kim asyās tapasvinyā **bhojanam** | **mahāpraṇāda uvāca** | māmsāny uṣṇāni rudhiraṃ ca saṃtaptam bhaved yad iha etad bhojanam uktam vyāghrainatarkṣurkṣagrdhrasiṃhānām | mahādeva uvāca | **ihaiśā tapasvīnī kṣuttarṣaparigataśarīrā** alpaprāṇāvaśeṣā paramadurbalā na śakyam anayā sthāne bhojanam anveṣṭum | ko ‘syāḥ prāṇaparirakṣaṇārtham **ātmaparityāgam** kuryād iti | mahāpraṇāda uvāca | bho duṣkara ātmaparityāgaḥ | mahāsattva uvāca | asmadvidhānām duṣkaro jīvitaśarīrābhiṣvaktānām **alpabuddhīnām** eṣa nayaḥ | anyeṣāṃ punar **ātmaparityāgābhirūdhānām** parahitābhiyuktānām satpuruṣāṇām na duṣkaraḥ | api ca || kṛpākaruṇasamudgatāryasattvā divi bhuvī ceha ca labhyante svadeham | **śataśa iha** karonti nirvikāraṃ muditamanāḥ parajīvitārtham || 5 || atha te rājakumārāḥ paramasaṃvignās tāṃ vyāghrīm ciram animiṣam **anunirīkṣya pracakramuḥ** | **tato mahāsattvasyaitad** abhūt | ayam idānīm kāla ātmaparityāgasya | kutaḥ || suciram api dhṛto ‘yaṃ pūtikāyo mahārhaiḥ **śayanavasānpānair bhojanair vāhanaiś** ca | śatanapatana dharmo bheda nānto duranto na vijahati apūrvaṃ svaṃ svabhāvaṃ kṛtaghnaḥ || 6 || api ca || nāstī tasyo **pajīvyam sarvato mīḍhabhūtāt** | **tam aham** idānīm satkarmaṇi saṃniyokṣye | tan me janmamaraṇasamudrottaraṇapotabhūto bhaviṣyati || api ca || tyaktvāham gaṇḍabhūtaṃ **bhavaśatakaliṭam viḍmūtrabharitaṃ niḥśāraṃ** phenakalpaṃ kṛmīśatabharitaṃ kāyaṃ kṛtanudam | niḥśokaṃ nirvikāraṃ nirupadhim amalaṃ dhyānādibhiḥ guṇaiḥ saṃpūrṇaṃ dharmakāyaṃ **guṇaśatabharitaṃ prāpsyāmi virajam** || 7 || sa khalv evaṃ kṛtavavyavasāyaḥ paramakaruṇāparigatahṛdayaḥ tayor vikṣepaṃ cakāra |

## Translation

“What kind of food would be suitable for this poor creature?” Mahāpraṇāda replied: “It is said that fresh meat and hot blood are the food of tigers, hyenas, bears, vultures and lions.” Mahādeva said: “The body of this wretch is afflicted with hunger and thirst, and life is barely glimmering in her. She is too weak and cannot search for food. Who would dare to give his life to save her?” Mahāpraṇāda said: “Self-sacrifice is a difficult thing.” Mahāsattva said: “For people like us, weak-minded and attached to life and body, such an act is difficult. But that is not difficult for noble men immersed in self-sacrifice, devoted to the welfare of others. Moreover, moved by pity and compassion, noble beings attain their bodies in heaven

and on earth, and their joyful minds work hundredfold and unwaveringly for the benefit of life of others.” The depressed princes gave the tigress a long look without blinking and walked away. But then Mahāsattva thought: “Now is the time to sacrifice myself. Why? Although I maintained this impure body for a long time with expensive food, luxurious clothes, beds and chariots, finally being bound to collapse, decay, splitting and evil end, this ungrateful body never gives up its nature. This body is of no use, it is covered with impurities, and now I will sacrifice it to a good cause. It will serve me as a boat for crossing the ocean of birth and death. Moreover, by sacrificing this body, which is like an abscess, abounding with a hundred existences, filled with urine and feces, like foam containing no essence, teemed with hundreds of worms, consuming its acts, I will obtain a sorrowless, changeless, incorrupt, flawless, fully endowed with meditation and hundreds of other good qualities pure body of the Law.” Then having made a mental resolve and with the great compassion spread in his heart he asked his brothers to leave him...

#### Verso

1. /// [p]ravekṣyāmī || atha mahā[s](a) ///
2. /// (l)[ ] eṣo ‘haṃ jagato hitārtham atulāṃ bo.. ///
3. /// tr(ai)lokyabhavasāgarapratibhayāṃ utāraye ///
4. /// .[o] durbalyad vādeya asamartheti abhyūsthāya śa(st)[r] ///
5. /// [t](r)[e] ca bodhisatve bhūmīyaṃ pa○va[n] ///
6. /// ..miśritaṃ ca kusumaṃ varṣa pa○pā ///
7. /// [t](v)eṣu sumate : yathā e○taṃ de.. ///
8. /// vy[ā]ghrī rudi-rokṣitaśārīraṃ bodhi.. ///
9. /// mahādevo-m-uvāca : || pracali.. ///
10. /// .. [s]ampra[t](aṃ) bhrā[tr][n]ā me || mahā ///

Nobel 1937, 212.2–215.11: gacchatāṃ bhavantau svakāryeṇaḥ dvādaśavanagulmaṃ **pravekṣyāmi** || **atha mahāsattvo** rājakumāras tasmād upavanāt pratinivṛtya vyāghryā ālayam upagāmya vanalatāyāṃ prāvaraṇam utsrjya praṇidhānam cakāra || **eṣo ‘haṃ jagato hitārtham atulāṃ bodhim** bubhutsuḥ śivāṃ kāruṇyāt pradadāmi niścalamatir dehaṃ parair dustyajam | labhye bodhim anāmayaṃ jinasutair abhyarcitāṃ nirjvarāṃ **trailokyāṃ bhavasāgarāt pratibhayād uttārayeyam** aham || 8 || iti || atha vyāghryā abhimukhaṃ mahāsātvaḥ prapatitaḥ | tato vyāghrī maitrīvato bodhisattvasya na kiṃcic cakre | tato bodhisattvo **durbalā vateyam asamarthety utthāya**

śastram paryeṣate | krpāmatir na kvacic chastram alabhat | so ‘tibalāṃ  
varṣāsātikāṃ vaṃśalatāṃ grhītvā tayā svagalam utkr̥tya vyāghrīsamīpe  
papāta | prapatitamātre **ca bodhisattve bhūmir iyaṃ pavanavihateva** nauḥ  
salilamadhye gatā ṣaḍvikāraṃ pracacāla | rāhugrasta iva divākaraḥ kiraṇair  
na vibhrājate | divyagandhacūrṇasaṃmiśritaś **ca kusumavarṣaḥ papāta** ||  
athānyatarā vismayāvarjitamānasā devatā bodhisattvaṃ tuṣṭāva ||

yathā kāruṇyaṃ te viśṛtam iha **sattveṣu sumate yathā** vai tad **dehaṃ** tyajasi  
naravīra pramuditaḥ | śivaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ sthānaṃ jananamaraṇārthair virahitaṃ  
nirāyāsaḥ śāntas tvam iha nacirāt prāpsyasi śubham || 9 || atha khalu sā  
**vyāghrī rudhiramrakṣitaśarīraṃ bodhisattvam** avekṣya muhūrtamātreṇa  
nirmāmsarudhiram aस्थ्यavaśeṣaṃ cakāra || atha mahāpraṇādas taṃ  
bhūmikampam anuniśamya **mahādevam** idam avocat || **pracalati** sasamudrā  
sāgarāntā yatheyam

vasumati daśadikṣu luptaraśmiś ca sūryaḥ | patati kusumavarṣaṃ vyākulaṃ  
vā mano me

svatanur iha viśṛtaḥ **sāmprataṃ bhrātrṇā me** || 10 || **mahādeva** uvāca |  
yathā ca sa karuṇavaco hy avocata samīkṣya tām svatanayabhakṣaṇodyatām |  
kṣudhānvitām vyasanaśataiḥ pratāpitaṃ sudurbalāṃ matir iha saṃśayālu me  
|| 11 ||

## Translation

“Go away, you brothers, and I will enter upon my own business in the Dvadashavanagulma forest.” Then Prince Mahāsattva returned from that part of the forest and set out for the lair of the tigress, hung his clothes on a forest creeper and took a vow: “For the benefit of the world desirous of obtaining the peace of excellent enlightenment, with compassion and unwavering mind, I offer my body as a sacrifice, so difficult for others to make. May I obtain enlightenment, free from disease, so revered by the Buddha-sons, feverless and convey the triple world across the fearful ocean of births.” Then Mahāsattva lay down before the tigress, but she did nothing to the compassionate Bodhisattva. Filled with compassion, he considered that the tigress was too weak and incapacitated, so he got up and sought all around for a weapon. But mercy-minded could not find any. Then he took a hundred years old, strong bamboo stick, pierced his throat with it and fell down before the tigress. As soon as the Bodhisattva had fallen down, the earth like a boat tossed by winds in the midst of the ocean, shook in six ways. The sun,



as if caught by the demon Rāhu, no longer shone with its rays. Flowers mixed with divine perfumed powders rained down. Then the goddess, with a mind filled with amazement, praised the Bodhisattva: “Oh, noble-minded one, as your compassion here has embraced all living beings, as you gladly sacrifice your body, the best among men, soon trouble-free and peaceful you will obtain the serene, supreme, fair place, free from the meanings of birth and death. Then the tigress saw the bloodied body of the Bodhisattva and immediately swallowed his flesh and blood with only bones left. Mahāprañāda perceived the earthquake and said to Mahādeva: “As the earth with the seas as far as the ocean shook in the ten directions, the sun lost its rays, a rain of flowers has fallen from the sky, my mind is disturbed, my brother has now sacrificed his body here.” Mahādeva said: “With what a compassionate voice he spoke when seeing the tigress ready to devour her own cubs, afflicted with hunger and innumerable troubles. My mind is weak, I have doubt here”.

