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CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- 1 | Ordered Disorder: Vestiges of Mixed Written and Oral Transmission of Arabic Didactic Poems, by Tilman Seidensticker
- 5 | Scribal Notation in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts: The *hewen* (Ligature) and the *chongwen* (Duplication) Marks, by Imre Galambos
- 10 | *Liaoye*—a Chinese Ligature in Uigur Manuscripts from the 13th and 14th Centuries, by Peter Zieme
- 13 | Of Critical Editions and Manuscript Reproductions: Remarks apropos of a Critical Edition of *Pramāṇavinīscaya* Chapters 1 and 2, by Harunaga Isaacson
- 21 | Tai Manuscripts in the Dhamma Script Domain: Surveying, Preservation and Documentation, Part 2, by Harald Hundius

NOTES AND NEWS

- 26 | Obeisance to Viṣṇu-Tirumāl: Vaiṣṇava Transmission for a Caṅkam Manuscript
- 27 | A Study of Old Kanembu in Early West African Qur'anic Manuscripts and Islamic Recitations (Tarjumo) in the Light of Kanuri-Kanembu Dialects spoken around Lake Chad
- 27 | Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt)
- 28 | The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM)
- 28 | Ethio-SPARE: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation and Research

INSIDE MCAA

- 29 | MCAA People 2009
- 30 | MCAA International Conference *On Colophons* 3rd–5th December 2009
- 31 | MCAA Calendar 2009
- 34 | MCAA Essentials

Article

Ordered Disorder: Vestiges of Mixed Written and Oral Transmission of Arabic Didactic Poems *

Tilman Seidensticker | Jena

In the field of pre-modern Arabic literature, didactic poems form a small genre of their own. They were not considered as poetry proper, because their aesthetic embellishment of language was not sufficiently substantial and their content failed to meet what the public expected of real poetry. Instead, they belong to many different branches of knowledge, and their common characteristics are mostly formal: they are rhymed, composed in metric language and their length does usually not exceed 150 lines (although there are some exceptions to this rule). First examples were composed as early as in the 9th century AD, and the genre was continued right into the 20th century. Geert Jan van Gelder has proposed the following definition: ‘any text that is poetry in terms of its prosody (i. e. metre and rhyme) in which the typical poetical style (tropes, figures of speech, etc.) is deliberately avoided, for the sake of providing explicit information on a particular branch of knowledge’ (Geert Jan van Gelder, ‘Arabic didactic verse’, in Jan Willem Drijvers, and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds), *Centres of learning. Learning and location in pre-modern Europe and the Near East*, Leiden, 1995, 103–17, here p. 117). As for the topics dealt with, there were no limitations: ‘Almost any subject could be, and was, versified: dogmatics, the law of inheritance, medicine, astronomy, history, rhetoric, prosody, calligraphy, the explication of dreams, algebra, bloodletting, logic, navigation, agriculture, sexual intercourse, alchemy, jurisprudence, Koranic sciences, the use of toothpicks - the list might easily be extended.’ (van Gelder, p. 106)

In the early 19th century, Arabists in Europe showed some interest in these poems, as they provided them with a basic knowledge of different topics of Muslim scholarship. Later, they directed their attention towards more voluminous works

which gave them deeper insights into theological and legal discussions, amongst others, and the small didactic poems were almost forgotten. Nevertheless, the genre can provide some important insights into Muslim ‘secondary’ education in the *madrasas* or other, more informal contexts of transmission of knowledge. Furthermore, the poems were not only memorized but also written down in countless manuscripts. A closer look at these copies shows that there are hardly any two of them that display the same wording or order of lines. However, a tendency to check this process of dissolution is recognizable in the manuscripts.

The copies of al-Ūshī’s creed *Bad’ al-amālī* ‘Alī Ibn ‘Uthmān al-Ūshī is a scholar from the Ferghāna valley in Central Asia who lived in the 12th century AD. According to a later bibliographical work, he is believed to have died in 1179, though this may just be an estimate. Although he wrote some longer books, he is best known for a poem containing a creed in the Ḥanafī tradition, close to one of the two schools of Sunnī theology, namely the Mātūrīdiyya. The title of the poem is *Bad’ al-amālī*, being identical with the last two words of the first half-verse. Another widely used title, *Qaṣīdat Yaqūlu l-‘abd*, is in a similar way derived from the first two words of the same hemistich. An edition of the short poem together with a Latin and a German translation was published in Königsberg in 1825 by Peter Bohlen. Copies of this poem can be found in almost any library with more than a rudimentary stock of Arabic manuscripts. For example, we found eleven of them in the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, and thirteen in the *Garrett Collection, Yahuda Section, Princeton University Library*.

A look at the verse order in the eleven Berlin manuscripts, in six out of the Princeton manuscripts and in one more from the *Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen* revealed considerable deviations, as expected. The number of verses ranges between 62 and 73, and there are no two copies displaying the same order. We do not have a copy from al-Ūshī’s hands nor one that claims to stem directly from such an autograph. This means that we have no idea

* The following observations are the first results of the sub-project in Arabic and Islamic Studies of the research group ‘Manuscript Cultures in Asia and Africa’. The basic and time-consuming work of scrutinizing the 18 manuscripts for their verse order was undertaken by PD Dr Florian Sobieroj, who collaborates with the sub-project. Ms Jasmin Elshamy assisted me in simplifying the data provided by Dr Sobieroj. I would like to express my thanks to both of them for their help.

Table 1: Variance in 11 manuscript copies of al-Ūshī's *Bad' al-amālī* from the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (= Ber) and the *Garrett Collection, Yahuda Section, Princeton University Library* (= Pri).

Abbreviations:

A: Addition of a verse in this block

O: Omission of a verse in this block

T: Transposition of a verse from this block to one below

	Pri 5043	Ber 4944	Ber 4505	Pri 2264/4	Pri 2260/11	Ber 4496	Ber 4950	Ber 2408/3	Ber 2408/4	Pri 2272/8	Pri 2272/4
1–8											A/O/O
9–16											
17–24											
25–32					T						
33–40										A/O	
41–48							A	A	A	O/O	
49–56				O	A	A/A	T/T	T/T/A	T/A/O	O	
57–64		O	A	O			A	A	A		O/O
Σ Deviations	0	1	1	2	2	2	4	5	5	5	5

about the original sequence of verses, and it is not our aim to reconstruct it. Our primary interest is relative deviation, not proximity to a hypothetical archetype.

To describe deviation, however, one first has to define some order as the point of departure, and therefore we looked for majorities for every verse x to be followed by verse $x+1$. In this way, we succeeded in finding a sequence of 64 verses where for each of such pairs (verse no. 1 and 2, no. 2 and 3, no. 3 and 4 etc.) there is a majority in the copies at our disposal. This task was easier than we had anticipated. The number of instances where more than just one manuscript has an alternative sequence is three. In two cases, two manuscripts agree in such a way. In the third case, there is agreement on a different sequence in no less than six manuscripts, but nevertheless these six have a clear minority status as against the remaining twelve manuscripts. From now on, this 'majority sequence' of 64 verses will be called the *standard order*. Again, it is conceivable that none of our 18 manuscripts displays this order without any deviation, but one actually does so. The other ones show a wide spectre of deviation. Counting every addition, omission and transposition of one verse as a single instance of deviation, it emerged that the number of deviations ranged from 1 to 28. The aim of this paper is to describe two characteristics of our deviation statistics.

All beginnings are easy?

To begin with, there is a group of copies displaying only minor deviation from our *standard order*. The term 'minor' was, somewhat arbitrarily, defined as encompassing zero to a maximum of five deviations. In actual fact, the reasoning behind our definition of 'minor' was influenced by the fact that this group constitutes a majority of 11 out of a total of 18 manuscripts. The striking feature of this group is that all but two do not show any deviations prior to verse 28, and that of the 32 deviations only four occur prior to verse 39 (within a poem of just 64 lines in length). From this point on, the omissions, additions and transpositions are dispersed almost evenly across the remaining verses. In other words, deviations in the first half of the poem are conspicuously rare. This result is visualized in Table 1 above. How can this phenomenon be explained? It is still unknown whether the copies of the didactic poems were normally written down from memory or copied from other manuscripts. (Neither do we know which role dictation played.) Our family of eleven manuscripts may allow a tentative answer. Notwithstanding its family likeness, they seem to have been *written down (or dictated) from memory*, and memory seems to have worked better for the first half of the poem than for the rest of it.

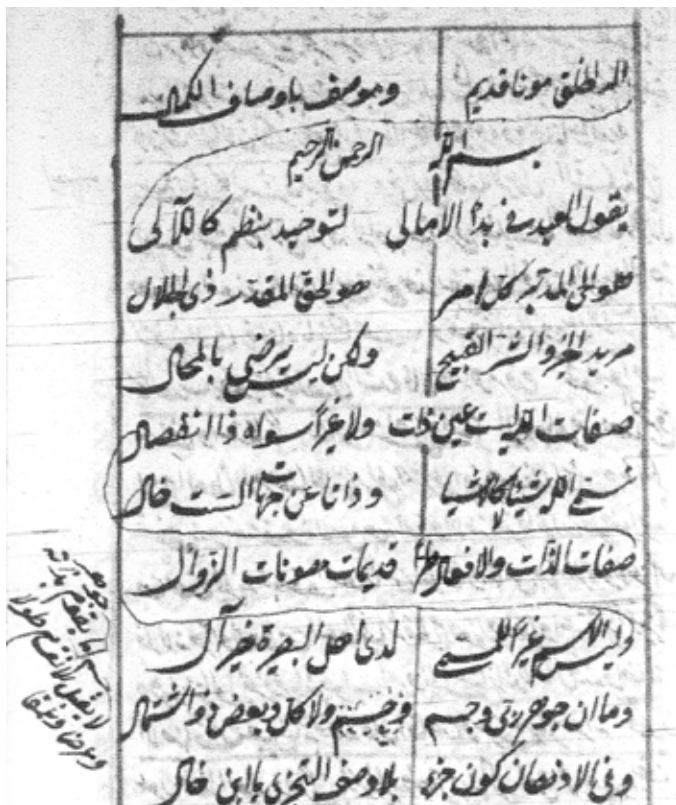


Fig.1: Ms. Yahuda 5807, fol. 79b

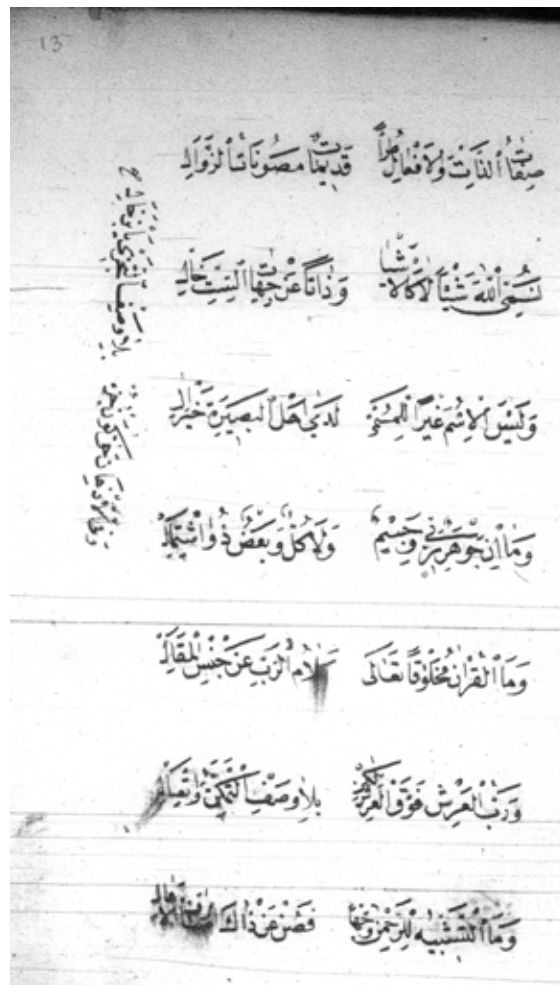


Fig. 2: Ms. Yahuda 5014, fol. 13a

Copies made from disordered sheets?

Secondly, there are two copies displaying a peculiar type of transposition of verses, as compared to the standard order. Longer blocks of verses are affected here, not only one, two or three lines as in the cases mentioned before. The first of these manuscripts has the following order: 1–21 / 31–39 / 50–57 / 22–30 / 40–49. (These figures are simplified, as there is some disorder within the blocks, and the copy contains seven additional verses.) Another manuscript inserts verses 32–40 after verse 22. A transposition of individual lines may be explained from the inaccuracies of human memory, but I doubt this explanation holds for jumping forward and backward in such a way. Two explanations come to mind. Either the poems were (sometimes) memorized in blocks, with only the sequence of these blocks being subject to erroneous transposition. Or, perhaps more likely, the copies were made from loose sheets whose order was not fixed by foliation or catchwords.

Outlook and two illustrations

Both phenomena cannot so far be explained with certainty, but further examination of copies of other didactic poems will, we hope, provide evidence for clarification. If our readers should happen to have come across similar cases of variance in verse order, we would be very grateful for any information. What seems clear is that our sub-project is dealing with written vestiges of a complicated interaction of oral and written transmission of knowledge.

In order to convey a visual impression of how these poems were written down and what attempts were made to check verse order, I have added two pictures. The first one (Fig. 1) displays a very strange order: verse 2 *standard order* is written above the common *basmala* formula that always precedes a text written by a Muslim. A stroke connects this addition (obviously written by the scribe who also wrote the rest of the poem, as the identity of the script shows) to the end of the first verse *standard order* in line 3. While this correction

is not difficult to notice because of the eye-catching fact that something has been written above the *basmala*, the second correction will easily be overlooked: Another stroke connects the end of line 6 to the beginning of line 8 (indicating that verse 7 *standard order* must follow verse 6 *standard order* immediately). Such a stroke alone, not accredited by any remark, might be considered as a secondary addition made by some later reader. (The third stroke connects verse 8 to 9 *standard order* and is, strictly speaking, unnecessary.)

The second photo from an other manuscript of al-Ūshī's poem (Fig. 2) shows how a verse left out erroneously (namely, verse 10 *standard order*) is supplemented in the margin. Here, the addition (again seemingly made by the same scribe) is accredited by the widespread use of the verb *ṣahḥa* 'this is

correct'. But the position where the supplemented verse has to be inserted is not quite clear. In fact, the correct position is at the end of line 4 (that is, after verse 9 *standard order*), where the supplemented verse actually begins. Nevertheless, later users of the manuscript might misplace the verse.

