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## Pashto (Afghan) Manuscripts from the State Library of Berlin

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One of the richest world collections of oriental manuscripts of the Prussian Cultural Foundation has not been investigated in full till now. Since 1958 a special project "Cataloguing of oriental manuscripts in Germany" ("Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland") has been financed by the German Society of Scientific Research (Die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft). It is intended to support the publication of the new catalogues of all the oriental manuscripts in the German libraries which were not included in the formerly published catalogues and are hitherto unknown. The result of the activities on this project is a series of volumes with detailed, in due form composed description of oriental manuscripts pertaining to various epochs and language cultures.

Pashto manuscripts from the German collections have been disregarded up to the present although in 1888 W. Pertsch introduced in his catalogue of Persian manuscripts of the Berlin Royal (now State) library a historical work in the Afghan language "Tārīkh-i Raḥmatkhānī"<sup>1</sup>. This was in one volume with a XIIth century Persian historical and geographical treatise on India and thus found its way to the catalogue.

The next testimony about Pashto manuscripts in Germany goes back to 1959 when Prof. Abd ul-Qadir, the Head of the Pashto Academy founded in 1955 within the Peshawar University, was on a visit to Europe. In accordance with the scientific programme of the Pashto Academy he had to look for some rare and old Afghan manuscripts in the European (above all British) book depositories and archives. The searches eventually brought him to Tübingen where the main oriental funds of the Berlin State Library were being preserved from the time of World War II. Assisted by the scholars of the University library of Tübingen, Abd ul-Qadir became acquainted with five manuscripts of uncertain origin, presumably

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<sup>1</sup> Pertsch W. Verzeichniss der persischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin. B., 1888, pp. 459—460. About the work itself see: Blumhardt J. F., Mackenzie D. N. Catalogue of the Pashto manuscripts in the libraries of the British Isles. L., 1965, p. 49; Kušev V. V. Afganskaja rukopisnaja kniga (očerki afganskoj pismennoj kultury). M, 1980, pp. 66—67.

in Pashto. Among them were the notorious copy of "Khayr ul-bayān" and the *diwan* of Kāzim-khān Shāydā.

Afterwards Abd ul-Qadir described in every detail his travels in Europe and his long searches<sup>2</sup>, but for some reason he considered it unnecessary to satisfy our natural curiosity about three other undefined manuscripts from Tübingen. Perhaps, they were less significant in his opinion than the unique copy of "Khayr ul-bayān" and deserved no mention, or their language was not Pashto. Anyway, "Khayr ul-bayān" pushed into the background all the other Afghan manuscripts of the German collection, which were left unknown for 30 years.

In 1968 the oriental funds came back to Berlin again, and Pashto manuscripts took their place in the depots of the State Library. According to its officials, nobody has ever been interested in them since that time. Probably, the reason for this is the small number of available copies that would be insufficient for the publication of a separate catalogue within the above-named project. However, they are worthy of being put into scholarly use since the total number of Pashto manuscripts catalogued and known today is not too large: about one hundred and a half titles represented by approximately five hundred copies. Certainly, as things now stand, every new manuscript, even more so a work, arouses interest. One must also take into account the modern state of Afghan studies as a still developing oriental discipline, which needs a more solid source base.

The State Library of Berlin has at its disposal now nine not catalogued Pashto manuscripts, seven of which were defined as Afghan before my acquaintance with them in August 1990 during my two-week stay in Berlin. These manuscripts contain six various titles: three religious and theological works, and three poetical collections. One of them is, apparently, unequal. It is not known from the available catalogues<sup>3</sup>, and no information about it exists anywhere.

1. "Khayr ul-bayān" ("Best manifest") [Ms. or. fol. 4093] — the above mentioned copy of the Bāyazīd Anšārī's (1524/25—1572/73) work where his credo as the founder of the Roshani movement is expounded. This is the oldest of all the works in Pashto preserved up to the present day. The manuscript is famous for its "mysterious" wanderings in

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<sup>2</sup> `Abd ul-Qādir. Pezhandgalu. — Khayr ul-bayān. Taṣnīf: Bāyazīd Anšārī. Tartīb, tadwīn aw ḥawāshī: Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad `Abd ul-Quddūs Qāsimī. Peshawar, 1967, pp. 3—8.

<sup>3</sup> Our information is based on two sources: the summary catalogue of all Afghan manuscripts (known up to 1980), compiled by V. V. Kushev (Kušev V. V. Afganskaja rukopisnaja kniga... pp. 137—179) and the catalogue of Pashto manuscripts from Indian collections (Hewādmal Zalmay. Də Hind də kitābkhāno pashto khatṭī nuskhe yā də Hind də dżino kitābkhāno də pashto khatṭī nuskho fihrist. Kabul, 1363/1984).

Europe. In 1926/27 it was in the hands of G. Morgenstierne, who published later his notes on it together with some extracts from the text<sup>4</sup>. According to Morgenstierne, the manuscript was given to him by E. D. Ross, Head of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, who had received it before from a British military officer<sup>5</sup>. Then the copy was returned to E. D. Ross again, and thereupon the Berlin State Library acquired it from him.

The second "discovery" of "Khayr ul-bayān" in 1959 in Tübingen caused great animation among the specialists in Afghan literature and language. The first essays on this source containing some short data about the manuscript itself were published in Afghanistan and Europe<sup>6</sup>. Soon the Peshawar edition of "Khayr ul-bayān" with the commentaries of Abd ul-Quddus Qasimi appeared<sup>7</sup>, and later on the manuscript's facsimile was printed in Kabul<sup>8</sup>. Of the numerous papers dealing with Bāyazīd Anṣārī and his "Bayān" I would mention the works of the Russian scholars: the thesis and article of A. M. Mannanov<sup>9</sup> and the summarising notes of V. V. Kushev<sup>10</sup>.

The manuscript numbers 168 folios with the text up to fol. 167b. One page contains 11 lines written in calligraphic *nasta'liq*. Everywhere in the margins or between the lines additions in Persian are made by a careless hand. These are usually translations of Arabic phrases, which are always vowelised. Up to fol. 34 the paper is of different sorts, sometimes parti-coloured, with patterns and gilding that make reading difficult. Besides, the manuscript is badly eaten by worms. Hence misunderstanding of the text is possible (as it was already) when working not with the original itself.