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Igor V. Gerasimov

**A Manuscript about Sufi Sheikh Miracles  
from R. Fakhretdinov's Archive  
in the Collection of the IOM, RAS**

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*Abstract:* Rizaeddin Fakhretdinov (1859–1936) is one of the most prominent figures among Muslim scholars at the turn of the 19–20th cc. whose sphere of scientific interests was biographies. Among the materials of R. Fakhretdinov on the preparation of his famous work “Asar” there are texts related to Sufism, and of particular interest are descriptions of the miracles performed by Muslim righteous men. One of the documents about the miraculous deeds of a righteous man named Abd al-Latif b. Subhankul b. Ramkul under the title (Fī bayān manāqib ‘al-‘imām ‘al-shaiḥ ‘al-kāmil) “Explanation of the virtues of al-Imam al-Sheikh al-Kamil” (the Imam, the Sheikh who should be followed) is stored in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in the archive of R. Fakhretdinov (Fund 131, Inventory 1). The stories in many ways resemble or even coincide with similar Sufi texts from other Muslim countries. This is a sign of cultural and ideological interaction between brotherhoods, as well as transmission of the perfect image of Sufi righteous men. In addition, miracles and their number enhanced the importance of a sheikh — mentor in the eyes of his followers and made his authority undeniable. It is worth mentioning that the text is written in a good Arabic literary language, which testifies to a high education level of the author. The present article contains a short biography of Rizaeddin Fakhretdinov, facsimile publication of the text and its translation into English.

*Key words:* miracles, Sufism, Islam, biographies, Tatar-Bashkir, Rizaeddin Fakhretdinov, Asar

In Sufi circles, the ability to perform miracles was one of the qualities of a preceptor and righteous man. Information about miracles was collected in biographies of the most influential sheikhs. People followed such men, whose deeds were recorded by scholarly authors.

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One of the brightest figures among Muslim scholars who worked at the turn of the 19th–20th is Rizaeddin Fakhretdinov (1859–1936). He is the author of the well-known voluminous work “Asar” (“Traces”), in which he managed to collect biographies of the most famous people, mostly Muslims of the Russian Empire. The biography of this outstanding man explains the reasons for his early interest in Islamic teachings and his desire to bring to his contemporaries and new generations information about the people famous for the dissemination of Islamic knowledge.

R. Fakhretdinov was born in the village Kichuchatovo, Bugulma district, Samara region on January 4, 1859, in a family of pious people, as his grandfather and father were local imam-khatibs. The boy was sent to school early, where he had the opportunity to study the Quran and the Arabic language, as well as to gain knowledge of Islamic sciences.

Then Rizaeddin Fakhretdinov continued his studies at the madrasa of Chistopol, and in the period of 1869–1889 he himself tried to combine study and teaching. At the same time, the young man got acquainted with newspapers addressed to a Muslim audience, in particular with publications of Ismail Gasprinsky (1851–1914) in “Terjiman” (“Translator”).<sup>1</sup> In the last years of his studies and later, the future scientist and publicist was fascinated by the heritage of the Tatar thinkers A. Kursavi (1776–1812),<sup>2</sup> Sh. Marjani (1818–1889).<sup>3</sup> The ideas of such major theologian reformers as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839–1897) and Muhammad Abdo (1849–1905) also aroused great interest in him.<sup>4</sup>

In 1887 he published his first book, which was devoted to the Arabic language. In 1891 R. Fakhretdinov moved to Ufa, where he worked as a judge-qadi and in the same year he received the title of akhun. During the last decade of the 19th c. he was fortunate to meet the poet Miftakhaddin Akmulla (1831–1885), teacher and public figure Zainulla Rasulev (1833–1917), who also, like R. Fakhretdinov, came from a religious family. Later, R. Fakhretdinov in his works warmly spoke of this scientist, teacher, and Sufi. Fate also brought him together with Armin Vamberi (1832–1913), a famous Hungarian traveler and a major specialist in Turkic languages, who traveled to the Bashkir region in 1895.

<sup>1</sup> The newspaper “Terjiman” (The Translator) was published from 1883 to 1918 in Bakhchisaray.

<sup>2</sup> Abunnasyr Kursavi was a Tatar theologian and educator.

<sup>3</sup> Shigabutdin Marjani was a Tatar Muslim educator and scholar.

<sup>4</sup> Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abdo were Muslim scholar-reformers.

In 1905–1906. Fakhretdinov moved to Orenburg, where he became assistant editor of the newspaper “Vakit” (“Time” 1906–1918), published in the Tatar language, and in 1908–1917, he himself edited the magazine “Shuro” (“Council” 1908–1917), owned by Zakir Rameyev (1859–1921). In this magazine, he published 179 articles about representatives of Tatar culture and religion. In 1917 he was actively involved in social life of the Bashkir region.

In 1922 he was elected Mufti of the Central Religious Administration of Muslims of Inner Russia and Siberia.

In 1926 he participated in the First World Muslim Congress as the head of the Soviet Muslim delegation. In the same year, he made the Hajj. He finished his scholarly and life journey as Mufti of Russia and Siberia in Ufa in 1936. He rests in the Muslim cemetery in Ufa.

The main published work by R. Fakhretdinov is “Asar”<sup>5</sup>, and its several volumes were printed in 1900–1909. In terms of genre, it can be classified as a biographical dictionary.

In addition to his individual work on collecting necessary materials for the preparation of this huge work, he asked all his colleagues, friends, acquaintances, parishioners of mosques in those settlements that he visited, to provide him with written testimonies, memoirs, and other texts from their private archives that contained biographies of Muslim scholar-theologians, imams, teachers, and judges. Many people responded and sent him genealogical trees of their prominent relatives, information about their Hajj and public activities. Some of these materials were letters of correspondence between imams, theologians and Sufis. There were also texts related to Sufism.

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences contains a significant number of documents related to R. Fakhretdinov's activities in preparing his famous work “Asar”. They are kept in the Archive of Orientalists (Fund 131).

Among the documents found in the collection, along with texts in Russian and Tatar, there are documents written only in Arabic, or in Arabic and Tatar. Altogether there are 30 texts in Arabic, and 22 texts mixing Arabic and Tatar.

The subject matter of the texts varies. The most interesting Sufi text that combines biographical information about a sheikh-mentor and the miracles (karamat) performed by him is the “Explanation of the virtues of al-Imam

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<sup>5</sup> “Asar” in Arabic means “traces, monuments”.

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al-sheikh al-kamil” (the Imam, the Sheikh who should be followed) (Fī bayān manāqib ‘al-‘imām ‘al- shaiḥ ‘al-kāmil). It reports on the life and miraculous deeds of ‘Abd al-Latif b. Subhankul b. Ramkūl. The second volume of R. Fakhretdinov’s biographical dictionary contains information about him, but there is practically no information about his Sufi activities in the text.<sup>6</sup>

The manuscript is written in good literary Arabic on three sheets of paper and is dated 1895. The author of the text was the son of Hajji Mullah Isa al-Kama. The descriptions of miracles are very colorful and resemble those found in other texts similar in spirit and style, for example, in the Sudanese material in Ibn Daifallah’s “Tabaqat”, in which they are included in the main text of the biographies of righteous people.<sup>7</sup>

In many respects the plots with miraculous deeds resemble or even coincide with those in similar Sufi texts in other Muslim countries. This fact proves the existence of a cultural and ideological interaction between brotherhoods, which includes transmission of ideas about righteous Sufis from one brotherhood to another. Rizaeddin Fakhretdin was certainly familiar with this text, but it was not included by him in the main body of his work “Asar”.

This text expands our understanding of Sufi life at that time, clarifies the relations of Sufi sheikhs with their followers, the transmission of knowledge, and the qualities that a true righteous man should possess, even if some of them were attributed to him and were of a supernatural nature.

## Translation from Arabic into English

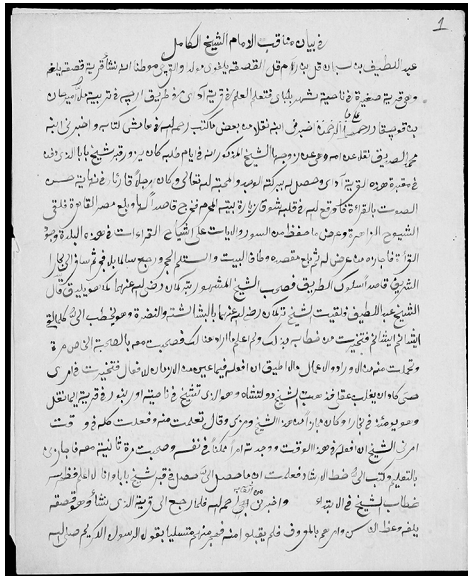
### **Explanation of the virtues of al-Imam ash-sheikh al-kamil (the Imam, the Sheikh who should be followed)**

[f. 1] Abd al-Latif b. Subhankul b. Ramkul. Al-Kasaka is his birthplace and al-Karj is his ancestral nest. The village of Kasaka Yalgi arose there. It is a small village in the *nahiya*<sup>8</sup> Shaharbekbai. He studied sciences in the village of Adai on the way to Arachi, while he was brought up by Mullah Amirkhan b. Kauchak, may the Almighty have mercy on him.

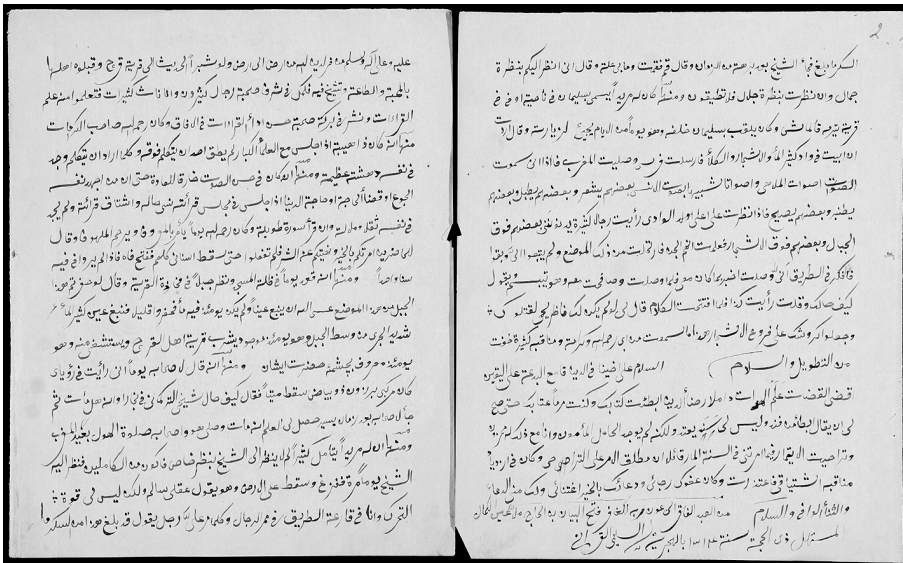
<sup>6</sup> FAKHRUDDIN 1901–1909: vol. 2, no. 265.