Picture credits:

Fig. 1: Princeton University Library, Manuscript Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

Fig. 2: Princeton University Library, Manuscript Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections

Article

Scribal Notation in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts: The *hewen* (Ligature) and the *chongwen* (Duplication) Marks

Imre Galambos | London

Early Chinese manuscripts and inscriptions often make use of two devices referred to by modern researchers as *hewen* 合文 (ligature) and *chongwen* 重文 (duplication). Both of them are signified with the same mark, comprising two small dashes which are placed below the lower right corner of the character. The mark resembles the character 二 written in a small script, similar to what we would today call a subscript.¹ Since the notation is identical in both cases, it is the context that determines whether it marks a joint character or a repetition.

The first examples of this notation date back to the oracle-bone records but their heyday was during the centuries BC 8th–3rd. While their use in inscriptional material up to the Han is relatively well-studied, there is almost no treatment of it with regard to paper manuscripts, especially ones from the post-Han period.² In this article, I would like to use the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan to demonstrate the application of this notation during the medieval period. This has added relevance because, although the continuity of orthography and its transitions from early China to the medieval period has been fairly well researched, the secondary or peripheral aspects of writing, such as the marking of repetitions or the notation used in editing and correcting mistakes, have received little attention.

Hewen (ligature)




Hewen is what modern researchers call a scribal device used on early manuscripts where two or more adjoining characters are united into a single composite graph. A parallel phenomenon in Western manuscript studies is the ligature, which is when ‘two consecutive letters are combined in such a manner

¹ Whether this notation is actually related to the character 二 is open to debate. Since such a connection is yet to be proven, I am, at this point, hesitant to make a definite identification of this mark with any particular character in the Chinese script.

² For examples of *hewen* on oracle-bone inscriptions, see Qiu 1992a and 1992b. On the same phenomenon on Warring States seals, see Wu 1989; on bronze inscriptions, see Shen 2002.

that one or both lose their normal form to a greater or lesser degree’.³

The joint graph appears in the text as a single entity and is ‘unpacked’ into its original components by the reader, who reads and pronounces it as a multisyllabic string. Strictly speaking, *hewen* is a graphical device without any direct indication of phonetic changes; it is read as the combination of its original component graphs, and is pronounced as if these were written out in full. Of course, it is also possible that, at least in some cases, the *hewen* also represented a phonetic abbreviation but we do not currently have any evidence for this.⁴



Hewen was relatively common in pre-Qin times but almost completely disappeared in later periods. It used to be marked with two short parallel strokes added below the lower right corner of the graph. Generally speaking, this device was used for characters that commonly occurred together, even if the words they represented did not form a grammatical unit. For example, the characters 之所 appear in the Houma covenant texts (ca. 490 BC) as , while the characters 之日 in the Baoshan bamboo strips (ca. 320 BC) as . In the Kongzi shilun 孔子詩論 manuscript (ca. 300 BC) in the Shanghai Museum collection, the characters 上下 are written together sharing their horizontal stroke as a single constellation of .

In each of these cases, the reader is alerted with the *hewen* mark at the lower right corner of the graph. Technically speaking, writing the two characters this way was not an abbreviation, since even if the scribe economized one stroke in the characters themselves, he still had to write two more to indicate the omission. Instead, in continuous text, it was perhaps more of an indication that these characters appeared together frequently, even if the words they stood for did not

³ Lowe 1980, vol. 1:158.

⁴ The use of ligatures in Western liturgical traditions (e.g. Church Slavic) also points to the predominantly graphical nature of this device.



Fig. 1: A fragment from the Houma covenant texts. Even within this short text, the *hewen* with the word 子孫 occurs three times, most clearly in the last line as  in the phrase 及子孫 ('down to his descendants'). Another *hewen* combination on the same fragment is the name of the city of Handan 邯鄲, appearing as .

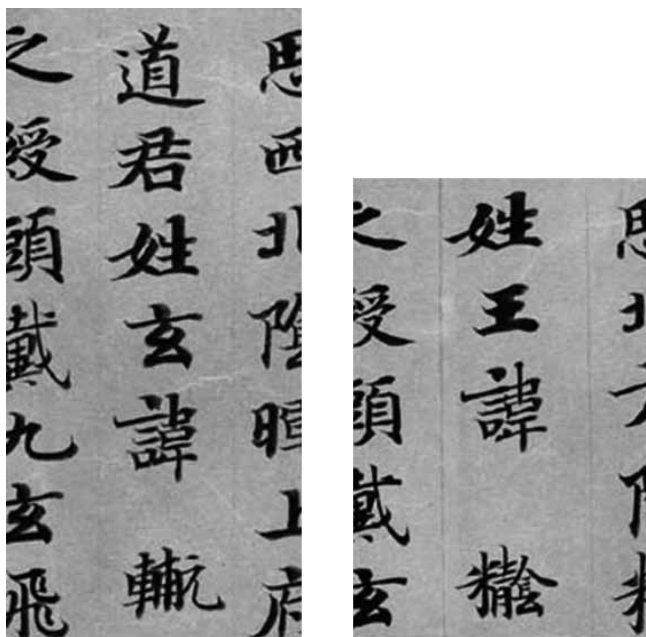






Fig. 2: Two sections from manuscript Or.8210/S.238, showing the composite characters and the empty space left before them. On the left image we can see the name 元輔 written as a single unit; and on the right one, the name 陰精

form a compound. In other words, the words written by joint characters do not always form a semantic unit and their relationship is simply that of collocations.


An interesting type of *hewen* was when one of the two original characters structurally already included the other. For example, in the Houma covenant texts (ca. 490 BC) we often see the form , which stood for the characters 子孫 (Fig. 1). From a structural point of view, this was only the character 孫 with the *hewen* sign underneath, alerting the reader that some sort of duplication was at play. Since the orthography of the character 孫 already incorporated the character 子 as a component, 孫 was enough to represent both of them. Examples of similar usage from the Warring States period are the characters 大夫 written as 夫_二 on seals, or 孔子 written as 孔_二 on so-called Chu manuscripts.

In Western Zhou and Warring States periods, when the use of *hewen* and *chongwen* was most common, the notation for both of these devices was identical: a small double-notch sign placed underneath the lower right corner of the character. In both cases, the mark indicated a doubling: either that two characters have been joined together, or that one was to be read twice.






In medieval Chinese manuscript culture, the use of *hewen* differed markedly from that seen in pre-Qin manuscripts. Although we can find a number of examples of joint characters, these always tend to have a semantic justification for being grouped together. On manuscript Or.8210/S.529, a series of letters of introduction dated from 9th-10th centuries, the name of monks Guiwen 歸文 and Dequan 德全 are joined into single graphs as  and , respectively. While the other characters in the manuscript are distinctly separated from each other, these names appear written together as single entities. The obvious reason behind writing names like this would be to treat them as a whole, lending them an emblematic quality.

Manuscript Or.8210/S.238⁵ with a Taoist text called *Jin zhen yuguang bajingfei jing* 金真玉光八景飛經 bears a colophon dating the document to 692 AD. There are two cases of joint characters within the main text: the first one is the name Yuanfu 元輔 written as , appearing in the string 道君姓玄諱元輔. The interesting phenomenon is that an empty space stands before the composite character on the manuscript, as if indicating that, if not for the name taboo, part of the graph to follow would have actually been written in that space (Fig. 2). In other words, there is enough physical space left for 'unpacking' the joint character. The same text has also been preserved in the Taoist Canon, only there

⁵ All manuscripts from the Stein collection in the British Library, beginning with 'Or.8210', are taken from the IDP website: <http://idp.bl.uk>.

the characters appear without observing the taboo. The second example within the same manuscript is very similar. In this case, it is the name Yinjing 陰精 in the string 道君姓王諱陰精, written as . In the new character, the character 精 is fully present but 陰 is missing its radical, thus in this case the fusion also involves an abbreviation.

It is clear from the context that, in this case, the composite character was used as a means of observing a name taboo for deceased masters. This was very similar in nature to the name taboo of imperial names during a given dynasty. The characters 世 and 民 in the Tang dynasty, for example, were routinely written without their last stroke due to the fact that they occurred in the personal name of Li Shimin 李世民, the founder of the dynasty. It was also a common practice to replace these two characters with 代 and 人 writing more or less synonymous words. In the case of the two composite characters seen in the Taoist manuscript Or.8210/S.238 above, the name taboo was observed by writing the names of the late masters together as single units, and by leaving an empty space before the joint character. Needless to say that while the joint graphs function as a *hewen*, their use and application are very unlike those seen on pre-Qin manuscripts.⁶

At the same time, there is a small number of words that occasionally appear in Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang in the form of *hewen*. The most common of these is the graph  standing for the word *pusa* 菩薩 (*bodhisattva*).⁷ Another joint graph is for the word *puti* 菩提 (*bodhi*), written as  or . The last form here overlaps in structure with how the word *pusa* 菩薩 was abbreviated and can be distinguished only with the help of the context. A somewhat less frequent example of *hewen* in the Dunhuang material is the word *niepan* 涅槃 (*nirvāṇa*) which was sometimes written as  or .⁸ Now it is apparent that all three examples are Buddhist technical terms and in this sense their usage is closely reminiscent of Western ligatures. It is perhaps significant that each of these three words was a transliteration of a Sanskrit term and because of this their individual component characters had no semantic significance. Another important aspect is that these forms never appear in sutras but only in non-canonical

texts, such as commentaries or transformation texts.⁹ This shows that the *hewen* forms were not accepted as standard forms and were banned from canonical usage.

Beside the above examples, there are also the cases of the graphs 廿 (twenty), 卅 (thirty), and 卌 (forty) which were commonly used in medieval Chinese manuscripts, although not limited to them. While some researchers believe that these were read as two-syllable words in medieval times, and thus represented true cases of *hewen*, there is also evidence to the contrary. For example, the celebrated Song dynasty scholar Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202) described how, in transmitted sources, the odes on the First Emperor's steles were composed in four-character units, except when a date was involved, when these would become five-character units (e.g. 維二十六年, 維二十九年, 三十有七年).¹⁰ When a fragment of one of the steles was discovered, it became clear that the numbers in the dates had originally been written with the joint form (e.g. 廿有六年) and thus did not violate the tetrasyllabic principle. Of course, this also means that these joint characters were read as a single syllable, at least during the Qin, and because of this they should be considered characters in their own right, rather than *hewen* combinations.


The above cases are the types of *hewen* that occur in medieval Chinese manuscripts. An important difference from early usage is that *hewen* in Dunhuang and Turfan is never marked. Although there are many different kinds of notations for repetition, deletion or insertion of characters, it was not considered necessary to indicate composite characters in writing. The obvious reason for this was that, in contrast with the use of *hewen* in early Chinese manuscripts, combined characters in medieval practice made up meaningful units (e.g. words, names). Accordingly, there seems to be no direct evolutionary connection between the use of *hewen* in pre-Qin and in medieval times.


Chongwen

In pre-Qin manuscripts, the *hewen* mark was identical to that of *chongwen*, but while in the first case it meant that two characters were fused into a single unit, in the second it indicated that a character or a string of characters was to be read twice. The reader had to rely on the context to determine how to interpret the mark. Unlike the case with the *hewen*, the *chongwen* device in medieval manuscripts suggests a direct connection with the pre-Qin one. In both its function and ap-

⁶ It is also worth mentioning here the Daoist tradition of combining characters into elaborate talismans (*fu* 符). Such graphic constellations, however, are strictly speaking not part of writing habits, and shall not be considered here.

⁷ The following examples are from Huang 2005.

⁸ Interestingly, the late 10th century dictionary *Longkan shoujian* 龍龕手鑑, compiled on the basis of Tang-Song Buddhist manuscripts, identified these *hewen* graphs as consisting of two separate sounds. For the graph , for example, it says, 'pronounced *mang*, meaning the abundant growth of vegetation; also pronounced as the two characters *pusa*' 莫朗反, 草木多生不死也; 又音菩薩二字, revealing that it identifies the same graph both as a variant form of the character 莽, and as a *hewen* for the word *pusa*.

⁹ A similar pattern can be observed with regard to the use of the graph , a non-standard form of the character 佛 (Buddha). This form, coinciding with the modern Japanese way of writing the same character, was never used in sutras, only in non-canonical Buddhist texts.

¹⁰ Hong 1978:69–70.

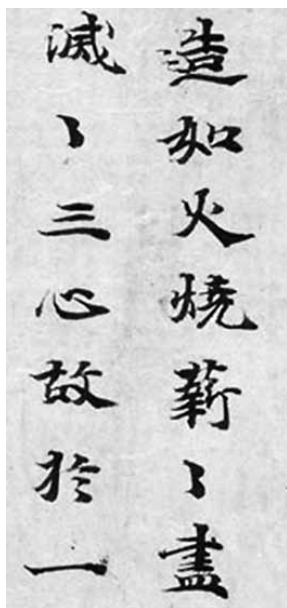


Fig. 3: Section of manuscript Or.8210/S.1547 showing the use of the 𠃉 repetition mark. The characters 薪 in the first line and 滅 in the second are repeated

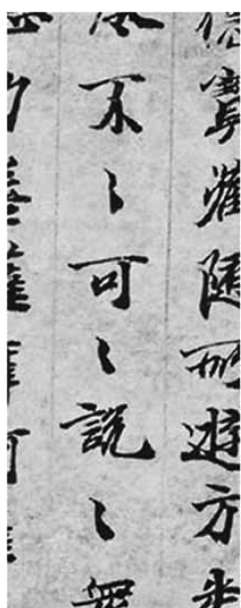


Fig. 4: Repetition marks for multi-character *chongwen*

A: Or.8210/S.2067



B: 80TBI:009



C: Or.8210/S.116

pearance, it remained practically unchanged, as abundantly manifested in the Dunhuang and Turfan corpora.

Principally speaking, there are two kinds of *chongwen*: single and multiple ones. In the first type, only one character is repeated, whereas in the latter two or more. While this may seem a trivial distinction, the notation for these in actual usage was somewhat different. The single character repetition is simply marked by a small 𠃉 mark in place of the second character. This mark was sometimes written as 𠃊 or 𠃋, and probably derived from the pre-Qin *chongwen* mark. Nevertheless, the form 𠃉 is by far the most common in Dunhuang and Turfan. An important difference between early and medieval usage was that, in the latter, the mark was placed within the main text, in place of the omitted second character. In this way, the repetition mark occupied a full character space.