<sup>4</sup> Morgenstierne G. Notes on an old Pashto manuscript, containing the Khair-ul-bayān of Bāyazīd Anṣārī. — New Indian Antiquary, Vol. II, 1939—1940, pp. 566—574.

<sup>5</sup> See also: `Abd ul-Qādir. Pezhandgalu... p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Habībī `Abd ul-Hayy. Də pashto adabiyāto tārikh. Dwahəm tok. Kabul, 1342/1963, pp. 250—367. Mackenzie D. N. The Khayr ul-bayān. Indo-Iranica. Mélanges présentés à Georg Morgenstierne à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire. Wiesbaden, 1964, pp. 134—140.

<sup>7</sup> Khayr ul-bayān. Taṣnif: Bāyazīd Anṣārī. Tartīb, tadwīn aw ḥawāshī: Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad `Abd ul-Quddūs Qāsīmī. Peshawar, 1967.

<sup>8</sup> Khayr ul-bayān də Bāyazīd Anṣārī. Sarīza: puhānd `Abd ul-Hayy Habībī. Də Bāyazīd Roṣhān yādawōna: `Abd ur-Ra'uf Benawā. Də Khayr ul-bayān likdod aw lughatnāma: puhānd `Abd ush-Shukūr Raṣhād. Kabul, 1353/1975.

<sup>9</sup> Mannanov A. M. Sufijsko-panteističeskoje napravlenije v afganskoj literature XVI—XVII vv. (Po proizvedenijam Bajazida Ansari i Mirza-chana Ansari) / Synopsis of thesis. M., 1970; and his "Khajr ul-bajan" Bajazida Ansari / Klassičeskaja literatura Vostoka. M., 1972, pp. 32—41.

<sup>10</sup> Kušev V. V. Afganskaja rukopisnaja kniga... pp. 29—34, 103—106, 120—121.

In the manuscript an introductory part with the explanations of the graphical system used by the author (foll. 1b—8a) is distinctly seen since right after it, on foll. 8b-9a, a blank follows (but not lacuna), and then from fol. 9b the general text begins with *basmalla*. The introduction is written simultaneously in four languages: Arabic, Persian, Pashto and Panjabi(?)<sup>11</sup>, in the latter not in its entirety. The main text is given only in Pashto with Arabic insertions. Its contents are characterised by A. M. Mannanov<sup>12</sup>.

The colophon informs us that the manuscript was finished on 20 Ramazan, 1061 A. H. (6 September, 1651) and intended for a certain Bībī Khār-Khātūn<sup>13</sup>. Copyist: [Faqīr] Bahār Toy (Tūsī?), a follower of Bāyazīd Anṣārī<sup>14</sup>. As it has often been remarked, "Khayr ul-bayān" is written in rhymed prose, *sajʿ*, with the rhyme on [-ān, -ām] modelled on the 55th *sura* of the Quran. I should note that it was realised by the copyist for he marked in cinnabar the words of the refrain "ayān", "ādamiyān", "bayān" etc., and in the same way the name "Bāyazīd" and the word "Khudāy" (God).

On the last page (168b) there are two attached stamps with explanatory inscriptions in English: "old Pushtu M. S. 1061 A. H. "Khair ul Bayan" and "... (illegible) on the Roshaniya sect by a disciple of Pir Roshan Bahar Tusi unpublished"<sup>15</sup>.

Till recently it has been commonly considered that the present copy of "Khayr ul-bayān" is at the same time the only one and the oldest of all Afghan manuscripts. However, after the catalogue of Pashto manuscripts from Indian collections was published in 1984 by Zalmay Hewādmal, now we must renounce both points. One more copy of the Bāyazīd Anṣārī's work dated from 1668 was discovered in the library of Salarjang Museum in Khaidarabad. This manuscript copied a bit later is complete in comparison with the first one. The text in it is given from beginning to end in all four languages in the same succession (but without interchange): Arabic, Persian, Pashto and Panjabi(?). All the variants, except Persian, are vowelised<sup>16</sup>. This important find may, undoubtedly, widen in the future

<sup>11</sup> The fourth language of "Khayr ul-bayān" has not been exactly defined till now.

<sup>12</sup> Mannanov A. M. "Khajr ul-bajan" Bajazida Ansari... pp. 34—40.

<sup>13</sup> A. M. Mannanov commits a strange error, naming a copyist as Bībī Khayr(sic!)-Khātūn and not noticing the real name of the scribe at all (Mannanov A. M. "Khayr ul-bayan" Bajazida Ansari... p. 34).

<sup>14</sup> "...Murīd-i Pīr-i Roshān" ("disciple of the Light Master") as he calls himself.

<sup>15</sup> Here we should remember the "English" period in the history of the manuscript when it was in the hands of E. D. Ross and an unknown military officer.

<sup>16</sup> Hewādmal Zalmay... pp. 9—10.

our knowledge about "Khayr ul-bayān" and the Roshani doctrine as a whole.

As regards the antiquity of the Berlin copy of "Khayr ul-bayān", the older manuscript of another theological treatise, "Makhzan ul-islām" dated from 20 Safar, 1059 A. H. (5 March, 1649), was found by Z. Hewadmal in the same Salarjang Museum<sup>17</sup>.

2. "Makhzan ul-islām" ("Treasury of Islam") [Ms. or. fol. , 219, Ms. or. Minut. 189, Ms. or. fol. 4101] — the theological and at the same time antiroshani work of Akhūnd Darweza (1533—1638) written in coauthorship with his son `Abd ul-Karūn and subsequently supplemented and edited by his other descendants. It seems to have acquired its final form at the end of the XVII century, but its manuscript variants strongly differ from each other in size and structure.

The number of the available copies of "Makhzan ul-islām" is great: 21 in Great Britain, 18 in Indian libraries, 10 in the Peshawar University, and three each in Kabul, St. Petersburg and Berlin (61 in all). Many of them are, probably, being kept in private libraries of Pashtunistan. Z. Hewadmal says that the total number of manuscripts presumably approaches a hundred, and the treatise itself is used now as a manual of Moslem theology<sup>18</sup>.