<sup>7</sup> GERASIMOV 2018: 294–296, 331, 349, 351, 366.

<sup>8</sup> Nahiya is a territorial and administrative unit corresponding to a parish.



Pl. 1. Archives of Orientalists, IOM RAS, Fund 131, opus' 1, N 1, f. 192a



Pl. 2. Archives of Orientalists, IOM RAS, Fund 131, opus' 1, N 1, f. 192b and 193a

I was informed by his son, and he learned it from his notes, may Allah have mercy on him, from a commentary on his book. And I was informed by his son Muhammad as-Sadiq of the words of his mother, and she [learned] from her husband — the mentioned Sheikh, that during his days of study he used to visit the grave of Sheikh Baba, who was buried in the cemetery of this village of Adai. He received a *baraka* from him with the joy and love of the Almighty for him. And he was a man of reading and he had a beautiful voice when he read. A passion to reach the Kaaba filled his heart, and he set out there. He reached Cairo in Egypt. There he met the sheikhs of al-Azhar and before the scholars who practiced the art of reading in that country, he showed his mastery of reading the surahs and ayats, which he knew by heart. He recited in chant and was given an *ijazah*<sup>9</sup> for what he demonstrated before them.

Then he reached the goal of his journey and made *tawaf* around the Kaaba, kissed the Black Stone and returned unharmed without succumbing to vice. Then he went to pious Bukhara, intending to follow the Way [of the Righteous]. He accompanied a sheikh known as Turkoman, may Allah be pleased with them both. “As was befitting”, said sheikh Abd al-Latif, “I saw sheikh Turkoman, may Allah be pleased with them both, and he was with a radiant and fresh face. Whenever he met me he would say: ايشانم ايشانم and I was confused by his words and I did not know what he meant by them”.

One day I accompanied him, and it was just the two of us. I perceived from him the *viridas*<sup>10</sup> and the acts which I could not perform in the time allotted for performing these acts. I was so absorbed in it, that the thoughts of the deeds almost completely overwhelmed my mind. Then I went to sheikh Daulatshah, and he became sheikh in the *nahiya* of Urabnur in the village of al-Manikal, and at that time [he] was in Bukhara.

He was getting *ijazah* from the same sheikh [meaning sheikh Turkoman — *I.G.*] and his teaching. He went with me and said: “I learned from him and performed all the deeds in the time in which he ordered me to perform them”. Then I realized that it was possible to perform [what had been assigned] myself.

I escorted the sheikh a second time, staying alone and he gave me an *ijazah* to teach and signed a letter of instruction. I found out that what had happened to me had happened in Sheikh Baba's tomb, but I did not know

<sup>9</sup> Ijazah — recognition of scientific achievements and permission to teach relevant aspects.

<sup>10</sup> Vird — a short prayer.



that. And the mystery of the beginning of the Sheikh's speech became clear. And he, may Allah have mercy on him, informed me.

And when he returned to the village where he grew up, which is Kasaka Yalgi, he preached to people and watched that they did not do anything sinful. But they did not accept him. He departed from them, comforted by the words: "Messenger of the Most Gracious, may Allah bless [f. 2] him and his kin, and welcome!" "He who flees with faith in Allah from one land to another by even one span..." [And this is the text from] *hadith*. And he came to the village of Karaj and its people received him with love and obedience. He became a sheikh in it.

He achieved heights of honor shown by many men and many women who, thanks to him, achieved excellence. He gave *baraka* to those who followed him in mastering the science.

And he, may Allah have mercy on him, performed miraculous deeds *karamat*. And for that he was treated with respect. If he sat down with knowledgeable scholars, no one dared to speak except him. Whenever he wanted to make a speech, he made himself admired, thanks, among other things, to his beautiful extraordinary voice.

And even if someone was hungry, in need and burdened by worldly affairs in this near life, but sat down with him in the *majlis* during his recitation, he forgot what was happening to him and longed for recitation and felt no heaviness and fatigue in his soul, even when the sheikh recited a long surah. One day he, may Allah have mercy on him, making sure that no sinful thing is done and showing pity to the one in distress, [he] said to those present: "I have ordered you to do good and forbidden you to do evil, but you have not complied, so all my teeth have fallen out". And when he opened his mouth the people did not see a single tooth in it.

One of his miraculous deeds is that one day he was sitting in the shadow of a mosque, looking at a mountain in the vicinity of the village, and said: "If you dig a hole in the mountain at this place, it is possible that a spring will come up there". And at that time there was no water there. When a small hole was dug in the place pointed out by him, a mighty stream poured out of the middle of the mountain. Since then, the spring existed and the villagers of al-Karaj have been drinking from it. Thanks to this water, the ailments are cured. Since that time, it has been known as Yachshim Hazrat Ishan.

Of his miraculous deeds and what he once told his followers: "I dreamed that my horse, of white color, had fallen dead," and he asked: "How is sheikh al-Turkoman doing in Bukhara, is he not dead?" According to my

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information [it followed that] he was dead. And suddenly sheikh Turkoman appeared before his followers on his own feet. Then he and his companions performed the prayer of fear after the sunset prayer.

And of his miraculous deeds is that he had a *murid*<sup>11</sup> who was very eager to become perfect by the look with which the sheikh would look at him. And one day the Sheikh looked at him, and [the murid — *I.G.*] became frightened and fell down. The *murid* said: “My mind is sound, but I have no strength to move and I [find myself] in the middle of the road in a place where men walk. And whenever a man passed by me, he would utter: “And this one is a drunkard, [f. 3] who has reached an extreme degree of intoxication”. Very soon the sheikh came and said: “Get up!” I got up safe. The sheikh said: “I look at you with the gaze of beauty, and if I look with the gaze of grandeur, you will not be able to cope with it”.

And also of his wonders is that he had a murid whose name was Sulaiman in the *nahiya* of Ufa in the village of Tirmakalmash. And he nicknamed Sulaiman *khalifa* so that he would someday make a visit (*ziyara*). And that [*murid*] said: “I wanted to spend the night in a valley with abundant water and plenty of trees and pasture. I let my horse loose and prayed the evening prayer [salat al-maghrib] and, behold, I heard a sound accompanying the revelry and sounds similar to those of men: someone reciting poetry, someone beating a drum, someone playing a lute, someone shouting in a loud voice. And when I looked at the highest point of the valley, I saw many men approaching me. Some were over the mountain, some over the trees, and I guessed they were jinns. I set off [away] from the place, but they did not follow me and stayed behind. On the way I reflected that when I reached [the sheikh] I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived, I greeted him by the hand and he smiled and asked: “How are you doing?” I replied, “I saw such things...!” When I started to speak, he told me, “If you did not have someone watching [you — *I.G.*] ready to save you, they would have killed you by tying you to the branches of the trees”.

This is all I have heard from my father, may Allah have mercy on him.

Miraculous deeds and virtues abound. I will refrain from continuing and peace... Peace to our brother in the faith, suppressing heresy in favor of trustworthy knowledge, the most faithful of judges, the pillar of the suffering Mullah Rida al-Din.

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<sup>11</sup> Murid — a student, follower of sheikh.

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And I almost stopped writing to you, and was about to censure you, and would have deserved to be said of me, “He is slower than Fanad”.<sup>12</sup> And I have no support and would have been right in saying, but I have not found a faithful host, and I am sad. And I have apologized, and your forgiveness is desired, and your prayer for good is filled with goodness, and for you are my prayer, gratitude and peace.

From a servant who cries out for the help of the Lord All-preserving. Given by the son of Hajji Mullah Isa al-Kamal at the beginning of the month of Zu al-Hijja in 1312 of the Islamic Qur’anic year according to Hijra [corresponds to the summer of 1895 — *I.G.*].

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<sup>12</sup> Fanad is Aisha’s servant, the daughter of Sa’ad b. Abi Uakkas, who was sent to fetch fire and did not return with it until a year later. It is a symbol of slowness and unhurriedness.

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Yaser H. Akel

## From the “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” to “The Canon of Medicine”

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*Abstract:* The article is devoted to the Arab medical written monument of the Middle Ages — “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” by the physician and polymath Abu Sahl Isa b. Yahya al-Masihi (approx. 970–1010). Of special interest is the first chapter titled “The Book of Introduction to the Art of Healing”. In this “book”, al-Masihi aims to add and correct already known theoretical medical knowledge, and points out the need for a shorter and simpler presentation of the practical part. The article provides historiographic information to show that al-Masihi’s work was the program and the model for “The Canon of Medicine”, the fundamental and basic work of the great Arab-Islamic physician and polymath Abu Ali Ibn Sina. Having compared the structure and content of these two medical encyclopedic works and considering the historical fact that al-Masihi was a teacher of Avicenna in the art of healing, the author of the article arrives at the conclusion that the treatise “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” could become a forerunner of Ibn Sina’s “Canon of Medicine”. It could be the basis on which the great scientist relied in compiling his fundamental work.

*Key words:* Medical treatise; Arab-Muslim medicine; history of medicine; medieval Arabic manuscripts; Abu Sahl al-Masihi; Ibn-Sina

The Arab medical medieval treatise *Kitāb al-mi’a fi al-ṭibb*<sup>1</sup> “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” (كتاب المائة في الطب) by Abu Sahl Isa b. Yahya al-Masihi (approx. 970–1010), a physician and polymath of the Abbasid Caliphate era, is among the less-studied written monuments in Russian Arab studies.