Or.8210/S.1547, for example, is a manuscript of the *Chengshilun* 成實論 (**Tattvasiddhi-śāstra*) dated to 512 AD. At the very end of the scroll, we find the following two sentences (given below in modern punctuation):

如火燒薪，薪盡則滅，是人亦爾，以不受故滅。滅三心故於一切諸苦永得解脫。

Such a man is like a fire burning the firewood: once the firewood is exhausted, it will become extinguished; this man is

also like this; because he receives no more, he becomes extinguished. If he extinguishes the three minds, he will attain eternal liberation from all sufferings.

Underlined in the translation are two cases of *chongwen*: first the character 薪 and then a bit later the character 滅. In each case, the second character is omitted and a 𠃉 mark is placed in its stead (Fig. 3). Although the characters do not form a single unit in the text grammatically (i.e. 薪薪, or 滅滅) and, in a modern punctuated transcription, are separated from each other by a comma or a period, this did not stop the medieval scribe from applying the *chongwen* device purely based on their physical adjacency.

In multi-character repetition, the *chongwen* mark is placed either underneath the character or at its lower right corner. An example of the former usage is Or.8210/S.2067 (Fig. 4/A) where the characters 不可說 ('indescribable' or 'unspeakable') are repeated in the phrase 'indescribable and indescribable myriads of sentient beings' 不可說不可說眾生. What makes this case different from the single *chongwen* seen above is that the three characters are to be read together and only then repeated as a string. At least theoretically, it would be possible to read them repeated one by one as 不不可可說說 but this would produce a meaningless string of characters. Therefore, the context is used by the reader for disambiguation.

The other way of marking multi-character *chongwen* can be seen on manuscript 80TBI:009 discovered in Turfan (Fig. 4/B), where the device is marked with a slanted double dash underneath the lower right corner of the character. The section shown on the picture contains two such cases: in the first line, we find Buddha's habitual exclamation *shanzai shanzai* 善哉善哉 ('Excellent, excellent!'); and in the third line, the words *biqiu biqiuni* 比丘比丘尼 ('monks and nuns') are written with the characters 比丘 marked as having to be read twice. This latter case is a wonderful example to show that the *chongwen* device is completely unrelated to the grammatical structure of the text and it relies solely on the physical position (i.e. adjacency) of characters. In other words, *chongwen* appears to be concerned only with characters, not words or sentences.

In addition, the doubled *chongwen* mark is sometimes written as a single slanted stroke, as can be seen in manuscript Or.8210/S.116 (Fig. 4/C), where the word *niepan* 涅槃 (*nirvāṇa*) is marked in this way. In this particular case, the repeated word occurs at the end of one sentence and the beginning of another: 'This is why it is called the Great *Nirvāṇa*. In *Nirvāṇa* there is no pleasure...' 故名大涅槃。涅槃無樂。 In the first sentence, the word is actually 'Great *Nirvāṇa*' (i.e. *Mahānirvāṇa*), thus the second use of the word is semantically not completely parallel. In this respect, this usage is similar to that of the words *biqiu biqiuni* 比丘比丘尼 ('monks and nuns').

Looking through concrete examples of *chongwen*, it is apparent that the device was optional in medieval manuscripts. Even in documents where it occurs, there are places of often identical context where it is not used and the characters are 'spelled out' in their full form. In fact, there are fewer cases where *chongwen* is used than where it is not—it is rather an exception than the norm.

Summary

The use of *hewen* and *chongwen* devices in medieval manuscripts is interesting from the point of view of the transmission of scribal practices in Chinese history. While the *hewen* in the medieval corpus shows no similarity to Warring States usage, *chongwen* remains a common phenomenon and is marked in a similar way as it was fifteen hundred years earlier. This observation is significant because we do not have any evidence that such scribal techniques would have been taught. They are certainly absent from the linguistic treatises, dictionaries and primers describing some of the more obvious features of the script (correct character forms, variants, etc). Therefore, the analogous use of the *chongwen* device and its similar notation arguably demonstrate a direct continuity between pre-Qin and Tang-Song manuscript culture.

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Picture credits:

- Fig. 1: Tracing from Shanxi 1976: 264.
- Fig. 2: International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk>), Or.8210/S.238. Copyright of the British Library.
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Article

Liaoye—a Chinese Ligature in Uigur Manuscripts from the 13th and 14th Centuries*

Peter Zieme | Berlin

The Chinese *liaoye* 了也 means ‘it is finished’. Confining myself here mainly to Uigur Buddhist texts, among which several use Chinese characters as logographs, I would like to point out that this expression often occurs at the end of chapters, books or other text units of a given work. It was most frequently translated into Turkic as *tükädi*, meaning ‘it is finished’. In one case, we also find a phonetic transcription of the Chinese: *lyw y-*¹ (Fig. 1). This transcription corresponds well to the expected pronunciation *lew’jia*². The pronunciation of the first character as *leu* [lyw] is also preserved in a different context in a fragment of the St. Petersburg Collection edited by M. Shōgaito.³

In Chinese, these two characters are written one after the other as is also the case in several Uigur manuscripts using Chinese characters in a mixed system. One example is a manuscript which contains a passage about auspicious and inauspicious days ending in 了也⁴ (Fig. 2). At the end of the fragment Ch/U 7475, we find *liao ye* written horizontally according to the Chinese order (from right to left) (Fig. 3).⁵ However, in some Uigur manuscripts, all of which belong

to the late period of Uigur Buddhist culture, i.e. the Yuan or more roughly the Mongol period (in the 13th and 14th centuries), we find instead of these two characters a special form which looks like a combination of both in one character. One may regard it as a ligature of both. This character could only have come into existence if the Uigur direction of writing is followed, i.e. from left to right. Recently, M. Shōgaito has edited some examples of Chinese texts which also show this ‘Uigur’ feature.⁶

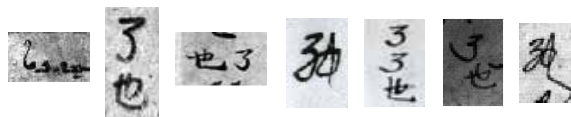


Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3 Fig. 4 Fig. 5 Fig. 6 Fig. 7

The first scholar to explain this special character was Tōru Haneda 羽田亨, when he studied the London manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-tīkā Tattvārtha* written in Uigur script and mixed with Chinese characters used as logographs for Uigur words. On folio 86a of the manuscript Or. 8212/75A, we find both modes: in line 10 (= 2582) the special sign is used (Fig. 4). It is followed in line 11 (= 2583) by the two characters written separately (the first is doubled) (Fig. 5). T. Haneda⁷ explained the character under discussion as a ligature of *liaoye*. Later, when M. Shōgaito studied this manuscript,⁸ he adopted Haneda’s statement. On the other hand, G. Kara and P. Zieme⁹ referred to the same solution without having received knowledge of Haneda’s and Shōgaito’s results. In the so-called *Totenbuch*, *liaoye* is written separately on two occasions¹⁰ (Fig. 6), but once as a ligature¹¹ (Fig. 7).

* I would like to express my thanks to Mr Wang Ding and Mr Yutaka Yoshida who provided valuable comments on several matters. My colleague Ms Simone-Christiane Raschmann helped me to find relevant data from among the Uigur documents. Most of the manuscripts cited here can be found as digital images in the International Dunhuang Project (IDP) or on the ‘Turfan Studies’ website of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (BBAW/Turfanforschung).

¹ U 3280 (T III M 174) described in Raschmann 2009, No. 551.

² Pulleyblank 1991, pp. 193, 363.

³ Shōgaito 2003, p. 130: *lyw*. Now also Shōgaito 2008, p. 51 fn. 64. Recently, Aydar Mirkamal proposed this explanation also for the following syntagma *uzatu lyw lwk ögdirlig orunta turup* ‘(they) may stay for long *lyw lwk* at this praised place’ in the Mogao Northern Grottoes text B 157:13, cp. Mirkamal 2008, pp. 85–86. Abdurishid Yakup gave no interpretation for this word, but considered it as the first part of the unexplained juncture *lyw ögdür*, cp. Yakup 2006, pp. 28–29.

⁴ Ch/U 6796 + Ch/U 6238 verso line 11, edited by Zieme 2002, p. 388.

⁵ Ch/U 7457 recto line 5. The text has been identified by Rong 2007, p. 442; it corresponds to the Chinese Tantric text T. 878 (Wang Ding located the parallels in vol. 18, p. 337 a13, 15–17, 21). On the verso side is a Tantric text in Uigur which is unrelated to the one on the recto side.

⁶ Shōgaito (forthcoming).

⁷ Haneda 1958, pp. 166–167. I am grateful to Ms Yukiyo Kasai for her help.


⁸ Shōgaito 1974, p. 044.

⁹ Zieme / Kara 1978, p. 10.

¹⁰ Or. 8212/109, fol. 55b (ed. 1222), Or. 8212/109, fol. 58b (ed. 1297a).

¹¹ Or. 8212/109, fol. 46a (ed. 1001).

Recently, Geng Shimin published parts of a newly found manuscript of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya-ṭīkā Tattvārtha* from Lanzhou in which the ligature also appears. But he concluded:

‘Here, as to the special sign ¹², I don’t think it is a ligature consisting of two Chinese characters 了也 (as Profs Haneda and Shōgaito did it). It would be a sign of ‘goodness’ put at the end of a chapter or a book. It seems to me that it is a deformed swastika _ put at the end of a book (like the Mongolian Buddhist scriptures). It would have the same meaning like the Chinese ‘善哉 shanzai (good)’ and the Sanskrit ‘薩¹³土 sādu (good)’ after it. In addition, in LM, after this special sign two Chinese characters 了也 (liao ye ‘finished’) are added. This point also proves that it is only a sign denoting the ‘auspiciousness’ at the end of a book or chapter.’¹⁴

This example shows that both forms were used, firstly the ligature, secondly the normal form.

It is also found in another Uigur manuscript edited by Semih Tezcan in 1974.¹⁵ After my 2006 article on some quotations in the *Insadi-sūtra* appeared¹⁶, I discussed one passage with Masahiro Shōgaito during his stay in Berlin. Following the suggestion presented by Geng Shimin in 2002 I concluded that in the *Insadi* manuscript, too, the character in question can be interpreted as a form of the *svastika*. Thus I read the character 卍 preceding the ligature as 萬 *wan* ‘ten-thousand’. M. Shōgaito rejected this reading, and I looked into my previous study of 1991, where I had already given the correct reading and interpretation of the sentence.¹⁷ Thus the sentence has to be read as follows 我正心誦學了也 (Fig. 8) *wo Zhengxin songxue liaoye* ‘I, Zhengxin (= Old Uigur Čisim), have recited and learned (it). It is finished.’

The recto side of the Chinese Buddhist scroll Ch/U 6845¹⁸ contains some Uigur attempts at copying Chinese characters taken from the original text. To the right of the character on the upper margin, the scribe used the special character (Fig. 9).

In the composite booklet U 5335, which contains a selection of poetical Chinese texts written only in Uigur script,

Chinese characters are rarely used. One of these cases is *liao* which appears seven times¹⁹, while only two times in a transcriptional form: *lyv*²⁰ different from the one cited above (*lyw*). The Chinese character *liao* could be used in the same way as *liaoye*.



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

As the ligature, i.e. the combination of two single characters *liao ye* is not known from Chinese or other traditions using the Chinese script, one has to conclude that it was introduced by the Uigurs, possibly induced by other words written in this way such as *ymäter* ‘one also says’ known from the mixed Chinese/Uigur *Āgama* and *Abhidharma* texts (Fig. 10). Not only were these words written as one word, they were also combined in a kind of ligature written side by side (from left to right) (Fig. 11).

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¹² I would like to express my thanks to Professor Geng Shimin for having provided me with a copy of the original text.

¹³ Written wrongly 莎.

¹⁴ Geng 2002, pp. 79–80. I would like to explain the repetition of *liaoye* written with two separate characters rather as an attempt to make the matter clear in the event of the ligature being unknown.

¹⁵ Tezcan 1974.

¹⁶ Zieme 2006, p. 11.

¹⁷ Zieme 1991, p. 316.

¹⁸ Cp. Raschmann 2009, No. 502.

¹⁹ U 5335: p. 3 l.4, p. 21 l. 5, p. 24 l. 6 and 10, p. 26 l. 2, p. 27 l. 6, p. 28 l. 11.

²⁰ U 5335: p. 15 l. 1, p. 28 l. 8.

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Article

Of Critical Editions and Manuscript Reproductions: Remarks apropos of a Critical Edition of *Pramāṇaviniścaya* Chapters 1 and 2*

Harunaga Isaacson | Hamburg

1. Introduction

It is regularly lamented that too few Sanskrit texts have been critically edited.¹ This is true, and I agree wholeheartedly that good critical editions by editors with learning and sound judgement are sorely needed, and that the production of such editions is one of the most important ways to advance the field. It should always be remembered, however, that a critical edition is, properly considered, a hypothesis (about some particular state of a text, not necessarily, as is often assumed, its original form, though that is no doubt the most usual case). This does not mean that it is ‘not scientific’ or ‘ahistorical’;² on the contrary, the forming and the refining

of hypotheses is arguably the most important task of science and scholarship, be it in the natural sciences or in the humanities, including history and philology. But a ‘definitive critical edition’, popular though that phrase seems to be, is almost a contradiction in terms; and the production of even an excellent critical edition, by the most learned and discriminating of scholars, cannot mean that other scholars and students of a text will cease to consider the primary evidence of the manuscripts themselves, to test, critically, the editor’s hypothesis, and to form their own conclusions and hypotheses.

It is, of course, a fundamental task of the editor to provide information concerning the evidence on which that hypothesis is based, or at least to report (in the critical apparatus) the principal documentary evidence that does not directly support it, i.e. variant manuscript readings. But this alone will not be (or should not be) quite sufficient for all. Just as, in other fields, a scholar or scientist will not rest content merely with a colleague’s reporting of the evidence (data or observations) on which a proposed hypothesis rests, but will wish, sooner rather than later, to examine the evidence (or make the relevant observations and perhaps experiments) for himself or herself, so other scholars engaged in studying the same work will wish to examine for themselves the documentary (i.e. manuscript) evidence on which the hypothesis that the critical edition is based.