Such popularity of "Makhzan ul-islām" in comparison with the other similar works in Pashto one can easily explain by its contents. At least on a third consisting of the translations of classical Arabic works it includes the information which is necessary for every ordinary Moslem: about the principal duties of believers, the directions of *shariat* (Moslem law), correct performance of prayer and ablution, and so on. The interpretation of different Moslem conceptions in the form of ABC-books of religious terms (one term for every Arabic letter) can be well used for educational purposes, and the numerous poetical passages of not only theological but of amorous and didactic character, which are plenty in later versions of the work, certainly, make its reading more pleasant. However, the reasons for the popularity and the general prevalence of "Makhzan ul-islām" in Pashtunistan, obviously, run deeper. They should be also looked for in the historical process of the formation of the Afghan state, and the concomitant ideological and political struggle mixed together with tribal conflicts. Probably, the role of Akhūnd Darweza in that struggle determined the destiny of his work.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 34—36.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 227.

As a source "Makhzan ul-islām" has been known and used since the beginning of the XIX century. J. Leyden was the first European scholar who investigated the Roshani movement and translated into English one of the chapters of this treatise containing the data about Bāyazīd Anṣārī's life<sup>19</sup>. Some parts of the work were published first by B. Dorn in his Pashto Chrestomathy<sup>20</sup>. The modern complete edition with a vast introduction appeared in 1969 in Peshawar<sup>21</sup>.

Ms. or. fol. 219 — the most complete volume of "Makhzan ul-islām" (foll. 219) by size and structure almost entirely corresponding to the copy from the St. Petersburg collection of the Oriental Institute (B 2483), of which the detailed description was accomplished by V. V. Kušev<sup>22</sup>. The Berlin variant lacks some small sections about ablution and *namaz*, one *mukhammas* ("Mukhammas-i Afghānī"), and the Persian text of the VIIIth chapter (*bayan*) dedicated to life and activities of Bāyazīd Anṣārī. There is also a slight difference in the appendices made by `Abd ul-Karīm and `Abd ul-Ḥalīm, Darweza's grandson (foll. 190a-199b).

On the whole the manuscript is in perfect condition and reads well. It is copied in large *naskh*, 12 lines on a page. Arabic text, titles of the chapters, and names are written in cinnabar. A short colophon (fol. 219a) gives the book title and the name of the scribe — Sayid `Abdullāh.

The laconicism of the colophon is somewhat compensated for by a pencil record in English (fol. 1a), apparently, made by a purchaser of the manuscript. It says: "The Treasury of Islamism or Religious Customs and Ceremonies used by the Moslems written originally by Abdul Kareem (son of Arkhoon Darveiza said by the Natives of Roh to be converted them to Islamism). It was written in that country for the use of the Natives and this book was copied in Roh by one of them in the Pushto language (in which the original was compiled) and purchased from a Native Rohillah from Roh at Agra in 1796."

Ms. or. Minut. 189 — the shortened variant of the work without Persian text. It differs considerably from the previous copy by the chapters' arrangement, and begins with the Pashto translation of the Arabic treatise of `Umar un-Nasafī on the twelve heretical sects (fol. 1b). Absent are the proper beginning of the work, the first two Darweza's chapters

<sup>19</sup> Leyden J. On the Roshenian sect and its founder Bayezid Ansari. — Asiatic researches, Vol. XI, L., 1812, pp. 363—370.

<sup>20</sup> Dorn B. A chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan language, to which is subjoined a glossary in Afghan and English. SPb., 1847, pp. 24—78.

<sup>21</sup> Makhzan. Taṣnīf: Akhūnd Darweza Bābā. Muqaddama: Sayid Taqwīm ul-ḥaqq Kākākhayl. Peshawar, 1969.

<sup>22</sup> Kušev V. V. Opisanije rukopisej na jazyke pašto Instituta vostokovedenija. M., 1976, pp. 83—92.

(*bayan* I, II), some sections about ablution<sup>23</sup>, chapters with the commentaries on the Quran and the rules of its recitation, almost all additions of Darweza's descendants, and the final part about the peculiarities of the Afghan graphic system and the shortcomings of Pashto versification.

The manuscript with a soft cover of light leather looks like a notebook worn enough. It should have been in a long and active use. It contains 130 folios (15 lines to a page). The lower parts of foll. 91 and 130 are torn off and glued. The last 20 folios are very spoiled, and it seems as if something were spilled on them<sup>24</sup>. The handwriting is *naskh*. The text is written not too accurately, and the mistakes of the copying are evidently seen. The names, sometimes the beginnings of the chapters, and up to fol. 12 the 1st (upper), the 8th (middle) and the 15th (lower) lines are written in cinnabar. Often verbose remarks in Arabic appear in the margins and blanks. There is no colophon as such except the phrase "tammat tamām *shud*" (fol. 130a).

Fol. 25a bears an oval seal impression with an indistinct inscription where I could make out only the word "imām" and the year, 1117 (1705/06).

Ms. or. fol. 4101 (136b-167a) — the fragments of "*Makhzan ul-islām*" introduced in the Arabic-Persian manuscript with the texts of several theosophical treatises well-known in the Moslem world: "*Risālat ul-anwār*" of Ibn ul-`Arabī, "*Irshād*" and "*Kūmīyā-yi sa`ādat*" of Muḥammad ul-*Ghazzālī*.

This variant of the work includes the following parts: explanation of some Moslem ideas by Karūndād (ʿAbd ul-Karīm), two of his poetical passages, short ABC-book of religious terms of ʿAbd ul-Ḥalīm, and a more detailed one of Karūndād. These are followed by four chapters of *Akhūnd* Darweza (*bayan* IV—VII) arranged in the wrong order (V, VII, VI, IV) with two of them (V, VII) being incomplete. The last chapter, which contains the shortened translation of the Arabic treatise "*Khulāṣa*" of Lutfullāh Kaydānī, ends in fol. 161b with a colophon where the copyist, a certain Muḥammad Amīn, tells about the finishing of the book "*Khulāṣat ul-Kaydānī*" in the Afghan language.

In the next folio the Karūndād's ABC-book of terms (from "ayn") continues, and then go his and ʿAbd ul-Ḥalīm's poems. The work closes with two small sections which are not represented in other copies of "*Makhzan ul-islām*". The first contains five questions of ʿAbd ul-Ḥalīm

<sup>23</sup> The same sections as in the previous copy (in comparison with a St. Petersburg one), which treat of full ablutions and woman periods.

<sup>24</sup> It is interesting that namely these pages narrate about apostate Bāyazīd Anṣārī and his deeds.



and the answers to them by Karīmdād. Some parts of these texts coincide with the separate, not rubricated additions of the same authors in the main copies of the treatise. In the second a few of Karīmdād's enigmas or secrets (*ramz*), his admonitions (*pand*) and advice (*nasihat*) are put together. Then the text breaks off.