The manuscript of al-Masihi’s work is kept in the Oriental Department of the M. Gorky Scientific Library of the St. Petersburg State University (SPbSU SL) in St. Petersburg under the shelf mark Ms.O 667. The copy,

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<sup>1</sup> AL-MASIHI 1615.

dated 1615, was brought to the St. Petersburg University from Kazan in the mid — 19th c. as a part of the collection of the first Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Languages A.K. Kazem-bek (1802–1870).<sup>2</sup>

Ghada Karmi, a researcher at the Institute for the History of Arabic Science at the University of Aleppo, states that al-Masihi's work has been preserved in at least 29 copies. It is believed that the earliest one is dated to 1010, thus the manuscript must have been written either during the author's lifetime or shortly after his death. There are six "early" copies, dated before 1300. Later manuscripts are dated to each subsequent century. In addition, there are many late manuscripts, five of which date between 1818 and 1883, which undoubtedly testify to the popularity and importance of this work.<sup>3</sup>

Along with the manuscript from the St. Petersburg State University, the author of the article has studied three other copies of the treatise that are digitized and freely accessible on the Web. These are the copy under the shelf mark 2881 from the Arabic collection of the Department of Manuscripts, National Library of France;<sup>4</sup> the copy under the shelf mark (481–2) 6335/1 from the library of Islamic Consultative Council of Iran;<sup>5</sup> and the copy under the shelf mark Or 6489 from the British Museum Library<sup>6</sup> published on the Qatar National Digital Library's website. Comparison of the texts of the abovementioned versions does not reveal any major differences between them, neither in the structure of the treatise nor in the text. Variations mainly consist in different placing of diacritical marks, which is a very common phenomenon in Arabic manuscript practice. Another difference is found in the system of numbering the chapters in the tables of contents. For example, the St. Petersburg and French copies have the alphabetic system of numbering based on the old Arabic alphabet, *abjadiyya* or *hisab al-jummal*. The Iranian and British copies in the table of contents have the numerical decimal numbering of the chapters, which the Arabs introduced at the turn of the 13th and 14th cc.

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<sup>2</sup> FROLOVA & DERIAGINA 1996: 253.

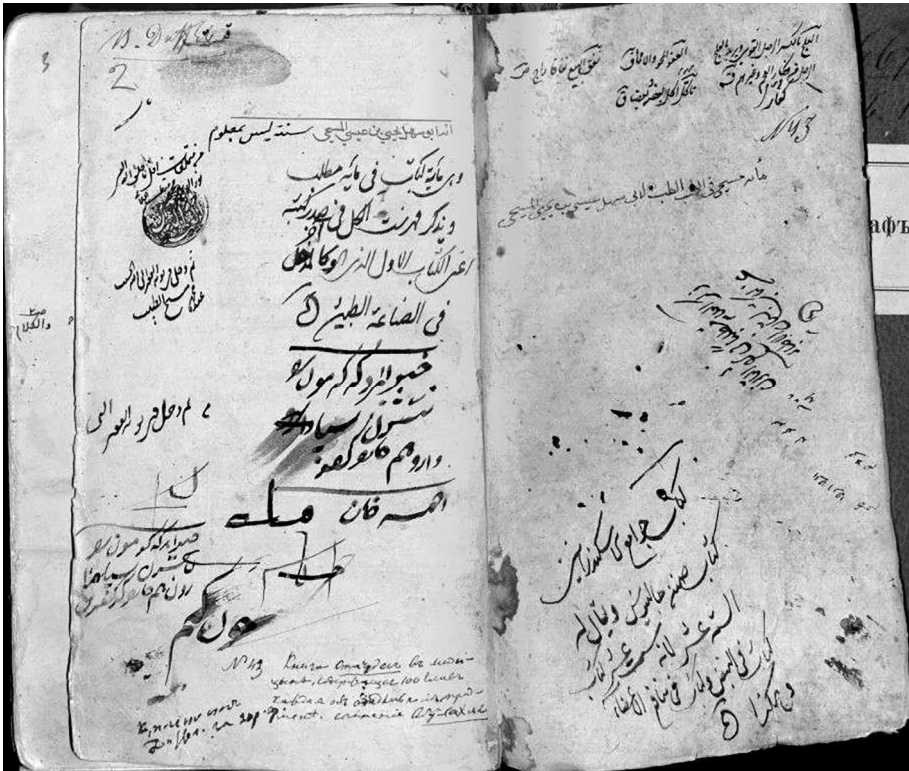
<sup>3</sup> KARMI 1978:274.

<sup>4</sup> <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11001689v/fl.item> (accessed on 16.04.2022).

<sup>5</sup> <https://ketabpedia.com/%D8%AA%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%8A%D9%84/%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%87-%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%87-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%B9%D9%87-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B7%D8%A8/> (accessed on 17.04.2022).

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.qdl.qa/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/archive/81055/vdc\\_100053339526.0x000002](https://www.qdl.qa/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%A9/archive/81055/vdc_100053339526.0x000002) (accessed on 17.04.2022).

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Pl. 1. SPbSU Scientific Library, Ms.O 667, f. 1b-2a

The treatise of al-Masihi was published in typescript more than once. The author is aware of at least three such editions. These are the printed version of the Paris edition published in Tehran by the Iranian University of Medical Sciences;<sup>7</sup> the edition of the French Institute for Arabic Studies in Damascus;<sup>8</sup> and the text of the treatise published in Beirut by Biblion.<sup>9</sup>

The treatise “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” is an encyclopedic medical work written in the genre of the *kunnash*, or compendium. A detailed description of the manuscript is given in the article “Medical Terms in the Arabic Tractate Kitāb al-mi’a fi al-ṭibb (Hundred Books on the

<sup>7</sup> AL-MASIHI 2005.

<sup>8</sup> AL-MASIHI 2000.

<sup>9</sup> AL-MASIHI 2004.

Skills of Medicine) by Abū Sahl Isa b. Yahya al-Masihi (11th c.)” by Igor Gerasimov and Yaser Akel.<sup>10</sup>

In Arab and European historiography al-Masihi’s work is mentioned repeatedly. According to some Arab and European historiographers, the author of the treatise ranks along with the greatest representatives of the Arab-Muslim scientific and medical thought of the Middle Ages: Abu Bakr al-Razi (865–925) and Abu Ali b. Sina (980–1037). Moreover, they argue that the “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” was a forerunner of Avicenna’s fundamental medical work, “The Canon of Medicine”, and a model that the scholar followed in compiling his great work. Thus, in his famous biographical reference book, “The Sources of Information on the Classes of Physicians” (عيون الأنبياء في طبقات الأطباء) Ibn Abi ‘Usaybi’a writes about the author of the treatise as follows: “Abu Sahl Isa b. Yahya al-Masihi al-Jorjani was a noble physician who skillfully mastered the theory and practice of medicine and composed brilliant works. <...> It is said that al-Masihi taught the art of healing to al-Shaykh ar-ra’is<sup>11</sup> himself, although, later on, al-Shaykh ar-ra’is became distinguished, and excelled in the art of healing and the medical sciences. <...> The most famous and one of the best works of Abu Sahl al-Masihi is «Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine»”.<sup>12</sup> Karl Brokelman, in the article devoted to al-Masihi in his multi-volume work “The History of Arabic Literature”, gives an episode in which he refers to Ibn-Sina as al-Masihi’s pupil: “In the year 1010 Mahmud Ghaznewi, on suspicion of atheism, summoned six scholars from Khorezm to Ghazani, among whom was al-Biruni. [But] Abu Sahl, together with his pupil Ibn-Sina, fled to Mazenderan. However, caught in a sandstorm, [Abu Sahl] died on the way, while Ibn Sina managed to reach Tus”.<sup>13</sup> In the “Introduction to the History of Science” George Sarton characterizes the treatise “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” as “one of the earliest Arabic works of this kind, and was probably in some respects a model for the creation of the Canon”<sup>14</sup>. The author of the “History of the Arab Medicine” Lucien Leclerc writes the following about the work of Abu Sahl: “It is the first work of this kind that we have encountered so far, and the first

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<sup>10</sup> GERASIMOV & AKEL 2021.

<sup>11</sup> al-Shaykh ar-ra’is (Arabic: الشيخ الرئيس Head of the Sages), a title given to Ibn Sina during his lifetime as a confirmation of his exceptional erudition.

<sup>12</sup> IBN ABI ‘USAIBI’A 1385 H: 436.

<sup>13</sup> BROKELMAN 1977: 294.

<sup>14</sup> SARTON 1927: 678.

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attempt to create a medical encyclopedia undertaken by the Arab school. In a sense, it is a program of the Canon of Avicenna".<sup>15</sup>

However, none of the above-mentioned authors gives any reasonable arguments in favor of the expressed assumptions about the primacy of the work of Abu Sahl al-Masihi "Hundred Books on the Art of Medicine" in relation to "The Canon of Medicine" of Ibn Sina. This article intends to confirm or refute the above thesis that the work of al-Masihi is a "program" and a "model for the creation of the Canon". For this purpose, the author will conduct a comparative analysis of the structure of both treatises, including the division into parts, the arrangement order and the titles of the chapters.

The manuscript from the St. Petersburg University collection consists of 377 folios. Abu Sahl al-Masihi divided it into 100 chapters, or "books", the first of which is entitled "The Book of Introduction to the Art of Healing" (f. 2b–11a). At the end of this section there is a table of contents (f. 8b–11a) of the whole work.

At the beginning of the first "book", al-Masihi sets out to "describe what must be given as an introduction to the art of healing before beginning a direct study of this science" (f. 2b). On the role of medicine and other sciences in human life, the scholar writes: "People turn to other sciences to ennoble their heart and improve their existence, but only individuals benefit from them and only occasionally. With medical science, the true is opposite: it helps to lead an appropriate life, to gain and preserve our precious health <...>. Everyone needs medicine at all times" (f. 2b).

Analyzing the previously accumulated knowledge, Abu Sahl writes: "Many works have been written on the art of healing. In them, sections about the practice of healing occupy an extremely large and unnecessary place, while scientific sections lag behind in their volume from what is necessary. [Inaccuracies] are often found in scientific sections, the reason of which may be either the lack of competence of most of those people in the natural sciences (to which this science belongs), or their frivolous attitude, and their preference for unburdensome ways of achieving the goal" (f. 3a).

Further, Al-Masihi summarizes the state of contemporary medicine: "This science is characterized by its haphazardness and chaos, because it is not known which sections it consists of and what is their order <...>. In the state in which this science exists, it needs order and a simpler and shorter presentation" (f. 3a, 3b).

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<sup>15</sup> LECLERC 1876: 356.

