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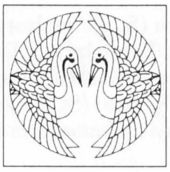

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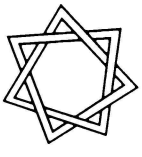

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

N. N. Tumanovich

AN INDIAN COLLECTION OF PERSIAN FOLK TALES

Manucsript B 256 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is today known to the scholarly world only through three reference publications. The first is *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vol. X, p. 290, which contains a register of the Asiatic Museum's acquisitions appended to the 1880 annual report by its chief keeper, K. Salemann. Entry number 8 in the register is *Majmū'a-i ḥikāyāt*, and indicates the size of the manuscript and the sender of the package in which it arrived. The second, more detailed, mention is contained in the short alphabetical catalogue of Persian and Tadjik manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under No. 3921 [1]. The manuscript contains a collection of Persian folk tales, fifty-six works in all. O. F. Akimushkin, the author of the entry, enumerated the headings of all the tales in the manuscript and indicated a series of correspondences with tales noted in the most authoritative European and Asian catalogues. The third mention comes in the description of the collection of folklore manuscripts, where each of the tales is treated as a separate work and supplied with annotations and a bibliography [2]. In my work on the last of the enumerated publications, I was able to make a series of important observations about manuscript B 256, which go beyond the narrow limits of formal description.

Most important is that B 256 is in many ways unique in the collection of Persian folk tales, which are in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Moreover, it is a rare copy in terms of its formal characteristics, structure and the role it played in the Persian-language manuscript tradition in Iran during the rule of the Great Moghūls. It could be of interest to modern Orientalists — specialists in literature, folklore, sociology, etc. It is surprising that during the hundred years it spent in the collection of the Asiatic Museum, and after that in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, this manuscript did not attract the special attention of Russian scholars. The task of the present article is to fill this gap in the most concise fashion possible. It is no doubt that the manuscript's notable features make it one of the most valuable literary monuments of the Great Moghūl period.

Unlike the overwhelming majority of manuscripts brought from Central Asia to form the basis of the collection of Persian folk tales, preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, B 256 came down to us by a different route. It was copied in India and then made its way to England, from where it was sent to Petersburg through the offices of the famous London bookseller Bernard Quaritch.

The palaeographic data clearly show B 256's Indian origin. It is of small format (11.2 × 22.0 cm.; text dimensions are 6.5 × 14.0 cm.) and great volume (810 folios). The Oriental paper is damaged by book-worms. The text is written in Indian ink; the headings and initial phrase of the tales are written in cinnabar. The text is written in *nasta'līq*.

Manuscript B 256 was restored in England. The frayed and torn edges of the folios were glued back together and trimmed by more than 5 mm. The thick volume was divided in two volumes. Each of the two relatively equal parts was stitched into a booklet and bound in the fashion then common in Europe — pasteboard with glued-on glossy, spotted paper in black-grey hues and black leather backings with impressed gold letters which read "Persian tales" and indicate the volume number.

Unfortunately, B 256 does not contain the name of the copyist or the date of the copy. On the bases of palaeographic data one may conclude that it was produced in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of this century, two outstanding Orientalists, H. Ethé and E. Blochet, dated manuscripts, which share a number of characteristics with B 256, to the eighteenth century. Already in 1903, Ethé gave a detailed description of a collection of folk tales in the India Office Library (under No. 797), noting the limit dates in the manuscript — 1616—1639 [3]. Now we can state that manuscript No. 797 in the India Office belongs to the group of possible protographs for our B 256.

After studying the "Tale of Arshad, Rashīd and Ashraf", which is contained in manuscript No. 2069 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Blochet came to the conclusion that both that version of the "Tale of Arshad, Rashīd and Ashraf" and the rest of the tales in this manuscript were written down at the end of the seventeenth century [4]. We find the same version of this "Tale" in manuscript B 256 as well, which makes us conclude that either B 256 is contemporary to Paris manuscript No. 2069 or was copied later.

At first glance, B 256 is notable by the diversity of genres it represents. On further examination, this view turns out to be not quite correct. Formally, B 256 contains 5 anec-

dotes, each one to one or one and a half folios long, and 11 short tales of two to five folios each. The anecdotes are similar to those known from Muḥammad Awfī's early eighteenth-century collection. However, the notable feature of B 256 is its more than 30 entertaining tales, each 10 to 20 folios long. In this category we should also include four more substantial narratives which take up 40 to 50 folios in the manuscript. The compiler terms these *ḥikāyāt* as well — "tales". It follows from this that they were seen as such by his contemporaries, readers or listeners. The longest of them, the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, takes up 66 folios. In its form, a single thematic framework breaks down into nine tales, each of which averages six to seven folios; this arrangement allows it to blend in with the architectonics of the manuscript.

The works collected in B 256 were widely popular in the Near and Middle East. Versions of some of them are even encountered in Europe and Russia. The richness of bibliographic data, appended to each of the 55 works represented in my description of manuscripts mentioned above, gives notion of the broad area of circulation of the thematic material which is contained in B 256. Analogies were found for all but one — the thirtieth story, a half-folio long — which describes a typical street scene in an Indian city with the participation of conjurers.

Matching selections of tales from B 256 are found in other manuscripts scattered over the world. For example, in Tashkent manuscript No. 3534 of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, folios 185—367 and 73—157 double in the same order the first nine, twenty-second and twenty-fourth tales in B 256. It is a small but significant detail, the headings for three of the tales in both the Tashkent and Petersburg copies are given at the end of the text. These correspondences cannot be accidental, rather they testify to a certain connection between the copies. Another detail of some significance: the tale of the son of an Aleppo jeweller, in which the son falls in love in Yazd with the daughter of a Jewish wine-seller, ends in B 256 with the compiler's remark that this story was told to him not completely. In Tashkent manuscript No. 3534, the story ends with reflections on the customs of Gebrs (Zoroastrians) whose women allow men to court them and drink wine with them, but should the guest think ill thoughts, he is threatened with death.

Three purely speculative conclusions come to mind in connection with all said above. First, that our MS B 256 and Tashkent MS No. 3534 have a single stem. Second, that in India the theme mentioned was known in both written and oral form. Third, that through circulating and abundant oral retelling of the subject, both Iranian and Central Asian tradition retained curious and important to local dwellers details about the customs of other faiths in the well-known city of Yazd (to this day followers of Zoroastrianism live in the vicinity of the city). As for the close of the story, it was forgotten, since the ethno-confessional milieu in India was quite different and the story's ending held no interest there.

Our MS is also related to manuscript No. 477 from the Bodleian library in Oxford: ten works it contains are also present in B 256. The eleventh work from No. 477 corresponds to the fifty-sixth in our manuscript, the eighth — to the eleventh, the ninth through tenth — to the twenty-third to twenty-fourth, and a block of four tales, from the second to the seventh, is doubled by the fourty-first to fourty-sixth tales in the Petersburg copy [5].

There is also Calcutta copy No. 301 of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It begins with the same tale about Shaykh Ṣana'ān as our B 256, which alone could serve as proof of their relationship [6]. Furthermore, the first 15 tales in both manuscripts are in near correspondence. The divergences, which are but minor, are only two. The first is that the tale of the Kashmir princess and the son of the Qinnūjan king is present in B 256 but absent in the Calcutta manuscript. The second is that the tale of the bald gardener, which is present in both manuscripts, but in the Calcutta manuscript No. 301 it is found among the first fifteen tales, while in B 256 it is in a different place.

Especially telling is the correspondence of four anecdotes, which in B 256 are numbered 12 to 15. In the catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, its author W. Ivanow cautiously suggested the short tales in Calcutta copy No. 301 (fols. 164—165) to be similar to those in Indian Office manuscript No. 797 (fols. 195b—196a). If a group of analogous anecdotes in B 256 [7] are drown on to make additional juxtapositions, Ivanow's assumption seems even more reasonable.

The London manuscript No. 797, from the library of the India Office, comprises 44 works [8], 34 of which we find in B 256. Given the current condition of this India Office copy, it is not possible to judge with certainty whether the tales it contains were originally copied out as a unit or whether they came together by degrees. Today, the MS seems to be a sort of convolute — a composite manuscript, "collected from various sources". Three copyists participated in the copy, and the dates of their work are given: 1616, 1619, 1636—1647, and 1645. The folios order is broken "in the most arbitrary fashion." Such defects are frequently explained by unprofessional restoration — in this particular case the manuscript was apparently restored twice. Over thirty years the manuscript might have deteriorated quite seriously from constant use. A significant part of the manuscript, completed in the hand of the second copyist, may testify either to the copyist's reconstruction of the text, which had been lost by some reason by that time, or to the changed conditions under which this particular portion of the text was copied. It should be noted that India Office manuscript No. 797 begins with the "Tale of the carefree man", as Tashkent No. 3534 does. MS No. 797 also carries on for the first few dozen folios the thread of this last composition in a fashion evocative of a dotted line, which indicates the existence of intermediate copies between them.

If we accept India Office manuscript No. 797 in its present form, as a single whole, its similarity to B 256 seems to be indisputable: chains consisting of 15, four, three and three instances of two tales are present in both cases, although the place were these tales are located in the manuscripts may be different. The 15 works with which B 256 begins take up in India Office No. 797 numbers 11—25. The block of tales from 48 to 51 in B 256 is doubled in India Office No. 797 by the block from 30 to 33, and so on. Only one conclusion comes to mind, namely that India Office No. 797 or some other manuscripts originating from the same stem were among the basic protographs for Petersburg B 256, along with Tashkent MS No. 3534 (or its copies) and Calcutta MS No. 301 and its possible copies.

The comparison of the text of B 256 with the materials on which its compiler based his work enables us to make conclusions about an area of the Persian language spread and, consequently, Persian culture throughout the Middle

East from Ferghana to Bengal. Though being very important, this observation is but collateral for our exposition. Of much more interest could be the figure of the compiler of the text, which should remain at the focal point of discussions about our manuscript. If juxtapositions made can stress the mechanical side of the compiler's work, its other aspects, such as searching, analysis, editing, formating, i.e. the very essence of the creative process and individual method of the compiler's work, remains deeply concealed. To elucidate these facets of the compiler's work, more intent glance at the conditions in which the compiler of B 256 worked and, first and foremost, conditions in the book market in the area is needed.

It is well known that entertaining tales are the most common form for Persian-language folklore. Since ancient times, illiterate story-tellers performed, each with his own repertoire. With the spread of literacy, collections of the most popular stories were written down. By the seventeenth century, a strong tradition of compiling brief collections had formed. These were conventional in form, average in level, and geared toward a popular readership. The tradition stood up through the twentieth century. On the basis of our collection, which represents, for the most part, late copies, one can judge the sort of collections which circulated at an earlier period. They each contain approximately 12—20 folklore works, each of which averages 10—25 folios, resulting in a manuscript of 250—350 folios. The writing is far from professional at all times; at times it is even crude and careless. Whether on his own or in accordance with the taste of a customer of middling means, any barely literate copyist at the bazaar court produce such a copy in rapid order. Such manuscripts have been found in the homes of craftsmen as well as those of professional story-tellers, shop-owners, traders, etc. With the establishment in power of the Great Moghuls, a large number of collections of Persian folk tales were brought from Central Asia and Iran to India along with whatever goods the migrants carried with them.

We know of an attempt, and most likely not the only one, to "fictionalize" a group of folk tales by adapting the style to the tastes of devotees of belles-lettres. In a brief preamble to a collection of 19 folk tales he drew up at the turn of the nineteenth century, a certain Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Mīrak Ḥusayn Muẓaffarī Sājwāndī, writing under the pen-name of Ḥubbī, explained the task he had set for himself as follows: to retell in a refined style the amazing stories which he had chanced to hear from a professional, and evidently illiterate, story-teller in select company. These were, for the most part, stories typical of the Arab cycle of "1001 Nights", which had been passed form listener to listener in Persian adaptations for many centuries. Sājwāndī aimed for chamber performances of the stories among priveleged society, as is evident from the careful use in the manuscript of "beautiful *nasta'līq*" [9].

As an experienced, older literary figure — he was 70 years old — Sājwāndī had an accurate sense of the ideal parameters for a manuscript volume, knew that ease of use heightened the attractiveness of any good, and had an excellent idea of how to convey the entertaining tales in order to make them most accessible to listeners or readers. These considerations determined the form of the collection and the size of each work in it. The "Tale of Mihr and Mah", which did fit into this framework, was abbreviated by half. Such fundamental literary and editorial alterations of the source material transformed Sājwāndī into a co-author as he created his collection. This is probably why he felt it necessary to note his own name.

Manuscript C 1640 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies indicates that Sājwāndī's experiment won him future adherents in all corners of the Persian-language cultural world. It consists of 15 stories and was prepared in Bukhara in the nineteenth century. On folio 10b of the copy, the compiler, a certain Karī, implores Allah to have mercy upon him ("this poor wretch") but says nothing about the aims of his work. The form and format of the manuscript clearly show that Karī belonged to a different social milieu than Sājwāndī. He was not an educated literary figure, but had mastered the folkloric themes most popular in the bazaars. It is possible that he was a professional story-teller or was preparing to become one. For this, either he or his mentor had, as they say, "a golden tongue" and made wide use in speech and writing of introductory remarks or catchphrases like "he told the truth and gave up the ghost" (fol. 191b) or "free to kill, free to reward" (fol. 200a) [10]. Part of collection C 1640 is a copy of an existing text and part was copied down from oral sources. In both cases the orthography is of poor quality.

C 1640 is of interest for the present study as an example of recorded folk speech and a reflection of the centuries-old practice of simultaneously using both oral and written material in compiling collections of stories.

Although it is no doubt that the compiler of B 256 relied on his predecessors' experience, the task he set for himself was utterly different. While an ordinary collection of entertaining tales for popular use was intended for light reading, manuscript B 256 was held together by the serious idea of a full collection of the most popular, typologically similar Persian folk tales. Hoping to realise such a plan, the compiler of B 256 must have stood higher on the social scale than the copyist of an ordinary, published collection. He had to move freely both among works of folklore and those of Persian classical literature, possess a literary style, taste, and other creative abilities.

The seeming proximity of the compiler of B 256 to Sājwāndī is deceptive, although both were educated, geared their work toward a select audience rather than the crowd at the bazaar, and gleaned the basic themes for their compilations from the selections in "1001 Nights". They differed in their motivation. Sājwāndī reworked tales he had heard on his own initiative, intending to give an effective demonstration of his literary gifts. Our compiler realised the wishes of a customer, striving to preserve in their natural form for future generations "the most popular" folkloric themes of his time in the regions he knew. The textological work of juxtaposing oral and written variants of well-known tales — noted above in connection with tales 21 and 24 of B 256 — bears witness to the thoughtful, conscientious and careful attitude of our compiler to his source material.