To these general considerations, which I would hold to be relevant not to Indologists alone, I shall now try to give some support and specificity by the examination of a recent publication. In the latter half of 2007 a book appeared which for multiple reasons should be, and has been, received with special rejoicing, in particular by Sanskritists and all those interested in Buddhist thought. It is the first edition to be published of the Sanskrit original of the first two chapters

* This paper has grown out of a review article which had grown out of a review of Steinkellner 2007. Though I have allowed myself to be persuaded to give the paper a more general title in view of the fact that indeed it seeks to make a general point relevant and, I think, of some importance, far beyond the field of the book that was my starting point, it retains nonetheless in many respects the nature of a review article. To save space, I use as far as possible the same sigla and abbreviations for sources (whether manuscripts, editions or secondary literature) as Steinkellner does, and ask readers to refer to his bibliography for details. I thank Prof Michael Friedrich (Hamburg), Prof Dominic Goodall (Paris/Pondicherry), Dr Albrecht Hanisch (Hamburg/Kathmandu) and Prof Jonathan Silk (Leiden) for their comments on a draft of this paper.

¹ Thus e.g. Witzel 1997, p. vi. The requirement, which Witzel clearly implies, that a critical edition should be one ‘with a stemma’ is, however, one which many, including myself, would not agree with. Whether or not a stemma (which is itself, after all, only a representation of a hypothesis about the relationship of the manuscripts, and sometimes other sources) can be plausibly constructed does not determine whether an edition can with justice be deemed critical. Furthermore, the so-called ‘stemmatic method’ or ‘Lachmannian method’ is far more problematic (both in theory and in application), and less unanimously agreed on, than is often realized. See Timpanaro 2005, as just one example from a large body of relevant literature.

² As is sometimes implied, e.g. by Schoening, pp. 179ff. Schoening’s surprisingly vehement rejection of critical editions in favour of diplomatic editions reflects a kind of lack of confidence (emendation being regarded with suspicion, although in fact it is often necessary, just as much in reading ancient texts as it is in reading contemporary texts from our own culture, in which everyone routinely emends on the basis of familiarity with language and subject-matter), rather limited familiarity with textual criticism and with

the extensive literature on its theory and methods, and a narrow conception of science/scholarship, in which no place seems to be left for hypotheses. For a more balanced view see e.g. Tanselle 1995, pp. 9–32.

of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, one of the most influential, and arguably one of the most brilliant, works of the Indian Buddhist philosophical traditions. It is based on sources which had long been completely inaccessible, part of the corpus of Sanskrit manuscripts, including many that are more than eight hundred years old, surviving in Tibet, which has been described as 'one of the last 'hidden' treasures of Asia' (Steinkellner 2003, 30).³ And it is the crown, for the moment at least (there is the promise of yet more to follow), of a scholarly enterprise that can be traced back more than forty years (or, if we take into account the fact that the study of this particular area of the Indian philosophical tradition was pioneered by Steinkellner's teacher, Erich Frauwallner, some seventy-five years), and of what may reasonably be called a diplomatic effort of nearly twenty-five years.

Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* was long thought to have been lost in its original Sanskrit; pioneering Western translations and studies of the first chapter by Vetter (1966) and of the second by Steinkellner (1973) had to be based, of necessity, on the Tibetan translation and on fragments collected from the numerous citations in other works available in Sanskrit. In his introduction to the edition under discussion (p. ix), Steinkellner reports having first heard 'whispered news' of the existence of Sanskrit manuscripts (in China) in 1984. A fragment, a single folio of a Sanskrit manuscript, was discovered in Nepal by K. Matsuda and published jointly by Matsuda and Steinkellner (Matsuda/Steinkellner 1991); but it was not until January 2004, we are told, that access to the manuscripts in China became possible, thanks to a (historic) agreement of cooperation between the China Tibetology Research Centre and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (p. ix-x).⁴ That a critical edition of the first two chapters has been published less than four years thereafter is impressive; this would probably not have been possible (certainly not at the high level that we find here) for anyone other than Steinkellner.

My aim is, however, not simply to celebrate (though celebrations are most certainly in order), but to examine the publication under discussion critically, as a critical edition deserves to be examined. This I shall do in the following sequence: firstly (in section II) I will discuss the use which the edition has made of the primary documentary evidence

on which it is based (i.e. the readings of the manuscripts); then (in section III) the collection of testimonia which are presented in a separate critical apparatus; and thirdly (in section IV) the critical text itself. I move thus, somewhat unconventionally perhaps, from the presentation of the evidence to the presentation of the editor's reconstruction based thereon. Finally, I shall comment briefly on the introduction and indices (in section V), and (in section VI) offer a few concluding remarks.

2. The manuscript evidence and its presentation in the critical apparatus

As stated in the introductory section above, a serious reader of a critical edition will want to consider for himself or herself the evidence on which the editor's reconstruction is based. A part of that evidence, presumably the most important part, is normally presented in the critical apparatus, and that is of course the case in this edition as well. It is necessary, therefore, to read the apparatus together with the edited text and, while doing so, to consider at each place whether the reading chosen is really that which best accounts for the evidence of the manuscript readings. At some point, however, the critical reader will no longer be able to rest content with what is only the editor's own reporting of the evidence, but will, as already remarked, wish to examine that evidence directly, at the very least in places where the text seems doubtful or problematic, and quite possibly even more extensively.⁵

In the case of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, the examination of the manuscript evidence is currently only possible to a very limited extent, since access to the copies of the manuscripts held in the library of the China Tibetology Research Centre remains restricted (and even Steinkellner was not in a position to consult the originals). Fortunately, however, the volume contains reproductions of eight manuscript sides; two each from MS A and MS D, and one each from MSS B, C, E and N. Of these, N is the fragment of a single folio, preserved in the National Archives, Kathmandu, that was already published, with a reproduction, in Matsuda/Steinkellner 1991. It contains text from the third chapter of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

³ Although, as announced in footnote * above, I use the same abbreviation as Steinkellner does in his bibliography, the item concerned was published in 2004 (as is, in fact, recorded in that bibliography). Perhaps Steinkellner himself refers to it as 'Steinkellner 2003' because the text printed in this small monograph was the Gonda Lecture for 2003, at the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

⁴ The story of the years of preparation leading up to this agreement is a fascinating one, which has been told, grippingly, in Steinkellner 2003.

⁵ Of course, the manuscript readings are not the only evidence on which the editor's decisions are based. Many other kinds may be relevant: the evidence of citations, of parallels, of translations (for instance, in the case of Indian Buddhist works such as the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, that of the canonical Tibetan translation), of metre, of grammar, of logic and of internal consistency. Obviously, just which kinds of other evidence are relevant, and how significant they are, may differ greatly from one text to another (or, within one work, from passage to passage). I confine myself in the present paper almost entirely to considering the evidence of the readings of manuscripts of the edited work, a type of evidence which, in a sense, can be called primary, even though this does not necessarily mean that it will always outweigh other kinds of evidence.

MSS D and E also do not contain, in the state in which they were available (as copies) to Steinkellner, any text from the first two chapters. Thus only four of the sides of manuscript folios reproduced were used in this edition, and these make up just under 2 percent of the total manuscript material on which Steinkellner's edition is based.⁶

I have compared these four sides with Steinkellner's text and his apparatus of variant readings. That there are some discrepancies, i.e. places where the manuscripts have not been read or reported accurately, should come as no surprise to those who have first-hand experience of the work involved in producing a critical edition such as this one. I have noticed the following cases where correction, at least to the apparatus, seems to be necessary. References are by page and line of the edited text.

1, 3. A probably reads *vyaktan* (f. 1v1) rather than *vyaktas*, as reported in the apparatus.⁷ Since *vyaktan* is a non-substantive sandhi variant (of a type which Steinkellner does not record) for the accepted *vyaktam*, which is reported to be the reading of C (B is illegible here, according to an earlier entry in the apparatus), the entry in the apparatus could (or should) be deleted.

1, 5. A is reported as reading *avadhareneti* for the adopted *avadhīraṇeti*. The reading *re* here cannot be right; a medial *e* would be much more curved than is the stroke that has been so interpreted.⁸ Almost certainly A in fact reads *avadhīraṇeti* (f. 1v1-2), with the medial *ī* being slightly broken, whether

⁶ By my count, the first two chapters of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* cover (though not completely) a total of 202 folio-sides in the three MSS used by Steinkellner. A more precise calculation would, of course, have to take into consideration the fact that not each folio-side has the same quantity of text written on it; in particular, C has considerably less text per folio-side than A or B. Greater precision is not, however, of importance to me here; it suffices to note that only roughly 2 percent of the manuscript material Steinkellner has used is reproduced, with some 98 percent remaining at present inaccessible, at least to the vast majority of scholars.

⁷ This results in a ligature *nta*, which is indeed quite hard to distinguish, at least in the rather small reproduction, from *sta*, as Steinkellner in effect reads. Comparison with other instances of the ligature *nta* show, however, that the reading *nta* here is extremely probable. Cf. for example the *nta* in *nāntarīyakatāyāms* at A f. 1v5, or that in *pramāṇāntaram* at A f. 1v7. The *nta* in *antarbhāvāt* at A f. 1v3 is however different, so that we must conclude that the scribe has two different graphs for this ligature, although the one at the last mentioned place is used, to judge from this side at least, less frequently. Unfortunately, there is no instance of *sta* on this side; the other side of A which has been reproduced, f. 26v, is written in another hand. Note that the *stā* on that side, at A f. 26v5, can be clearly read, with no possibility of confusion with *ntā* (there are no instances of *sta* with short *a*, but the presence of an additional stroke for the long vowel should not affect the appearance of the consonant cluster).

⁸ For a real *re* as the scribe of A would write it, see f. 1v4 (in *anvayavyatirekāv*).

due to a flaw in (or damage to) the manuscript, or as an artifact of multiple reproduction. This entry in the apparatus too could (or should) therefore probably be deleted.

8, 1. B is reported as reading *apanipatya*, in place of the *upanipatya* which is recorded as the reading of A and C and which has been accepted in the text. In my view, B can probably be read, however, as also having *upanipatya* (f. 3v1); though the sign for (medial, after the *d* of the preceding *tasmād*) *u* is small, I think the scribe should be 'given the benefit of the doubt', in which case this entry in the apparatus too might be deleted.

8, 11–12. No variant is reported for *sambhavati*; but B (f. 3v4) reads in fact not that but *bhavati*.

9, 9. For *avikalpakam* again no variant is recorded; but B (f. 3v7) reads *avikalpam*.

82, 7. For *kṣaṇasthāyī*, adopted in the text and reported as being the reading of MSS B and C, A is recorded as reading *kṣaṇas'ātasthāyī*. It reads, however, almost certainly *kṣaṇamāstrasthāyī* (f. 26v7), a substantive variant.

84, 14. For *aṃśena*, accepted in the text and reported as being the reading of MSS A and B, C is recorded as reading *aṅgena*. I read C, however, as having *aṃśena*⁹ (f. 32v1), which would be a non-substantive orthographic variant for *aṃśena*, of a type usually not recorded.

85, 4. For *idaṃ gamyate*, the adopted text, no variants are recorded. But C reads *idaṃ avagamyate* (f. 32v2–3). Note that at 82, 11 C is reported as reading *avagamyate* for the *gamyate* which there too has been adopted.

85, 8. The apparatus reports C alone among the manuscripts as reading the adopted *tatkāryaḥ*, for which the Tibetan translation (*de'i bras bur*) is also quoted as support; the other manuscripts, A and B, are recorded as having *kāryaḥ*. However, C reads *kāryaḥ* (f. 32v4). We are left uncertain whether this means that, in fact, none of the manuscripts have *tatkāryaḥ*, or whether the sigla of two manuscripts have been exchanged due to a slip (i.e. whether it is A or B, neither of which the reader can check, which reads *tatkāryaḥ*). Note that the *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti*, Dharmakīrti's early work, of which he is re-using the wording here, also has

⁹ *ś* and *g* are certainly similar in the Proto-Bengali script of the scribe of MS B, but *ś* can nonetheless be easily distinguished by the additional curve in the top, which is clearly visible here.

kāryaḥ (PVSV 22, 6).¹⁰ The weight of evidence in favour of *tatkāryaḥ* is therefore less than one would at first suppose; exactly how much less cannot be determined without confirming what A and B read here. If their readings are correctly reported, a future editor will surely decide to adopt *kāryaḥ*, with all the manuscripts and with the support of the wording of the *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti*.

85, 9. For *asaty apy* (with no variant recorded), C reads *apy asaty* (f. 32v5).

The above amount to ten places where the manuscripts seem to have been misread. Four are cases where an entry in the critical apparatus could be deleted (since a variant reported, when checked against the MS reproductions, turns out to be incorrect, with the MS reading identical with the accepted text, bar orthographical variation of a type generally not recorded). The remaining six all concern substantive variants which have either been inaccurately reported or not reported. Probably in only one of these passages (85, 8) is there a substantial likelihood that a future editor may make a different decision as regards the constitution of the text; nonetheless, the other five too are of interest at least for the study of the transmission and perhaps the reception of Dharmakīrti's work.

Extrapolating from these numbers, one would arrive at the estimate that, if all the manuscript evidence which Steinkellner used were to be checked, the number of errors, including errors of omission, in reporting manuscript readings might be found to be around 500, with around 300 of those concerning substantive variants. It is possible that the number would, in fact, be somewhat smaller; but be that as it may, comparison of these four manuscript sides with the edition and apparatus demonstrates clearly that, as asserted above on much more general grounds of principle, scholars engaged in careful study of Dharmakīrti's work will want to have the possibility to consult (reproductions of) the manuscripts themselves.

3. Testimonia

The top apparatus 'contains all references to the testimonia known to me' (i.e. to Steinkellner) 'at this time' (p. xl), with, in the case of testimonia which had been identified earlier, attribution to the scholar who had first noticed them, and

¹⁰ This is not reported in Steinkellner's apparatus; as he explains, he adduces the readings of testimonia of various kinds—including Dharmakīrti's frequent self-citations or adaptations of his earlier formulations—only occasionally, in some cases where 'the primary sources are insufficient for a decision between equally possible alternatives' (p. xli; cf. p. xlii). This particular case might, however, be deemed to fall in just that category.

if the earlier identification was unpublished, a brief statement of the circumstances under which it was communicated to Steinkellner. These earlier identifications are many; but there is also a very substantial number of testimonia, that have been now for the first time identified, by Steinkellner himself.

The decision has been made not to report all the variants found in the testimonia (cf. footnote 10 above.) This is quite understandable, especially given that most of the texts in which they are found have not been critically edited. Nonetheless, there are some places where the evidence of the testimonia could play a significant role in establishing the text, and it is in part through making greater use of this evidence that a future, new, critical edition might, I think, occasionally be able to find scope for improvement.