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Pl. 2. SPbSU Scientific Library, Ms.O 667, f. 3b-4a

Following this, the author sets himself the task: “The knowledge contained in the theoretical part of medicine must be supplemented and corrected, and the information constituting its therapeutic part must be rendered in a simpler and more concise form” (f. 3b). The author writes about accomplishing this task: “[In my work] I have accomplished all the tasks listed, making every possible and available effort to do so. As the result, it is more accurate, perfect, simple, and more concise. I [have set apart] in a separate book each of the sections of the art [into which]<sup>16</sup> it is divided, so that it may be used alone and may exist independently and be complete in meaning. I [have arranged]<sup>17</sup> these books one after another in the order in which the sections are arranged in the science itself” (f. 3b).

<sup>16</sup> In the text التي. The copyist has clearly omitted the letter ت in the relative pronoun التي.

<sup>17</sup> In the text ترتب. The speech is in the first person, so the copyist has clearly omitted the letter ت at the end of the verb ترتبت.

The chapters in the table of contents are numbered from one to one hundred in Arabic letters, following the system of *abjadiyah*.<sup>18</sup>

Examining the table of contents and the division of the work into chapters reveals a clear structure of this work. Al-Masihi divided the work into two parts: the “scientific” (theoretical), which included chapters 2–58 (f. 245a–256a), and the “medical” (practical) chapters 59–100 (f. 256a–376a). In doing so, he went from theory to practice, from general to specific.

Based on the contents, the chapters of the treatise can be divided into several groups. The first group consists of chapters 2–9 (f. 11b–51b), and describes the general structure of the human body and its condition. In the next group of chapters 10–23 (f. 52a–110b) the author analyses the factors that affect the human body, defining them as external and internal. Here he includes environment (f. 52a–62b), nutrition (f. 63a–99a), and human living, hygiene, and physical activity (f. 99a–110b). In chapters 24–28, al-Masihi turns to a description of various kinds of human body secretions (f. 110b–129b). The next, chapter 29, is devoted to mental symptoms (f. 129b–131b). Then, in the theoretical part of the tractate, Abu Sahl includes four chapters on medicines (chapters 30–33; f. 131b–162b). The next conditional group of seven chapters (chapters 34–40) contains general physiological and pathophysiological information (f. 162b–199b). The “scientific” part of the treatise concludes with a group of fifteen chapters (chapters 41–55), in which the author discusses both general and specific issues of disease diagnosis and the dynamics of pathological processes in the human body (f. 199b–245a).

A kind of “watershed” in the structure of the treatise is a small group of three chapters (chapters 56–58) that describe general issues concerning human health and its abnormalities (f. 245a–256a).

The second, “therapeutic”, part of the treatise is entirely devoted to the treatment of organ and system diseases. In this part, al-Masihi also goes from general issues to specific ones. Beginning with the general laws of disease treatment (chap. 59; f. 256a–260a), the author continues with a description of how to treat some conditions common to many organs and systems, such as fevers, tumors, and ulcers (chapters 60–62; f. 260b–271b). The author devotes the remaining chapters of this treatise, chapters 63–100 (f. 271b–376a), to the treatment of specific organs and systems of the human body. What is noteworthy here is that the author has placed these chapters in

<sup>18</sup> AKEL 2021.

anatomical order, following a top-down direction, i.e., from the treatment of diseases of the head and organs located in it, he moves down to the treatment of diseases of the thorax, abdomen, etc.

A similar sequence of chapters and sections can be seen in the most famous work of Arab-Muslim medicine, “The Canon of Medicine” by Abu Ali b. Sina. In the first book, the author of the Canon presents general issues of medicine and touches upon the elementary and anatomical structure of the human body, the effect of environmental factors on human health, general diagnostic issues, health and disease, mode of life and everyday life, and general methods of treatment. The second book describes simple medications of plant, animal, and mineral origin and their use in treating both common ailments and specific diseases. In the third book, Ibn Sina gives a detailed description of specific diseases of all organs and systems. The fourth book describes general disease processes and some surgical treatments. The fifth book gives an analysis of complex and combined medicines.<sup>19</sup>

The only extant medical encyclopedic work of this scale, written before the “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine”, is conventionally called the treatise by Abu Bakr al-Razi: “The Comprehensive Book of Medicine”<sup>20</sup> (الحاوي في الطب). However, according to many researchers, this text was compiled by Abu Bakr’s followers after his death. In particular, Carl Brokelman, referring to al-Biruni<sup>21</sup> writes: “al-Biruni said that al-Razi left behind an unfinished treatise “al-Hawi” and the work itself was compiled from his papers after his death by the order of Muhammad b. al-Amid (محمد بن العميد) (912–970), the vizier of Buid Sultan Ruqn-ud-Dawli. In addition, al-Biruni and Ibn al-Nadim<sup>22</sup> combined al-Hawi’s text and “The Great Collective” (الجامع الكبير) into one work. However, Ibn Abi-Usaibi’a denies the latter fact and considers “The Great Collective” treatise as an independent work. Ibn al-Bitar<sup>23</sup> is of the same opinion, insisting that

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<sup>19</sup> IBN SINA 1979–1982.

<sup>20</sup> AL-RAZI AL-TABIB 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni (1048–973) (محمد بن أحمد البيروني) was a philosopher, mathematician and historian. He is the author of many works on history, geography and astronomy (AL-ZIRIKLI 1986: V, 314).

<sup>22</sup> Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn al-Nadim (محمد بن إسحاق بن النديم) (died in 1047) is a Baghdad historian. The author of the biographical reference book al-Fahrastr (AL-ZIRIKLI 1986: VI, 29).

<sup>23</sup> Abdullah ibn Ahmad al-Maliki ibn al-Bitar (عبد الله بن أحمد المالقي بن البيطار) (died 1248) is a scholar of pharmacy and phytotherapy. He was born in Malaga. Author of works on medicinal plants (AL-ZIRIKLI 1986: IV, 67).

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“The Comprehensive Book of Medicine” (الحاوي في الطب) and “The Great Collective” (الجامع الكبير) are separate and independent works”.<sup>24</sup>

Considering the above and the similar structure of the two encyclopedic works, the “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” by al-Masihi and “The Canon of Medicine” by Ibn Sina, as well as the frequently repeated chapter titles<sup>25</sup> in them, we can agree to a certain extent with the claims of Ibn Abi-Usaibi’a, Brokelman, Sarton, and Leclerc that Abu Sahl al-Masihi was the teacher of al-Shaykh ar-ra’is, and that the latter later relied, partially or fully, on the work of al-Masihi when creating his fundamental “Canon of Medicine”. In the opinion of the author of this article, this fact does not detract from the scale of Avicenna’s personality and the importance of his fundamental “Canon”, but only reveals the role of his predecessor and teacher Abu Sahl al-Masihi and the influence of his “Hundred Books on the Skills of Medicine” on the development of medieval Arab-Islamic medicine.

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<sup>24</sup> BROKELMAN 1977: 273.

<sup>25</sup> Such chapters include “About Humors”, “About Power and Effect”, “About Dwellings”, “About Air”, “About Fevers”, and more.

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Maxim V. Fionin

**Pericope of the Canaanite Woman (Matthew 15:21–28)  
in a Byzantine Lectionary of the 12th c.  
from the IOM RAS Collection**

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*Abstract:* The article describes a liturgical note in the Lectionary D 227 from the IOM RAS collection. The manuscript has an interesting variant reading: instead of the conjunction  $\gamma\alpha\rho$  (for, because) we found the numeral  $\nu\delta'$  (fifty-four). It can be assumed that the variant is not only a scribal error. It is possible that the original manuscript was corrupt at this point and the scribe instead of the conjunction  $\gamma\alpha\rho$  used the numeral  $\nu\delta'$  denoting the number of weeks of the liturgical year. The article explains the reason for such use.

*Key words:* Byzantine lectionaries, Collection manuscripts of Gregory the 4th Patriarch of Antioch, New Testament minuscule, liturgical manuscripts

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint Petersburg holds a Byzantine manuscript lectionary, that is, a collection of liturgical readings from the Gospels.

This document dates to the 12th c., and it came from the collection of Patriarch Gregory IV of Antioch, who was invited to the festivities commemorating the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty. Gregory IV arrived in Saint Petersburg and presented this lectionary, among other manuscript monuments of Arab Christianity, to Emperor Nicholas II.

The famous Russian paleographer B.L. Fonkich suggested that the lectionary was written around the second half of the 12th c., and he classified it as a manuscript of the Chicago-Karahisar group,<sup>1</sup> basing his deduction on

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<sup>1</sup> Greek manuscripts written in the period from about 1150 to 1230. In the Russian-language scientific literature, it got the name Chicago-Karahisar group from its two typical representatives — Karahisar Evangelion (PHБ. Греч. № 105) and the New Testament of Rockefeller-Mc-Cormick from the University library in Chicago (Ms. 965 (Gregory 2400), and in English literature — “Family 2400” and “decorative style manuscripts”. This is the

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the characteristic features of the lectionary's minuscule.<sup>2</sup> American paleographer N.F. Kavirus-Hoffman dated the manuscript to the second half of the 11th c., and he assumed that most likely it came from one of the Constantinople scriptoria.<sup>3</sup>

Arabic additions to the text show that in the 14th c. the manuscript was donated as *waqf* (religious propriety) to the Cathedral church of St. Sergius, Bacchus and Leontius in Bosra, Syria.

In the middle of the 19th c. the manuscript was found in the St. George monastery of Homeyra, Syria. Patriarch of Antioch Gregory IV took the lectionary from this monastery for his collection.

Now the lectionary belongs to the IOM RAS collection, and it has the shelf number D 227. The manuscript contains four sections:

The first section: συναξάριον “Synaxarion” (ff. 1–256) — a collection of the Gospel readings on Divine Liturgy from Easter until Great Saturday.

The second section: μηνολόγιον “Menologion” (ff. 256–302) — liturgical readings for each day of the church year according to the Julian calendar from September to August.

The third section: Ἐωθινὰ Εὐαγγέλια “The Eleven Morning Gospels” (ff. 302–306) — the eleven gospel passages that tell about the resurrection of Christ and his appearance after the Easter events to the disciples. In D 227 only the first, second, third, fourth, tenth and eleventh have been preserved in fragments.