The compiler of B 256 was not troubled by the length of the works which he included in his compilation. Forthermore, he made use of variations in form to enhance the diversity of his work. Interweaving short and extended tales and skillfully selecting them by content, he so arranged them in one volume that more than 1,500 pages of text read easily, in a single sitting even. Despite the well-known conservatism of Asiatic society, entertaining folk tales are essentially dynamic, which fundamentally distinguishes them from works authored by specific writers. As a rule, time and

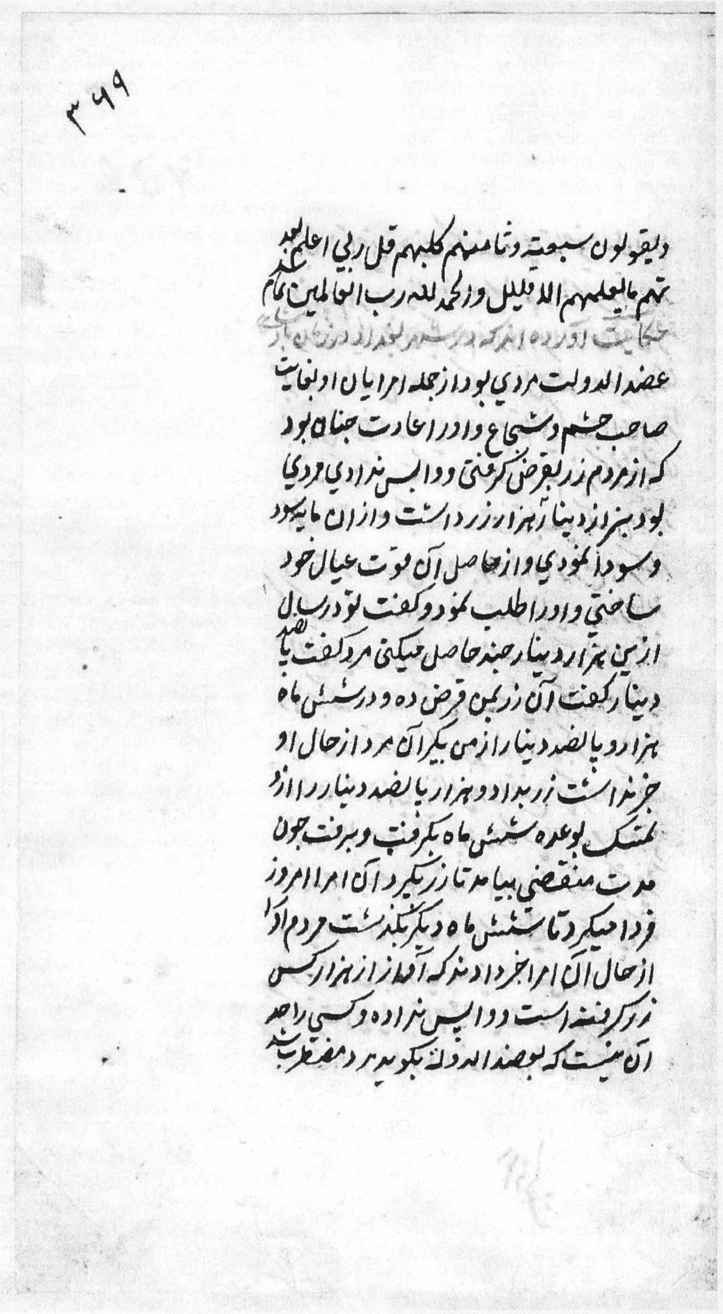

Fig. 1

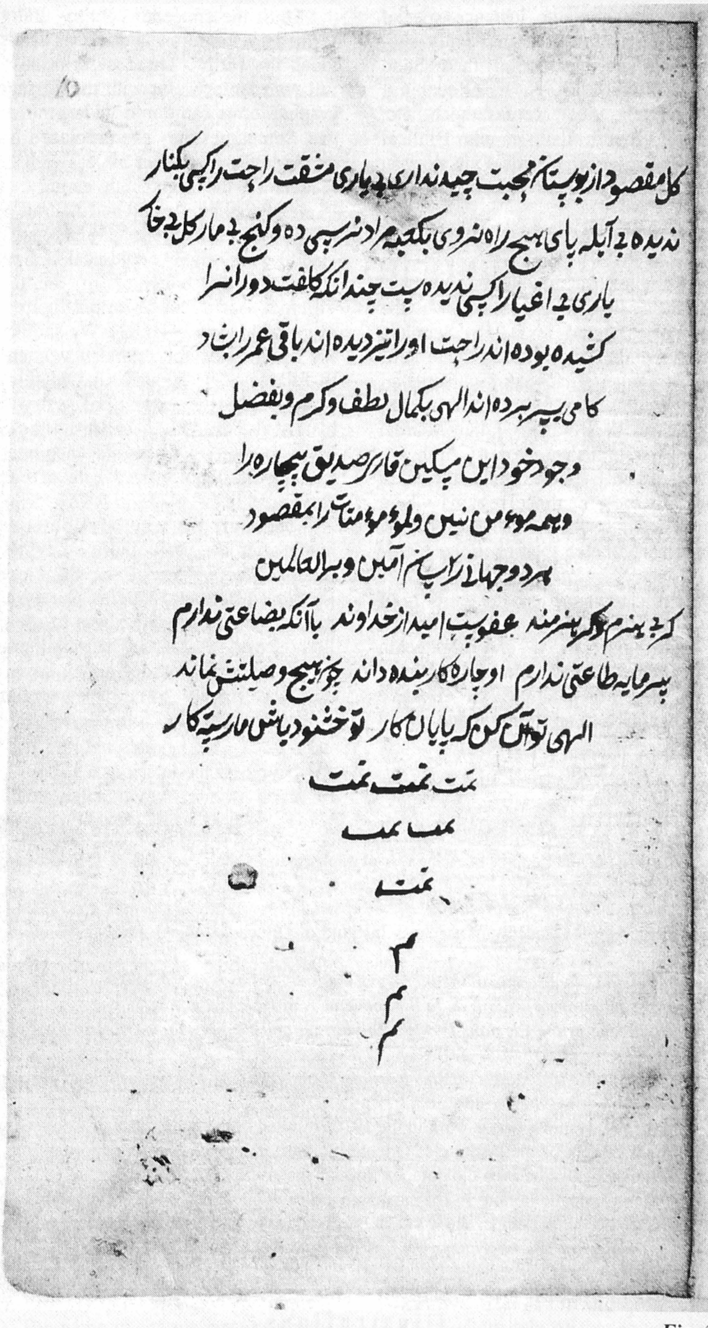
کل مقصود از بوستان محبت چیند داری بیاری منفعت راحت راکسی بکنار
ندیده به آبله پای هیچ راه نروی بکعبه مراد نرسیده و گنج بمار کل به خاک
یاری به اغیار اکسی ندیده بت چندانکه کلفت دوران را
کشیده بوده اند راحت او را نیز دیده اند باقی عمر راب د
کامی بسر برده اند الهی بکمال لطف و کرم و بفضل
وجود خود این مسکین فقیر صدیق بیچاره را
و همه مومنین و مومنات را بمقصود
هر دو جهان رسان آمین و رب العالمین
کر به بنم ذکر [illegible] عفو پیا امید از خداوند با آنکه بضاعتی ندارم
بسرمایه طاعتی ندارم او چاره کار بنده داند چو هیچ وسیلتی نماند
الهی تو آن کن که پایان کار تو خشنود باشی ما رستگار
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Fig. 2

place leave their mark on each piece of folklore. Our compiler succeeded in marking new features in traditional themes and brought them to the reader's attention.

The time and place or origin for the folkloric material used in B 256 require in each concrete instance special investigation. Such a research is far from uniformly successful, although many scholars have tried their hand at it, among them V. A. Zhukovsky, S. F. Oldenburg, I. Iu. Krachkovsky, E. E. Bertels, A. A. Romaskevich, etc. The deepest roots are usually found in stories with Biblical or Qur'ānic characters, in legendary materials. One story in B 256 goes back to the "Metamorphoses" of Apuleius (second century A.D.).

Tales of the sort under review here are normally compared with the Arab cycle "1001 Nights", which has become a certain type of standard for this genre. However, the tales of "1001 Nights" may hardly be considered as the "starting-point" for the stories found in B 256. Scholars have advanced authoritative claims that "1001 Nights", for its part, stems from the Sassanian *Hazār afsāna*. Some of the themes — in the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, for example — are considered by scholars to go back to an Indian source. "1001 Nights" represents an established type of Arab entertaining tales which belongs to a specific time, the ninth century. Parallel to these themes, in those regions where Persian was known similar themes were transmitted orally; moreover, many of them clearly match themes in the *Hazār afsāna*.

In accordance with established tradition, the majority of works in B 256 are close to "1001 Nights". In the course of five centuries (from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century), however, each of these themes endured significant changes and acquired variants. For example, the effective scene between a cunning beauty and an unjust judge which ends with the judge naked at a crowded bazaar was transformed into an independent tale about a beauty who takes vengeance on a perfidious judge (tales 32 and 46 in B 256).

Until the sixteenth century, India and China were described in folklore materials as lands "where the heavens touch the earth". These descriptions, very indistinct, were full with fantasy. But with the passage of time, Indian geographic terms came into wider, more detailed and concrete use. Sometimes they even replaced Iranian terms in stories, as the latter were seen as less well known to listeners and readers of the eighteenth century. The above-mentioned "Tale of Arshad, Rashīd and Ashraf" attracts attention by its late origin. It mentions "Franks" — Europeans — and the "land of Purtugal", evidentally Goa. Blochet even took "Maryam, the daughter of Ṣān'ur Shāh, the king of Purtugal" for a real historical figure, namely Queen Maria of Portugal (1667—1683). We should add that Maryam was the usual name for Frankish women who were characters in folk tales. It appears that in this instance Blochet has exaggerated the extent of story-tellers' knowledge of historical Europe. As concerns the plot of this tale, it is close to a series of motifs encountered in "1001 Nights" and, on the whole, the "Tale of Farrukhshāh, Farrukhrūz and Farrukhnāz" — 33 in B 256.

These are the very brief observations, which could be made after the preliminary studying of manuscript B 256 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Surely, the contents of the MS need a more detailed analysis of specialists in Near Eastern literature and folklore. The vast literary material the manuscript contains provides a fine basis for further work. Our aim was merely to attract attention to this manuscript collection of Persian folk tales.

Notes

1. *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR: Kratkiĭ alfavitnyĭ katalog* (Perisan and Tajik Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Peoples of Asia: a Brief Alphabetical Catalogue), ed. N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, Pt. I (Moscow, 1964), pp. 527—9.

2. N. N. Tumanovich, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 6: Folklore: entertaining stories and tales (Moscow, 1981).

3. H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, 1903), i, p. 524.

4. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1934), iv.

5. E. Sachau, H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Pt. 1: The Persian Manuscripts (Oxford, 1903).

6. W. Ivanow, *Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1924).

7. It is necessary to note that W. Ivanow, whose work in the 1910s resulted in the appearance of a collection of Persian folk tales in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, unluckily, had no opportunity to analyse the manuscripts brought by him from Bukhara. It may be that he even did not look through manuscript B 256.

8. See the reference to Ethé's catalogue in note 3. The catalogue indicates 52 works, since the numbering begins with the introductory tales of the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*. In our numbering of the works in B 256, the tales in the *Bakhtiyār-nāma* are counted as a single work.

9. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1881), ii, pp. 759—60.

10. Tumanovich, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Majmū'a-i ḥikāyāt*, manuscript B 256 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 369a, 11.2 × 22.0 cm. (of Indian provenance, eighteenth century).

Fig. 2. *Ḥikāyāt*, manuscript C 1640 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 10a, 13.5 × 25.4 cm. (Bukhara, nineteenth century).

A. A. Sadykhova

A MANUSCRIPT OF "TALES OF SOME LOVERS OF THE PAST" IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ORIENTAL FACULTY OF THE ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY

An eighteenth-century manuscript of the "Tales of Some Lovers of the Past" (No. 734) in the library of the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg University entered the holdings of the library in the collection of manuscripts belonging to Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī (1810—1861). I. Yu. Krachkovsky's article entitled "Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī, professor at the St. Petersburg University (1810—1861)" [1] contains brief information about this manuscript. It is also mentioned in V. I. Beliayev and P. G. Bulgakov's article "Arabic manuscripts in the collection of LGU" [2], where it is termed "little-known". Two sheets of paper inserted into the manuscript have survived; they contain a list, in V. I. Beliayev's hand, of the stories which make up the manuscript. One can assume that the scholar attributed a certain significance to this manuscript and planned to study it further.

Manuscript No. 734 is entitled كتاب ذكر فيه اخبار بعض العشاق السالفين ("A Book of Reports about Some Lovers of the Past"). It contains tales about famous poets in love: Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ (Majnūn, d. A.D. 689), Tawb b. al-Ḥumayyir (7th—8th centuries A.D.), Laylā al-Akhyaliyya (d. A.D. 704), Qays b. Dharīḥ (d. A.D. 687), Jamīl b. Ma'mar (d. A.D. 701), al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf (A.D. 750—808), 'Urwa b. Ḥizām (7th—8th centuries A.D.), and Kuthayyir (d. A.D. 723). It also presents love tales connected with the caliphs Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (8th century A.D.), Hārūn al-Rashīd (8th century A.D.), the vizier Ja'far al-Barmakī (8th century A.D.), and others.

The manuscript contains 137 folios: 20.0 × 15.0 cm.; the end is missing. The text is written in black and red ink. The handwriting is large *naskh* with the following characteristics: the copyist sometimes puts in vowelling, frequently omits medial and final *hamza*s, replaces *alif maqṣūra* with *alif mamdūda*, always puts dots below *alif maqṣūra*; if the seat of the *ḥamza* is a *yā*, the copyist also puts dots below it. Oriental paper; later paper binding.

The copyist's colophon has survived on fol. 75 b. It notes the date of the manuscript: A.H. 1118 (A.D. 1706—07). The title page contains the names of owners and dates: Aḥmad al-Bābilī, A.H. 1203 (1788—89) and al-Ṭanṭāwī, A.H. 1254 (1838—39). The name of the manuscript's compiler is missing.

The manuscript contains an anthology of tales about well-known heroes of Arabic literature and folklore and includes many lines of poetry. (Some of the poetry is supplied with lexical and grammatical commentaries.) The beginning, which belongs to the compiler, is written in rhymed prose.

Beginning on fol. 1b:

الحمد لله الذي حكم الحبين بلواعج الشوق و الغرام...

Contents of the manuscript:

1) fols. 3a—52b:
Story of Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ (Majnūn). There is a gap between fols. 29b and 30a.

2) fols. 53a—75b:
Tale of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya. The end of the tale contains the colophon of the copyist with the date of the manuscript:

و كان الفراغ من كتابته يوم الخميس المبارك عاشر جماد الاول الذي هو من شهور سنة ثمانية عشر و ماية و الف

3) fols. 76b—83a:
Tale of Qays b. Dharīḥ and his beloved, Lubnā. Fol. 83b contains the copyist's colophon, which concludes the tale of Qays and Lubnā:

و هذا ما انهى الينا من حديث قيس و لبنا و الله اعلم باصواب و اليه المرجع و المعا و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد و على آله و صحبه و سلم

4) fols. 83b—86b:
Tale of Jamīl and Buthayna.
Fol. 86b contains the compiler's colophon:

و هذا ما انتهى الينا من قصة بثينة و جميل الخ

5) fols. 87a—90b:
Tale of the love of 'Urwa b. Ḥizām and 'Afra.

6) fols. 90b—92a:
Verses by 'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf. Very little prose text.

7) fols. 92a—133b and 134b—137b:
92a—94b: tale of two lovers, from al-Ṭufayl b. 'Āmir al-'Āmirī;
94b—95b: tale of the death of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik;
95b—96a: tale of Hārūn al-Rashīd and his female slave, from al-Aṣma'ī;

96a—96b: a similar story about Hārūn al-Rashīd and his slave-girl, from Ḥammād b. Isḥāq;

96b—97b: story about the caliph al-Mutawakkil and the slave-girls given to him as a gift, conveyed by 'Alī b. al-Jahm;

97b—98a: story about al-Rashīd and a cunning slave-girl;

98a—98b: story about the caliph al-Ma'mūn and his slave-girl;

98b—99b: story about the caliph al-Rashīd and his slave-girl;

99b—102a: story about the caliph al-Ma'mūn and his witty interlocutor;

102a—106a: story of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī about al-Ma'mūn;

106a—107a: story of al-Ma'mūn and the cunning Arab;

107a—108a: story of the two lovers, from al-Jāḥiẓ;

108a—112a: story of Ma'mar b. 'Abdallāh al-Qaysī, emir of the West;

112a—113a: story of Ja'far al-Barmakī and Hārūn al-Rashīd;

113a—114b: story of a youth in love, conveyed by b. al-Jawzī;

114b—115a: stories about Maḥmūd al-Warrāq and Dhī-l-Rumm, from al-Shāfa'ī;

115a—115b: story about al-Rashīd, from al-Ṣūlī;

115b—116a: story about al-Ma'mūn and the slave-girl;

116a: other stories about al-Rashīd and 'Alī b. al-Jahm;

116a—117a: story about an unknown king;

117a—119b: story about the singer Ma'bad;

119b—124a: story about an adventure of the caliph al-Manṣūr;

124a—125a: tale of Mu'awiya b. Abū Sufyān;

125a—129a: story about Abū-l-'Abbās al-Saffāh;

129a—131b: story about a female singer, from Isḥāq al-Mawsilī;

131b—133b: story from the book of Shihāb al-Dīn b. Faḍlallāh *Masalik al-absār*;

133b: story about Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, from Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm;

133b—134b: episodes concerning the poet Kuthayyir;

134b—136a: story about Ja'far al-Barmakī and Hārūn al-Rashīd;

136a—137a: tale of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn;

137a—137b: story from b. Ḥamdūn. The story breaks off here, as the end of the manuscript is missing.

As one can see, the compiler devoted the bulk of his attention to love tales involving the best-known Bedouin poets of the 7th—8th centuries: Majnūn and Laylā (49 fols.), Tawb and Laylā al-Akhyaliyya (23 fols.), Qays b. Dharīḥ and Lubnā (7.5 fols.), Jamīl and Buthayna (3 fols.), 'Urwa and 'Afra (3.5 fols.), Kuthayyir and 'Azza (1 folio) — 87 fols. out of 137, more than half. Hence, it is of interest to attempt to evaluate the significance of this manuscript in the textual history of the tales of poets in love. For this purpose, it was necessary to juxtapose the text with variants of the tales known in other sources.

The following works were employed:

1. "Book of Poetry and Poets" by Ibn Qutayba (9th century A.D.), the earliest surviving source.

2. "Book of Songs" by Abū-l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (10th century) — the fullest collection of poetry and biographical information on poets of the fifth—tenth centuries. Drawn up in the tenth century, this anthology remains one of the most reliable and fullest sources for scholars on medieval Arabic literature.