The total number of folios is 31 (27 lines on a page). The handwriting is *naskh*. The names and the initial words of chapters are written, as usual, in cinnabar. Corrections and insertions of skipped words are in cinnabar too. The scribe seems to have had a bad knowledge of Pashto (or he was not aware of it at all) and had not the slightest idea about the work itself and its authors.

It is interesting that "Makhzan ul-islām" was placed in the manuscript between two parts of "Kīmīyā-yi sa`ādat" both of them having their own colophons. The copying of the first part was finished in 1115 A. H. (1703/04) by the same Muḥammad Amīn, while "Makhzan" and the second part of ul-Ghazzālī's work were accomplished in the next year, 1116 A. H. (1704/05). Judging from the known dates of the other manuscripts of "Makhzan ul-islām" we can consider the two Berlin copies (Ms. or. Minut. 189 and Ms. or. fol. 4101) to be the most ancient after the above mentioned manuscript from Khaidarabad (1649) and one from Kabul (1703).<sup>25</sup>

3. "Fawā'id-i sharī'at" ("Benefits of *shariat*") [Ms. or. oct. 1251] — the theological work of Akhūnd Qāsim Shinwārī with the account of the fundamentals of Moslem dogma and law. At present we know about 17 copies of the treatise: 8 of them are being kept in India, 5 in Great Britain, 2 in Kabul, 1 in St. Petersburg and 1 in Berlin.

Scant information about the author reported by H. G. Raverty in the middle of the last century<sup>26</sup> has not been enlarged since that time. But there were numerous editions of the treatise itself starting from B. Dorn's publication of some parts in his Chrestomathy of the Afghan language<sup>27</sup>.

The Berlin manuscript of "Fawā'id-i sharī'at" (foll. 263) contains complete copy of the work. It opens with a preamble (foll. 1b-3a) with the praises to sheikh `Alī Tirmizī and Akhūnd Darweza, who was the author's spiritual guide. Then the enumeration of the chapters goes on foll.

<sup>25</sup> See: Kušev V. V. Afganskaja rukopisnaja kniga... p. 172.

<sup>26</sup> Raverty H. G. A grammar of the Pukhto, Pushto, or language of the Afghans. Second edition. L., 1860, p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> Dorn B. A chrestomathy... pp. 79—148.

3a—5a where their number is listed as 73, but actually they are 81.<sup>28</sup> There is given also the name of a person who composed this list of chapters — mawlānā Jāmī. After that the main introduction to the book begins with a eulogy to the prophet and common speculations on the religious duties of a believer (foll. 5a—9b).

The text of "Fawā'id-i sharīat" includes 81 chapters (*bab*), which, according to the title of the work, deal with all aspects of the religious daily rounds of a Moslem. The explanations presented there concern the nature of the faith, directions of law and morals, performance of ritual ceremonies, and so on<sup>29</sup>. The last twelve chapters narrate about the life and activities of the prophet Muḥammad. In the 81st chapter being absent in other copies<sup>30</sup> the author develops the theme of the prophet's demise up to general philosophical reflections about death as it is and the purport of life. In fol. 262a his thoughts are even illustrated with a diagram.

The manuscript is copied in calligraphic *naskh*, 14 lines to a page. Headings and subheadings are written in cinnabar. Some additions are made in the margins, and in foll. 92b-93a all the margins are dotted with identical writings as if someone were trying out *qalam* or practicing handwriting. In fol. 1a there are many Arabic and Persian records, some of them poetical, and two seal impressions. The small one is not clear. In the centre of the large round one the name "Shāh `Ālam Bādshāh" and the year, 1116 (1704/05), can be distinctly read.

A conclusion suggests itself that the manuscript belonged to Shāh-`Ālam (Mu`azzam), the eldest son of the famous Mogul emperor Aurangzeb. The date on the seal corresponds to the fact that in 1707 after his father's death Shāh-`Ālam was crowned under another name: Bahādur-shāh. If the manuscript of "Fawā'id-i sharīat" was in his library already in 1705, it refutes the opinion expressed by H. G. Raverty and currently held today about the date of the work's composing (1713)<sup>31</sup> and confirms the supposition of V. V. Kushev.<sup>32</sup>

There are some pages in the biography of Shāh-`Ālam connected with his stay in Pashtunistan. Thus, in 1676 for the purpose of concluding a peace agreement with the chiefs of rebel Afghan tribes he came to Pe-

<sup>28</sup> This list in the St. Petersburg copy of the treatise (B 2450) includes 74 chapters (Kušev V. V. *Opisanije...* p. 96).

<sup>29</sup> For more detailed information about the contents of the work see: Kušev V. V. *Opisanije...* p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> Z. Hewādmal remarks that the number of chapters in different manuscripts of the work varies from 57 to 82 (Hewādmal *Zalmay...* p. 222).

<sup>31</sup> See, for example: Hewādmal *Zalmay...* p. 25.

<sup>32</sup> Kušev V. V. *Opisanije...* p. 96.

shawar where, by the way, **Akhūnd** Qāsim, the head of the local Moslem clergy and the author of "Fawā'id-i **sharī'at**", conducted his activities. **Shāh-`Ālam** seemed to be more disposed to contacts with Afghan tribes than his father, and displayed his interest not only for the military and political situation in Pashtun society, but also for their cultural and social traditions. However, there is no ground, of course, for maintaining that exactly at that time he became acquainted with the work of **Akhūnd** Qāsim, or, more so, acquired the manuscript.

4. **Dīwān of Raḥmān** [Ms. or. oct. 2100] — collected lyrics of the most popular and respected poet in Pashtunistan `Abd ur-Raḥmān Momand (circa 1650—1712). The best evidence of his popularity is the number of the copies of his *diwan* discovered up to the present time and being kept now in India (12), Great Britain (9), Afghanistan (3), St. Petersburg (3), Paris (3), Princeton (1), and Berlin (1), totalling 32. This exceeds the number of manuscript *diwans* of any other Pashto poet.