The references to testimonia that have been identified are, as far as I can see (without having exhaustively checked them), very accurate indeed. However, numerous though they are, particularly for the first chapter, the collection of testimonia is still not complete, even for the works from which they have been culled.¹¹ Restricting myself here to the same corpus, with the addition of only one other text, namely Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (AAĀ),¹² a masterpiece of post-Dharmakīrtian Buddhist philosophy and soteriology, which quotes on several occasions from Dharmakīrti's works (and whose apparent neglect by Steinkellner is somewhat surprising), I have noted the following that can be added to the collection. It is no doubt to be expected that there are yet others from this corpus which have so far escaped my attention as well as Steinkellner's. References are by page and line of the edition; in the case of verses, verse and pāda references are added after the text passage. I use the same system of identifying testimonia of different kinds that Steinkellner does; see his explanation on pp. xxxv–xxxvi.¹³

¹¹ No doubt there are quite a few works, especially unpublished ones, which have not yet been searched for testimonia which may yield some.

¹² My references are to Wogihara 1932–1935.

¹³ Relevant for my supplementary list are Ci' 'citatum in alio usus secundarii / citation in another text used secondarily, that is, a passage not marked by an author as being a citation', and Ci'e 'citatum in alio usus secundarii modo edendi / citation in another text used secondarily, that is, not marked by an author as being a citation, with redactional changes'. Incidentally, an explanation of the category Ce' (which should be *citatum ex alio usus secundarii*) seems to have been omitted.

Additional Testimonia for PV in chapters 1 and 2

Page, line	Text (abbreviated)	Testimonium
1, 10	na hy ... viṣaṃvādyate	PST 62, 10f ¹⁴
4, 6–7	pramāṇe°... sadbhāvaḥ (1.2a–c)	MṛV 149, 7f
7, 7	abhilāpa°... kalpanā	TĀV IV 26, 9f ¹⁵
9, 7	arhasya ... °payogāt	NBhūṣ 182, 24
10, 1–2	jāti°... °yogāt	NBhūṣ 183, 10f
19, 11–12	bhinna°... °kṣamam (1.20)	NPT 29, 15f; ŚD 149, 12f; ĪPVV II 159, 6f
20, 3–4	niṣpādita°... atipatati	AAĀ 2, 8f
21, 1–2	nainam ... virodhāt ¹⁶	ŚVT I 123, 12f; ŚVT I 258, 14f
21, 11	tad°... °hetukāḥ (1.22ab)	AAĀ 175, 11; MṛV 69, 9
25, 6	ekam ...paśyāmaḥ	NPT 17, 12f
26, 3–6	saṃsargād ... °vastuṣu (1.25) ¹⁷	ĪPVV I 175, 21f
27, 13–28, 1	kāma°...iva	TĀV I 77, 15f; TĀV X 115, 14f ¹⁸
p. 28, 4–5	tasmād ... °phalam (1.31)	AAĀ 4, 26f
28, 11	na ... °pratibhāsita (1.32ab)	NK ¹ 188, 3f
29, 2	tan na ... sphuṭayati	ĪPVV II 410, 16 ¹⁹
29, 6	vikalpo ... upaplavaḥ (1.33ab)	AAĀ 158, 16
31, 3	na hi ... sādhanam	PST 1 66, 4f ²⁰
38, 5–6	avibhāgo ... lakṣyate (1.44)	NBhūṣ 57, 6f; NPT 20, 10f
40, 13	apratyakṣo°...prasidhyati (1.54cd)	AAĀ 97, 11
41, 12–13	svayam ... iti	ŚVT II 108, 20 ²¹
42, 1	siddhaḥ ... °yogāt	ŚVT II 108, 21 ²²
42, 3–4	saṃvedanam ...kasyacit	ĪPVV II 86, 11f
43, 9	bāhya°...°rekataḥ (1.56cd)	ĪPVV II 129, 1
60, 2	yāvān ... °palabdheḥ	NBhūṣ 288, 21; 289, 5; ĪPVV I 279, 15f
64, 9	nāsattā°... viprakarṣiṇām	R 80, 16f
86, 9–10	nityam ... °sambhavaḥ (2.58)	AAĀ 179, 14–15

4. The critical text

The edited text, i.e., to stress again what should perhaps be obvious, the editor's hypothesis, is, as was to be expected, a superb achievement. It is presented neatly enough in Devanāgarī type; some may find the readability reduced, however, by the potentially distracting plenitude of stars above the *akṣaras* (indicating the presence of a variant in the critical apparatus), raised lower-case roman letters (indicat-

ing the existence of a testimonium, with the details recorded in the apparatus dedicated thereto), lowered upper-case roman letters (indicating folio changes in the three manuscripts), and lowered numbers (indicating line changes in one of those manuscripts, A). The latter are printed more than once overlapping the lower parts of the *akṣaras*, e.g. at 2, 8, where the lowered number 5, marking the start of

¹⁴ Recorded as a citation from the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* in the apparatus of the edition of PST by Steinkellner, Krasser and Lasic, so that the omission here, in the apparatus of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* edition, is a somewhat surprising oversight.

¹⁵ Note that TĀV volume IV has different page numberings; numbering is started again from 1 at the beginning of the seventh *āhnika*. This citation is in the seventh *āhnika*, so on the second p. 26.

¹⁶ No testimonium had, it seems, hitherto been identified for this sentence.

¹⁷ The testimonium is of the verse only, not the prose between the verse-halves.

¹⁸ Steinkellner does note one other testimonium for this verse from the TĀV.

¹⁹ Clearly the *tatra* of the KSTS edition of the *Īsvaraṅgābhijñānavivṛti-vimarśinī* is an error for the (in Śāradā script particularly similar) *tan na*.

²⁰ Ci'e.

²¹ Ci'.

²² Ci'.

line 5 of A f. 1v, overlaps with the medial *u* of *vastu*^o, which does not make for really smooth reading. No doubt many readers would have preferred to have the text in Roman transliteration, if that would have avoided these problems.

According to the introduction (p. xlv), ‘the classical rules of *sandhi* have been consistently applied’. There are, in fact, some places where this is not the case (e.g. 25, 2, where we find *sukham anatisāye* printed instead of *sukham anatisāye*; 31, 10, where we find *iti ayam* printed instead of *ity ayam*; or 65, 6, where we find *tān śāstram* printed instead of *tāñ śāstram* or *tāñ chāstram*); but this is not likely to cause any trouble to readers.

Occasionally, the reading experience is slightly marred, however, by minor printing errors. For the most part, however, these can be quite easily recognized and corrected. Steinkellner has himself already published a list of thirty-three corrigenda, with two important addenda as well, to the book.²³ Of these thirty-three, sixteen concern rectifications of what should probably be classified as typographical errors in the text; the rest are corrections, again almost exclusively of typographical errors, to the introduction, the critical apparatus and the bibliography.

I have noticed a few further typographical errors in the critical text which could be added, if a ‘Corrigenda 3’ (see footnote 23) is to be prepared.²⁴

²³ Steinkellner 2008, pp. 207–208. The reason for the ‘2’ in the title of this paper is presumably (though this is not explained in the paper) that a PDF file with a less comprehensive list of corrigenda was made available earlier by Steinkellner online at http://ikga.oew.ac.at/Mat/steinkellner07_corrigenda.pdf (last consulted Nov. 24th, 2009). That is dated 16. 01. 2008, whereas the published article gives July 15, 2008, as its cutoff date (p. 207, asterisked note); it includes all the corrigenda in the earlier list.

²⁴ The following are the further corrigenda (in the strict sense; I do not note, for instance, cases of awkward phrasing in the English, which is generally good) I have noticed, apart from the corrections to the critical text, which could be added to a future integrated list.

Page, line	Printed Text	Correct Text
vii, n. 1, l. 17	translations	translations of PVin 3 ₁ , 1
xxvi, 8–9	<i>gṛdhrānupāsmāhe</i>	<i>gṛdhrān upāsmāhe</i>
xxxvii, 17	establishment	establishment
xxxviii, 23	<i>nānavayah</i>	<i>nānavayah</i>
xxxix, 4	2. 60, 4	2. 60, 6
2, App. 1, l. 3	(VETTER: 32 n. 2)	(VETTER: 32 n. 2)
34, App. 1, l. 2–3	(cf. NVTI 337,21–338, 11)	(cf. NVTI 337,21–338, 11)
41, App. 2, l. 3	pa’ phyir	pa’i phyir
51, App. 1, l. 1	NĪPP	NPT
57, App. 2, l. 2	°tvāt	°atvāt
104, 30	SSTAR	STAR

Additional Corrigenda to the Critical Edition

Page, line	Printed Text	Correct Text
47, 2	pratyakṣenānyathā	pratyakṣenānyathā
54, 3	abrūvan	abruvan
54, 3	brūvan	bruvan
85, 8	akāryatve ’kāranāt	akāryatve ’kāraṇāt

With printing errors corrected, the text presented is very readable. In most places, it is unlikely that it can be improved on, unless perhaps one day further important manuscript evidence should be discovered (though note section II above). This is not to say, however, that each editorial decision is likely to be agreed to by all students of Dharmakīrti. There are still some passages which are in one way or another problematic and deserve, in my judgement, discussion and reconsideration. One would want to know, in these places, what Steinkellner’s reasons were for his choices, so that they could be justly evaluated. In the absence, however, of a detailed textual commentary, or an annotated translation (which amounts to practically the same as a commentary),²⁵ those reasons can only be guessed at.

An attempt to discuss thoroughly even a few of these remaining textual problems would go beyond the scope of the present paper. I will however give, as a hint which I hope may be useful to other readers of the edition, one general rule, with a few examples. Places where, according to the critical apparatus, Steinkellner has emended against the reading of all his manuscripts should be considered carefully. In not a few of them, the emendation, or conjecture, is probably not necessary; sometimes it can be labelled with some certainty as an error.

The first such case of emendation occurs at 2, 11, where Steinkellner emends *yathāvidhaḥ* for the manuscripts’ *yathāvidhe* (A and B) or *yathāvidha*^o C. This is a somewhat tricky case to decide,²⁶ but since the relative must

²⁵ Steinkellner’s translation of 1973 of the second chapter, being based on the Tibetan translation, can of course not be looked on as a guide to the decisions he took more than thirty years later in editing the Sanskrit text.

²⁶ Steinkellner’s decision was probably influenced, though this is not made explicit, by the fact that *yathāvidhaḥ* is given in Vetter 1966, 32 n. 2, to which the apparatus of testimonia refers here, as the reading found in the quotation of the passage in the *Nyāyavārtikātparyāyikā*. However, the edition by Thakur, which is that to which Steinkellner himself refers for the NVTI, and which, thanks to its use of the famous Jaisalmer manuscript, is probably the best edition available at present, gives *yathāvidhe*, the same reading as Steinkellner’s MSS A and B. The other testimonium for this passage, in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* (NBhūṣ 381, 11–12), reads, incidentally, *yathāvidha*^o in the notoriously unreliable edition; Dr Elliot Stern informs me, however, that the manuscript of this work reads in fact *yathāvidhi*^o, which if anything strengthens slightly the case for *yathāvidhe* (e-mail of December 13th, 2009).

correspond to the immediately following correlative (in *tathāvidhasannidhānam*), and since that must refer to the object of inference, the locative, dependent on the preceding *pratibaddhasvabhāvaḥ*, is probably to be preferred.²⁷

Perhaps clearer is the case at 15, 1, where Steinkellner prints *upayannāpayamś*, reporting the manuscripts as all reading *upayannapayamś*. The lack of word division in the apparatus is surprising, and it is not clear to me what Steinkellner wanted his text to mean. In any case, the reading of the manuscripts, which should be understood as *upayannapayamś*, two present participles, is unproblematic and should surely not be emended.

Another minor illustration of the need to consider the editor's emendations carefully: at 65, 9, the apparatus reports B and C as reading 'vyavasātum and A as having *vyavaśāntam*. Certainly neither of these would be possible, whereas the emendation that has been adopted, *vyavasātum*, is, and many are likely to read over this passage without noticing anything doubtful. However, bearing in mind that in the scripts of B and C the ligatures *vyā* and *dhyā* are extremely similar, indeed sometimes probably indistinguishable, it would be better to read the equally possible 'dhyavasātum; and it would not be a surprise to me if B and/or C, when checked, would be found to read just this.

As a final example, let me note that at 63, 9, Steinkellner's emendation *antyaḥṣaṇe 'pratibandhaḥ*, where the manuscripts are reported as reading *antyaḥṣaṇo 'pratibandhaḥ* (A and C) or *antyaḥṣaṇo apratibandhaḥ* (B; not substantively different from the reading of A and C, for which it may be called a non-standard sandhi variant), is unnecessary. The nominative transmitted unanimously is quite unproblematic; note that *apratibandhaḥ* should be understood as a bahuvrīhi adjective qualifying *antyaḥṣaṇaḥ*.

5. Introduction and Indices

The introduction reports on the circumstances, unusual and of considerable interest, which led to this publication, describes the sources used, outlines the editorial policy, and explains the conventions used. All these are admirably done; readers are given ample information and can learn much here, especially about the sources; at nearly twenty pages, the sub-section describing the manuscripts, 1.1, is by far the longest part of the introduction.

What is striking, in contrast, is the brevity of the discussion of editorial policy (section III). This is probably an indication of a pragmatic approach to textual criticism, which I applaud, although I would have been glad if a few more

words had been said on this, to make Steinkellner's position clearer and more explicit. In any case, it is striking that no appeal is made to the stemma (as it effectively is, though the word is not used here) proposed and argued for in the directly preceding section (II), as a basis for editorial decisions. This is just as well, no doubt; all the more so since one of Steinkellner's two addenda (given at Steinkellner 2008, 208; see footnote 23 above) implies a significant change to the stemma.

Of interest for codicologists may be the sub-section entitled 'A note on *lacunae* and their filling', on pp. xxii–xxiii. This note is made apropos of manuscript C, which contains 'a considerable number of different gap-filling signs' (p. xxii). Steinkellner suggests the following explanation:

Wherever the scribe was initially unable to decipher a portion of the exemplar, he left a gap approximately the length of the undeciphered *akṣaras*. When, in a second step, the text that had been undecipherable became clear, e.g., by referring to another manuscript, the gap was filled with the previously problematic *akṣaras*. [...] However, in cases where no text was found to be actually lacking, gap-filling signs were inserted. Why, then, were gaps left in the first place? Some of the undecipherable *akṣara* chains may have been portions of the text that had been deleted or erased in the exemplar, but which could not be distinguished from a case of normal illegibility. The scribe thus left a gap because the deletion was unclear. When it became apparent that no text was missing, gap-filling signs were inserted to close the line. I also assume this to be the cause of most other cases of gap-filling devices within lines that have no apparent reason. (p. xxiii)

This hypothesis is certainly worthy of note. There are many Nepalese and East-Indian manuscripts that display the same phenomenon of gap-filling signs without an obvious cause, such as a correction which has resulted in a gap. My impression has been that in several cases these have another reason, namely to cover an area which was deemed less suitable for copying on, because of a minor flaw in the palm-leaf. However, it must be admitted that in some cases such a flaw cannot be detected (at least not from micro-film images), and that it is possible that in these cases at least another explanation, such as that put forward by Steinkellner, may have to be sought. The problem of gap-filling signs remains, I would say, one which requires further investigation.