3. "Embellishment of the Markets with Detailed Stories of Lovers", the anthology by Da'ūd al-Anṭākī (17th century), also a fairly well-known late-medieval collection of stories about lovers. Unfortunately, it does not contain *isnāds*. Al-Anṭākī's anthology is, however, interesting as the source chronologically closest to the manuscript.

4. The *Dīwān* of Majnūn's poetry, employed in analysing the tale of Majnūn and Laylā. This *Dīwān* was drawn up by Abū Bakr al-Wālibī (11th century A.D.), who, like Ibn Qutayba and al-Anṭākī, does not list his sources.

As the stories of unhappy, violently separated lovers in which the heroes are the above-mentioned Bedouin poets are widely known both in the Arab world and beyond its borders, we did not deem it necessary to retell the stories here. Furthermore, biographical information on all six poets and their love stories can be found in any work on medieval Arabic literature [1].

We pause first on the content and composition of the tale of Majnūn and Laylā, the largest in scope. The general structure of this tale in the manuscript is the same as in the "Book of Songs": a series of episodes with verses, frequently without logical links between them. Each episode has its own *isnād*. The *isnāds* in the manuscripts very often differ from those in the "Book of Songs", even where the episodes are similar in content. Usually, only one or two names coincide in each series. In the manuscript, six names also found in the "Book of Songs" are most frequently encountered: Ayyūb b. Abāya (7th—8th centuries A.D.), 'Awāna b. al-Ḥakam (8th century A.D.), Ibn Da'b (8th century A.D.), al-Aṣma'ī (8th—9th centuries A.D.), al-Tanūkhī, Ibn al-Jawzī (11th century A.D.).

In juxtaposing the material in the manuscript with the materials in the "Book of Songs", we numbered the episodes in both sources (both those which comprise the plot and those not related to the plot) [2]. A calculation shows that the plot is presented more concisely in the manuscript: 50 episodes in the manuscript and 60 in the "Book of Songs".

A comparison of the manuscript text with other sources shows that the episodes in the manuscript can be divided into four plot groups:

1. Episodes which literally coincide with a particular source. There are 17 of these. Of them, 13 coincide with the "Book of Songs": for example, the story of how Majnūn and Laylā knew each other since childhood, when they herded cattle together [3]; the incident with the muezzin who, upon hearing Majnūn's verses, jumbled the words of the prayer [4]; the story of how Majnūn killed a wolf which was eating an antelope and then buried the antelope, as the beautiful animal reminded him of his beloved [5]. The remaining four episodes, which are absent in the "Book of Songs", are contained in other sources: two in al-Anṭākī, one in Ibn Qutayba, and one in Ibn Sarrāj's anthology "Death of the Lovers" [6].

2. Episodes of identical content which are presented somewhat differently than in other literary sources. Thirteen episodes fall into this category. They include several incidents connected with genealogy [7] — the story of how Majnūn, passing on his camel a group of women in whose

midst stood Laylā, stopped and made her acquaintance [8]; the story of Majnūn's courtship [9], and others.

3. Episodes which partially coincide or have something in common with episodes in other sources. There are eight of these. For example, one of the tax collector Nawfal b. Musāḥiq's assistants tells of a meeting with Majnūn; this evokes an episode from the "Book of Songs" which describes a meeting between 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān [10] and the poet. Another episode tells of how Majnūn secretly came to Laylā's encampment in order to see her and was sheltered by a woman named Su'ād. This is similar to a story in which Majnūn stays with a woman from the Banū Hilāl who lived in Laylā's encampment and conveyed through her news of himself to his beloved [11].

4. Episodes which could not be found in any of the other texts employed for comparison. There are 12 episodes in this group. They include the story of the youth in love, who, standing on the bank of the Euphrates, heard the sailor's song about Laylā and began to recall his beloved. (The full text, translation and brief commentaries on these episodes are given in the final section of this article).

A juxtaposition of the episodes contained in the manuscript and the variants found in other sources shows that the manuscript retains the basic plot line: a genealogy of the heroes, their acquaintance, Laylā's marriage, the lovers attempts to see each other, the complaint about Majnūn to the ruler, the poet's madness and death. It is difficult to say which sources the compiler of the manuscript directly employed. Of course, one could claim that the version in the "Book of Songs" provided the basis, but all subsequent anthologies which contain Majnūn's verses and the story of his love were based on it and to all intents and purposes repeat it, with minor changes, of course.

Of the 60 episodes in the "Book of Songs", 24 are omitted in the manuscript. These belong either to the series of romantic episodes which demonstrate the power of Majnūn and Laylā's love, or those episodes which supplement the tale with details. Several extremely popular episodes are among those omitted. In particular, Majnūn's own stories of how his father sent him to Laylā's father, first to ask for fire, and then for oil for guests [12]. Also absent are those episodes in the "Book of Songs" in which the heroes display weakness: the heroes suffer (Laylā's torment in a conversation with a female neighbour) [13], commit desperate deeds (the married Laylā receives Majnūn at night) [14], engage in intrigues (Majnūn's father tries to blacken Laylā's image in his son's eyes) [15], and even gossip (Majnūn is accused of spreading rumours about Laylā) [16]. One forms the impression that the compiler left only the most "indispensable" episodes known through other sources, retaining the basic plot line. As a consequence of such omissions, the tale is emotionally impoverished and the depiction of the heroes narrows, becomes two-dimensional and schematic.

Episodes have been added to the text in which real historical figures appear: the Caliphs 'Abd al-Malik (7th—8th centuries) and Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (8th century A.D.), the ruler of Mecca Marwān b. al-Ḥakam (7th century A.D.), and their deputies. There are episodes which contain statements of praise about Majnūn, as well as about the compiler of the manuscript himself. Clearly, the majority of the added episodes are intended to stress the great fame of the poet and attest the fact of his existence.

Nearly all of the plot episodes in the manuscript were "taken" from the "Book of Songs". Exceptions are two episodes which tell of failed meetings between the lovers — one is borrowed from al-Anṭākī, the second could not be found in the sources referenced here (a tale about how Majnūn, calling himself a Khuzā'ait, tried to deceive one of Laylā's fellow tribesmen) [17]. There are also two episodes about the poet's death: the first is very reminiscent of the Murrite Shaykh's story of Majnūn's death found in the "Book of Songs" [18]; the second (based on Kuthayyir's account of Majnūn's death on Laylā's grave) [19] is also absent in the sources enumerated above.

The material in the manuscript in which the tale of Majnūn and Laylā occupies a central place confirms I. Yu. Krachkovsky's conclusion that Majnūn gained popularity later than other poets of his circle. He notes that Majnūn grew popular only in the tenth century. "After this," writes I. Yu. Krachkovsky, "the expansion of the plot of the story in Arabic is noticeable only in the unsuccessful compilation of al-Wālibī, which arose no earlier than the eleventh century. Subsequently, only the poems of Majnūn grew steadily ..." [20]. However, the version contained in the manuscript still adds to the tale a certain quantity of new episodes. Nearly all of them are equipped with *isnād*s with little-known or unknown names: Ibn Ḥayawayhī, ibn al-Muḥibb, Karīma bint 'Abd al-Wahhāb and others.

The situation with the poet's verses is more complex. The manuscript contains a large quantity of verses, and many of them cannot be found in the sources employed for comparison. Some of the verses in the manuscript correspond exactly to verses in the literary texts cited here. At times, identical verses appear in connection with other episodes. *Bayt*s are sometimes rearranged. There is a large group of verses in which one or several words are replaced; sometimes an entire hemistich is replaced with no harm to the meter. The verses of other poets are ascribed to Majnūn in the manuscript: Imru'-l-Qays and Qays b. Dharīḥ.

A juxtaposition of the remaining five stories in the manuscript about Bedouin poets in love with the "Book of Songs" and al-Anṭākī's "Embellishment of the Markets" yields the following results.

The tale of Tawba and Laylā al-Akhyaliyya is nearly identical to the version presented by al-Iṣfahānī, to whom the compiler constantly refers. The *isnād*s in this tale also cite Abū 'Ubayda (8th century A.D.), al-Aṣma'ī (9th century A.D.) and ibn Qutayba (9th century). Even the "non-plot" episodes coincide with the "Book of Songs": there are five of them in the story. Only one plot episode is missing — on the deprivations of Tawba — and one is shifted to the beginning of the tale — yet another version of Laylā's death — while this episode is located at the end in the "Book of Songs". For the purpose of comparison, we cite here translations of these episodes.

"Book of Songs". Once Laylā al-Akhyaliyya was returning from a journey and passed by the grave of Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir. Her husband was with her, and she was in a pàlanquin. Laylā said: "I swear by Allah, I will not move from this place until I greet Tawba." Her husband began to dissuade her from it, but she insisted on approaching [the grave]. And while insisting even more firmly, she climbed the knoll on which Tawba's grave stood, and said: "Greetings to you, o Tawba!" Then she turned to those present and said: "I never knew him to lie before." They asked: "Why?" Laylā said: "Did he not say:

'If Laylā al-Akhyaliyya turns to me with words of greeting,
when I am at rest in the earth beneath a gravestone,
I will affectionately answer her greeting, or the owl which
hides by the grave will answer [her] ...' [21].

Why did he not answer my greeting as he promised?" But an owl was hiding by the grave. Upon seeing the pàlanquin, it grew uneasy, flapped its wings and flew toward the camel. The frightened animal broke into a run and threw off Laylā, who struck her head on the ground and died on the spot. They buried her alongside him [22].

Manuscript version:

Ibrāhīm b. Zayd al-Saysābūrī told once that after the death of Tawba Laylā took a husband. After this her husband was passing by Tawba's grave, and Laylā was with him. He said to her: "Laylā, do you know this grave?" She answered: "No." He said: "This is Tawba's grave. Greet him." She answered: "Go on! This does not concern you. What do you want from Tawba? His bones have already crumbled." "I want you to expose him in a lie. Was it not he who said:

'If Laylā al-Akhyaliyya turns to me with words of greeting,
when I am at rest in the earth beneath a gravestone,
I will affectionately answer her greeting, or the owl which
hides by the grave will answer ...'

I swear by Allah, I will not leave until you greet him!" She said: "Peace unto you, o Tawba, and may Allah bless you where you lie." The story-teller said: suddenly a bird flew out of the grave and she (Laylā) cried out and died. She was buried next to him. Two trees grew on their graves; when they had grown high, their crowns grew together ... [23].

There is no doubt that the latter version appeared much later: it was obviously created on the basis of the first version. It contains no mention of the pàlanquin in which Laylā rode, nor does it give a logical explanation for her death, as the first version does: the owl frightened the camel, which broke into a run and threw off Laylā, who struck her head on the ground and died. Moreover, the latter version contains the motif of the two trees on the lovers' graves. This motif is lacking in the stories of Bedouin poets in love in the "Book of Songs", but is found in al-Anṭākī in the tale of 'Urwa and 'Afra, from which one can conclude that this motif of the lovers united after death appeared later. One should also note that the motif of unity after death is also found in medieval tales of lovers common in the West, for example, in the tale of Tristan and Isolde.

The tale of Tawba and Laylā in al-Anṭākī is brief and found among the tales about little-known pairs of lovers. Surprisingly, his version retains the scene of the heroes' initial meeting, which is absent both in the manuscript and the "Book of Songs". It is, however, quite possible that it represents a later invention. We present here a brief re-telling of that scene. Tawba's tribe usually made raids together with the Banū Akhyal, to which Laylā belonged. One time, the women of the Banū Akhyal, among whom was one of remarkable beauty, came out to greet the warriors returning after a raid. The beauty was Laylā. It was then that Tawba saw Laylā and fell in love with her [24].

The tale of Tawba and Laylā is followed by the story of Qays and Lubnā. Although the *isnād*s for this tale are missing, it differs little from the version presented by al-Iṣfahānī. The end of the tale is of especial interest. If al-Iṣfahānī and al-Anṭākī each provide two endings for the tale of Qays and Lubnā, the manuscript gives three: both versions from the "Book of Songs" and the third one taken from al-Anṭākī. Moreover, this is the only episode in the tale which is equipped with an *isnād*.

Translation of the excerpt:

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī, who had it from Ayyūb b. 'Atāba, said: "Qays b. Dharīḥ went to Medina to sell one of his she-camels. Lubnā's husband bought it, and he did not know him Qays, and he said to him: "Come with me, and I will give you the money for the she-camel," and he (Qays) went with him. When he opened the door, it was Lubnā who received him. Qays broke into a ran upon seeing her. Lubnā's husband followed with the money in order to pay him. [Then] Qays said to him: "Do not ever mount my two she-camels." He (Lubnā's husband) said: "Are you Qays b. Dharīḥ?" "Yes," replied Qays. He (Lubnā's husband) said: "This is Lubnā. You have seen her. Remain, that she might choose between us. If she chooses you, I will divorce her." The Qurayshit thought that in her heart there was room only for him and that she would not do this. Qays said: "Do this." The Qurayshit went to her, and she chose Qays. Her husband divorced her, and Qays remained to wait for the end of the *'idda* in order to marry her, but she died before the conclusion of the *'idda* [25].

Clearly, this excerpt appeared somewhat later than the "Book of Songs", otherwise al-Iṣfahānī would have included it in his work.

Another story, that of Jamīl and Buthayna, is given very briefly in the manuscript. It consists of only five episodes (not counting the genealogy of the poet), of which one is "non-plot": it is based on the account of Ibn Sarrāj, who saw the place where Jamīl and Buthayna used to meet. The remaining four episodes have *isnād*s which consist of one or two names. There is one reference to Ibn Sarrāj and one to Ibn Qutayba.

All of the episodes in the manuscript concerning Jamīl and Buthayna also exist in the "Book of Songs" and the "Embellishment of the Markets". Al-Anṭākī's version clearly forms the basis for the tale in the manuscript, as is indicated by the coincidence of the contents of the episodes and the similar order of their exposition. But the story in the manuscript is so heavily abridged that it lacks even the famous scene of Jamīl and Buthayna's initial meeting — their squabbling at Wādī-l-Baghīḍ. The scene in which Buthayna learns of her beloved's death is also abridged — it lacks the saying of the heroine: "If you told the truth, then you killed me; if you lied, then you disgraced me." [26]

The tale of 'Urwa and 'Afra is also told quite briefly. Certain episodes have *isnād*s which consist of one, rarely of two names. There is a clear similarity to al-Anṭākī's version: the number, content and arrangement of episodes coincide. The compiler retells the tale in his own words, but sticks close to the text of the anthology "Embellishment of the Markets". Some episodes correspond word for word. There are only two "non-plot" episodes in the manuscript and al-Anṭākī. The first is the story of the tax collector who saw 'Urwa ill with his mother [27]. The second describes the graves of the lovers, on which two trees with interlaced crowns grew [28].

The story of Kuthayyir and 'Azza consists of only two episodes, of which one is "non-plot". It presents a dispute

over who was more in love, Jamīl or Kuthayyir, in which all participants in it give their preference to Jamīl. The second relates to the plot — it is a story of how Kuthayyir, tormented by thirst, sought 'Azza. The last episode is missing in the "Book of Songs" and the anthology "Embellishment of the Markets".

Thus, a comparative analysis of the manuscript text of the remaining five stories of Bedouin poets in love has shown that:

— the tales of Tawba and Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and of Qays and Lubnā endured the least change over time (in comparison with the "Book of Songs");

— the story of 'Urwa and 'Afra is somewhat abridged; with the passage of time, its episodes came to be told in logical succession;

— the tale of Jamīl and Buthayra is told very briefly, notwithstanding the comparative popularity of the poet. It is difficult to explain this disregard for the personality of the poet and his verses;

— the story of Kuthayyir and 'Azza was, it appears, comparatively little-known, and by the eighteenth century only two episodes from this story had remained in the manuscript: for unknown reasons, the compiler did not concentrate attention on the plot itself.

We go on to provide the translation of all episodes from the tale of Majnūn and Laylā contained in the manuscript but not found in the sources cited in the comparative analysis.

Fol. 11 a:

Ibn Khalaf says: "How similar this tale is to the tale of a certain beloved woman of al-Naṣr b. Sa'īd al-Kilābī. He said: 'One man from among us fell in love with a girl who was called Laylā'. And one day, when he was on the bank of the Euphrates, a sailor passed him, who was steering a ship, repeating: 'Laylā! Laylā!' This aroused passion within him and made him disturbed. He recalled his beloved and said:

Woe unto you, oh sailor, who robbed my night of sleep,
Calling out for Laylā as the ships made their way on the water.
You call out, not knowing whom you call,
Although you know what make you follow the true path
and why you go astray.