The study of `Abd ur-Raḥmān's poetry was initiated by B. Dorn who published a few papers<sup>33</sup> and the poet's selected verses.<sup>34</sup> Later H. G. Raverty presented some valuable, though not numerous, biographical data about the poet.<sup>35</sup> Subsequently more than ten lithographic editions of Raḥmān's *diwan* appeared in India and Pakistan. Among the works of past decades the Peshawar edition of the *diwan* of 1960,<sup>36</sup> and the thesis of G. D. Lebedeva dedicated to `Abd ur-Raḥmān and his heritage<sup>37</sup> are worth mentioning. Structurally Raḥmān's *diwan* consists of two volumes (*daftar*) and numbers over 350 poems of various genres.<sup>38</sup> The Berlin copy is incomplete and contains 181 verses including 176 *ghazals*, 4 *qasidas* and one *rubai*. This is either one of the volumes or selected poetry from both. Only thorough collation of the copy with the other manuscripts (or editions) can give the definitive answer.

<sup>33</sup> Dorn B. Auszüge aus afghanischen Schriftstellern, eine erläuternde Zugabe zu den Grammatischen Bemerkungen über das Pushtu. — Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences de Saint-Petersbourg. VI-me ser., T. 5, /1845/, pp. 581—643; and: Proben aus dem Diwan des Afghanischen Dichters Abdurrehman. — Bulletin scientifique publié par l'Académie impériale de Saint-Petersbourg. T. I, 1836, N 7.

<sup>34</sup> Dorn B. A chrestomathy... pp. 285—353.

<sup>35</sup> Raverty H. G. Selections from the poetry of the Afghāns from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. L., 1862, pp. 1—4.

<sup>36</sup> Dīwān-i `Abd ur-Raḥmān Sarbanī Mohmand. Sara də muqaddame də mawlānā `Abd ul-Qādir-khān Šāhib aw farhang də Dost Muḥammad-khān Kāmil Mohmand. Peshawar, 1960.

<sup>37</sup> Lebedeva G. D. Afganskij poet XVII veka Rachman Baba (biografija i literaturnoje nasledije). Synopsis of thesis. Leningrad, 1971.

<sup>38</sup> G. D. Lebedeva gives the figure 376 (Lebedeva G. D... p. 17). The number of Raḥmān's poems differs in various manuscripts and editions.

The sequence in the arrangement of the poems here is not alphabetical. The manuscript begins with a *ghazal* rhymed on [-əlay] (hase dob yəm stā də gham pə daryāb tləlay — chə māhī ghunde ye tegha(?) yəm kutəlay) having as its final letter "ya", the last in the Arabic alphabet. The *ghazal* which opens usually the first or in other variants the second volume is in fol. 35a (hase yād... hamesha mudām dzəmā — chə awrād ye pə har şubəh shām dzəmā).

The manuscript contains 128 folios, which are in rather decrepit condition. The text (12 lines on a page) is written in *nasta`liq*. *Takhallus* "Raḥmān" is marked in red. Often slips and lapses are encountered as in the above-cited couplet: "hase yād [ye] hamesha...". The copyist, Şāliḥ Muḥammad Peshāwarī, who gave his name in the colophon (fol. 128b), did not work professionally or, probably, he was not of Pashtun origin.

The date of finishing the manuscript is slightly spoiled in the colophon: the last two figures of the year are blurred, presumably, 20 Muharram, 1175 A. H. (21 August, 1761). Anyhow, it is one of the most ancient dated manuscripts of `Abd ur-Raḥmān's *diwan*. The earliest one kept in Princeton dates from 1752.

5. **Dīwān of Shaydā** [Ms. or. fol. 308] — collected poems of another prominent Pashto poet Muḥammad Kāzīm-khān Shaydā (1725—1778), descendant of the illustrious Khushhāl-khān Khatak. Shaydā is known for his peculiar poetical style characterized by a certain complexity of language and images. On the analogy of Persian poetry this style is sometimes referred to as "indian". Note should be taken of the fact that the poet spent most of his life in Rampur.

The first reports about Shaydā belonged to H. G. Raverty, who had at his disposal the unique copy of the *diwan* with author's remarks<sup>39</sup> (now this is being preserved in the British Museum). Raverty included some specimens of Kāzīm-khān's poems in his Pashto chrestomathy<sup>40</sup>, and then published their translations<sup>41</sup>.

Today we have information about 17 manuscripts of Shaydā's *diwan*. At the least four of them are late copies of earlier ones (three volumes appeared in the first half of the XX century). Two autographs date from 1773. Most of the other manuscripts were copied at the end of the XVIII and the beginning of the XIX century (1776—1801).

<sup>39</sup> Raverty H. G. A grammar... p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> Raverty H. G. The Gulshan-i-Roh: being selections, prose and poetical, in the Pushto or Afghān language. L., 1860, pp. 133—148.

<sup>41</sup> Raverty H. G. Selections... pp. 305—325.

The Berlin copy of the *diwan* has in fol. 1a a pencil record of the same kind as that from a copy of "Makhzan ul-islām" (Ms. or. fol. 219). It runs: "Dewan Shida, a collection of poems written in the Pushto language originally by Mohammad Kazim Shida and copied by Fyze Aley of Delhi, purchased at Agra 1796. Shida was of the pushtun tribe called Khurtuck — the collection was composed in <...> — and is original".

There is also an indistinct impression of a small oval seal here. The name of the copyist is given in the colophon (fol. 237a): Fayḍ `Alī, son of Qāsim-bek, resident of Shāhjahānābād.<sup>42</sup> The manuscript is not dated, but, judging from the time of its acquisition, was copied no later than the beginning of the last decade of the XVIII century. Three more copies of the Shaydā's *diwan* are known to belong to the hand of Fayḍ `Alī. Two of them are being kept in Rampur (1778 and 1800) and one in the British Museum (beginning of the XIX century).

The manuscript numbers 237 folios (9 lines on a page). The handwriting is large calligraphic *nasta`liq*. Here the "khattak" system of writing was applied: cerebral consonants [ṭ, ḍ, ṛ, ṇ] are marked with the overline *hamza*, besides [ṭ] being written with "ṭa-yi mu'allaf"; affricates [ts] and [dz] are marked with the underline *hamza* and dots ([ts] with two, [dz] with one); cerebral [sh] and [zh] are written as non-cerebral [sḥ] and [zḥ] because of the phonetic peculiarities of the Khattak dialect.