The book has no less than five indices, which will certainly prove very useful. They are: an index of modern authors, an index of Names of Persons, Schools and Texts, an Index locorum, and a *pāda* (verse-quarter) index. At least the

²⁷ It is also supported by the best edition of one of the testimonia; see footnote 26 above.

first of these could have been more valuable if it had also given references to occurrences in the introduction, rather than only to occurrences in the critical apparatus.

In general, the indices appear to be very accurate. However, the last index suffers from a few wrong divisions of *pādas*. Thus, for example, the first half of 2.42 reads thus: *na yuktibādhā yatrāsti tad grāhyaṃ laukikaṃ yadi*. The two eight-syllable *pādas* are hence, of course, *na yuktibādhā yatrāsti* (2.42a) and *tad grāhyaṃ laukikaṃ yadi* (2.42b). The *pāda* index, however, gives 2.42a as *na yuktibādhā yatrāsti tat* (p. 133); and if one looks for *tad grāhyaṃ laukikaṃ yadi*, it cannot be found, because 2.42b has been wrongly identified as *grāhyaṃ laukikaṃ yadi* and hence is on p. 131, alphabetized under *ga*, instead of on p. 132, alphabetized under *ta*, as it should be. 2.21cd and 2.27ab have likewise been wrongly divided, with the same consequence that in each case the second *pāda* cannot be found where it should be.

The rather questionable decision to undo sandhi between the *pādas*, even when this results in a *pāda* appearing in the index in nine-syllable form, may also make the task of a user more difficult. For example, 2.58b is found alphabetized under *a*, in the nine-syllable form *ahetor anyānapekṣaṇāt*, whereas readers are more likely to look under *h*, expecting the eight-syllabled *'hetor anyānapekṣaṇāt*.

6. Concluding remarks

The critical edition of the first two chapters of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* testifies to rare skills, diplomatic as well as philological. The amount of learning and the amount of patient, careful, labour that has gone to produce it is staggering, though this can perhaps only be fully appreciated by readers who have worked on a comparable project themselves. With this book, Steinkellner has made another contribution of tremendous importance to what is no doubt a common goal of students and scholars of Sanskrit and of Indian Buddhism: to ‘incorporate it’ [i.e. the corpus of Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet] ‘into the intellectual and spiritual history of mankind’ (Steinkellner 2003, 30).

Nevertheless, in this task, I would like to stress once more in conclusion that the production of critical editions, important though it is, cannot render consultation of the manuscripts themselves unnecessary – even if these editions are produced to the highest possible levels of scholarship. For this reason, the publication of facsimiles, or rather, more generally, making reproductions of the manuscripts available to scholars,²⁸ is no less important. And while praising, with-

out reservations, the initiative of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the China Tibetology Research Centre to publish critical editions such as this one, we should encourage them at the same time not to neglect this other equally urgent priority. For, to restate the very simple main theme of this paper, while progress in scholarship is to a very large extent made through the putting forward of hypotheses (including critical editions), it is necessary, if the construction of an edifice of speculation and theory that is ever shakier and ever further removed from empirical observation is to be avoided, that students and scholars should study and should base their own further proposals on, not those hypotheses alone, but the evidence itself, i.e., in this case, above all the manuscripts.

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²⁸ This would of course be equally possible by, for instance, putting digital images online. As models in this regard, one might mention the International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk/>) and the less publicized but no less laud-

able initiative of Tokyo University Library to put digital images of all their Sanskrit manuscripts online (http://utlskms.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/list_kh.jsp).

Article

Tai Manuscripts in the Dhamma Script Domain: Surveying, Preservation and Documentation, Part 2

Harald Hundius | Passau

1.3 Laos (Lan Sang)¹

1.3.1 Early Surveys of Lao Manuscripts

Almost all of the early surveys and registrations of manuscripts which began around the turn of the twentieth century were undertaken by French scholars and their Lao assistants. While now outdated in many respects, these remain helpful tools for researchers. Louis Finot's 'Recherches sur la littérature laotienne', published in 1917 in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient* still provides the most useful overview of traditional Lao literature. The *Liste générale des manuscrits laotiens* provided in the final part of his study is of two principal collections extant at the time: that of the Bibliothèque Royale de Luang Prabang (catalogued by M. Meiller, 1,181 entries), and of the Bibliothèque de l'École française d'Extrême Orient (338 entries).

Several other inventories of monastery or library holdings were undertaken during the period from 1900 to 1973 by both Lao and French scholars, listing a total of 3,678 manuscripts from 94 monasteries in nine provinces.² A notable initiative is the work of the Chanthabouly Buddhist Council, under the leadership of Chao Phetsarat, which asked abbots throughout the country to submit lists of their manuscript holdings between 1934 and 1936.³

Work on the EFEO inventory, plus research and analysis of manuscripts, followed in the 1950s and 1960s by Henri Deydier, Pierre-Bernard Lafont, and Charles Archaimbault. An *Inventaire des Manuscrits des Pagodes du Laos* (Lafont 1965), building on the previous work of French scholars, was conducted under the leadership of Pierre-Bernard Lafont in 1959 and covered altogether 83 monasteries: 13 in Luang Prabang, 25 in Vientiane, and 45 in Champasak.

Other related catalogues during this period, while valuable tools in themselves, were of limited collections and not intended to be representative of Lao literature as a whole. For example, George Cœdès' *Catalogue des manuscrits en*

pāli, laotien et siamois provenant de la Thaïlande (1966) lists 116 manuscripts kept at the Royal Library, Copenhagen, of which 23 are in Pali and Lan Na (Northern Thai) script, collected between 1911 and 1935. All of the so-called 'manuscrits laotiens' in this collection are in fact Lan Na manuscripts. Similar catalogues of related Ceylonese, Burmese, and Cambodian collections in The Royal Library followed.⁴

During the Second Indochina War and the years immediately following the proclamation of the Lao PDR in 1975, the country met with extremely difficult conditions. It is only since the mid-1980s, with changes in the global political climate and the end of the Cold War, that awareness of the importance of literary works has re-emerged in Laos. In March 1988, with the support of the Toyota Foundation, a conference was convened in Vientiane. Monks and knowledgeable lay people from all over Laos gathered to discuss the state of conservation of manuscripts in their home communities, and to exchange views on what should be done in order to safeguard the remaining manuscripts which were in danger of being forgotten in the monastic libraries. As a result of this meeting, a project to set up a Lao-language inventory of palm-leaf manuscripts in six provinces of Laos was initiated by the Ministry of Information and Culture with the support of the Toyota Foundation.⁵ In the course of this project (1988–1994), a total of 127,636 fascicles were inventoried from 252 selected monasteries in Vientiane Municipality and the provinces of Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Bolikham-sai, Khammuan, Savannakhet, and Champasak. However, no manuscripts were microfilmed. The project helped increase awareness and understanding of the importance of the Lao manuscripts for national cultural heritage, and enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Information and Culture and the Politbureau.

1.3.2 The Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme (PLMP)

In September 1992, the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme began its work under the helm of the Lao Min-

¹ The following section is based upon several previous articles by Harald Hundius. See, for example, Hundius 2005 and 2008.

² See Centre de Recherche Artistique et Littéraire 1989, 198.

³ The total number of titles for the year 1936 is given as 526; op.cit., 195.

⁴ Godakumbura 1980 and 1983.

⁵ National Library of Laos 1994.

istry of Information and Culture (later based at the National Library). The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs supported the project through its cultural assistance programme, with Harald Hundius from the University of Passau as advisor. The main objectives of this cooperative project were to help the Lao PDR physically preserve its national literary heritage, to revitalise public awareness of its value, build local capacity for field preservation, and for the research and dissemination of these resources through:

- a.) the systematic survey and *in situ* preservation of manuscript holdings of selected Buddhist monasteries as well as State and private collections in all 17 provinces;⁶
- b.) the microfilming of documents of historical or cultural importance, notably old and rare manuscripts, comprising about 15–20 per cent of the total number of microfilmed documents;
- c.) support for revitalising the use of traditional literature in religious life and its integration into the modern public education system;
- d.) guidance and assistance in the creation of scientific and technical tools such as databases, study materials, textbooks, specialised computer software, etc, as well as developing a new generation of academic and human resources needed for utilizing the manuscripts for teaching and research purposes in the field of traditional Lao language, literature and culture at institutions of higher learning.

This project was the first ever to cover all of the country's provinces. In addition to the more well-known collections, it also included remote monasteries, many of which had never been surveyed before.

Over the course of ten years, until the official end of the cooperative project in December 2002, the manuscript holdings of 830 monasteries (out of a total of some 2,800 at that time) had been surveyed, approximately 86,000 manuscripts (368,000 fascicles) preserved, and a central data pool created. Since December 2002, the vital work of the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme has continued under the auspices of the National Library of Laos.

As a major product of the manuscript preservation project, a collection of microfilm recordings of approximately 12,000 selected manuscripts was set up, including a large number of

parallel versions and additional copies.⁷ More importantly for the wider study of Lao culture, this collection is by far the most extensive to date and can be seen as representative of the national literary heritage. The 1,035 reels of microfilm comprise some 500,000 frames, which on average contain about 6–8 palm-leaf pages, giving a total of some 3–4 million recorded manuscript pages.⁸

The selection of the holographs was carried out according to the following criteria:

- (1) historical and cultural importance;
- (2) cultural diversity and/or regional representation;
- (3) age (all manuscripts above 150 years old) and quality of the manuscript.

Within these general guidelines, priority was given to extra-canonical literature, manuscripts representing indigenous literary traditions, and texts of a non-religious nature whenever the condition of the holograph allowed. The complete manuscript holdings of the Lao National Library (in Vientiane), the former Royal Palace⁹ and Vat Mai Suvannaphumaram (both in Luang Prabang) were included due to their historical-cultural importance. A preliminary survey indicates that the number of titles will far exceed that of previous estimates, which range from 1,163 (Finot) to 1,616 (Lafont). As the above account reflects, the number of manuscripts surveyed and microfilmed during the period of 1992–2002 far exceeds that of previous projects both in Laos and in Northern Thailand.

A number of different scripts and languages are represented in the microfilm collection of the PLMP. While the vast majority is in Lao Tham script, a considerable number of holographs are in the ancient secular Lao Bohan, Lan Na (Northern Thai), Tai Lü and Tai Nua scripts.

The subject matter of a large number of manuscripts comes from the Theravada Buddhist canon, a significant portion of which are bilingual versions with elaborated Pāli-vernacular translations that shed light on the local interpretation of these texts. The oldest manuscripts, dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century, are monolingual Pāli texts. One special

⁷ Any serious study of manuscripts must be based on the critical comparison of a sufficient number of different versions, rather than one or two random copies.

⁸ Copies of these microfilmed manuscripts are kept at the National Library of Laos, Vientiane, and at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

⁹ The collection kept at the former Royal Palace, now officially known as 'Luang Prabang Provincial Museum', comprises all categories of traditional literature and has been microfilmed *in toto*. Its collection contains more than ten manuscripts older than 300 years. See *Khao bai lan*, vol. 5, No. 11, March 1997, 2.

⁶ The material preservation entailed the removal of dust and cleaning with high-grade alcohol, changing the binding cords, adding wooden covers and replacing the old worn cloth covers, as necessary.

genre is extra-canonical works, the bulk of which consists of narrative literature, especially *Jātaka* stories, a considerable number of which are thought to originate from local South-east Asian traditions. Many of these are among the most popular texts used by the monks in their recitations and sermons given to the lay people. They deserve special consideration because they contain valuable information about social life and values as well as the *conditio humana* in the Buddhist societies of the region. Other manuscripts contain a wide range of works about history, traditional law and customs, astrology, magic, mythology and ritual, traditional medicine and healing, grammar and lexicography, as well as poetry and epic stories, folk tales and romances, and other genres. Examples of important texts found within the course of the project include:¹⁰

a.) three complete sets of bi-lingual (Pāli-Lao) *Paññāsajātaka* collections as well as some twenty bundles representing other incomplete sets of these famous ‘Fifty Apocryphal Jātaka’, which are believed to be of Southeast Asian, perhaps Lan Na, origin. Preliminary examination has shown that these manuscripts offer some revealing clues about the transmission of texts between Lan Na and Lan Sang;

b.) several old copies—some written in Tai Lü script—of the *Balasāṅkhyajātaka* (dating from the middle of the eighteenth century), an epic extra-canonical birth story well-known throughout the Dhamma Script Domain and formerly also very popular in Laos (evidence of this is to be found, for instance, in the murals of Wat Si Saket, Vientiane);

c.) copies of the *Chronicle of Chiang/Siang Khaeng*, an ancient principality in the Lao-Burmese borderland (with Müang Sing as its last capital), written at the beginning of the twentieth century;¹¹

d.) about one hundred mulberry paper manuscripts written in Tai Nüa language and script—some of which date from the mid-eighteenth century—from Luang Namtha province. Most of these works are hitherto unknown outside the region of their origin in the Dehong Dai and Jingpo Autonomous Sub-Prefecture of Yunnan;¹²

¹⁰ Further research will certainly bring to light more unknown texts or works of particular importance.

¹¹ This manuscript has been edited, along with other Tai Lü texts from Müang Sing, in the English translation and transcription into the modern Thai alphabet jointly by Volker Grabowsky and Renoo Wichasin. See Grabowsky/Renoo 2008.

¹² An annotated catalogue of these manuscripts will be produced by the Na-

e.) a privately owned palm-leaf manuscript entitled ‘Lam Cüang’, apparently representing a copy of the famous semi-historical epic poem *Thao Hung Thao Cüang*, was inventoried during field work in Sainyabuli province in 1997.