The fourth section: Εὐαγγέλια εἰς διαφόρας μνήμας “the Readings for different purposes” (ff. 306v.–307). This section of the manuscript is badly damaged, but we can read a fragment of the Thursday reading for the 7th week of Luke’s cycle (Lk 11.47–12.1). This is a common reading for the holy prophets. We assume that this reading remained from the fourth section, “readings common to the saints and for different purposes”, but we cannot state this with absolute certainty.

Between the first cycles of the lectionary (Matthew and Luke) on ff. 104–104v. we can find a short liturgical note. It reads as follows:

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largest group of the interconnected illustrated manuscripts identified by researchers (about 100), which also includes approximately 50 manuscripts without miniatures, written in similar handwriting. The manuscripts are close to each other in the composition of texts, codicological and artistic features.

<sup>2</sup> From personal correspondence with B.L. Fonkich (a letter from November 12, 2013). I am grateful to him for his help.

<sup>3</sup> From a letter of N.F. Kavirus-Hoffman to Y.A. Pyatnitsky (Senior Researcher at the Sector of Byzantium and the Near East, Department of the Oriental Art of the State Hermitage), May 2017.

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Χρή γινώσκειν ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦτο τῆς χαναναίας διὰ τὸ πολλάκις συμβαίνειν γίνεσθαι τὸ Πάσχα ἔξω, ὥδε μὲν οὐ χωρεῖ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι εἰς τὰ σαββατοκυριακάκα τοῦ Ματθαίου, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἀνεγνώσθησαν ΙΖ κυριακαί. ἀναγινώσκεται δὲ εἰς τὸν Λουκᾶν, κυριακῆ πρὸ τοῦ Φαρισαίου, ἔπερ ἄρα λείπει ὁ Λουκᾶς, ὡς ἔφην, διὰ τὸ μηκύνεσθαι τὸ Πάσχα.

\* \* \*

Δέον δε γινώσκειν, ὅτι ἄρχεται ὁ Λουκάς ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς κυριακῆς μετὰ τὴν ὕψωσιν, τότε γαρ (νδ'), καὶ ἡ ἰσημερία γίνεται, ὃ καλεῖται νέον ἔτος.

That is:

Because <the so-called> beyond-Easter frequently happens when reading of Saturday and Sunday pericopes of St. Matthew, [it] is not enough to cover all 17 weeks). It must be known that the passage from the Gospel about the Canaanite woman is read (i.e. the passage from St. Matthew) in St. Luke's cycle on Sunday before the week dedicated to the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee. [It is read] when readings from St. Luke will indeed come to an end, as I have said, because Easter lengthens (i.e. beyond-Easter).

\* \* \*

It should be also known, that the reading of St. Luke's Gospel begins from Sunday after the Feast of the Cross (then [number] 54), and here comes (autumn) equinox, so-called New Year.

\* \* \*

It is well known, that liturgical notes of this kind may be found in other Byzantine lectionaries as well. Some of them were published in Christian Frederick Matthaei's edition of the New Testament.<sup>4</sup>

The readings of St. Matthew's Gospel for Saturdays and Sundays, that is St. Matthew's cycle in the manuscript's synaxarion, are mentioned in the note on the liturgy quoted above. That raises some questions. Firstly, why 17 readings are not sufficient? And, secondly, why should there be 17 readings at all?

The cycle of St. Matthew's Gospel includes 16 weeks, 11 of which are dedicated to the readings of St. Matthew's Gospel itself. The pericopes of St. Marc are read from Monday to Friday during the next 5 weeks, then the reading of the passages from St. Matthew's Gospel continues on Saturdays and Sundays. Altogether it makes 16 weeks. The 17th week stands apart.

<sup>4</sup> MATTHAEI 1803: 725–727.



In Byzantine manuscripts there are no readings for the weekdays (Monday–Friday) of this week, there are only passages for Saturday and Sunday liturgy mentioned: the Parable of the ten virgins (Matthew 25:1–13) which should be read on Saturday of the 17th week, and the story of the Canaanite woman which is appointed for the Sunday of the 17th week.

Why does the manuscript not have instructions concerning readings during weekdays of the 17th week? This lack is caused by the convergence of the lunar and the solar calendars during the liturgical year.

The length of St. Matthew’s cycle is defined, on the one hand, by the date of Easter, which is counted according to the lunar calendar and, on the other hand, by the date of the Feast of the Cross which has the exact date — September 14th, according to the solar (Julian) calendar.

When the author says that “the reading of Saturday and Sunday pericopes of St. Matthew is not enough to cover all 17 weeks”, he is describing the range of situations when the pericope of the Canaanite woman is not read because there are not enough days for these readings.

The pericope of the Canaanite woman (as well as the parable of the ten virgins appointed for the Saturday of the 17th week) might be read in St. Matthew’s cycle only in one case: when Easter falls on the 22th of March which is the earliest possible date.<sup>5</sup>

In all other cases when the date of Easter of the passing year lies within the period from the 23rd of March to the 25th of April, the number of weeks between the Monday of the Holy Spirit and the Feast of the Cross decreases, and, as a result, the pericope of the Canaanite woman happens to be removed from St. Matthew’s cycle.

Our next step should be to define what does τὸ Πάσχα ἔξω “beyond-Easter” mean.

Most likely, the author was talking about the range of situations when the number of readings in St. Matthew’s cycle decreases, and when at the same time there happens to be the lack of readings in St. Luke’s cycle.

It has already been shown that the length of St. Matthew’s cycle is defined by the date of Easter of the passing year. The length of St. Luke’s cycle depends on the Easter date of the coming year.

St. Luke’s cycle (together with the readings from St. Mark’s Gospel during weekdays of the six final weeks) lasts for 18 weeks. If Easter of the following year comes early, in other words, if it falls within the period from the 22nd to

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<sup>5</sup> It is well known that the border dates of the Easter are the 22nd of March and the 25th of April, according to the Julian calendar.

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31rd of March, then some readings from St. Luke's cycle should be omitted. If Easter comes late and falls on the period from the 1st to the 25th of April, then the number of weeks increases, and consequently there can be some years when the number of ascribed readings would not be sufficient, and in this case the pericope of the Canaanite woman should cover this lack.

Hence, τὸ Πάσχα ἔξω, or beyond-Easter, of the liturgical note (from the analyzed manuscript) is a variant of the liturgical year when, though the pericope of the Canaanite woman is omitted due to early Easter of the passing year, it is nevertheless read afterwards, due to the late Easter of the coming year which adds a week to St. Luke's cycle and enables the reading of the pericope of the Canaanite woman, which was earlier omitted, to be moved to this week.

A proof for such interpretation can be found in the manuscript D 227 itself where on the folio 161 is written:

Κυριακῆς ΙΖ' τῆς Χαναναί[ας]. Ζήτει ὀπισθ[εν] εἰς Ματθ[άιον] ἔγρα[φη], ἐκεῖσαι ΙΖ' κυριακῆς.

“Sunday the 17th of the Canaanite woman, look for the text written earlier in Matthew, go to the 17th Sunday”.

A link to this reading is put after the week on the parable of the Publican and the Pharisee and before the Sunday pericope on the parable of the Prodigal Son. It means that the author of the manuscript saw the pericope of the Canaanite woman as an ordinary reading for the 17th week (Sunday) of St. Luke's cycle. (sic!) As we have pointed out earlier, St. Luke's cycle consists of 18 weeks and finishes on Friday of the Meat-Fare. In other words, in the years when the week is not omitted, the pericope of the Canaanite woman is read among others, as it was stated in the analyzed liturgical note, “before the week on the Publican and the Pharisee”. It is also worth mentioning that the reading of the 17th week Sunday in St. Matthew's cycle is not supposed to be moved to St. Luke's cycle, as there is the pericope about the widow's mite (Luke 20.46–21.4) in its place in the manuscript. In modern lectionaries it is prescribed for the Saturday of the week dedicated to the parable of the Prodigal Son.

Returning to the analyzed note of the lectionary, we are going to concentrate on its last paragraph. It tells that the readings of St. Luke's cycle should begin on Monday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. We want to bring attention to the variant found in the text of a similar note published by C.F. Matthaei: in our manuscript lectionary D 227 we find the number  $\nu\delta'$  (54), while the note published by Matthaei reads:  $\gamma\alpha\rho$  (for, because).

The text published by C.F. Matthaei is not difficult to understand. It underlines that the beginning of St. Luke's cycle falls on Monday following the Week (Sunday) after Exaltation of the Holy Cross, "for (*γαρ*) then also comes (autumn) equinox, so-called New Year". In the manuscript D 227 the meaning is slightly different: "the reading of St. Luke's Gospel should begin from the Sunday after the Feast of the Cross (then 54), and here comes (autumn) equinox, so-called New Year".

We can assume that the text from which the copyist made our manuscript was damaged or else unclear to the copyist who, therefore, tried to make an amendment and added the number "54" linking the last paragraph with the text above it. The number "54" is not mentioned incidentally, as it is the number of weeks in the liturgical year when Easter is late (*τὸ Πάσχα ἔξω*). In other words, if the length of the liturgical year is 54 weeks, the pericope of the Canaanite woman should be certainly read in St. Luke's cycle.

In the conclusion it must be pointed out that the note analyzed in this article does not solve all the difficulties caused by convergence of the lunar Easter calendar and the solar civil calendar.

Instead, there are many cases when the pericope of the Canaanite woman does not appear either in St. Matthew's cycle or in St. Luke's cycle.

As we have mentioned above, the pericope is read in St. Matthew's cycle only when Easter of the passing year falls on the 22nd of March which happens very rarely. As P.M. Mironositsky has shown, the pericope is read in St. Luke's cycle only when beyond-Easter (*τὸ Πάσχα ἔξω*) falls within the period from the 22nd to the 25th of April which also does not happen very often. In all other cases the pericope of the Canaanite woman is omitted from both cycles.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> MIRONOSITSKY 1916: 25–30.

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Ekaterina V. Trepnalova

## **The Arabic Papyri in the Pushkin Museum: History of the Collection and Edition of I 1 6 732**

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*Abstract:* In Russia, collections of Arabic papyri and documents on paper are kept in Moscow (the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts) and St. Petersburg (the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts and the State Hermitage). Each of them has its own formation history. The Moscow collection, which is the main focus of the article, is associated with the name of Vladimir S. Golenishchev, Russian Egyptologist and collector of ancient Egyptian and Coptic antiquities. All three collections have not yet been studied relying on the latest data and up-to-date research tools. Victor I. Belyaev made an attempt to draw up a catalogue of the Pushkin Museum and IOM collections together with transcription of the documents, but did not finish his work. Now his notes are a good foundation for future research, even though they need to be revised. The article presents a short description of the Pushkin Museum papyri collection and verifies the date of the papyrus I 1 6 732. It became clear that I 1 6 732 was written half a century earlier than stated by V.I. Belyaev.