The *diwan* includes the author's introduction and seven sections. In the introduction (foll. 1b—10a) written in Pashto prose with numerous quotations from Persian poetry Kāzīm-khān presents himself and his literary work. The sections correspond to the genre structure of the *diwan*. The first one (foll. 11a—34a) contains panegyric *masnawi*-odes belauding God, divine love, the prophet Muḥammad, four righteous caliphs, Bahā ud-dīn Naqshbandī, the famous sheikh of a sufi brotherhood, of which Kāzīm-khān was a member, sheikh Aḥmad Sirhindī, and the poet's personal spiritual guide Ghulām Ma`šūm. The last *masnawi*-poem outlines the history of Pashto poetry and characterises its features. The margins in foll. 11a-11b where Allah is praised have many notes explaining that the author's words are based on certain *ayats* from the Quran.

The big section of alphabetically arranged *ghazals* comes next (foll. 34b—149a). Then follow *qasidas* (from fol. 149b), two of them being entitled "Qaṣīda-yi āḥarīya" and "Qaṣīda-yi bahārīya", *rubai* (fol. 166b), *tarikhat* — "Tārīkḥ-i nawāb-i `Alī Muḥammad-khān" (fol. 209a), and *qita`at* (fol. 212b) where the poem of praise to Kashmir is subtitled "Qit`a dar waṣf-i ghanā-yi Kashmīr".

<sup>42</sup> The northern part of old Delhi where the emperor's residence La`l-qal`a was built by the order of Shāhjahān.

The *diwan* ends with a section of strophic poems (foll. 221b—237a) which include three *musaddas* and four *mukhammas*. In some of them *tazmin*<sup>43</sup> is used with citations from `Abd ur-Raḥmān, `Abd ul-Qādir and, seemingly, Khushḥāl-khān.

6. "**Majma` ul-ash`ār**" ("Collected poetry") [Ms. or. oct. 1262/Vol. 1, Ms. or. oct. 1263/Vol. 2] — poetical anthology containing poems in the Afghan and Persian languages written by poets of the first half of the XVIII century. Up to the present time there has been no information in literature either about the manuscript or the anthology itself. Apparently, only a single copy of it was composed.

Originally the manuscript represented one voluminous book (fol. 643),<sup>44</sup> but on coming to Europe it was divided into two volumes (foll. 301 and 342) bound anew so that one *ghazal* turned out to be "torn": its beginning is in the first volume (fol. 301b), the end in the second one (1a). The title "**Majma` ul-ash`ār**" does not seem to be original for it is not found in the text of the anthology, but only stamped on the back of a new binding.

The handwriting is *nasta`liq*. The number of lines on a page is 15. The colophon is absent. In fol. 1a (Vol. 1) besides some illegible records there is an imprint of a big royal seal belonging to the Mogul emperor Muḥammad-shāh (1719—1748), whose reign concurred with the decline of the former mighty power of the Great Moguls. The seal bears a date, 1138 (1725/26). Above it a pencil note is made with another date, 1153 (1740/41), and, probably, a toponym indistinctly written in Latin letters (A...kor).

In the second volume in fol. 228a one finds the *ghazal* of a certain Yakkil dedicated to the building of a mosque in honour of *miyan* Muḥammad Ṣāḥib-zāda. Here the year is added to, 1176 (1762/63), though it is not clear by whose hand: the scribe's or someone else's.

Thus, we have available three different dates with time intervals between them of about 20 years. However, the conjectured birth and death years of some authors of the anthology do not conform to the dates stated (especially the first two). All this impedes fixing the more or less exact date of both manuscript's and anthology's composition. The answer could be given only after circumstantial acquaintance with the contents of the poetical texts.

<sup>43</sup> Taḍmīn — direct citation of the rhymes of other poet in one's own verses with reference to the original.

<sup>44</sup> This is also confirmed by the original pagination of the manuscript.

The anthology is composed mainly of the poems of little known or absolutely unknown authors who were, evidently, not too eminent in their own times. To all appearances many of them could hardly be considered as professional poets. Thus, even the authorship of one *ghazal* is indicated not by the poet's name but his position — "wazīr of a Qashqār's ruler" (Vol. 2, fol. 135a).

Most of the anthology's authors originated from Eastern Pashtunistan. This is confirmed in particular by the tribal descent of many Pashto poets: Orakzays, Khattaks, Afridis, Halils. Apparently, the anthology was compiled in Peshawar, the old cultural centre of Eastern Pashtunistan.

Its structure consists of two parts. *Ghazals*, *qasidas*, strophic poems (*mukhammas*, *musaddas* etc. ) are collected in the first one (Vol. 1; Vol. 2, foll. 1a—318b). The second part is considerably smaller (Vol. 2, foll. 318b—342b), and contains quatrains and enigmas (*mu`amma*). The poems are arranged in strict alphabetical order, Pashto verses usually preceding Persian.

Almost all the poems have headings written with cinnabar where, as a rule, the author's name or the name of the genre-form is given. These headings are often wordy and explain the form and contents of a poem, for example: "Ghazal-i yak ḥarf-i nuqtadār wa digar ḡhayr-i nuqtadār" — "*Ghazal* where the letters with or without dots alternate in words" (Vol. 1, fol. 13a); "Musaddas-i `Alī-khān Akhūnd-zāda bar ḡhazal-i khāja Hāfiẓ-i Shīrāzī" — "*Musaddas* of `Alī-khān on a *ghazal* of Hāfiẓ Shīrāzī" (Vol. 1, fol. 58a); "Jawāb-i ḡhazal-i Najīb az Sa`īd Spīn Orāy" — "Reply of Sa`īd Spīn Orāy on a *ghazal* of Najīb" (Vol. 1, fol. 111b); "Nigāristān-i shī`r-i bīnuqaṭ" — "Representation of a verse where all the letters of words are without dots" (Vol. 1, fol. 283b); "Ghazal-i Khasta Sa`īd dar tatabbu`-i ḡhazal-i `Abd ul-Qadīr" — "*Ghazal* of Khasta Sa`īd in imitation of `Abd ul-Qadīr's *ghazal*" (Vol. 2, fol. 189b); "Dar madḥ-i Sarfarāz-khān Dādīn guyad... " — "Dādīn speaks in laudation of Sarfarāz-khān" (Vol. 2, fol. 302b); "Aḥmad Akhūnd-zāda dar ma`zirat gufta..." — "Aḥmad Akhūnd-zāda said in excuse..." (Vol. 2, fol. 307b). The most lengthy heading occurs in the second volume in fol. 294a saying in Pashto: "This is an epistle of Akhūnd-zāda to Ṣāḥib Ghulām, who sent it to Akbar-shāh asking for [the explanation of] its meaning, and he gave him a complicated interpretation; this complicated interpretation runs as follows..."