Fols. 14 b—15 a:

Ribāḥ b. Ḥabīb said: a man of the Banū 'Āmir told me that once (after the marriage of Laylā and Qays' going mad) a certain man came to them and asked about Majnūn. They told him: "What do you need from him?" "I want to see him and tell him something." They answered him: "Tell us, for he will not understand what you say to him." "At least show him to me." They sent a man with him, and he searched for Majnūn until he found him. The man said to Majnūn: "Do you love Laylā?" He said: "Yes." "In that case, what distracts you from your love, for she is ill, and you do not come to her and ask about her." The story-teller says: "He (Majnūn) sighed deeply, so that I thought his soul had left his body. Then he raised his head and said:

They say that Laylā is ill in al-Ṣifāh [29].
And why are you distracted [from her] if you are a friend
[to her] [30]?
May Allah give water to those ill in al-Ṣifāh.
Truly, I have compassion for each miserable [man] in al-Ṣifāh.

Fol. 15 a—15 b:

Ibn al-Ba'ūnī, who had it from Abū Mu'ādh al-Numayrī, told us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam had appointed a man from the tribe of Qays to collect the *ṣadaqa* from the tribe of Ka'b b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir, and he is Qays, al-Ḥuraysh, and Ja'da.

This man heard the story of Qays b. Mu'ādh, that is, Majnūn of the Banū 'Āmir, and ordered that he be brought before him and questioned him about his condition, and [after that] asked him to read verses. Majnūn read, and found favour [with the tax collector] and he said: "Stay with me and I will employ a ruse in this matter of Laylā in order to bring you together with her." And Majnūn stayed with him. He began to come to this man and speak with him. And the Banū 'Āmir had a gathering place where they gathered every year, and the ruler of this place was present so that there would be no quarrel among them. And the time came [for the gathering]. Qays said to the tax collector: "Will you not permit me to attend this gathering together with you?" The latter gave his permission, and when Qays had prepared to go, people from the lineage of Qays came to the tax collector and said: "He requested to go with you only in order to see Laylā and speak with her. Someone from her lineage is incited against him, and the sultan has given permission to spill his blood, should he come to them." When they had said this, the tax collector forbade Majnūn to go with him and offered him several long-legged she-camels from among the camels received as part of the sadaqa. Majnūn rejected this and said:

I refused the she-camels of the Qurayshī,
When his failure to keep his promise became evident to me.
And they departed to their purpose and left me
To great sorrow which I try to heal [31].

Fol. 22 b:

They say, that he (Majnūn) went out one day and approached her (Laylā's) encampment; but then a youth came out [from the encampment] and, seeing him, did not approve of this. The youth asked him: "Who are you and what is your business here?" Majnūn answered: "I am from [the tribe of] Khuzā'a. My she-camel has wandered off, and I came out to look for her." The youth said: "You lie! You are Qays. Return whence you came. If [the people of] the tribe seize you, they will kill you." Majnūn left, saying:

"Oh how shameful it is for me to stand before your tents
And [hear] the words of your slanderer: 'Who are you, man?'
I answered: 'Someone bewildered, someone who lost his path.
Show me the road, and I will labour out of love for you.'
He said: 'Return. The road is not here.'
What am I to do? My fetters have become unbearable."

Fol. 25 b:

They told also a different thing of him. They say that Kuthayyir said: "At the time when I was with Majnūn of the Banū 'Āmir, a rider came and said: 'Bear your loss with strength, Qays.' He (Qays) said: '[Bear] the loss of whom [with strength]?' The rider answered: 'The loss of Laylā.' He (Majnūn) mounted his camel, I mounted mine, and we came to the encampment of Laylā's people. They showed him the grave, he approached and began to kiss [her grave], to press himself against it, to breath the air of her ashes and recite verses. Then he sighed deeply and died. I buried him."

Fol. 26a—26b:

Ibn al-Marzubān said: "Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Azdī, who had it from 'Abdullāh b. Humām, told me: 'I went out to attend to some matters and suddenly saw Ibn Abī Mālik sitting in the desert between Ḥīra and Kūfa. I asked: 'What are you doing here?' He answered: 'What our friend usually did.' 'And who is your friend?' 'Majnūn of the Banū 'Āmir.'" The story-teller says: "And a rock lay next to him. He took it, ran after me, and the rock flew by me. I returned and sat down at a distance from him. He said to me: 'I swear by Allah, it is not good or beautiful what he said:

I fell in love with you when my eyes were shrouded,
And when the shroud lifted, I tore myself away from [all] my friends.
Why did he not say as I said:
Love struck me with its greatest grief,
Separation from my beloved has besieged me.
Patience! Perhaps fate will unite me openly
With a loved friend or with death, which waits [for me].'"

Then he said: "What is better than this? There is no God other than Allah, the One and Only. He is the Highest, He determined, decided, and leveled."

Fol. 26b:

Al-Marzubān said: "Al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Anṣārī told me, saying: I heard how 'Abdallāh b. Idrīs said: 'I saw Ibn Abī Mālik in a place covered in ash. He had a small piece of plaster, with which he wrote and tried to make out the whiteness of the plaster against the black of the ash. I said: 'Ibn Abī Mālik! By the name of your father, what are you doing?' He answered: 'What our friend did, that is, Majnūn of the Banū 'Āmir.'" [The story-teller] says: "I asked — 'And what did he do?' He said: 'Did you not hear what he said:

This evening I have no other but to take to gathering pebbles and write on ash.
I write and strike out with my tear all I have already written,
While the ravens [of separation] have already taken their place at home.'

I said: 'No, I did not hear.' He laughed, and then said: 'I heard the words of Allah the All-powerful and All-mighty — *Hast thou not regarded thy Lord, how He stretched out the shadow?* [32]. [And] did you hear him or see, Ibn Idris?'" These are the words of the Arabs.

Fols. 26b—27a:

Some who know the *adab* say, from Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Azdī who said: "'I saw in Basra a madman sitting by the side of the road in [the quarter of] Mirbad. Whenever riders would pass him, he read verses:

Oh ye riders of Yemen! Come to us,
For our love has become Yemenite.
We shall ask you, did the Na'mān [33] flow after us?
Dear to us is the valley of Baṭn-Na'mān.'"

[The story-teller] says: "I asked about him. They told me: 'This man is from among those who live in Basra. He had a female cousin, and he loved her, but they married her to a man from the city of Taif, and he took her away, and he lost his mind because of her.'"

Fol. 28a—28b:

From 'Abbās b. 'Alī [who said]: "A certain Medinan called me to a woman who sang. And when we went in to see her, it so happened that she was one of the most beautiful from among [all] people, but she was pinched-looking, distracted and silent. We began to entertain her with jokes and conversation, but whatever she was concealing prevented her [from perceiving this]. I said to myself: 'I swear by Allah, she was in love and [is now] crazy'. And I approached her with the words — 'For the sake of Allah, why can you not entrust me with what troubles you?' She answered: '[It is] memories [that] torture [me], and constant thoughts, the emptiness of the dwellings and passion for he who has gone.' Then she took the *'ud* and began to sing:

Allah willed that I should die from passionate love.
I have no power over what God has decreed.
Memories will bring me to the abyss where one perishes,
But I do not abandon the memory of my beloved.
There was in my heart, when he departed, a striving toward him.
He left me all alone, target for lances.
Communication between us broke off.
For the goal is distant and the roads and paths stretch far."

[The story-teller] says: "I swear by Allah, I grew frightened that she had stolen my senses when she sang, and I said: 'May Allah make me your ransom. That which brought you to what I see is worthy [of such compassion]. But I swear by Allah, there are many people. If you took comfort with another, perhaps what is [taking place] with you would abate or grow easier: for the ancient [poet] said:

I refrained from pleasures when she left.
I made it obligatory upon my soul, and [my soul] was [in this state].
The soul is only what the youth makes of it:
If it desires greatly, then it strives [toward that], and if not, it finds comfort.'

She drew near to me and said: 'I swear by Allah, I wished for that, but I was, as Qays b. Dharīḥ said:

When his heart rejected all but irrepressible desire,
And neither money nor kin turned him away from Laylā,
He took comfort with another, yet she,
With whom he took comfort, fixed on Laylā and cannot help thinking of [her].'"

[The story-teller] says: "I swear by Allah, proofs, one after the other, forced me to break off my conversation with her. I never saw [a woman] like her in appearance or equal to her in erudition."

Fols. 28b—29b:

From Abū Rayhan, one of those who served 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, who said: "Two days out of every week 'Abd al-Malik received all [of his subjects]. And one day while he sat on the terrace, notes were brought to him. Suddenly an unsigned note found its way into his hands, and it read — 'Would the commander of the faithful not wish for a certain of his slave-girls to sing three melodies, and then let him pronounce whatever sentence he sees fit.' 'Abd al-Malik flew into a rage [at this] and said: 'Ribāḥ! Bring me whoever wrote this note.' [After] all of the people had left, they brought a youth in to the caliph. The youth was like chaste and most beautiful youths, [he was] as though tormented by suffering. And 'Abd al-Malik said: 'Oh youth! Is this your note?' 'Yes, oh commander of the faithful.'

'What has deceived you in relation to me? I swear by Allah, I will surely maim you and turn you to ash. [But] your gaze is the gaze of a brave person. Bring in the slave-girl!' They brought in the girl who was like a fragment of the moon, and there was an *'ud* in her hands. They offered her a chair and she sat down. 'Abd al-Malik said: 'Order her, youth.' The latter said: 'Girl, sing me the verses of Qays b. Dharīḥ:

It would be sufficient for my soul if her love continued,
but the world is a deceitful thing.
Before [our] love appeared, we were all in the happiest state
of prosperity and joy.
But the gossips did not cease [to talk], until love appeared
to us reversed.'

She had sung. The youth tore up his garments. 'Abd al-Malik said: 'She will sing the second song.' The youth asked [her] — 'Sing me the verses of Jamīl:

Oh if only I knew whether I will spend [another] night
in Wādī-l-Qurā, then I would be happy.
If I say: Buthayna! What will kill me in my love [for you]?
She will answer: That what is firm and grows.
And if I say: Return [to me] some of my mind,
I will live with it among people,
She will say: This is far from you.
I will not encounter refusal in that which I came to ask,
and love for her, in renewal, brings no profit.
My love dies each time I am with her, and revives when I part
with her, and returns.'

[After] the slave-girl had sung, the youth fell, losing consciousness for a time, and then came to himself. 'Abd al-Malik said: 'Order her. Have her sing for you the third melody.' And he said: 'Girl, sing me the verses of Qays b. al-Mulawwaḥ al-Majnūn:

Among the neighbours leaving in the morning the valley
of Wajra was a young gazelle which had lowered its eyes.
Do not consider him, who leaves, to be a wanderer; a wanderer is
whom you are leaving.

She finished her song, [and] the youth threw himself from the terrace and [his heart] broke before he reached the ground. 'Abd al-Malik said: 'Woe is him! He hurried to kill himself. I thought he would do something else.' He issued an order, and they brought the slave-girl out of the palace, and then he asked about the youth. They said that he was from another land, and all that was known was that three days ago he had cried out, placing his hand on his head:

Tomorrow there will be more who cry among us and among you.
And my home will be more distant from your homes."

Fols. 29b—30a:

They say that a similar thing happened at the council of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik. Al-Jāḥiẓ said: "Once he sat, receiving complaints of injustice, and they presented notes to him. He suddenly found before him a note which said: 'Does not the commander of the faithful wish to have sent to me this certain one (one of the slave-girls is meant — *A. S.*), that she might sing for me three melodies.' Sulaymān grew angry and ordered [the servants] to go out to him [the author of the note] and bring his head. He then sent out another [servant] and ordered him to bring to him this man [34] ... of the Banū 'Āmir, who wanders among the wild beasts and recites verses without interruption. The riders hear the verses in his recitation and convey them. Ibn al-Khalaf, who had it from al-Fakhdhamī, said: 'When Majnūn [once] recited [the verses]:

[Allah] decreed her to another, but not to me, and He tested me
with my love for her.
Could He not have tested me with some thing other than Laylā?

— he lost his mind. And Ibn al-Jawzī says that he (Majnūn) lost his vision [35]. Al-Ghazālī said that he heard someone saying: 'You hinder Our sentence, you resist Our decision,' and [after that] his reason departed him." [36]

Fol. 52b:

To him belong numerous *qaṣīda*s which are [too] long to be enumerated. And his verses are of a high quality, extremely fine and powerful. This Qays lived in the time [of the rule] of Marwan and his son 'Abd al-Malik. What is said of him from among the reports and tales is without measure or description, and most of it contains lies, which is why we have omitted it and quoted only that which the learned have conveyed [38], those whose witness is taken into account, reliable people from among the respected learned men. In "The Revival [of the Sciences of the Faith]" Al-Ghazālī said [that] he saw Majnūn of the Banū 'Āmir in his sleep, and [that] it was said [to Majnūn]: "What has Allah done to you?" "He has forgiven me and made me a reproach unto those who love [him]." [Al-Ghazālī] said, from al-Junayd — may Allah mercy upon him — who said: "Majnūn of the Banū 'Āmir was one of the saints of Allah (great is He and glorious), for He covered his state with madness." [39]

The comparison of the contents of the manuscript "A Book of Reports about Some Lovers of the Past", with related materials surviving in other Arabic literary sources, enables to make some observations concerning developments which took place in the process of transmission of the folklore tales about most popular heroes of Arabic literature. Certainly, this process needs more profound investigation, which makes necessary to draw on new materials taken from extant manuscript anthologies. Moreover, it would be of use to examine the conditions, under which the tradition of Arabic popular tales was formed, re-formed, preserved and changed.

The material preserved by our eighteenth-century manuscript fixes only one stage in this long literature process, which gives little room for any far-reaching conclusions. Generally speaking, the comparison shows that while the tales about less popular literature characters underwent considerable abridgements and diminishment of a number of surrounding plot details, as it is seen from our manuscript, the tales about such popular heroes as Majnūn changed but little. A huge popularity of this figure in Arabic literature contributed greatly to the appearance of numerous additions to well-known literary episodes, which is testified by the manuscript under review here.

Notes

1. See, for example, I. M. Fil'shtinskiĭ, *Istoriia arabskoĭ literatury* (History of Arabic Literature) (Moscow, 1985); Ḍayf Shawqī, *Tārīkh al-adab al-'Arabī al-'aṣr al-islāmī* (Cairo, 1962); *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period*, eds. A. F. L. Beeston, T. M. Johnsone, R. B. Serjeant and G. R. Smith (Cambridge—London—New York, 1983); Blachèr Régis, *Histoire de la littérature arabe des origines à la fin du XV'-e siècle de J. C.* (Paris, 1952—1966), i—iii; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1943—1949), i—ii. Also especially on this, see V. S. Foteva, "Materialy o liricheskikh poėtakh omeĭiadskogo perioda (poėty-beduiny)" ("Materials on lyric poets of the Umayyid period: Beduin poets"), *Voprosy istorii i literatury stran Zarubezhnogo Vostoka* (Moscow, 1960), pp. 24—43.

2. The episodes in any story about poets in love can be divided into two large groups: plot and non-plot, the latter being collateral episodes which do not play a direct role in plot development. These insertions can occur at any point in the tale. They speak of the poet's popularity; comments of eyewitnesses about the poet himself, his outward or inner qualities are given. These insertions can contain the reactions of contemporaries to the beauty or intelligence of the beloved. Also, these may be episodes in which deputies and sometimes the caliph himself express interest in the verses and personality of the poet.

3. Abū-l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (Būlāq, 1285/1868—69), i, p. 170.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 170—1.

5. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 8.

6. The Russian translation of this episode with a reference to Ibn Sarrāj is cited in I. Yu. Krachkovsky's article "Ranniaia istoriia o Madzhnune i Leĭle v arabskoĭ literature" ("The early history of Majnūn and Laylā in Arabic literature"), *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow, 1956), ii, pp. 588—632.

7. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, i, p. 169.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 174—5.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 173. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. A.D. 652) was the son of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, one of the companions of Muḥammad.

11. Da'ūd al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāq bi-tafṣīl ashwāq al-'ushshāq* (Cairo, 1319), p. 55.

12. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, i, pp. 178—9.

13. *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 2—3.

14. *Ibid.*, i, p. 177.

15. *Ibid.*, ii, p. 13.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

17. "Stories about Some Lovers of the Past", Arabic manuscript No. 734 in the holdings of the Oriental Faculty library of the St. Petersburg University, fol. 22b (henceforth — Manuscript).

18. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, ii, p. 13.

19. Manuscript, fol. 25b.

20. Krachkovskiĭ, *op.cit.*, p. 631.

21. Russian translation by I. M. Filshtinsky in his *Istoriia arabskoĭ literatury*, p. 234.

22. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, x, p. 159.

23. Manuscript, fols. 55b—57a.

24. al-Anṭākī, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

25. Manuscript, fols. 82b—83a.

26. *Kitāb al-aghānī*, vii, p. 110.

27. al-Anṭākī, *op. cit.*, pp. 74—5.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

29. al-Ṣifāḥ — a place not far from Mecca, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Leipzig, 1866—1870), iii, p. 398.