*Key words:* Arabic papyrology, papyri collections, paleography, V.I. Belyaev, V.S. Golenishchev

At present it is known that there are three collections of Arabic papyri and documents on paper in Russia. The largest one is held in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. Two other collections are kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, but this article focuses mainly on the Moscow collection.

The core of the Pushkin Museum collection is the Vladimir S. Golenishchev's collection of antiquities, which consists mostly of ancient Egyptian monuments. Formation of this collection began in 1879, when he first visited Egypt, and lasted for 30 years until it was bought by the Russian government in 1909 and placed in the Pushkin Museum.

V.S. Golenishchev (1856–1947) was an outstanding Russian Egyptologist and, predictably, all the articles and monographs dedicated to his life and academic pursuits focus on his contributions to Egyptology, and describe ancient Egyptian items of his collection. Nevertheless, V.S. Golenishchev managed to buy specimens of later periods, in particular Arabic papyri together with Arabic documents on paper and parchment, even though these purchases seem to have been made accidentally rather than intentionally.

In 1888–89 in Alexandria, during his first visit to Egypt, V.S. Golenishchev bought a metal box filled with various documents. In his report about this trip he mentions that these documents were written in different languages: Middle Persian, Hebrew, and unidentified languages, which seemed to be Arabic and Greek. Other papyrus fragments purchased in Alexandria were in Arabic, Greek and Coptic. V.S. Golenishchev noted that almost all of them were badly preserved.<sup>1</sup> In the book dedicated to V.S. Golenishchev's life and academic contributions we read: "After his arrival in Alexandria in 1888, V.S. Golenishchev purchased a number of papyri, among which were Jewish ones, exceptional for Egypt".<sup>2</sup> It seems that Arabic documents comprised a considerable bulk of the purchased papyri, but in fact they received only brief mentions.

V.S. Golenishchev purchased 8000 items for his collection, but did not mention the provenance of each of them. He recorded and described new pieces of his collection only in the early stage of its formation. Those records were published in the Transactions of the Oriental Department of the Imperial Russian Archeological Society.<sup>3</sup> Thus, V.S. Golenishchev might have bought Arabic documents not only once and not only in Alexandria.

The inventory list provided by the Pushkin Museum numbers 227 items of Arabic papyri and documents on paper and parchment. In fact, this number must be a little higher, as some fragments of different documents are kept together under the same entry number. Almost half of the specimens (103 items) are documents on papyrus. Most of these documents are official, business and private letters, documents concerning taxes, wages in goods and other payments, as well as land cadastres and some protocols. A number of documents are bilingual, or contain separate Greek or Coptic inscriptions. A more detailed description of the types of documents is presented below.

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<sup>1</sup> GOLENISHCHEV 1891: 1–2.

<sup>2</sup> *Golenishchev and his Collection of Oriental Antiquities* 2022: 31.

<sup>3</sup> KHODZHASH 2006: 15.

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Arabic papyrology in Russia has much room for development. At present, none of the collections has a catalogue and access to the collections is limited. The Arabic documents in the Pushkin Museum are digitized and uploaded to the online catalogue of Russian museums.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, some photos of the documents are of low quality and almost unreadable. Some of the documents have no verso, which is crucial for a comprehensive study of documents. The collection in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts is not digitized. In the State Hermitage it is digitized, but not available to the broad public. Thus, only several documents from the Russian collections are published. Their list follows.

*The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts.* One item from this collection was transcribed in *P. Ross.-Georg. IV*<sup>5</sup> without a photo and commentary on the Arabic text<sup>6</sup>. It is a Qurra letter; the entry number of this document is A 240.

The photo of the papyrus A 241 was published twice in exhibition catalogues<sup>7</sup> with short descriptions, which, undoubtedly, cannot be considered comprehensive editions.

*The State Hermitage.* A legal document on paper from the Mamluk period was published by Lahcen Daäif in 2014. This document is still kept in the State Hermitage under the entry number EG 601. In 1985 six legal documents were handed over by the then assistant director of the Museum to Yūsuf Rāgib for further publication.<sup>8</sup>

*The Pushkin Museum.* Two documents were published: a private letter and a list of villages. The edition of the first document was prepared by Y. Rāgib, who in 1974 found the photo of the papyrus from the Moscow collection among other documents previously owned by Jean David-Weill. The publication itself saw the light only in 2014. The accession number of the document is I 1 6 788. It is a private letter dating, according to Y. Rāgib's assumption, from the early 3rd AH/9th AD c. This letter was addressed from one merchant to another. Other seven merchants are mentioned in the text as well. Y. Rāgib supposes that all of them, including the sender and the addressee, were partners. The sender reports that those seven merchants had left Alexandria for Tripoli (in Syria), but no one has yet arrived.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> <https://goskatalog.ru/portal/#/>

<sup>5</sup> *P. Ross.-Georg = Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen* (published by P. Jernstedt & G. Zereteli).

<sup>6</sup> JERNSTEDT: 1927.

<sup>7</sup> BELYAEV 1934; PETROSYAN 1994.

<sup>8</sup> DAAIF 2014: 427.

<sup>9</sup> RAGIB 2014: 62-63.

A bilingual Graeco-Arabic list of villages in the Fayyūm oasis with the accession number I 1 6 224 was published by P. Jernstedt in *P. Ross.-Georg. V.*<sup>10</sup>

In fact, before the World War II the Arabic papyri collections in Russia gained some attention from local scholars, specifically from Victor I. Belyaev (1902–1976). He worked on compiling a catalogue of Arabic papyri from both Moscow and St Petersburg collections (held in the IOM). The Moscow collection catalogue was even typed out, but never published. The catalogue for St. Petersburg papyri is only handwritten and appears unfinished. Documents on paper were not part of V.I. Belyaev's research (perhaps only at this stage of his work).

After studying V.I. Belyaev's archives and relying on his notes, we have put together a preliminary table of the papyri from the Pushkin Museum collection that indicates types of documents and their dates.

Table 1.

**Identified type of the document**

	Type of the document	Century (after <i>hijra</i> )				
		1st AH	2nd AH	3rd AH	4th AH	Not clear
Letters	Official / business letters	I 16 826 I 16 827 (I+V)	I 16 813f I 16 813g I 16 911 (r)	I 16 735 I 16 738 (r) I 16 796 (r) I 16 798 (r) I 16 825 I 16 849 I 16 852 (r+v) I 16 863 (r) I 16 984e I 16 985 (r) I 16 995	I 16 776 I 16 990	
	Private letters		I 16 778 (v) I 16 788 I 16 795 (v) I 16 814	I 16 725 I 16 738 (v) I 16 771 I 16 772 I 16 778 (r) I 16 781 I 16 788 (published) I 16 795 (r) I 16 796 (v) I 16 803 I 16 809 I 16 816 I 16 850 I 16 856	I 16 760	I 16 860

<sup>10</sup> ZERETELI & JERNSTEDT: 1935.

				I 16 976 I 16 979 (r+v) I 16 982 I 16 987 (r+v) I 16 993		
Financial issues	Expenses / wages in goods		I 16 729 I 16 759 I 16 810 I 16 813 I 16 911 (v)	I 16 769 I 16 739 I 16 798		
	Taxes		I 16 822 (v) I 16 861 I 16 864	I 16 818 (AH 248) I 16 822 (r) I 16 985 (v) I 16 988	I 16 732 I 16 808 I 16 848 I 16 850 (r) I 16 984a (r)	
Land issues	Cadastres		I 16 779 I 16 813b I 16 813c I 16 819		I 16 863 (v) I 16 864 (r) I 16 972 (r)	
	Property			I 16 853 I 16 862 (AH 257)		
Administration	Orders	I 16 827 (III, IV, V)	I 16 800			
	Protocols	I 16 706 (AH 99) I 16 832	I 16 822 I 16 977 (r)	I 16 980a		I 16 820
Other texts	Magical texts and amulets		I 16 814	I 16 822 (III) I 16 974		
	Literary texts		I 16 866 (hadith corpus)			
Bilingual	Gr.-Arab.	I 16 706 (AH 99) I 16 832	I 16 224 (published) I 16 794 I 16 977 (r)	I 16 854		I 16 787 I 16 980(?)
	Copt.-Arab.			I 16 692 I 16 973	I 16 746	I 16 689 (3rd AH) I 16 764



Table 2.

**Unidentified type of the document**

<b>Accession number</b>	<b>Century AH</b>	<b>Type (supposedly)</b>
I 1 6 719	3rd	—
I 1 6 724	2nd–3rd	Private/official letter
I 1 6 783	2nd	Scribal practice
I 1 6 784	—	Governor's order
I 1 6 785	2nd	Tax declaration
I 1 6 790	3rd	Letter
I 1 6 800	2nd	Official letter from a governor to a bishop
I 1 6 802	2nd–3rd	Assessment
I 1 6 804	3rd	Assessment
I 1 6 806	3rd	Assessment
I 1 6 811	year 291	Credit declaration
I 1 6 813 (e)	2nd	Credit documents
I 1 6 817	—	Blanc piece of papyrus
I 1 6 822 (IV)	3rd	—
I 1 6 813a	—	—
I 1 6 833	2nd	r: Ar.-Gr.; v: Arab.
I 1 6 851	r: 4th / v: 3rd	r: cadastre; v: -
I 1 6 855	—	6 fragments of different documents
I 1 6 857	3rd	—
I 1 6 858	3rd	—
I 1 6 859	3rd–4th	2 fragments of different documents
I 1 6 865	3rd	—
I 1 6 970	2nd	2 fragments
I 1 6 971	3rd	2 fragments of the same document
I 1 6 972	3rd	v: assessment
I 1 6 975	3rd	—
I 1 6 977	2nd	v: cadastre
I 1 6 978	3rd	Private letter
I 1 6 980 (b-t)	2nd–4th	Fragments of different documents
I 1 6 981	r: 4th / v: 3rd	—
I 1 6 983	3rd	Assessment
I 1 6 984a	4th	v: private letter
I 1 6 984 (b, c, f, h.i)	3rd	—
I 1 6 986	4th	—
I 1 6 989	3rd	Assessment (draft)
I 1 6 991	3rd	r and v different documents
I 1 6 992	3rd	—
I 1 6 994	3rd	—
I 1 6 996	3rd–4th	—

According to these tables, the Pushkin Museum collection has a handful of documents that have a date in the text. The rest of the documents were, apparently, dated on the basis of paleographic evidence. Dating a document only by paleography is unreliable. As V.I. Belyaev mentioned in his report about the Arabic papyri in Russia, Vera A. Krachkovskaya managed to trace the development of Arabic script during the first two centuries after *hijra* with accuracy to a decade. He also stated that it may help with dating the early papyri.<sup>11</sup> In fact, however, it seems to be impossible. From the 2nd c. onward the script becomes more and more cursive and it turns out to be rather challenging to assign a document to a certain century, not to speak of a decade.