Only by the headings, without scrutinising the contents, one can judge how vivacious was the literary life of Peshawar and Eastern Pashtunistan in the first half and in the middle of the XVIII century.

It is noteworthy that many authors of the anthology have poems written in the form of respectful salutation (*`arzi*) to *miyan* Muḥammad

Şāhib-zāda, whose *ghazals* are also represented in the anthology. In the headings of such panegyric addresses miyan Muḥammad is always being referred to with the title *hazrat* accompanied by a formulaic greeting "Dāma fuyūdātuḥu" ("Prolonged be his favours"). There was already mentioned above the *ghazal* of Yakdil to the erection of a mosque in honour of *hazrat* Şāhib-zāda. *Miyan* Muḥammad was likely a spiritual leader of the Moslems of Eastern Pashtunistan, and, by cursory observations, he maintained the hard line of Akhūnd Darweza directed at the complete expulsion of tribal customs and laws by the *shariat* regulations. Obviously, for this reason the anthology comprises verses of poets who wrote particularly in a traditional and emphatically pious manner. A superficial look could only discern rather hackneyed motives and figures of love-mystical and philosophical-didactic lyrics. Besides that, many poets were themselves Moslem clergymen or their descendants. Honorary titles before their names: *miyan*, *mulla*, *akhund-zada*, point to this fact.

In view of the uniqueness of the manuscript it makes sense to present the total list of the anthology's authors with an indication of the number of poetical works belonging to each of them. The list is composed in alphabetical order according to Arabic, and includes all the names in the forms as they are given in the headings (occasionally by *takhallus*). The cases of repeats are possible since a copyist seemed to have written sometimes the same names in different ways. Only in two cases (№№ 11, 74) I combined such variants in one on account of the rarity of the names. Identification of the authors and commentaries on the names known to us are not supplied for it will be a subject of a separate investigation.

The list consists of two parts (both in alphabetical order). The first part includes the names of Pashto poets, the second one presents those who wrote in Farsi. Bilingual poets are distributed according to the number of verses in one or the other language, or on the ground of available data about them (eg. № 52).

#### P a s h t o p o e t s

1. Abū-l-Qāsīm (g-9, q-1)<sup>45</sup>
2. Aḥmad Akhūnd-zāda (g-14, q-1)
3. Aḥmad-shāh (g-1).
4. Asīr (g-1)
5. Akbar (g-8, mkh-1, r-1)
6. Akbar Akhūnd-zāda (g-64, g/f-1, q-2, mkh-2)

<sup>45</sup> In brackets: g — number of *ghazals*, q — *qasidas*, r — *rubai*, mkh — *mukhammas*; f — in Farsi (for Pashto poets), p — in Pashto (for Farsi poets), a — in Arabic.



7. Akbar-shāh (g-28, q-1)
8. Ilyās (g-2)
9. Bakhsho (g-46, mkh-1)
10. Banāras-khān (g-4, mkh-1)
11. Pasham [-khān] (g-40, g/f-1)
12. Jamāl (g-1)
13. Hājī (g-14, q-2, mkh-1)
14. Hāfiẓ Sa`īd (g-44, q-1, *tarji`band*-1)
15. Hāfiẓ Gul-Muḥammad Marghazī (Marghandī?) (g-11, g/pf-1)
16. Hasan (g-1)
17. Hamīd (g-1)
18. Khasta Sa`īd (g-3)
19. Dādīn (g-131, g/f-11, q-1, r-12)
20. Darwesh (g-3)
21. Dost Muḥammad-khān Khalīl (g-7, g/f-1)
22. Zū-l-qadr (g-2)
23. Rustam Orakzay (g-4)
24. Sarandāz (g-2)
25. Sardār (g-1)
26. Sa`īd (g-4, mkh-2)
27. Sa`īd Khatak (g-2)
28. Sa`īd Durānī (g-2)
29. Sa`īd Spīn Oray (g-11)
30. Salīm Akhūnd-zāda (g-1)
31. Sayid Akbar-shāh (g-4)
32. Sayid Pīr-i Khēyl-i Khatakān (g-51, g/f-12, mkh/f-1, r-1)
33. Sayid Ḥusayn (g-41, r-4)
34. Sayid Nūr (g-1)
35. Sayid Nūr Akhūnd-zāda (g-1)
36. Sharāfat-khān (g-1)
37. Shafīq (g-8)
38. Shams ud-dīn (g-5)
39. Shamsher Bangash (g-36, mkh-1, r-4).
40. Shahbāz-khān (g-1)
41. Shaykh Muḥammad (g-4)
42. Shaykh Muḥammad Afrīday (g-1)
43. Sher Muḥammad (g-1)
44. `Abd ur-Raḥmān (g-1)
45. `Abdullāh (g-3)
46. `Ubayd (g-74, r-25, *mu`amma*-18)
47. `Ubaydullāh (g-11)

48. `Azīz Muḥammad (g-3)
49. `Iṣām (g-11)
50. `Alam Afrīday (g-7, q-1)
51. `Alī Aṣghar (g-1)
52. `Alī Akbar Orakzay (g-1, g/f-11)
53. `Alī-khān (g-74, q-2, *musaddas/f-1*, r-2)
54. Fath `Alī Orakzay (g-12)
55. Faqīr (g-5)
56. Fahīm (g-2)
57. Fayḍ ul-ḥaqq (g-49, q-7)
58. Qāsim (g-8, g/f-1)
59. Qāsim-khān (g-35, g/f-1, *mkh-1*)
60. Qāsim-khān Orakzay (g-1)
61. Qāsim-khān *Khatak* (g-10, q-1)
62. Qāḍī Rasūl (g-9, g/f-2)
63. Qambar `Alī Orakzay (g-1, *mkh-1*)
64. Kāzīm-khān *Khatak* (g-1)
65. Gul-Hasan (g-2)
66. Gul-Muḥammad (g-1)
67. Lālā (g-34, q-1, r-8)
68. Lashkar (g-1)
69. Maḥabbat (g-2, r-1)
70. Muḥammad Sa`īd (g-1)
71. Muḥammad `Azīm (g-2)
72. Maḥmūd-Gul (g-27)
73. Mu`izullāh Orakzay (g-2)
74. [Mullā] Dābiṭa [-khān] (g-7)
75. Mullā Ghulām (g-6, *mkh-1*, r-1)
76. Mullā Ghulām *Akhūnd-zāda* (g-2)
77. Mullā `Abdullāh-khān (g-1)
78. Mullā `Abdullāh-khān *Dawuzay* (g-2)
79. Mullā Muḥyi ud-dīn (g-8, r-1)
80. Miyān Akbar (g-29, r-1)
81. Miyān Akbar-shāh (g-21)
82. Miyān Muḥammad Ṣāhib-zāda (g-11)
83. Mīrbāz-khān (g-4)
84. Mīrbāz-khān *Khatak* (g-1)
85. Mīr Muḥammad (g-3)
86. Nāṣir-khān (g-1)
87. Najm ud-dīn (g-1)
88. Najīb (g-19)