30. Lit. — if you are sincere [in your love].

31. This episode's version in the manuscript seems to be of late origin, as is seen from using the term "sulṭān" for "ruler". As W. Barthold notes, such usage is first encountered in al-Ṭabarī (d. A.D. 923), see V. V. Bartol'd, "Khalif i sultan" ("Caliph and sultan"), *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1967), iv, pp. 15—78.

32. The Koran Interpreted by Arthur J. Arberry (London—New York, 1955), ii, p. 60.

33. Na'man — a river and its valley located between Mecca and Taif. It was inhabited by the Bānu 'Umar b. al-Ḥārith b. Tamīm b. Sa'd b. Hudhayl, see Yaqut, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 790.

34. There is an omission in the manuscript.

35. Perhaps, it should be translated as "reason".

36. This episode is similar to the one, which precedes it: the popularity of "obsession", or "majnunism" is stressed there. In order to give these episodes special significance and veracity, the caliphs, who react with respect to those who have gone mad with love, are introduced into the narration: the youth does not pay for his audacity, and his wish is fulfilled. The slave-girl is asked to sing three melodies (a folkloric tradition), three poems by Qays b. Dharīḥ, Jamīl and Majnūn. The reaction of the youth in love to the verse of each poet depends on the level of "being in love" of the poet and his popularity. And as the motif of passionate love is in Majnūn's case driven to an extreme (madness), the youth is simply "compelled" to die.

37. It is possible that in the text of the manuscript the subject of رأى is omitted, or perhaps one should read رُئِيَ.

38. Experts in tradition are meant here.

39. This excerpt is contained in a fuller version in I. Yu. Krachkovsky's article "Ranniaia istoriia povesti o Majnune i Leĭle v arabskoĭ literature", p. 624, with a reference to the fifteenth-century historian al-'Aynī who notes that this story undoubtedly goes back to an earlier source, most likely al-Ghazālī.

Sh. M. Iakerson

AN UNKNOWN LIST OF HEBREW BOOKS *

"כבדתיך בהרבות לך ספרים. ולא הצרכתיך
לשאול ספר מאדם כאשר אתה רואה רוב
התלמידים ישוטטו לבקש ספר ולא ימצאו .
ואתה שבח לאל! משאיל ואינך שואל.
וברוב הספרים יש לך שניים שלישים.

"I have honored thee by providing an extensive library for the use, and have thus relieved thee of the necessity to borrow books. Most students must bustle about to seek books, often without finding them. But thou, thanks to God, lendest and borrowest not. Of many books, indeed, thou ownest two or three copies" [1].

The world of medieval books has always attracted the attention of a large number of historians, art specialists, palaeographers, bibliographers, etc. Without its study, it would be impossible to have an adequate picture of the development of culture and science, or the picture of everyday life. Certain circumstances, however, complicate the scholar's path into the world of medieval Hebrew books; these are the dispersion of the Jewish population, its partial migration (both forced and voluntary), and variations in the legal status, economic position, and cultural level of Jewish communities in various regions within various geo-political structures. All these factors resulted in varying economic opportunities and spiritual needs among the literate part of the Jewish population. The tradition of Hebrew books [2] is multi-lingual and exclusively original, yet it remains unquestionably dependent on regional literary traditions both codicologically and palaeographical [3].

A distinctive feature of Hebrew books is perhaps the absence of "institutions" for the production of manuscripts such as the scriptoriums which so significantly influenced the formation of a book market in Christian Europe [4]. Taking the above into account, one can easily grasp why our knowledge of medieval [5] Hebrew books seems, at least in my personal view, akin to a partially restored mosaic with broad, empty expanses between "islands" of information.

Lists of books are one of the most reliable bibliographic sources for filling in such kind of "informational lacunae". By analysing these, we can throw a certain amount of light on the contents of private libraries and their "statistical average size", the selection of books in circulation and their prices, and the bibliographic and aesthetic criteria which guided contemporary readers in their perceptions. At a relatively late period, these lists can give us a sense of the ratio of print to manuscript books in particular libraries and society.

Lists of books are also a most important source for amplifying our knowledge of specific books. In some cases, they contain information about utterly unknown works and publications [6]. A considerable number of such lists from various periods and regions has received scholarly attention and been published. One need only mention the works of S. Poznansky, E. N. Adler, S. Assaf, I. Sonne, E. E. Urbach, E. Worman, N. Allony, R. Bonfil, Sh. Baruhzon [7], etc. and note that these publications far from exhaust the field [8].

The manuscript list under consideration in this article is a significant addition to the corpus of currently known documents. It is, to my knowledge, the **first** Hebrew book list from Spain during the period of the Expulsion to be brought into scholarly circulation. It is also the **first** dated Hebrew book list from the period of incunabula, which enumerates both manuscripts and early printed books [9]. I discovered the list during my work on the Catalogue of Hebrew incunabula from the collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (henceforth, the JTS) in New York. The list is on the first blank folio before the text in the Spanish edition of the second volume (*Tur yore de'ah*) of Jacob ben Asher's (*ca.* 1270—*ca.* 1340) *'Arba'ah turim* [10]. The list is written in hurried Spanish cursive, in brown ink. The ink has faded badly, but the list can be discerned with the aid of ultra-violet rays.

* The present article is based on the paper, delivered at Jerusalem to the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies, 31 July 1997.

Full text of the list in Hebrew

קניתי אני סולימאן הכהן מר' [=מרבי] משה פיורו' אלו הספרים הנזכרים להלן / ארבעה טורים בד'[לת] כובסים אורח חיים ויורה דעה וחושן משפט / מדפוס ואבן העזר מכתב יד וז' ספרים מיד הרמב"ם בד'[לת] כובסים / שהם מדע ואהבה מדפוס בכובס אחד זמנים מכתב יד בכובס א[חד] / נשים מכתב יד בכובס א[חד] הפלאה ושופטים ונזיקים מכתב יד / בכובס אחד שרשים מר'[בי/בנו] דוד קמחי מכתב יד בכובס א[חד] / חובת הלבבות ועניינים אחרים מכתב יד בכובס א'[חד] חומש / תרגום ורש"י מדפוס בכובס א'[חד] קניתי אלו ספרים ט"ו ימים / לרח' [ראש חדש] אדר שני ברן' יחד וג"כ[גם כן] קניתי ממנו פי'[רוש] הרמב"ן / מהתורה מכתב יד בשני כובסי'[ם] קניתי באלמאסאן פי[רוש] / הרמב"ן מהתורה מדפוס קניתי בפאראה תורת הבית מכתב / יד קצר קניתי אורח חיים אחד מדפוס קניתי שני / ספרים מעניינים באלמאסאן' יש לי ארבע פעמים / כל כתובים בד'[לת] כובסים כלם מקלף' יש לי ג"כ[גם כם] חומש / מקלף יש לי ג"כ[גם כן] נביאים אחרונים בלי קשירה מקלף / יש לי ג"כ[גם כן] סדור מחדש ותלים אחרים יש לי ג"כ[גם כן] הפטרות / מקלף' יש לי ג"כ[גם כן] תרגום מקלף וספרים אחרים ישנים / קניתי גמרא מגיטין מדפוס באלמאסאן ממני / סולימאן הכהן יצו [ישמרני צורי וגואלי] /

Translation

I, Suleyman ha-Kohen, bought from Rabbi Moses Fioro [12] these books, enumerated below. *'Arba'ah turim* [13] in four volumes [14]. *'Orah hayyim, Yoreh de'ah* and *Hoshen ha-mishpat* in print, and *'Even ha-'ezer* in manuscript. And seven books from *Yad [ha-hazakah]* RaMBaM [15] in four volumes and these are [the books] *Mada'* and *'Ahavah* printed in one volume, [the book] *Zemanim* in manuscript in one volume, [the book] *Nashim* in manuscript in one volume, [the books] *Hafla'ah* and *Shofetim*, and *Nezikim*, in manuscript in one volume, [the book] *Shorashim* by Rabbi David Qimhi [16] in manuscript in one volume, *Hovat ha-levavot* [17] and [works] on other subjects in manuscript in one volume. The Pentateuch with Aramaic translation (*Targum*) and [the commentary of] RaSHI [18] printed in one volume. I bought these books on the fifteenth day of the beginning of the month of *adar* the second of the year [5] 252 (i. e. 17 May, 1492) [19]. I also bought from him the commentary of RaMBaN [20] on the Pentateuch. I bought in Faro a manuscript of the short [version of the work] *Torat ha-bayit* [21]. I bought one print edition [of the work] *'Orah hayyim*. I bought two interesting books in Almazan. All of the Hagiographa I have in quadruplicate, in four volumes. All [of them] are on parchment. I also have a parchment Pentateuch. I also have the Latter Prophets, without binding, on parchment. I also have a new Prayer Book and other Psalms [22]. I also have the *Haftarot* [23] on parchment. I also have the *Targum* on parchment and other old books. I bought the print tractate *Gittin* [24] in Almazan. I am Suleyman ha-Kohen, may my Bulwark and Redeemer preserve me.

* * *

The book list reveals a specific historical context, in addition to the purely bibliographic information it contains, which I will discuss in detail shortly.

First, two names are mentioned in the list: **Suleyman ha-Kohen**, the owner of the books, and **Moses Fioro**, from whom many of the volumes enumerated were acquired. I was unlucky to identify either of them. Neither the informational "thesaurus" in the Hebrew Palaeography Project — "Sfar data" — which contains the names of owners of the manuscripts listed here, nor the search systems at the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts [25], nor the indices of monograph studies on the history of Spanish Jewry during the period were of use. This makes us conclude that both Suleyman ha-Kohen and Moses Fioro were not scholars, Rabbinic authorities, heads of communities, or even wealthy collectors, but mere commoners.

Second, the list gives two places where books were obtained: the Spanish city of Almazan and the Portuguese city of Faro [26]. Almazan is mentioned three times. The RaMBaN's commentary on the Pentateuch, "two interesting books", and the treatise *Gittin* were purchased there. As for the manuscript with the short edition of the *Torat ha-bayit*, it was acquired in Faro.

Finally, the list is dated by the fifteenth day of *adar* the second [5] 252 [27], which falls on Wednesday, 14 March 1492. It should be noted that the edict which expelled the Jews from Spain (צו הגירוש) dates from 31 March 1492. Thus, the list was drawn up 17 days before that tragic event. Interestingly, the tone of the list in no way indicates that its author was at all aware of the catastrophe about to afflict him and his compatriots.

The text of the list does not provide a clear answer to the question of its purpose. Do we have here a brief list of books from a private library or a list of books for sale? I hold that the list enumerates books, which belonged personally to the owner. This assumption is supported by the facts that (i) the list was written not on a separate sheet, which would be easy to show to potential customers, but inside a book, which makes sense only for personal use; (ii) the list contains no prices, which are common in trade lists; (iii) the list contains details utterly unnecessary in a trade list: the name of the person from whom the books and manuscripts were acquired and the place where they were obtained; (iv) the list is incomplete. The imprecise mention of "two interesting books" and "other old books" are comprehensible only in the context of a personal list and are unlikely in a trade catalogue.

It is true that certain books are present in two or more copies (the "Hagiographa" are even present in quadruplicate), and the descriptions contain physical details (material, number of volumes, method of production). There is,

however, nothing surprising about this: only the Biblical books and a very popular Halakhah codex (Jacob ben Asher's *'Orah hayyim*) are listed in multiple copies, and a description of the physical details is typical of lists of the period [28].

The list includes 28 books — 26 are mentioned titles and two books are given without their names. All of the books are in Hebrew and represent quite a broad range of publications:

1. *'Arba'ah turim* of Jacob ben Asher. The first volume, *'Orah hayyim*, is mentioned twice;
2. *Mishneh torah* (or *Yad ha-hazakah*) of RaMBaM — the books *Mada'* and *'Ahavah* separately, the book *Zemanim* separately, the book *Nashim* separately, the books *Hafla'ah* and *Nezikim* separately;
3. *Shorashim* of David Qimhi;
4. *Hovot ha-levavot* of Bahya Ibn Paquda;
5. Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaMBaN, mentioned twice;
6. *Torat ha-bayit ha-kazar* of Solomon Ibn Adret;
7. Tractate *Gittin*;
8. Prayer book (*Siddur*);
9. Biblical books: (i) the Pentateuch with Aramaic translation and commentary by RaSHI; (ii) the Hagiographa (in quadruplicate!); (iii) the Pentateuch; (iv) Latter Prophets; (v) Psalms; (vi) *Haftarot*.

As was noted above, this is not a complete list. Naturally, the phrase "I also have other old books" is open to broad interpretation. It is important, the library consists of both manuscripts and early printed books. Unfortunately, the books enumerated in the list cannot add anything to the study of the manuscript tradition. All of the works are widely known, there is no bibliographic information on scribes or the time and place of their production, and the ratio of manuscripts contained in the list to their overall number in the library is unknown.

The list of early printed books provides much more information [29]. The list notes eight printed books (מדפוס). They are listed without bibliographical data, but we can, nonetheless, attempt to put them into the context of our knowledge of Hebrew incunabula. The terminus *ante quem* is given by the date of the list: May 1492. Naturally, one cannot simply conclude that the list contains only Sephardic incunabula (that is, printed in Spain or Portugal). Connections in book-selling between Spain, Portugal and Italy — the homeland and main "producer" of Hebrew early printed books — certainly existed. Evidence of this is found in Sephardic editions which have been preserved in Italian collections, mentions of Sephardic books in Italian lists [30], the presence of a steady population of Sephardic readers in Italy, and, finally, basic historical logic. Nevertheless, taking into account that Jewish book printing was at most 15 to 20 years old at the time the list was drawn up, that books were published in small numbers [31], and that the tendency was for books to circulate from the Pyrenean peninsula to Italy rather than the other way around, it is more probable that the books in the list are local editions. Thus, we find eight printed books:

1—2. *'Orah hayyim*, which is noted in two separate instances. One can conclude from this that two editions are most likely meant. Following this logic, they can conjecturally be identified as the two known Sephardic editions of this part of Jacob ben Asher's *'Arba'ah turim* — the edition of Eliezer ben Abraham Alantansi (Hijar, between 12 August — 9 September 1485; Census 65) and the edition *sine anno, sine typographo, sine loco* (Spain or Portugal, *ca.* 1490) [32], which is dated by most bibliographers *ca.* 1490 (cf. Census 66; Goldstein 101) [33].

3. *Yoreh de'ah* (the second volume of the above-mentioned work by Jacob ben Asher) — the book which contains on its first folio the list under consideration here. That is, the edition of Eliezer ben Abraham Alantansi (Hijar, 1486—87; Census 72) [34].

4. *Hoshen ha-mishpat* (*idem*, third volume). The only known separate edition of the fifteenth century is that of *Guadalajara*, Solomon ben Moses ben Alqabiz Halevi, between 24—30 December 1480 (Census 74).

5. (Books) *Mada'* and *'Ahavah* — the first two parts of a work by Moses ben Maimon, the *Mishneh torah* (= *Yad ha-hazakah*). The mention of this work demands special attention. Suleiman ha-Kohen informs about "seven books from the *Yad* [*ha-hazakah*] in four volumes". He writes that "these are [the books] *Mada'* and *'Ahavah* printed in one volume". Three Sephardic editions [35] of these books of the *Mishneh torah* are known, all *sine anno, sine loco* — (i) the edition of Moses ben Shealtiel, which includes the three books *Mada'*, *'Ahavah* and *Zemanim* [36]; (ii) an edition of the second book (*'Ahavah*) by an "unnamed press" (cf. Census 90). This edition has survived only in fragments, some of which double each other, but one can nonetheless assert with a great deal of probability that it is an independent edition, as identical folios from other parts of the work have not been discovered [37]; (iii) an edition which corresponds most closely to the description in the list, that is, a joint edition of the first two books (*Mada'* and *'Ahavah*).

If we offer the most natural explanation — namely, that Suleyman ha-Kohen acquired from Moses Fioro not a defective copy of Moses ben Shealtiel's edition (without the third book), and not a convolute made up of parts of the aforementioned editions (i—ii) bound together, but a "normal" single-volume edition — then that is the edition meant in the list. This edition, anonymous, like the others mentioned here, is known in two copies — a defective one in the collection of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem [38] and a fragment of 24 folios in the collection of the JTS [39]. The identification of this edition, however, as a Sephardic incunabula rather than as a print specimen of the early sixteenth century produced by Pyrenean natives in Constantinople, Saloniki or Fez (cities which possessed Jewish presses founded by exiles), has evoked and continues to evoke doubts among many scholars. For example, D. Wahchtein, the first to note this edition, described it as "Unbekannter Druck. Konstantinopoler Inkunabel?" [40]. A. Yaari also attributed it to Constantinople editions and dated it between 1505 and 1514 [41]. As for A. K. Offenberg, he did not include it in the Census, thus refusing it to be dated to the fifteenth century. Meanwhile, the edition is reflected in "Thesaurus" of A. Freimann and M. Marx [42], and is identified as an incunabula both by F. Goff and P. Tishby [43].