Many of these works are not known outside the Dhamma Script Domain and still await systematic study by the scholarly community. Very few have been edited properly or translated into a Western language, and research based on the study of primary sources remains very limited due to their inaccessibility. These texts will allow for a comprehensive analysis of the development of the Lao language and comparative studies of Buddhism, literary traditions and intellectual history.¹³

The PLMP was designed as a cultural development project rather than for research or archival purposes. The core idea was to make the Lao people more aware of their cultural heritage while leaving it *in situ*, so that local people would be proud of their cultural assets and develop greater appreciation of the value systems to be found in traditional literature. An implicit aim of the project was for this local knowledge to contribute to the debate on the place of traditional values in modern Lao society (i.e., in the context of rapid development and modernisation) and related development policies, such as state educational policies and curricula. In this way, the project enhanced awareness of national and ethnic cultural identities and gave the Lao people a means to keep traditional values meaningful for future generations. It also provided a platform for the research and dissemination of Lao literature and culture (and related research in Southeast Asian and Buddhist Studies) by making texts accessible to the regional and international scholarly community through the microfilm collection housed at the National Library. As such, the impact of the programme went beyond that of physical manuscript preservation or of an academic research project.

Examples of the implementation and impact of the project stemming from this approach are:

a.) Before starting preservation work, orientation workshops were held in order to demonstrate the importance of traditional literature and its relevance for the present and the future. Recognising and enhancing the role of the Buddhist monasteries and communities as active guardians of the literary heritage and traditional knowledge, the project was devised as a multiplying agent by promoting self-help initiatives. During their participation in preservation work,

tional Library, through a three-year project funded by the Toyota Foundation.

¹³ See also Kanlaya 2005 and Hundius 2005.

local people were instructed and trained in the basic methodology for preserving manuscripts to enable them to advise and help monasteries not directly covered by the programme. The participation of high-ranking officials from both central and local government, representatives of the Lao Front for National Construction, together with senior representatives of the Lao Buddhist Fellowship and respected community leaders, added to the perception of this work as a historical undertaking of national importance.

b.) The participatory nature of the project united the government, Buddhist monks and the people in a common effort to preserve their national cultural heritage. This influenced the grassroots perception of monks and the manuscript tradition, as well as national educational policies for monastic schools, such as the reintroduction of Buddhist Studies and the study of traditional literature into the curriculum. Buddhist institutions of higher learning throughout the country also improved their teaching in the subjects of Buddhism, Lao and Pali language, and Tham script through financial assistance provided by the project. Other funds were provided to the Department of Lao Language and Literature of the National University of Laos to promote the study of traditional literature.¹⁴

c.) Over the course of the project, 22 volumes of a quarterly Lao-language newsletter were published, which contained news from the various field sites where the survey and microfilming was taking place, together with short extracts from palm-leaf manuscripts which had been found in those locations. The *Khao bailan* or 'Palm-leaf News' stimulated each location to take pride in and talk about the number of manuscripts in their possession, and to be willing to take better care of them. An additional 14 booklets about traditional customs, laws and literature were also printed.

d.) Seeing that the ongoing preservation efforts were beyond the resources of the National Library alone, the project established four provincial Manuscript Preservation Centres in selected monasteries in different regions of the country:

¹⁴ Additional support was provided by the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) and the Toyota Foundation, Japan, for academic exchange and research projects at the National University of Laos (NUOL). During his three-year DAAD-supported visiting professorship at the Department of Lao Language and Literature (1996–99), Volker Grabowsky initiated the research project 'Literature of the Late Lan Xang Period: Compilation, Translation and Analysis of Palm-Leaf Manuscripts', which received substantial financial support from the Toyota Foundations over the period of 1998 to 2004. The project resulted in the edition and analysis of various nineteenth-century Lao literary works. See Department of Lao Language and Literature 2001, 2002, and 2004.

namely in Vientiane (for the Centre), in Luang Prabang (for the North), and in Savannakhet and Pakse (for the South). Their role is to serve as examples of well-kept monastic libraries, centres for the study of traditional literature, and to advise and assist monasteries which were not included in the project in preserving their manuscript holdings. In addition, these centres hold annual manuscript preservation festivals or *bun bai lan*, during which the entire manuscript holdings are taken out of their repositories, unwrapped and inspected for signs of damage, cleaned if necessary, re-wrapped, and carried three times around the ordination hall (*sim*) in a dignified procession.¹⁵ These festivals are organised and funded by local communities, without any outside support, demonstrating their ownership and sense of achieving merit or *het bun*.

e.) In its final phase, the project convened the 'International Conference on the Literary Heritage of Laos: Preservation, Dissemination and Research Perspectives', which was the first of its kind. Held in Vientiane in January 2004, it attracted more than 120 participants and observers, including scholars, monks, researchers, and specialists from Laos and neighbouring countries, as well as academics from Australia, France, Germany, Japan and the USA. The collected conference papers were published in November 2005.¹⁶

The national Library of Laos started a new three-year project in October 2007 to produce a Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM) through digitising the PLMP microfilm collection and producing a linked bilingual inventory to enable search for manuscripts via Lao and English-language websites and at offline workstations.¹⁷

To be continued in the next issue

¹⁵ The procession of the manuscripts and the annual *bun bai lan* festival are in fact 'imported' traditions. They originate from previous preservation work undertaken in the Lan Na region in the late 1980s in the course of the Preservation of Northern Thai Manuscripts Project, coordinated by the Centre for the Promotion of Arts and Culture, Chiang Mai University. The Tai Lü community of Ban Yuan, Chiang Kham district, Chiang Rai province, was the first to organise them. When video recordings were shown in other monastic communities, this activity was enthusiastically taken up. The annual inspection of the library holdings has been a tradition at Wat Sung Men, Phrae province, the resident-monastery of Khruba Kancana, for many generations.

¹⁶ See The National Library of Laos 2005. The conference was jointly funded by the Japan Foundation and the Toyota Foundation.

¹⁷ The DLLM project is jointly implemented with the University of Passau and the State Library of Berlin, Germany. It is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The website will be officially launched in January 2010 at <http://www.laomanuscripts.net/>.

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Notes and News

Obeisance to Viṣṇu-Tirumāl: Vaiṣṇava Transmission for a Caṅkam Manuscript

Among the roughly 150 surviving manuscripts on palm-leaf and paper of the earliest Classical Tamil literature, the Caṅkam corpus (consisting of two hyper-anthologies of erotic and heroic poetry which dates back perhaps to the beginning of the Common Era), the larger part appears to have been transmitted in a Śaiva surrounding. Well-known is the role institutions such as Tiruvāṭuṭurai Mutt, a Śaivaite monastery in the Tañcāvūr area, played for Tamil literary history. But even though the exact provenance of many manuscripts is not known today, their Śaiva affiliation is visible in the numerous small invocations of Śaiva deities predominantly at the end, but also in the margins of manuscripts. The function of these invocations is not immediately obvious, but it stands to reason that, apart from being simply auspicious signs, they might have been seen as a minimal justification of copying a secular text in a religious institution. Sources from the 18th century onwards testify to a rather militant consciousness of religion which had little to say in favour of older non-Śaivite poetry. Quite frequently, the invocations are also marked by a change of script; while the poetic text and its colophon are written in Tamil, what follows is written in Grantha script.

However, in a number of cases the short invocations and blessings are not of Śaiva, but of Vaiṣṇava denomination. Next to nothing is known about the share that Vaiṣṇava institutions might have had in the transmission of the corpus. The following case is noteworthy, firstly for the fact that the manuscript begins (not ends!) with four fully-fledged devotional verses in various metres, followed by the usual series of minimal invocations. Secondly, the manuscript in question constitutes the major witness of a second strand of transmission available for one of the old anthologies, the Akanānūru, the 400 long Akam (love) poems. Since the manuscript is incomplete, it is not clear whether it also contained the otherwise well-attested traditional end colophon. The manuscript is on palm-leaf, well-preserved and beautifully written, and is stored at the U.V. Swaminathaiyar Library in Chennai [no. UVSL 107] (abbreviated as C3 in the critical edition prepared by the Caṅkam project). The four verses, on a first, separate leaf, are dedicated to Nammālvār (the most important of the early Vaiṣṇava poet-saints), to the spiritual teacher, to Viṣṇu-Tirumāl and to a goddess (Śrī or Sarasvatī), in a row with several short prose invocations of various Vaiṣṇavite entities (among them again Nammālvār). This part ends with some minimal information on the copying of the manuscript and a short characterisation of its content, naming as the title of the anthology ‘*netuntokai*’ and referring to the miniature commentary, traditionally named *kiḷavi-s*, by the term *turai*. This shows that

apart from the well-attested vulgata, mostly transmitted in Śaiva institutions (such as Tiruvāṭuṭurai mutt), there is a second line which appears to have been transmitted in a Vaiṣṇava context. As is usual, the manuscript is not dated, but both the script and the state of preservation make a date before the early 19th century look improbable.

In what follows metrical transcript and translation of the four stanzas are presented. The first among them is found in the laudatory preface (*ciṟappuppāyiram*) of a late poetological treatise, the Māraṅalaṅkāram (16th c). The others are not yet identified and, to my knowledge, have not been printed before. The slightly irregular metres are presumably Ācīriya Viruttam(?), then two four-line Venṇpās, finally an Ācīriyam.¹

*tēṇ arā makil to- ṭaiyalum mauviyum tiru kiḷar kuḷai kātum
kāṇ arā malar, tiru muka cōtti- yum kayi- rava, tu- var, vāyūm
mōṅgam ākiya vaṭivamum mārpamum muttirai tiru, kaiyum
ñāṇa tēcikan caraṇam, tā- maraiyum, eṇ nayaṇam, viṭṭi’ akalāvē.*

“The nectar garland of unending sweetness
and the hair tuft and the ears with lustre-emitting ear rings
and the light of the sacred face, an ever-fragrant flower,
and the water-lily coral mouth
and the form that became silent
and the chest and the sacred hands posed in worship
and the feet lotuses of the teacher of spiritual knowledge –
[they all] do not leave my eye.”

*pārāta kalvi pirapanta poruḷ, aṇaittu
nēr.āka muṇ vantu niṟkumē tērātu
tēvīru koṇṭa tiru, mālai mu, tamil
tērnar, vīr’ a[[[aitt’ utitta nāl.*

“All the meaning of the Prabandha’s of unseen erudition
came straight before [me and] stayed, unsought,
on the day that arose, summoning with distinction those who examine
the three[-fold] Tamil of the sacred garland that distinguishes god.”

*eṇrum tirumārke ālarvēṇ em perumāṇ
eṇrum eṇṇakkē pirāṇ avāṇ eṇrum
piravāta pēr, ālaṇ pēr, ā- yiramum
maravātu vāḷttuka, eṇ vāy.*

“Always I am the servant of Tirumāl, my great one.
Always he is my lord. Always,
without forgetting, let my mouth laud
the thousand names of the unborn great man.”

*tavaḷat tāmarait tāt’ ār kōyil
avaḷai porrutum arum, tamil kuṟittē.*

“We shall worship her
in the pollen-filled temple of white lotus,
pondering rare Tamil.”

Eva Wilden | Hamburg

¹ For the metrical split, I am indebted to my EFEO colleagues T. Rajeswari and G. Vijayavenugopal; the one printed verse is scanned in a different way by the editor of the Māraṅalaṅkāram, T.V. Gopal Iyer. For its identification, I thank Jean-Luc Chevillard.

Notes and News

A Study of Old Kanembu in Early West African Qur'anic Manuscripts and Islamic Recitations (Tarjumo) in the Light of Kanuri-Kanembu Dialects spoken around Lake Chad

In early 2009, an international team of specialists were awarded funding to carry out a 36-month project as part of a joint framework of agreement between the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) to support collaboration between German and UK-based humanities researchers. The project is headed by Professor Roland Kießling, Professor Michael Friedrich (Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg) and Professor Philip J. Jaggar (SOAS, University of London).

Despite the fact that a number of major languages of sub-Saharan Africa have a long and rich history of writing in Arabic script (Ajami), ancient manuscripts written in local languages are extremely rare. However, in the late 1950s, some copies of the Qur'an were discovered in northern Nigeria, written in Arabic, with commentaries in an archaic variety of Kanuri-Kanembu, an important West African language spoken around Lake Chad, dating back to the 16th century and representing one of the earliest written examples of a sub-Saharan language. Apart from

this variety of Old Kanembu, now represented in a corpus of 3,200 digital pages, there is another variety known as Tarjumo, which is regarded as sacred and survives in local (i.e. North-East Nigerian) Islamic recitations.

The aim of the project is to document and analyse this virtually unknown African manuscript culture in its linguistic and social setting, and explore previously unresearched phenomena, i.e. how Old Kanembu and Tarjumo relate historically to linguistically distinct modern Kanuri-Kanembu, and what they can tell us about the migrations and linguistic-cultural assimilation and integration in the Lake Chad basin. The project is drawing on preliminary results from an earlier AHRC-funded project 'Early Nigerian Qur'anic manuscripts' (<http://kanurimanuscripts.soas.ac.uk/>), and cooperates with the research group 'Manuscript cultures in Asia and Africa' in Hamburg.

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Dmitry Bondarev | London

Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies (COMSt)

In June 2009, the European Science Foundation launched a five-year Research Networking Programme in Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies. The idea is to bring together European scholars working on manuscripts from different branches of Oriental studies (with the focus on the Mediterranean and North African cultural areas of the 'codex' manuscript culture) in order to compare experiences and research results in the history of written civilization, manuscript cataloguing, textual and material analysis as well as issues of manuscript preservation, conservation and restoration. The ensuing cross-cultural academic dialogue will increase awareness of what is being done in the field and make it possible to elaborate unified methodologies in Oriental manuscript studies.

The COMSt Network is guided by a Steering Committee formed by the representatives of all ten funding countries and chaired by Professor Dr Alessandro Bausi of the University

of Hamburg. It is coordinated by Evgenia Sokolinskaia of the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies at the University of Hamburg.

More than sixty scholars from fifteen countries currently involved in the network work in five teams. (1) Material aspects: codicology and palaeography. (2) Manuscripts as text witnesses: philology as textual criticism. (3) Digital approaches to manuscript studies. (4) Manuscript cataloguing. (5) Manuscript preservation. The teams meet in regular workshops, and there is also an ongoing cross-team discussion. Two larger conferences are also part of the programme: the Launching Conference which took place in Hamburg on 1–3 December 2009, and the Closing Conference that will be held towards the end of the project in May 2014.