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89. Nasīm (g-5, g/a-1, g/af-1)
90. Naşrullāh Orakzay (g-20)
91. Naşrullāh-khān (g-1)
92. Naşrullāh Qāḍī-zāda (g-16)
93. Nuşrat Orakzay (g-1, g/f-2)
94. Nūrullāh (g-13, mkh-1)
95. Yahyā (g-18)
96. Yahyā-khān (g-1)

Farsi poets

97. Aḥmad (g-2, g/p-1)
98. Aḥmadī (g-1)
99. Amīn ud-dīn (g-1)
100. Ḥāfiẓ (g-3)
101. Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad (g-2)
102. Ḥaydar `Alī (g-1)
103. Sa`d ud-dīn (q-2)
104. Shāṭir (g-1)
105. Shākir (g-4)
106. Shaykh Aḥmad (g-122, mkh-4, mkh/fpa-1, q-1, *musallas*-1, *musaddas*-1, r-34)
107. Ṣāliḥ (g-1)
108. `Ajiz (g-2)
109. `Ishrat (g-30, q-1, r-79)
110. Ghulām Aḥmad (g-1)
111. Fidawī (g-1)
112. Qāsim Jahānābādī (g-43, q-9, r-30)
113. Karam `Alī (g-1)
114. Muḥammad Sa`īd Sākin-i Kunj-i Kuhna-yi Peshāwar(g-9)
115. Muḥammad `Ajīb (g-2)
116. Mirzā Jalāl ud-dīn (g-1)
117. Miskīn Kashmīrī (g-3, q-1)
118. Na`tī (g-10, mkh-1, *mustazad*-1, r-5)
119. Wazīr-i pādshāh-i Qashqār (g-1)
120. Yakdil. (g-13)

Anonymous verses

- g/p-21 (1 - Orakzay)  
g/f-4 (2 - Muḥammad)  
g/af-1 (Ṣāhib-zāda?)

r/p-7

r/f-2

The compilers of the anthology should have gathered and looked through a fair amount of various *diwans*, *bayazes*, other records and writings so that their efforts could result in a manuscript of such a bulky book. Probably, they met with poets themselves, unless they were of their number. It was a rather complicated task to choose necessary pieces from a plenty of sources and alphabetically arrange them. Obviously, the compilers pursued a definite goal. It was already told above about the general pious and moderate character of the poems. One may only surmise if this book were made to somebody's order or served as a present to some high-ranking persons.

It remains to be said that the manuscript of the anthology was being revised both in the process of copying and after its completion. The traces of this revising are found everywhere in the manuscript: skipped *bayts*, i. e. blanks left for them (Vol. 1, fol. 202b — first two and last seventh, fol. 264b — last 4 of 6 supposed; Vol. 2, fol. 19b — last 2, and so on); unfinished lines (Vol. 1, fol. 6b — 1st of the last *bayt*; Vol. 2, fol. 9a — 1st *misra`* of 4th *bayt*, fol. 114a — 2nd of the 1st *bayt*); crossed out *bayts* (Vol. 2, fol. 202b); expunged *ghazals* (Vol. 1, 189b-190a; Vol. 2, fol. 244b); expunged *ghazals* with headings remaining (Vol. 1, foll. 23b, 162a); corrections of the names in headings (Vol. 2, foll. 171a, 199b, 282b); erased names (Vol. 2, fol. 164b (but *takhallus* "Dādīn"), fol. 202b); verbose commentary in the margins (Vol. 1, fol. 129a). In the first volume in foll. 221a-222b the alphabetical order is broken: there are seven *ghazals* rhymed on "ya" in the section of rhymes on "sin". In the second volume foll. 245-246 are empty.

As concerns the circumstances of how these Pashto manuscripts had found their way to the Berlin State Library, I could obtain some information about that from the old accession journals which report the time of the manuscripts' acquisition and the names of the sellers. Two volumes, Ms. or. fol. 219 and Ms. or. fol. 308, were acquired in 1833 from Treutel and Würz, London booksellers, and before this, in 1796, as we already know from the pencil records, somebody had purchased them at Agra. On 11th July 1913 three more manuscripts, Ms. or. oct. 1262/63, Ms. or. oct. 2100 and Ms. or. oct. 1251, were acquired through the catalogue "Bibliotheka Orientalis XII" from Luzac and Co., London W. C. 46 Great Russell Av., for 20, 9, and 3.3 pounds accordingly. In 1926/27 two manuscripts were purchased: Ms. or. fol. 4093 from Denison Ross (see above), and Ms. or. fol. 4101 from a certain Rescher.

Certain suppositions may be offered about the manuscript Ms. or. Minut. 189 if proceeding from the press-mark itself. It was likely to be acquired by Johann Friedrich von Minutoli, the son of celebrated General Johann Heinrich von Minutoli, who did much for enlarging the manuscript funds of the Royal Library. In 1860/61 Johann Friedrich journeyed to the Middle East and Persia where he brought from and sold to the Berlin Library over 550 Egyptian, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts. Probably, a copy of "Makhzan ul-islām" which is of interest to us was among them.

Only four manuscripts (Ms. or. fol. 219, Ms. or. fol. 308, Ms. or. oct. 2100 and Ms. or. Minut. 189) bear the seal of the Royal Library.

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In conclusion I would like to express my great acknowledgement to Dr. V. Kushev whose amiable advice made this paper possible, and also to the German colleagues — Drs. Feistel, Kurio and Weinreich who rendered all kinds of assistance to me during my work in the Berlin library.