The doubts of the specialists are understandable — the difference between incunabula and early paleotypes of the 1500—1510s is so insignificant that the precise identification of single editions (that is, those which display typefaces not found in other editions) is extremely difficult, and sometimes even impossible without supplementary biblio-

graphic information. In our specific case, the edition is printed in two Sephardic-style type-faces which resemble those used in the late fifteenth — early sixteenth centuries, but are not identical to any single known type-face. It is on Italian paper, which was widely used in various regions throughout the entire period [44]. All this makes mentioning a similar edition in a list extraordinarily important, as it supports the view that the anonymous edition of the first two books (*Mada'* and *'Ahavah*) of the Maimonidean Codex is in fact a Sephardic incunabula, and consequently fixes the *terminus ante quem* of this edition as May, 1492.

6. The Pentateuch with Aramaic translation (*Targum*) and (the commentary of) RaSHI. It may be assumed that the edition meant is the one mentioned above from the Hijar press of Eliezer ben Abraham Alantansi [45], although one cannot rule out the Portuguese edition (Lisbon) of 1491 [46], or the Italian edition (Bologna) of 1482 [47].

7. The RaMBaN's commentary on the Pentateuch. It was published three times before 1492 — twice in Italy (Rome and Naples) [48] and once in Portugal (Lisbon) [49]. The list most likely indicates the Lisbon edition.

8. The tractate *Gittin*. We find at the very end of the list: "I bought the print tractate *Gittin* in Almazan." For our purposes, this is Suleyman ha-Kohen's most interesting and important acquisition. Two incunabula editions of this tractate are known — one Italian, one Portuguese. However, in my view, neither of them can be identified as the edition purchased in Almazan.

The Italian tractate was printed in February 1488, apparently by Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino in Soncino [50]. All of the "Italian" tractates were published in the presses owned by the Soncinos in accordance with the Ashkenazic tradition of Talmud study — that is, with RaSHI's commentary, additions (*Tosafot*), and a thematically related selection of Halakhah decrees found in the text of the "additions" (*Pisqe tosafot*). Neither the *Tosafot* nor the *Pisqe tosafot* were part of the Sephardic tradition of Talmud study and were not printed in Sephardic editions [51]. The actual text of the tractate and the arrangement of its component parts differed in the Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions. Thus, the appearance of such an edition in Spain is possible only as a coincidence, and its acquisition by a Sephardic Jew for practical needs is highly unlikely.

As for the Portuguese tractate, it was printed in Faro [52] (which is where the manuscript of *Torat ha-bayit* was acquired) with RaSHI's commentary. The edition has a dated colophon, but specialist opinion is nonetheless divided on the date it indicates. The month is indicated in accordance with the division of weeks in the Pentateuch, and the year with the *gematria* (numerical equivalents) of the letters in the word ב'ר'נ'ה' ("with rejoicing") [53].

Three readings of this date exist: (i) "according to the lesser count" (לפרט קטן/לפ"ק), that is, with the thousands omitted (in this case, five thousand) and the simple sum of the letters' numerical values: [5] 257. This is the most palaeographically reasonable reading, as the evenly spaced letters (dots in our case) are considered together and the thousands (five thousand) are omitted. As M. Beit-Arié rightly remarks, this system was widely employed both in manuscripts and early printed editions [54]. This reading of the date might have remained the only one had not historical circumstances intervened — the decree on the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal was issued on 4 December 1496, and the reading of the section *wayiehi* (and, consequently, the completion of work on the tractate) falls on 18 December 1496 (12 *tevet* 5257). That this dating would have work on the edition continue after the decree has embarrassed scholars and led them to propose other readings: (ii) "according to the greater count" (לפרט גדול/לפ"ג), that is, taking into account the five thousand indicated by the last letter in the word ה, which produces a date of 5252 from the creation of the world, which converts to 18 December (16 *tevet*) 1491; (iii) "according to the lesser count" (without the five thousand), but also without the pronoun "in, with" (ב), which equals 2, and produces [5] 255, which converts to 14 December (16 *tevet*) 1494. Several examples: S. Seeligman (who first discovered fragments of the tractate in 1908) — 1494 (eventuell 1496) [55]; E. N. Adler — December 1494 or 1496 in 1923, and 1496 in 1935 [56]; J. Bloch — 1492 [57]; N. N. Rabinovicz — 1496 (who, it is true, conceded that there exists a view based on a reading "according to the greater count") [58]; B. Friedberg — 1491 [59]; H. Z. Dimitrovsky — 1491 or 1496 [60]; F. Goff — 1494 or 1496 [61]; P. Tishbi — 11—16 Dec. 1491 or 11—16 Dec. 1496 [62]; A. K. Offenberg — 17 Dec. 1496? [63], etc.

In my view, only the first reading is correct — [5] 257 (1496); readings (ii) and (iii) are speculative. The original of the folio with the colophon is stored in the JTS collection, and I had the opportunity to study it carefully, concluding on the basis of my own observation that all the letters in the *gematria* are uniformly set down, which logically suggests the simple sum of their numerical values [64]. In this system, the numerical value of the pronoun *ba-* (ב) is calculated together with the values of the remaining letters [65]. It should be taken into account that the letter ה, called upon to "symbolise" five thousand (reading 2) is the final letter in a word and, consequently, cannot be arbitrarily interpreted as the first letter of the *gematria* (ה' נ"ב) without additional indications. A clear example of an indication of the "greater count" with the use of the **same** word 'רנה' ("rejoicing") is found in the colophon of another Portuguese incunabula: שנת רנה בשוב ההא אלפים (in the year 255, of which "5" is thousands) [66].

One should note that the historical context in which the tractate was eventually printed does not in and of itself present an indisputable argument for resolving the question of the date indicated in the colophon. H. Z. Dmitrovsky writes on this issue that "Seeligman's assertion (see note 55) that after the Edict of Expulsion the Jews were unable to print books is unfounded, for between the Edict of 4 December 1496 and 17 December of the same year (if we accept the "lesser count") less than two weeks passed. The tractate must have been almost ready when the Edict of Expulsion was issued. Taking into account that the Edict's enforcement was put off for almost an entire year (until November 1497), it is hardly surprising that the printers, and Don Samuel Porteiro, who apparently financed the edition, tried to save as much of their investment as possible by bringing the book out on the market" [67]. We can add to this that difficulties developed gradually for the Portuguese exiles and it is possible that at the first stage of their "trail of tears" they had not been informed of the ban on exporting books. Furthermore, we know now that the Spanish exiles succeeded in getting some of their books out [68]. Thus, if we allow that the tractate Gittin was printed in Faro in 1496, then it is, naturally, not the tractate mentioned in the list.

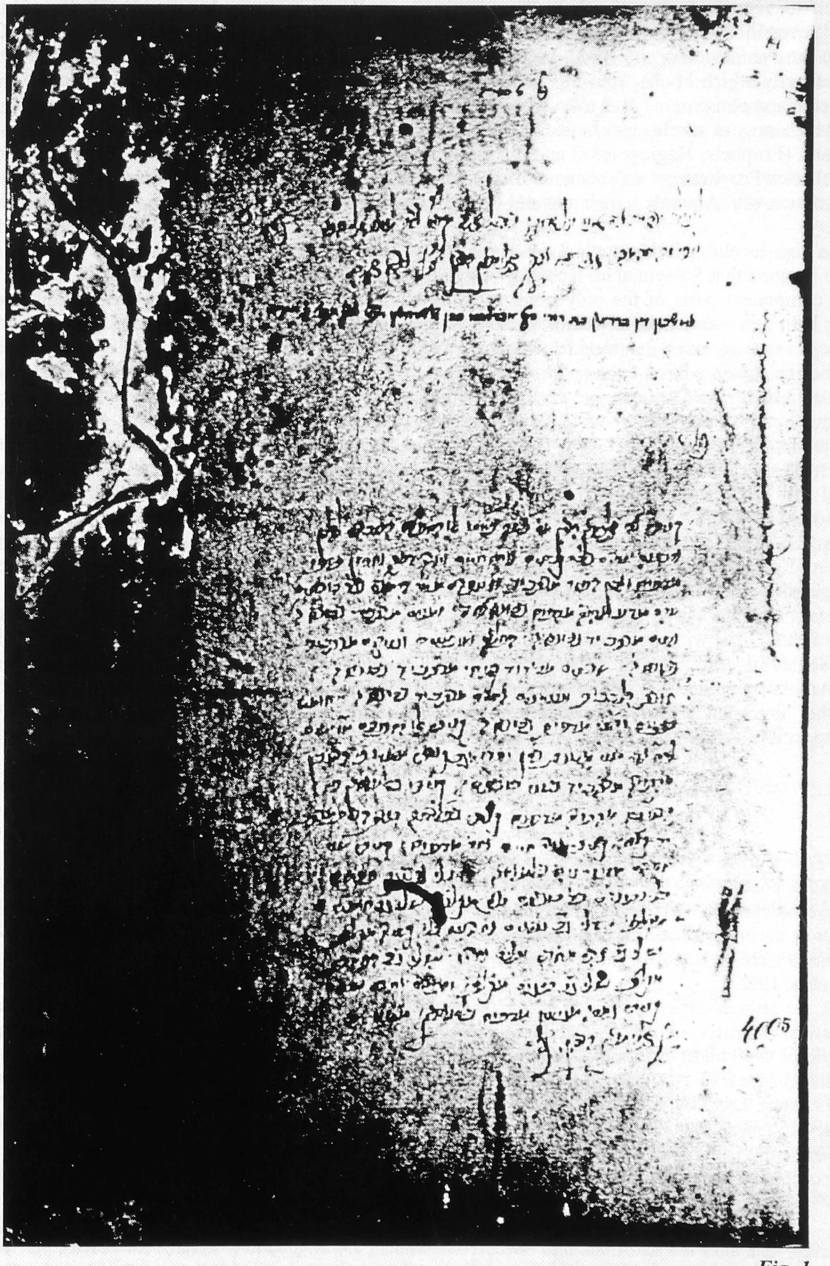

Fig. 1

However, I think that the list itself presents a more convincing argument in favour of the view that Suleyman ha-Kohen had in mind a different edition, one **which has not come down to us**. The bibliographic information which he notes in the list is always accurate and concrete: he does not limit himself to vague references such as "two books from *Turim*", "seven books from the *Yad ha-hazakah*", Commentary on the Pentateuch or the Bible. Instead, he always indicates exactly which books from this or that work he means, whose commentary, etc. And even in references to the Bible, which are, as a rule, indefinite, he indicates precisely the parts (Prophets, Hagiographa) and even gives more detail — Latter Prophets — and contents of the edition: "The Pentateuch with Aramaic translation and RaSHI's commentary."

With such a high level of bibliographical description, it is impossible to imagine that Suleyman ha-Kohen would fail to indicate the component parts of the only tractate of the Talmud on his list. Yet both of the above-mentioned editions were printed, as was "our" Pentateuch, with RaSHI's commentary, and the Italian edition even sports the *Tosafot* and *Pisqe tosafot* in addition! The representative case of the description of this treatise's publication could serve a record in the above-mentioned "Italian" list: "...גיטין עשוי בדפוס עם פירוש (רש"י) ותוספות בנע"ט [=בנייר עם טבלאות] ("*Gittin* printed with commentary [RaSHI], and *Tosafot* on paper, with binding) [69]. Thus, this lapidary mention ("the printed tractate *Gittin*"), the traditional distinguishing feature of Italian and Pyrenean Talmudic editions, and the date of the only Sephardic edition known to us (1496), all bear witness to the fact that the list contains an unknown incunabula — the tractate *Gittin* without RaSHI's commentary.

One such Sephardic edition of the Talmudic tractate is known to incunabula specialists — the tractate *Hullin* [70], published by the "unnamed press" [71] mentioned above. Now we can speculate that it was not the only one. And perhaps the lucky coincidence which gave us the mention of an unknown incunabula in the 1492 book list will one day help us to find the edition itself.

Thus, to sum up the analysis of the list, I note that we find in it 28 manuscripts and early printed books which made up part, perhaps a large part, of a private Jewish library at the end of the fifteenth century. Of the 28 books enumerated by the owner, almost one third (eight books) are incunabula. Taking into account that the library contained doubles and manuscripts on parchment, the presence in the library of early printed books testifies less to the owner's desire to acquire cheaper books, but rather to the speed with which "the art of artificial writing" spread throughout the book market. Of the eight incunabula mentioned in the list, some can be identified quite definitely with actually known editions (No. 3, for example) and various identifications are possible with some of the others (Nos. 1, 6, 7, for example). The reference to an edition of *Mada'* and *'Ahavah* (No. 5), in my view, clarifies the dating and localization of the Sephardic edition without bibliographical information. The mention of a copy of the tractate *Gittin* without RaSHI's commentary (No. 8) provides, apparently, the only evidence of a hitherto unknown edition. The list itself was recorded mere days before the infamous Edict which expelled the Jews and testifies both textually and by the very fact of such a list's existence, to complete calm within the Jewish community (money is invested into the acquisition of books, libraries form, catalogues are drawn up, etc.).

Thus, the list which this article introduces to scholars broadens our conception of the state of the Jewish community on the eve of the tragic events they were soon to experience, and introduces certain corrections into our knowledge of Hebrew book culture, clarifying our factual knowledge of the development of Hebrew book-printing in the Pyrenean peninsula.

Notes

1. *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, selected and edited with an Introduction by Israel Abrahams, two volumes in one facsimile of the original 1926 edition (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 57.

2. In bibliographic research, Hebrew books are understood to be books in any language, copied by hand or printed, in Hebrew letters.

3. For details on the influence of local codicological and palaeographic traditions of the Hebrew writing, ways of correspondence and producing manuscripts, see M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West. Towards a Comparative Codicology* (London, 1993). — The Pannizi Lectures, 1992.

4. No doubt, the Jews possessed a tradition of professional manuscript copying, which presumed the joint preparation of a single manuscript by several craftsmen and the division of labour. For example, as a rule, at least two copyists took part in copying the Biblical Codices - a copyist of the Biblical text itself (סופר) and a punctuator (נקדן), who also used to copy the *massorah* (that is, the traditional reference apparatus for the text, מסרן). Still, one cannot speak of a wide-spread practice with workshops for the production of Hebrew manuscripts. On a purely theoretical level, however, one cannot exclude this possibility.

5. By "medieval", I mean, within the present article, the period from the ninth to the sixteenth century, that is, the period from the first dated Hebrew manuscripts known today until the time when the process of book-printing had stabilised.

6. See, for example, M. Zulay, "A Book-list in which an unknown work of Saadyah Gaon is mentioned", *Kiryat Sefer*, XXV (1948—1949), pp. 203—5;

צ. ברוכזון. "בעקבות הספרים האבודים של המאות הט"ז-ט"ז". עלי ספר. ט"ז, (1990) עמוד 37—58.

7. S. Poznansky, "Ein altes Judisch-Arabisches Buecherverzeichnis", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XV (1902), pp. 76—8; E. N. Adler, "An ancient bookseller's Catalogue", in his book *About Hebrew Manuscripts* (London, 1905), pp. 37—48; repr. (New York, 1970);

ש. אסף. "רשימות ספרים עתיקות", קרית ספר. יח (1941) עמוד 272—281;

Isaiah Sonne, "Book lists through three centuries", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, I/2 (1953), pp. 55—76; II/1 (1955), pp. 3—19;

אפרים א. אורבך."רשימת ספרים עבריים מראשית ימי הדפוס", קרית ספר. טו. (1938) עמוד 239—237;

E. J. Worman, "Two book-lists from the Cambridge Genizah fragments", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XX (1907—1908), pp. 460—3;

נ. אלוני. "שתי רשימות ספרים לרושם אחד במאה ה-XIII", עלי ספר 1 (1975). עמוד 42—48; כנ"ל. "שתי רשימות ספרים מאיטליה", ספר אסף. ירושלים תשי"ג. עמוד 33—39; ר. בונפיל. "רשימת ספרים עבריים מאימולה, סוף המאה הי"ד",

in *Scritti in memoria di Umberto nahon* (Gerusalemme, 1978), pp. 47—62. One should also note a most interesting work by M. Schmelzer "A Fifteenth-Century Hebrew Book List," which will soon be published (personal connection), and many others.

8. A more detailed bibliography of such publications is listed in most of the above-mentioned articles.

9. To the period of incunabula (i. e. books printed before 1 January, 1501) may be attributed the not dated Italian list published by Prof. E. Urbach, which contains the names of both manuscripts and early printed books. In Prof. Urbach's view, the list could be conventionlly dated to "*ante* 1503". For details, see

אפרים א. אורבך. "רשימת ספרים עבריים מראשית ימי הדפוס", קרית ספר. (1938), עמוד 237—239.

10. Here and elsewhere the typographic descriptions of editions (format, number of folios, etc.) are given in accordance with the descriptions prepared for the "Catalogue of Hebrew Incunabula from the Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America". *'Arba'ah turim*, a Halakhah work which consists of four parts: *'Orah hayyim*; *Yoreh de'ah*; *'Even ha-'ezer*; *Hoshen ha-mishpat*.