V.I. Belyaev also started his work on papyri transcriptions. It seems that deciphering all the documents from the Moscow collection was not his final goal. It is not clear what logic V.I. Belyaev followed when choosing the documents for deciphering, as some of the specimens, which tend to be important, were left aside. The situation with St. Petersburg collection is different: all the available papyri were transcribed. Nevertheless, only one deciphered papyrus from both collections has a translation and only two of them have a dotted (in one case not fully) transcription.

Without any doubt V.I. Belyaev has carried out outstanding work and now his archives are a good foundation for further research. However, we should keep in mind that he was preparing these catalogues almost a century ago and now they need to be thoroughly revised.

While studying V.I. Belyaev's notes we came across his description of the papyrus I 1 6 732 from the Pushkin Museum collection. V.I. Belyaev gives the following information: "the 4th c. AH (i.e. 10th c. AD — *E.T.*); a receipt confirming that Ḥamdān b. Ibrāhīm paid land-tax (*kharāj*) from the domains of the caliph al-Muqtadir's<sup>12</sup> mother. The tax was paid to the wazir's deputy Sulaymān b. Zakariyā". In this note Belyaev mentions the name of the caliph, his mother and a possible date of the document. The document itself, however, does not contain any exact information, neither the name of the caliph nor the date is given, and this prompted us to study it in detail.

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<sup>11</sup> BELYAEV 1941: 78.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Muqtadir bi-Ilāh — the 18th caliph of the Abbasid Caliphate (908–932).

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Pl. 1. Papyrus I 1 6 732, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts

## Confirmation of the *kharāj* paid from the Lady's domains

I 1 6 732; 13×18.4 cm; mid. 3/9th c. AH  
Place of discovery unknown; Tax receipt

### Paleographic features of the script

Light-brown papyrus. Recto is written on the side with vertical fibers. Verso is blank. The text is fragmentary, most likely more than half of it is lost. The preserved text is written in black ink, clearly readable.

Diacritics are scarce: السيدة *al-sayyida* and سليمان *Sulaymān* have a stroke over *sīn*; زكريا *Zakariyā* has dots for *ya'*. 'Alif is omitted in سليمان *Sulaymān* and ابراهيم *Ibrāhīm*. Preposition الي *'ilā* is typically written with *ya'* turned to the right, but على *'alī* with *ya'* bending to the left and extending directly from the bottom of the *lām*. In المؤمنين *al-mu'minīn* the part after *wāw* is written as one stroke with a small loop at the beginning to define *mīm*.

'Alif is perpendicular; when ligatured to the preceding letter, it extends below the connecting stroke.

Initial *bā'* in the *basmala* has a high vertical extension, but in other cases is not distinctive.

Final *rā'* and *zāy* have a curve, but the curvature of the separate *zāy* is almost completely eliminated.

*Dāl* is distinctive from *rā'*, but its horizontal line is reduced (except حمدان *ḥamdān* (3)). The curvature of separate *dāl* in ادى *'addā* is eliminated.

*Sīn* has teeth in the *basmala*, in other cases the letter is flat with a stroke over it.

Ṣād has a round loop and lacks a stroke on the left side.

'Ayn has curvature in both initial and final forms.

*Mīm* has a reduced loop (except امير *'amīr* (6)). In من *min* (4) resembles *yā'* in يديه *yadayhi* (3).

The curvature of the final *nūn*, especially when ligatured to the preceding letter, is reduced.

**Transcription**

- 1 يوم ٤  
 2 بسم [الله الرحمان الرحيم]  
 3 ادى حمدان بن ابراهيم على يديه مما يلـ[زمه من الخراج...]  
 4 من ضياع السيدة اعزها اله ...  
 5 الى سليمان بن زكريا...  
 6 امير المومنين اعزه الله...

**Translation**

- 1 Day 5 (Thursday)  
 2 In the name [of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful]  
 3 Ḥamdān b. Ibrāhīm has paid by his hands what was due from him [for kharāj]  
 4 Belonging to the estates of the Lady — may God exalt her —  
 5 To Sulaymān b. Zakariyā  
 6 Commander of the Faithful — may God exalt him

**Commentary**

1. The day is written in Graeco-Coptic numerals; in all likelihood the amount of the tax in dinars was also indicated in the first line in Graeco-Coptic numerals.

The culture of the early Islamic period in Egypt was similar to the former dominant Byzantine culture, and for this reason it was normal for an official document to be written in Greek or Coptic. In AH 87 (AD 706), ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the governor of Egypt, pursued Arabisation of official documentation according to the decree of the caliph al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, and Arabic letters were adopted immediately for coin inscriptions and gradually for official documents. However, Greek and Coptic numerals were still used alongside Arabic letters. The Abjad Arabic numerals were also created, but were not widely used. Documents dated to the 10th century AD still contain numeric information given in the Graeco-Coptic numerals.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> KAWATOKO 1992: 58–59.

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2. *'Addā fulān b. fulān mim mā yulzimuhu min al-ḥarāğ* is a formula especially typical for tax receipts from the Ushmūn Province, even though it was first attested in AH 213 in a document attributed to the Fayyūm Province. The part *mā yulzimuhu min al-ḥarāğ* was no longer used after AH 314; on the contrary, *ادى 'addā* became normative and remained so throughout the period of receipts.<sup>14</sup>

4. The term *ḍay'a* (pl. *ḍiyā'*) in general refers to private agricultural holdings or property and can also be used to identify small settlements. In the Abbasid period the caliph, his family and other members of the Abbasid ruling and military elite were the owners of the *ḍiyā'* in Egypt. *Al-sayyida*, mentioned in this document as the owner of the domains, stands for the caliph's mother. There are several land leases and tax receipts paid for the *al-sayyida* domains in Ushmūnayn and Ihnās dating from the mid.-3rd c. AH. Marie Legendre, with reference to Ibn Taghrī Birdī (AH 873/AD 1469), notes that this title belonged to Shujā', the mother of the caliph al-Mutawakkil. Shujā' died in AH 249, while other documents mentioning *al-sayyida* are dated back to AH 238, 253 and 272, i.e. also after her death, and this title could apply not only to Shujā', but to mothers of later caliphs as well.<sup>15</sup>

The lands belonging to the close entourage of the caliph were not occupied by their owners. They were virtual seats of authority mainly managed by appointees (*wakīl*). The caliph al-Muntaşir, for instance, was put in charge of Egypt by the administration of Baghdad, but he hardly ever visited the province.<sup>16</sup>

5. Judging from the type of the document, the contents of similar receipts<sup>17</sup> and the formulary,<sup>18</sup> Sulaymān b. Zakariyā was probably responsible for the collection of tax money. This particular receipt does not provide us with enough information about the title or duties he had. However, there is another document that mentions Sulaymān b. Zakariyā. This papyrus, kept in the Austrian National Library in Vienna under the entry number A.P. 4028, was published by Gladys Frantz-Murphy. As follows from the edition, Sulaymān b. Zakariyā "may have been the guarantor of the estates in question". The document attests that Sulaymān b. Zakariyā was a cashier of the *kharāj* from the caliph's mother estates in the year AH 252 in Ushmūnayn.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> FRANZ-MURPHY 2001b: 70–71.

<sup>15</sup> LEGENDRE 2019: 410–412; SIJPESTEIJN 2022: 257

<sup>16</sup> LEGENDRE 2019: 413.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, no. 184 in GROHMANN 1938: 148.

<sup>18</sup> FRANZ-MURPHY 2001b: 73–76.

<sup>19</sup> FRANTZ-MURPHY 2001a: 245.

Thus, drawing on the Vienna papyrus, it is fair to say that I 1 6 732 can refer to the mid—3rd c. AH, but not to the beginning of the 4th c. AH. It is very doubtful that Sulaymān b. Zakariyā could serve as a cashier for about 50 years, or that there existed another cashier for the imperial estates with the identical name.

Very likely, when dating the document, V.I. Belyaev based his assumptions on the volume of the *Kitāb al-Awrāq* entitled *Akhbār ar-Rādī billāh wa'l-Muttaqi billāh* by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūlī. It is known that in the 1930s V.I. Belyaev started writing his dissertation on another volume of the aṣ-Ṣūlī's work.<sup>20</sup> His research on the papyri collection at the Pushkin Museum went parallel with the preparation of his dissertation. In *Akhbār ar-Rādī billāh wa al-Muttaqi billāh* the "title" *as-sayyida* refers only to the caliph al-Muqtadir's mother Shaḡab, and it might be the reason why V.I. Belyaev assigned the document to the period of al-Muqtadir's reign, i.e. to the beginning of the 4th c. AH.<sup>21</sup>

The Russian collections of Arabic papyri and documents on paper are certainly smaller than the collections held in Vienna or Berlin. There are only several dated documents, most items are separate fragments from different periods and places that cannot be compiled into a dossier or an archive. The IOM collection of Arabic papyri also contains documents from different finds. For the reasons mentioned, a comprehensive historical, paleographic or linguistic research should be based on all collections scattered around the world. Only this holistic approach can lead to discovery of parallels between documents kept in different collections and to finding fragments of high importance.

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<sup>20</sup> V.I. Belyaev did not manage to finish his dissertation. A.B. Khalidov (1929–2001) continued and completed his work (BELYAEV & KHALIDOV 1998).

<sup>21</sup> Aṣ-Ṣūlī 1935: 5.

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