For more information, please see:

<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/COMSt/>

Evgenia Sokolinskaia | Hamburg

Notes and News

The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM)

The Digital Library of Lao Manuscripts (DLLM) will make images of almost 12,000 selected manuscripts from throughout Laos freely accessible for study. This online library project is a joint effort by the University of Passau, the National Library of Laos (Vientiane), and the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz. It is funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

The project is the direct result of the Preservation of Lao Manuscripts Programme, which was supported by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1992 until 2004, and which surveyed the manuscript holdings of more than 800 monasteries. Of the 86,000 manuscripts preserved and inventoried, certain texts were selected for microfilming and have now been digitised to form the online library. While the vast majority is in the Tham Lao script, a considerable

number of texts are in the ancient secular Lao Buhan, Tham Lan Na, Tham Lü, Lik Tai Nüa, Khom, and other scripts. There is also a significant number of monolingual Pali texts in the collection.

The bi-lingual English and Lao database is of excellent quality. Manuscripts can be searched by title, ancillary term, language, script, category, material, location, date, and code number, and entire manuscripts can be freely downloaded together with inventory data.

This website is a milestone in the development of South-east Asian digital resources, especially since many of the texts are not known outside the region and research based on the study of primary sources has remained very limited due to their inaccessibility.

For further information, please see:
<http://www.laomanuscripts.net/>

Volker Grabowsky | Hamburg

Ethio-SPARE: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation and Research

The richness of the Ethiopian written tradition has been known to scholars for a long time; recently, however, the awareness of the quantity of manuscripts kept in the numerous churches and monasteries of the country has grown considerably, along with the understanding that many are gradually disappearing due to insufficient storage facilities and international illegal art traffic. These as yet undiscovered and unstudied artefacts may be important witnesses of textual but also general history and therefore action must be taken to secure and analyse the information they contain.

With this in mind, the project Ethio-SPARE: Cultural Heritage of Christian Ethiopia: Salvation, Preservation and Research was conceived at the Hiob Ludolf Centre for Ethiopian Studies at the University of Hamburg. With the help of the generous support from the European Research Council (EU

Framework Programme 7: Starting Independent Research Grant), the project was launched in December 2009.

The project will run for five years and is headed by Dr Denis Nonsnitsin, the winner of the ERC grant. He is supported by three research assistants. It is also envisaged to offer PhD scholarships to young researchers. The project's main tasks are the securing and digitalization of manuscripts in Ethiopia in the course of lengthy field trips, describing manuscripts in a state-of-the-art digital manuscript cataloguing database and producing philological, codicological, historical and art historical analytical essays based on the newly collected material.

For further information, please see:
<http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/ethiostudies/ETHIOSPARE/>

Denis Nonsnitsin | Hamburg

Inside MCAA

MCAA People 2009

Visiting Fellows

Due to the generous funding from the German Research Foundation (DFG), the research group has been able to offer a Visiting Fellowship to researchers from different fields of manuscript studies. The Fellowship has been designed for both junior and senior researchers who are working on regions or periods not covered by our projects, or who can provide us with new methodological input into the topic in order to foster communication for our mutual benefit. We encourage our fellows to give public lectures and workshops and to participate in the internal meetings of the research group during their stay, and offer them a stimulating environment to focus on their current manuscript-related project for a period of two to three months.

Our very first research fellow was Dr Agnieszka Helman-Ważny (Cornell University), a paper conservator and manuscriptologist, who joined us in February and March. Her main research area is the history of paper and books in Central Asia. The pioneering methodological approach to manuscripts pursued by Dr Helman-Ważny, combining the evaluation of historical documents on material culture with scientific methods of paper analysis, gave us many points for discussion. During her stay in Hamburg, Dr Helman-Ważny worked on a new project dealing with the history of Chinese paper and gave public lectures on ‘The Art of Tibetan Gold Manuscripts’ and ‘Tibetan book formats and bookbinding styles—casual links between books’ regional origin, dating and text affiliation.’

Professor Dr Jost Gippert (Universität Frankfurt / Main), who sojourned with us for the months of June and July, is a renowned specialist in Comparative Linguistics and also both founder and leader of the TITUS project which aims at a comprehensive collection and online edition of texts in ancient Indo-European languages (since 1987). He is working

on palimpsests of Caucasian origin (Georgian, Armenian, ‘Caucasian-Albanian’) and on manuscripts of Indian and Central Asian provenance (Tocharian, Avestan, Maldivian, etc.). Professor Gippert shared with us his broad experience in scrutinizing manuscripts by giving a public lecture on findings in St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mt. Sinai (‘Manuscripta Sinaitica. Neufunde im Katharinen-Kloster’) and as part of two workshops on the function of formatting elements (such as different colours, different scripts) in various manuscript traditions. His research activities in Hamburg comprised work on the *editio princeps* of the Armenian parts of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsests of Mt. Sinai (vol. III of The Caucasian Albanian palimpsests of Mt. Sinai, ed. by Jost Gippert et al. Monumenta palaeographica medii aevi: Series Ibero-Caucasica) and the preparation of an online catalogue of Old Georgian Gospel manuscripts (<http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/caucasica/georgica/saxareba/saxareba.htm>).

From October through to December 2009, Haeree Park, PhD (University of Washington), a linguist and palaeographer working on early Chinese manuscripts, stayed with us while continuing her work on the Handbook of Warring States Manuscripts. Based on her excellent knowledge of recently excavated bamboo manuscripts, Dr Park delivered a series of lectures dealing with the archaeological circumstances of the manuscript discoveries, methods for reconstructing bamboo strips as well as questions regarding the relationship between manuscripts and text transmission.

We would like to express our gratitude to our visiting fellows, who significantly contributed to the progress of our project. At the same time, we look forward to welcoming our future fellow researchers and we hope to establish further long-lasting partnerships for fruitful cooperation.

Hanna Sofia Hayduk | Hamburg

Inside MCAA

MCAA International Conference *On Colophons*

3rd–5th December 2009

Conference Programme

■ Thursday 3rd December 2009 | Warburg Haus

- 2.15 pm–2.30 pm **Opening and Welcome**
- 2.30 pm–3.30 pm **Keynote Lecture**
Prof Dr Richard Salomon, University of Washington
- 4.00 pm–5.00 pm **On Colophons in Medieval Latin Manuscript Culture: Some Considerations of History, Typology, and Codicological Methodology**
Dr Lucient Reynhout, Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique, Bruxelles
- 5.00 pm–6.00 pm **Der Kolophon in den jüdischen Handschriften unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bibelhandschriften der Sammlung von Giovanni Bernardo de' Rossi in der Biblioteca Palatina von Parma**
Prof Dr Gianfranco Miletto, Universität Halle

■ Friday 4th December 2009 | Asien–Afrika–Institut

- 10.00 am–11.00 am **Writer's Word and Writer's Merit: Colophons in Japanese Buddhist Manuscript Tradition**
Mark Schneider, MA, Universität Hamburg
- 11.00 am–12.00 noon **Colophons in Chinese Buddhist Manuscripts: Towards a Definition and its Basic Features**
Dr WANG Ding, Universität Hamburg
- 2.00 pm–3.00 pm **Colophons in the Tibetan Textual Tradition**
Prof Dr Dorji Wangchuk, Universität Hamburg
- 3.00 pm–4.00pm **The Old Turkish Buddhist Colophons—their Origin and their Developments**
Dr Yukiyo Kasai, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Turfanforschung
- 4.30 pm–5.30 pm **Aus der Welt der buddhistischen Kolophone von Gilgit bis Lan Na**
Prof Dr Oskar von Hinüber, Universität Freiburg
- 5.30 pm–6.30 pm **Colophons in Thai Manuscripts**
Prof Dr Volker Grabowsky, Universität Hamburg

■ Saturday 5th December 2009 | Asien–Afrika–Institut

- 9.00 am–10.00 am **Colophons in Arabic Manuscripts**
Dr Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche, Universität Jena
- 10.00 am–11.00 am **Arabic and Ajami Colophons in West Africa and 19th-century Brazil**
Prof Dr Nikolay Dobronravin, St. Petersburg State University
- 1.00 pm–2.00 pm **Looking for Colophons in Ethiopian Manuscripts: Questions and Problems**
Dr Anaïs Wion, Centre d'études des mondes africains (CNRS), Paris
- 2.00 pm–3.00 pm **Conclusion**

Inside MCAA

MCAA Calendar 2009

■ 7 January

Prof Dr Michael Friedrich

Presentation of the research group at the 'Asia-Europe Forum on Field Studies' organized by the European Consortium on Asian Field Study (ECAAF), EFEO, Pondicherry, India

■ 8–10 January

Prof Dr Ludwig Paul

Nafiseh Sadat Sajjadi, MA

Persian Manuscript Culture in the Qajar Period: The Shahnama, Aspects of Manuscript Production and Text Variation(s). Lecture given at the conference 'The Reception of the Shahnama II', University of Leiden, Netherlands

■ 5 February

Prof Dr Helmut Glück, Universität Bamberg

Methodisches zum Begriff 'Schriftzeichen' mit einem Blick auf § 301 in Arthur Schopenhauers 'Parerga und Paralipomena' sowie einer Leseübung. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 25 February

Dr Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Cornell University

The Art of Tibetan Gold Manuscripts. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 20 March

Dr Katrin Einicke, Universität Halle

Korrektur, Differenzierung und Abkürzung in indischen Inschriften und Handschriften. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 27 March

Dr Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Cornell University

Tibetan Book Formats and Bookbinding Styles —casual Links between Books regional Origin, Dating and Text Affiliation. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 23 April

Prof Dr Edwin Wieringa, Universität zu Köln

Orthodoxie als Stolz der kleinen Leute: Einige Bemerkungen zu einer malaiischen theologischen Sammelbandschrift aus Batavia um 1861 (UB Leibzig V 1055). Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 26 April–31 May

Nafiseh Sadat Sajjadi, MA

Field research in Iran. Collecting and studying manuscripts, catalogues and articles on the topic 'From Manuscript to Print' in several libraries and institutes in Tehran, Mashhad and Qom.

■ 13 May

Dr Anaïs Wion

La fabrique des archives du royaume chrétien d'Éthiopie au XVIe siècle. Promulgation, enregistrement, transmission et conservation des actes royaux. Lecture given at the international conference 'La fabriques des savoirs en Afrique subsaharienne: acteurs, lieux et usages dans la longue durée'. Colloque international, Paris. Panel: 'Conserver, archiver, patrimonialiser le savoir'

■ 29 May

Rainer Herzog, MA

Participated in the 'International Conference: Analysing Manuscripts Textual Scholarship and the Sciences'. University of Berne, Switzerland

■ 1–2 June

Prof Dr Michael Friedrich

Dr Ding Wang

Presentation of papers at the conference 'Why were Chinese religious and philosophical texts copied', Eötvös Lóránd University, Budapest, Hungary

■ 4–5 June

Prof Dr Michael Friedrich

Participated in a workshop on the 'Qin manuscripts in possession of Yuelu Academy'. Changsha, China

■ 15–19 June

Prof Dr Harunaga Isaacson

New and Old Buddhist Manuscript Discoveries in Nepal. Lecture given at the workshop 'Indic Buddhist Manuscripts: The State of the Field'. Ho Center for Buddhist Studies, Stanford University, USA

■ 19 June

Dr Hanna Sofia Hayduk

Bildlektüre: Zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild in Rechtsbüchern. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 20–30 June

Prof Dr Harunaga Isaacson

Participated in the 'Second International Workshop on Early Tantra'. Pondicherry Centre of the Ecole française d'Extrême Orient ('French School of Asian Studies'), India

■ 29 June

Prof Dr Charles Melville

The Cambridge Shahnama Project. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 1 July

Prof Dr Jost Gippert, Universität Frankfurt

Manuscripta Sinaitica. Neufunde im Katharinen-Kloster. Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 20 and 23 July

Prof Dr Jost Gippert, Universität Frankfurt

Schriftwechsel. Workshop given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

Inside MCAA

MCAA Calendar 2009

■ 21 August–3 October

Dr Orna Almogi

Field research in Nepal (Kathmandu) and Bhutan.

■ 20–22 August

Dr Ding Wang

Some Observations on Chinese Buddhist Colophons in Medieval Times. Lecture given at the International symposium on the Silk Road studies, Yinchuan, China

■ 24 August

Prof Dr William G. Boltz, University of Washington

Hand-writing variants in early Chinese manuscripts. Informal talk given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 25 August

Dr Ding Wang

Lecture on new discoveries of manuscripts from Turfan at Academia Turfanica, Turfan, China

■ 3–5 September

Dr Ding Wang

Chinese People with Barbarian Names—a Proposographic Study on Manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan. Lecture given at the International conference 'Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and problems for the coming second century of research', Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg

■ 22–23 September

Prof Dr Harunaga Isaacson

Participated in a workshop on Sanskrit Textual Criticism. Yale University, New Haven, USA

■ October

Prof Dr Michael Friedrich

Lectures on manuscript cultures at Yuelu Academy of Hunan University, Changsha, China (15 October) and the Centre for Research on Manuscripts of Wuhan University, Wuhan, China (21 October)

■ October/November

Dr Anaïs Wion

Organisation of the first workshop of the Ethiopian Manuscript Archive (EMA) research group at the French center of Ethiopian Studies (29–31 October), Addis Abeba, Ethiopia.

'Continuity in the making of Ethiopian archives, from the Ancient and Medieval periods up to 1931', organized by A. Wion and Shiferaw Bekele (Addis Abeba University) at the 17th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies (1–5 November), Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

■ 27 November

Haeree Park, PhD, University of Washington

Bamboo manuscripts and the Chinese writing system of the Warring States period (481–221 BC). Lecture given at MCAA, Universität Hamburg

■ 3–5 December

On Colophons. International Conference organized by Prof Dr Jörg B. Quenzer and Dr Hanna Sofia Hayduk, Universität Hamburg

Publishing Information

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Inside MCAA

MCAA Essentials

Japanese Studies	Variance and Change of Media in Late Medieval Japan: The Tradition of the 'Direct Instructions' (<i>jikidan</i>)
Chinese Studies	The Word of Buddha and the Intent of the Benefactor: Media Difference and Text Variance in Sutra Colophons and Votive Inscriptions of Early Chinese Buddhism (4 th –7 th c)
Sanskrit Studies	In the Margins of the Text: Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal
Tibetan Studies	The Manuscript Collections of the Ancient Tantras (rNying ma rgyud 'bum): An Examination of Variance
Tamil Studies	Script, Print, Memory: Re-establishing the Caṅkam in Tamil Nadu
Iranian Studies	From Manuscript to Print: The Social and Cultural History of a Media Change in Iran during the 19 th Century
Arabic and Islamic Studies	Arabic Didactic Poems, 11 th to 17 th Centuries: Variants and the Means of Controlling Them
Ethiopian Studies	Variance in the Ethiopian Short Chronicles Corpus (18 th –20 th c)
Informatics	Computer-based Analysis of Asian and African Manuscripts

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