11. This folio also contains a note of ownership by the author of the list. The note is, naturally, in the same hand and written with the same ink. It is a fairly typical example of such inscriptions:

לעולם יכתוב אדם שמו על ספרו בשביל שלא יקדים אחר לומר שלי הוא ולפי זה חתמתי שמי פה אני סולימאן הכהן יצו.

(May a man always write his name in his book, that a stranger may not forestall him, saying, it is mine. For this reason I have signed my name here. I am Suleiman ha-Kohen, may my Bulwark and Redeemer preserve me).

12. The text of the list is unvowelled, which permits variant readings, and consequently translations, of the name and certain words. See also note 22. The transliteration of the family name here follows the form PYWRW.

13. On this work, see note 10 above.

14. The etymology of the word used in the original, *kwbs* (pl. *kwbsym*), is unclear, although in the context of the list it must indicate a single book. It is possible that we have here a phonetic rendering of קבצים/קובץ (*kovez/kevazim*), collection, sometimes used to indicate a single book. This explanation, however, evokes doubts as well, given the grammatical correctness of the remaining text and the conventionally accepted replacement of final "ts" with "s" (ץ = ס), which render unlikely the replacement of the root's first consonantal *kof* with *kaf* (ק = כ).

15. *Yad ha-hazakah* or *Mishneh torah*, a Halakhah work by Moses ben Maimon (RaMBaM) or Maimonides (1135—1204). It consists of 14 books, seven of which are enumerated in the List: *Sefer Mada'*; *Sefer 'Ahavah*; *Sefer Zemanim*; *Sefer Nashim*; *Sefer Hafla'ah*; *Sefer Shofetim*; *Sefer Nezikim*.

16. *Shorashim*, a dictionary of Biblical language by David Qimhi (1160?—1235?). The dictionary originally formed the second part of the book *Mihlol*, however, in the middle ages it became known as an independent work and was copied and later published as such.

17. *Hovat/Hovot ha-levavot*, a didactic work by Bahya Ibn Paquda (eleventh century).

18. Targum — a translation into Aramaic of the Pentateuch. According to Talmudic tradition, the translation was made by the proselyte Onkelos in the second century A.D. RaSHI — an abbreviation for Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (1040—1105). His commentary on the Pentateuch was the most widely used commentary in the middle ages.

19. In the original the date is given by the sum of the numerical equivalents of the letters in the first word of the Biblical verse (Job 38, 7) ברן' (= 252). For methods of indicating dates in medieval Hebrew books, see, in brief, note 53 below.

20. RaMBaN — abbreviation for Rabbi Moses ben Nachman Gerondi or Nahmanides (1194—1270).

21. *Torat ha-bayit* by Solomon Ibn Adret (*ca.* 1235—*ca.* 1310), known in two versions — shorter, indicated in the List, and expanded.

22. This phrase — סדור מחדש ותלים אחרים — can be interpreted in various ways: תלים אחרים ("other Psalms"), possibly an error by the copyist. In place of "other" (אחרים), the reading "certain" (אחדים) is more logical in the context of the List.

23. *Haftarot* — excerpts from the Book of Prophets, read in synagogues after the Pentateuch.

24. *Gittin* — a tractate of the Talmud which examines rules of writing and delivering a divorce letter (*get*). In the original, the word *gemara'* is used in the meaning of tractate. Strictly speaking, *gemara'* means that part of the Talmud containing commentary on its statutory passages (*mishnayiot*), however, medieval Judaic tradition used the term in the sense of the full text of a tractate. One should also note that the term "Talmud" without further specification meant in fact the Babylonian Talmud.

25. I take this opportunity to express my deep gratitude to my colleagues in Jerusalem, Tamar Leiter and Benjamin Richler, who aided me in this search.

26. Incidentally, the city of Faro was one of the centres of Hebrew book printing in Portugal.

27. The holiday *shoshan purim* (שושן פורים) falls on this day, but this is not mentioned in the list.

28. The great popularity of the codex is indicated both by the large number of surviving manuscripts and by the fact that it was the most frequently published Halakhah work of the incunabula period. We know of 3 full editions of the codex and 11 editions of separate parts, of which 6 are editions of the *'Orah hayyim* (cf. *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections. A First International Census*, completed by A. K. Offenberg in collaboration with C. Moed-Van Walraven (Nieuwkoop, 1990), Nos. 61—74; henceforth — Census). Attention to the outward appearance of the book was typical of bibliographic descriptions of that time. Cf., for example, the 1445 Italian list published in the afore-mentioned (note 7) article by I. Sonne, and others.

29. There is no doubt that the phrase "and other old books" could not refer to incunabula, that is, books "copied" with new technology.

30. Cf. the Italian list published by I. Sonne, see his article in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, II/1, and others.

31. Without involving ourselves in a detailed discussion on the emergence of Hebrew book printing, one can note that the first Hebrew books apparently appeared in Rome around 1469—70. For details, see M. Marx, "On the date of appearance of the first printed Hebrew books", *Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume*. I. Engl. section (New York, 1950), pp. 481—501. Hebrew book printing appears in Spain around 1475—76, and in Portugal in 1486—87. Editions of early printed books most likely ranged from 240—400 copies. Cf. Jacob ben Asher, *Tur 'Orah hayyim* (Mantua, 1476) (Census 64) — 250 ex.; *Psalms* with Comm. David Qimhi (*sine loco*, 1477; Census 34) — 300 ex.; Jacob ben Asher, *Tur Hoshen ha-mishpat* (Guadalajara, 1480) (Census 74) — 380 ex.; Commentary on the Latter Prophets by David Qimhi (Guadalajara, 1482) (Census 103) — 400 ex.

32. The edition is known in two copies (British Museum and Cambridge) and two fragments (Jewish National Library in Jerusalem and the Jewish Theological Seminary in America). We also know of two "Italian" editions — Mantua, Abraham ben Solomon Conat, 1476 (Census 64) and an anonymous edition which can be linked through indirect evidence to the production of Josua Solomon Soncino's press in Naples and conditionally dated to the early 1490s (the only copy is found in the Jewish National and University library in Jerusalem; Census 67).

33. D. Goldstein, *Hebrew Incunabules in the British Isles*. A preliminary census (London, 1985). One should, however, note that, for example, the Israeli bibliographer P. Tishby localizes this edition in Guadalagara (?) and dates it approximately to 1479, see

פ. תשבי. "האינקונבולים העבריים בישראל", קרית ספר. נט. (1984) מס' 20.

34. This is the only edition in the list which can be identified beyond doubt. But I note as a gloss that we know of two more editions of the *Yoreh de'ah* from this period: one Italian (Mantua/Ferrara, Abraham Conat, Abraham ben Hayim, 1477; Census 70) and one Spanish (Guadalajara, Solomon ben Moses Alqabiz, *ca.* 1480; Census 71).

35. The work was published twice in Italy before 1492, both times in full — (1) by Solmon ben Judah and Obadiah ben Moses (Italy, *ca.* 1475); (2) and by Gershom ben Moses Soncino (Soncino, 1490) (Census 87, 88).

36. (Spain or Portugal?, *ca.* 1491—1492). Folio. 180 Leaf (*Mada'* — L. 1a—36b; *'Ahavah* — L. 37a—82b; *Zemanim* — L. 83a—179b. One column, 34 lines per page. Print field: 143—144 × 199—200 mm. Average text density — 298 print characters per five lines (Census 89).

37. We know of several Sephardic editions without bibliographical data which form a single group with common type-faces and other typographic features. They are usually indicated in bibliographies by the titles of particular works, for example, in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendruck* — Drucker des *Orhot hajjim*; in Census — Printer of Alfasi's Halakot. For a facsimile of the surviving folios, see *Mishneh torah of Maimonides*, a facsimile of an unknown edition printed in Spain before the exile ... by Elazar Hurvitz (New York, 1985), Fasc. 33-116. Also contains information on the current whereabouts of individual folios from this edition (pp. 59—60).

It should be noted that one can also attribute to the works of this press the edition of Maimonides' Introduction (*Hakdamah*) to his work. Despite the identical type-faces in the Introduction and the book *'Ahavah*, we have here, undoubtedly, different editions. Cf. the technical parameters of the print (cited on the basis of a description of the copies from the collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America):

Hakdamah — octavo, 19 lines per page, print field 127 × 83—84 mm. Average text density — 116 print characters per 5 lines;

'Ahavah — folio, 30 lines per page, print field 203 × 134 mm. Average text density — 221 characters per 5 lines.

38. An early copy belonged to S. H. Halberstamm (1832—1900), a merchant and collector from Bielitz, later — Israelitische Kultursgemeinde library in Vienna. The copy contains 100 folios, see

פ. תשבי. "האינקונבולים העבריים בישראל", קרית ספר. נט. (1984) מס' 40.

A brief bibliographic description of the edition: [Spain or Portugal?, sine tipographo, *ca.* 1490—1492]. Folio. 106 ff (*Mada'* — 62 L., *'Ahavah* — 44 L.). Two columns. 32 lines. Print field: 141 × 189 mm. Average text density: 153 print characters per 5 lines in a single column.

39. The JTS fragment contains 24 folios (book of *Mada'* — 19 fols., book of *'Ahavah* — 5 fols.). It should be noted that the number of folios in this fragment is variously indicated by various sources and everywhere inaccurately: A. Marx, *Bibliographical Studies and Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* ... (New York, 1977). P. 222 — 23 L.: F. R. Goff, *Incunabula in American libraries* ... (New York, 1964), No. 79, 2—25 ff.; *Mishneh torah of Maimonides*, a facsimile of an unknown edition printed in Spain before the exile ... by Elazar Hurvitz (New York, 1985). P. 28 — 26 L.

40. B. Wachstein, *Katalog der Salo cohn'schen Schenkungen*, 2. Buecher aus der Sammlung S. H. Halberstam, Bielty (Wien, 1914), No. 289.

41. A. Yaari, *Hebrew Printing at Constantinople. Its History and Bibliography* by ... (Jerusalem, 1967), No. 34.

42. *Thesaurus typographiae hebraicae saeculi XV*, eds. A. Freimann, M. Marx (Berlin, 1924—1931), B 41.

43. F. R. Goff, *Incunabula in American libraries* ...(New York, 1964), Heb 79, 2; P. Tishby, cf. above, note 38.

44. In general, I believe that localising and dating editions solely on the basis of paper type is relatively dubious for late medieval manuscripts, when paper production had reached industrial levels and its trade had become international. For example, in the specific case under discussion here, I had the opportunity to investigate water marks on 24 folios of the JTS fragment: the majority of the folios have water-marks which depict, with small variations, a glove. This is one of the most widespread water-mark designs on Italian paper of the second half of the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth centuries. The only relatively early drawing, repeated on several folios, is a "signet-ring with a star". It is close, but not identical, to drawing No. 692 in the album C. B. Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600* ... (Amsterdam, 1968). Briquet notes that this sign has been identified on Genoa paper from 1483 and 1509, which establishes excessively broad chronological borders for identifying an edition on the basis of paper with such a design.

45. *Torah* (= Pentateuch) with *Targum Onkelos* and comment. of Solomon ben Isaac. Hijar [Eliezer ben David Alantansi], corr.: Abraham ben Isaac ben David. Patron: Solomon ben Maimon Zalmati. 19 July—17 August 1490. Folio. 265 L. Three columns with a variable quantity of lines per column and variable width.

46. *Idem.* Lisbon, Elizier [Toledano], David ben Joseph Ibn Yahya Calfon, [Jehudah Gedaliah?]. 8 July—6 August 1491. Folio 456 L. The number of columns and lines per column varies.

47. *Idem.* Bologna, Abraham ben Hayim for Joseph Caravida. [Ed.]: Joseph Hayim ben Aaron Strasbourg Zarefati, 25 January 1482. Folio. 220 L. (Census 13).

48. Moses ben Nachman Gerondia (RaMBaN). *Perush ha-torah.* [Rome], Obadiah and Menasshe and Benjamin of Rome, [*ca.* 1469—1472]. Folio 246 L. One column. 45 lines per page. Print field: 245 × 166 mm. Average text density: 289 print signs per 5 lines (Census 96); *idem.* [Naples, Joseph ben Jacob Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser], 2 July 1490. Folio. 244 L. One column. 40—41 lines. Print field: 201 × 139 mm. Average text density: 351 print signs per 5 lines (Census 98).

49. *Idem.* Lisbon, Eliezer [Toledano], 16 July 1489. Folio. 301 L. Two columns. Print field: 199 × 140 mm. Average text density: 165 print signs per 5 lines.

50. *Massekhet Gittin.* With comment. by Solomon ben Isaac, *Tosafot*, *Pisqe tosafot.* [Soncino, Joshua Solomon ben Israel nathan Soncino], Corr.: David ben Elazar ha-Levi Sal, Samuel ben Meir Latif. 18 February 1488. Folio 124(?) L. (Census 123).

51. For more detail on the history and particular features of Sephardic print editions, see S'ridei Bavli, *An Historical and Bibliographical Introduction by Haim Z. Dimitrovsky* (New York, 1979).

52. *Massekhet Gittin.* With comment. by Solomon ben Isaac. Faro, Samuel Porteiro, 11—16 December 1496. <32 L. (maximum known quantity of folios) Folio. Two columns (Census 124).

53. Leaving aside the specifics of date indication in medieval Hebrew books, I would like to note only that dating in incunabula was "from the creation of the word" (לבריאת העולם/ליצירה) and that the millennia could be "omitted". The month and day of the work's completion could be indicated directly (with a calendar date) or indirectly, with a reference to a holiday or, as is the case here, with a reference to a division of the Pentateuch (in the Jewish tradition, the text of the Pentateuch is divided into weekly sections for public reading in synagogues (פרשת השבוע/*Parashat ha-shavu'a*). The tractate was printed during the reading period for the *wayehi*/ויחי.

54. M. Beit-Arié, "The Relationship between early Hebrew Printing and Handwritten Books: Attachment or Detachment" in his volume *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Paleography and Codicology* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 264, n. 47; cf. also [M. Beit-Arié, C. Sirat], *Manuscrits medievaux en caracteres hebraiques* ... Tome I. Noties (Jerusalem—Paris, 1972), I, 115, n. 1.

55. S. Seeligman, "Ein portugiesischer Talmuddruck", *Zeitschrift fuer Hebraische Bibliographie*, XII, 1. Y. 18.

56. E. N. Adler, "Talmud printing before Bomberg", *Festskrift i Anlending af Prof. David Simonsens* ... (Kobenhaven, 1923), p. 83; E. N. Adler, "Talmud incunabula of Spain and Portugal", *Jewish Studies in memory of George A. Kohut* ... (New York, 1935), p. 2.

57. J. Bloch, "Early Hebrew printing in Spain and Portugal", *Hebrew Printing and Bibliography* (New York, 1976), p. 32 (Repr. from: *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 42 (1938). It is interesting to note that while J. Bloch pauses to give a detailed description of the edition with an English translation of the colophon and a photograph of it (page 31, No. 5), he does not even mention the possibility of reading the date differently.

58. ר.נ.נ. רבינוביץ. מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד. תולדות הדפסת התלמוד. הובא לבית הדפוס עם תיקונים השלמות ומפתחות על ידי א.מ. הברמן. ירושלים תשי"ב. עמוד לא-לב.

59. B. Friedberg, *History of Hebrew Typography in Italy, Spain-Portugal, Turkey and the Orient* ... (Antwerpen, 1934), p. 77, n. 3.

60. S'ridei Bavli, *An Historical and Bibliographical Introduction by Haim V. Dimitrovsky* (New York,1979), p. 74. One should note that the history of the tractate's "discovery" and the problem dating it are laid out by Haim Z. Dimitrovsky in quite some detail, see *ibid.*, pp. 19—20, 73—4.

61. F. R. Goff, *op. cit.*, Heb. 107.

62. פ. תשבי. "האינקונבולים העבריים בישראל", קרית ספר. נט. (1984) מס' 65.

63. Census 124.

64. For a facsimile of this folio with the colophon on which the apportionment of letters is clearly visible, see S'ridei Bavli, *Fragments from Spanish and Portuguese Incunabula and Sixteenth Century Printings of the Babylonian Talmud and Alfasi*, collected and edited by Haim V. Dimitrovsky (New York, 1979), ii, L. 372. See also the illustration in J. Bloch's article (cf. above, note 57).

65. In Hebrew, short prepositions combine with the following noun to form a single word. Thus transformed into inseparable prefixes, they are naturally written as one word. See also Haim Z. Dimitrovsky's arguments on this issue in S'ridei Bavle, *An Historical and Bibliographical Introduction*, p. 74.

66. David ben Joseph Abudarham, *Perush ha-berakhot we ha-tefillot*, Lisbon, Eliezer Toldano. 1 *tevet*/25 November 5250/1489. L. 170r, line 17 (Census 1).

67. S'ridei Bavli, *An Historical and Bibliographical Introduction*, p. 74 (my translation from Hebrew — Sh. I.).

68. For more on this, see S'ridei Bavle, *op. cit.*, n. 502.

69. אפרים א. אורבך. "רשימת ספרים עבריים מראשית ימי הדפוס", קרית ספר. טו. (1938) מס' [29].

70. *Massekhet Hullin.* [Spain or Portugal, Printer of 'Orhot hayyim, *ca.* 1480—1490]. Folio. The number of folios is not known. One column. Print field: 134—135 × 204—205 mm. Average text density: 230 print signs per 5 lines. (Census 127)

71. See note 37.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Booklist from Heb. 56 (courtesy of the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America).

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: V. LANGUAGE, THE UNCONSCIOUS AND THE "REAL WORLD" *

Nearly half a century ago, E. Sepir noted that the "real world" is to a significant degree unconsciously constructed on the linguistic experience of particular groups and that the dissimilarity of languages reveals concealed, distinct worlds rather than a common world equipped with various labels [1]. In previously published articles in this series, we have touched several times on particular features of Qur'ānic language. The Qur'ān represents in many ways a unique document. Among other things, it scrupulously records the language in use at a certain time and in a certain place, namely, the Arabic of the settled centres of Arabia in the first third of the seventh century. This language described the "real world" as it appeared to a person who lived then amid the fundamental changes, which had engulfed Arabian society and which, naturally, found their reflection in language. The question arises if there is any method which would help in reconstructing the "real world" of Muḥammad and his contemporaries, relying in our work on the linguistic material contained in the Qur'ān and taking into account the particular features of this document.

1

The question of Qur'ānic language as an independent problem was first formulated by J. Willmet [2], author of a dictionary of the Qur'ān, which appeared in Rotterdam as early as 1784. For many years, this question was of a primarily applied nature and was merely considered in the context of producing translations. Until the end of the nineteenth century, the dominant view of Qur'ānic language in European scholarship was as the language of the Quraysh tribe, and at the same time the language of classical Arabic poetry. In supporting this view, European specialists relied on the opinion of the majority of medieval Arab philologists, who claimed that the Qurayshis and poets of pre-Islamic Arabia preserved the true, pure language of the Arabs. Karl Vollers seems to have made one of the earliest attempts to refute this view in a series of his articles (the first appeared in 1894) on the problem. These concluded in 1906 with a monograph which provoked a wide-ranging controversy about Qur'ānic language [3]. Vollers tried to prove that the texts which make up the Qur'ān were uttered by Muḥammad in the "spoken language" without final inflexions (*i'rāb*), that the "barbaric syntax" of the original can hardly be discerned from beneath the varnish which medieval Arab philologists applied to the text. Vollers' theory did not, however, receive significant scholarly support. In fact, it was only many years later that Paul Kahle introduced serious arguments in its favour [4].

The theory of Vollers' opponents — Th. Nöldeke and R. Geyer — was widely accepted among scholars [5]. Th. Nöldeke, supported in his views by F. Schwally, who re-worked his teacher's famous work "Geschichte des Qorans" [6], advanced the following hypothesis: Qur'ānic Arabic represented a sort of artificial *Hochsprache* which was understood everywhere in the Ḥijāz. At the end of the 1940s, Nöldeke and Schwally's position came under criticism, and at least three specialists, Ch. Rabin, R. Blachère, and H. Fleish [7], argued that Qur'ānic Arabic was the literary, super-dialectal poetic language of Arabia — a poetic *koinē* — with some traces of the spoken language of Mecca. At present, this view is shared by a majority of specialists. Only J. Wansbrough objected this view [8], pointing out that almost nothing was known about Qur'ānic Arabic before the text assumed its final form. In his view, this took place only in the 3rd/9th century. The arguments, which were brought forward in the discussion, leave us with the impression that they most often rest on their authors' intuition and are supported by facts taken mainly from the works of medieval Muslim writers.

Recent studies in the Arabic language seem to provide scholars with much more solid arguments for the old controversy. Research on the differentiation and integration of dialects in pre-Islamic Arabia has shown that the highly developed structure and relatively stable and regular gram-

* Articles in the series "The Qur'ān and its World" were prepared with the support of the Russian Scientific Fund for Humanities.

matical and lexical systems evident in the earliest Arabic texts — pre-Islamic poetry and the Qur'ān — testify to a long period during which grammatical forms took shape and were selected. By the time of Muḥammad's preaching, there were two large dialect zones in Central Arabia: Eastern (called Tamīm) and Western, known as Ḥijāz. The border between them lay somewhere in the middle of the Najd. The current state of knowledge allows us to see in Qur'ānic Arabic "a reflection of those integrating oral forms (common to the development of written and pre-written languages) as a form of sacral language, poetic language (*koinē*), and everyday *koinē* of inter-tribal communication" [9]. The latter evidently allowed for a diversity of forms, and was able to combine elements of spoken dialects with archaic lexical and grammatical forms.

On the whole, one must admit that Qur'ānic Arabic is distinguished by its fundamental incongruity on a number of levels with the absolute majority of contemporary texts which have come down to us. M. Zwetler's conclusion that the Qur'ān may be regarded as a first attempt to record the language of oral poetry [10] seems to be true only in the most general sense, and if, in particular, the poetry and Qur'ānic language are compared in the context of their shared formal base, conditioned by the oral character of their emergence. The *lingua sacra* of the Qur'ān, with its selective semantics, exhorting manner of expressions, and stereotypical and rhetorical syntax [11], implies a special sense code which is connected both with its situational as well as its broader socio-cultural context. R. Martin has rightly noted that Qur'ānic texts conceal their "thematic markers", which could evoke in Muḥammad's listeners associations that added symbolic significance to the preaching, and while the symbolic facets lay beyond the text of the Qur'ān, they nonetheless belong to its cosmogony [12].

Finally, E. Auerbach has shown in his "Mimesis" that "necessity of interpretation" (*Deutungsbedürftigkeit*) is a basic feature of Old Testament texts [13]. The original sacral text is meant to be "incomplete" without additional commentary. It was Wansbrough who succeeded in applying this concept to Qur'ānic text [14].

One of the famous Indo-Pakistani religious figures, Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Mawdūdī (1903—1979), stressed that intonation, voice modulation, gestures, and facial expressions played an enormous role in the words which Muḥammad uttered [15]. A literal record of such a text is almost always a failure. No doubt, this circumstance had its effect on the structural features of the Qur'ān. M. Sister pointed out in 1931 that in the course of his prophetic activity, Muḥammad spoke in various places, before various groups of listeners, and at various times. He would repeat at every convenient opportunity a successful simile once he was convinced of its effectiveness. What now seems monotonous or repetitive in normal reading would have produced its intended effect when conveyed "live" [16]. "God has sent down the fairest discourse as a Book, consimilar in its oft-repeated (*aḥsana al-ḥadīthi kitāban mutashābihan mathānīya*), whereat shiver the skins of those who fear their Lord; then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of God"* (39:23/24).

Viewing the Qur'ānic language as a historical source is a practice which dates to the mid-nineteenth century. This approach owes its appearance to the flourishing of European linguistics, to the borrowings made from rapidly developing Semitology, and to the influence of the latter on Biblical criticism. It was at that time that a series of works by J. Barth, S. Fraenkel, H. Grimme, A. Siddiqi [17] came to light which treated questions of linguistic connections within the Qur'ānic lexicon. They investigated the semantic and formal changes which foreign words underwent when they entered Arabic, provided a linguistic analysis of the Qur'ān's vocabulary, and indicated the paths by which ideas and concepts could find their way to Arabia from without. Their investigations demonstrated the great possibilities of linguistic analysis in the study of the history of cultural contacts. The vast linguistic material they contain provided a fine basis for further work.

The dominant conception of Muḥammad's ideas as resulting from external influences underlay the works by O. Pautz, H. Hirschfeld, H. Lammens, P. Casanova [18], to mention just a handful. In their work, they drew on all available Semitological material. H. Hirschfeld, in particular, was an author of the opinion that in trying to express newly arisen ideas and images, Muḥammad failed to find the necessary resources in the Arabic language [19]. This view stimulated the study of borrowings in the Qur'ān.

Turning to the works of Muslim theologians on the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān, European scholars used those works which tried to prove the createdness of the text on the basis of the numerous foreign words it contains. Basing their work in particular on the well-known treatise by al-Suyūṭī, A. Sprenger and K. Dwořak [20] discovered a large number of words which entered the Qur'ān from other languages. This work was nearly complete in 1938, when A. Jeffery's "Dictionary of Foreign Words in the Qur'ān" appeared [21]. In general, this approach suffered from a "mania of origins", besides it worshipped the "idol of sources" (Marc Bloch) — a common passion of historical works of the period.

However, even in works which stressed the role of "external influences" in the emergence of the conceptual apparatus of Muḥammad's message, one can find indications that their authors understood the exclusive complexity of the problem. Thus, Hirschfeld [22] wrote that one of the main difficulties in the study of the Qur'ān is the necessity of establishing whether certain ideas or expressions belonged to Muḥammad's own spiritual legacy or were borrowed from elsewhere. If the latter is true, then the question arises how did he learn of them and to what extent did he transform them in order to make them suit his aims. In "Le berceau de l'Islam" [23], H. Lammens indicated that the language of Muḥammad's preaching possibly had analogues in the linguistic past of Arabia. In 1925, in his "Lectures on Islam", I. Goldziher wrote not only of the stylistic, but also of the lexical connection of the Prophet's preaching with the speech of *kāhin*s and *khāṭib*s [24].

One year later, H. Lammens' "Les sanctuaires préslamites dans l'Arabie occidentale" appeared [25]. Although the author retains his earlier view of Islam as an Arab adaptation of Biblical monotheism, he investigates in this work the purely Arabian cultural contribution to the phenomenon of Islam. With this aim, he applies a new method to the study of the Qur'ān. His approach is distinguished by an attempt to explain the meanings of words and

* Here and below we use the Qur'ān translation of A. J. Arberry.

concepts in their Qur'ānic context, without turning to the commentaries, which usually introduce meanings derived at a later time on the basis of a more developed religious consciousness. H. Lammens tried to reveal the semantics of terms by analysing them in their immediate linguistic surroundings [26].

Naturally, his own basic premise that the Qur'ān's lexicon was borrowed contradicted the method Lammens pursued. Thus, in order to buttress his conclusions, which also contradict his basic premise, he turns not to an analysis of the external sources of new words in the Qur'ān, but to pre-Islamic poetry.

Means of overcoming this contradiction were limned in independent works by K. S. Kashtaliova [27] and D. Künstlinger [28] which appeared at almost the same time as Lammens' study. In "Qur'ānic terminology: a new interpretation" [29], K. S. Kashtaliova noted the wealth of new concepts introduced in this source, and the reconceptualisation and investment of old roots with new content which takes place there. She called for seeing in each term a phenomenon, which underwent proper development and remained sedimented in the term. Thus, each Qur'ānic term is necessarily endowed with its own history and indicates a specific phase in the development of a certain phenomenon [30]. K. S. Kashtaliova pointed out that the language of the Qur'ān, "representing in and of itself a *special type of source* (my emphasis — *E. R.*) on the history of Islam, requires independent study" [31]. The approach she suggests is based on the diachronic analysis of Qur'ānic terms. As she puts it, it allows one "on the one hand, to penetrate with the aid of textual analysis to the essence of the concept hidden in it and, having traced its fate in the text, to determine the evolution of this concept. On the other hand, in establishing a specific phase in the development of a certain concept, terminology can serve as one of the most reliable starting points for criticism of the Qur'ānic text" [32].

Such approaches were simply "in the air" when, in 1929, M. Bloch and L. Febvre founded in Paris the famed "Annales", the pages of which proclaimed rather similar ideas. Somewhat later (in the late 1930s and early 1940s), M. Bloch wrote that shifting terminology and mutations of meaning reflect "shocks to the systems of social values" [33]. He also pointed out that "the appearance of a word is always a significant fact, even if the object already existed; it betokens the advent of a decisive period of consciousness" [34]. It is important to note that the appearance of such approaches in Islamic studies indicated at the same time a crisis in its methodology and methods. This crisis culminated in an almost total loss of faith in the traditional sources on the early history of Islam.

The contextual analysis of Qur'ānic terminology allowed K. S. Kashtaliova to establish a connection between the evolution of the meanings of a number of Qur'ānic terms and a change in the role of Muḥammad, who became in the Medinan period a political leader in addition to a spiritual one [35]. She succeeded in refining the translation of a number of difficult passages in the Qur'ān and in obtaining important additional material to establish the chronology in which *sūra*s were uttered. Furthermore, K. S. Kashtaliova posed the question of creating a new chronology for the formation of the Qur'ānic text based on the contextual analysis of its lexicon [36]. Unfortunately, an early death prevented the scholar from bringing her work to completion.

Later, many specialists employed this method with varying degrees of success. Perhaps foremost among them was R. Paret [37]. M. Bravmann and T. Izutsu made a major advance in the development of the method. If K. S. Kashtaliova set herself tasks of a primarily philological nature, M. Bravmann strove to arrive at an understanding of the social and cultural life of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia with the aid of a lexical analysis of *jāhiliyya* poetry and the Qur'ān [38].

T. Izutsu's accomplishment was that he was the first to attempt to analyse not individual terms but the aggregate thematic groups connected with the relation between "God and man" and the ethical and religious ideas of the Qur'ān [39]. At a colloquium of Islamicists held in Tashkent in 1980, P. A. Griaznevich underscored the necessity of continuing the contextual study of the Qur'ānic lexicon with the aim of creating a reliable source-study base for the multi-faceted investigation of all question in the early history of Islam [40]. As a precondition for an adequate understanding and description of the conceptual apparatus of the Qur'ān, he formulated the task of studying the tribal dialects of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia and the need for dictionaries of tribal poetry.

The comparative contextual and diachronic analysis of lexical-semantic groups in Qur'ānic language and the juxtaposition of those groups with linguistic materials from the sixth and seventh centuries and basic Semitic lexical sources now appears to be one of the most promising approaches to the Qur'ān as a historical source. The diachronic analysis of Qur'ānic terms allows one to trace Muḥammad's actual preaching activity and the development of his conception of his mission, noting how these were reflected in the terminology which he used. The greatest obstacle to this approach is the lack of a serious, scholarly chronology of the appearance of *sūra*s. The few attempts to create such a chronology which have appeared are based on the Muslim tradition and are of a preparatory nature.

Such an approach allows one to survey objectively, on the basis of strictly reliable material, the complex social processes, which were taking place in Arabia in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. At that period, an early class society was forming in conditions of ideological breakdown as pagan beliefs were transformed into the religion of Islam. Language necessarily reflects all changes, which occur in any sphere of human activity — its evidence is reliable because it is unconscious. This method of analysing the Qur'ānic lexicon is all the more interesting because the shifts which were taking place in consciousness at that time indicated a fundamental re-structuring of the basic world-outlook, the entire structure of social concepts and religious consciousness. The Qur'ān and the poetry of the *mukhadramūn* bear witness to an avalanche-like process which transformed previous concepts, to shifts in the semantics of the traditional lexicon, and to the appearance of new words.

The method under discussion here allows one to arrive at an understanding of the internal history of Islam through the history of its basic concepts, the history of its emergence and development. It allows one to present the early history of Islam as the history of a move from pagan beliefs to monotheism, and the emergence of Islam as a stage in the socio-cultural and ideological development of the settled population of Arabia. P. A. Griaznevich's work in this field

represents a serious attempt to trace the major stages of this development by analysing a group of key socio-cultural ideas [41].

The appearance of the first dictionaries of the language employed by poets of the pre-Islamic tribal groups, the Hudhaylites and 'Absites [42], allows us today to conduct far-reaching comparative lexicographic analysis. This will, in turn, enable us in the future to place on the agenda the question of creating a documented dictionary to the Qur'ān, about which A. Jeffery wrote in 1935.

Modern linguistics states that "the significance of any phenomenon in human society can manifest itself in the frequency with which the word or group of words which denote that phenomenon is repeated" [43]. A frequency comparison of terms from various lexical-semantic groups in poetry or the Qur'ān can provide new material to recreate the structural evolution of the conceptual apparatus of social consciousness in Arabia in the sixth and seventh centuries.

The comparison of Qur'ānic terminology with materials from pre-Islamic Arabic (primarily South Arabian) epigraphy is of significant interest. This, in particular, can open perspectives on penetrating the ideology of the *ḥanīfs*, of which very little is known [44].

Today, however, an entire group of scholars has expressed doubts about interpreting this material and even about the very possibility of such an approach. Furthermore, Western literary criticism and religious studies have debated the very possibility of establishing the original meaning of a text, of reconstructing the thought process of its first listeners or readers. These discussions focused not so much on the Qur'ān as on ancient and medieval historical sources as such. The major critical conclusion is that all historical reconstructions are admittedly relative and arbitrary. A twentieth-century scholar can never share the same feeling for the world as a seventh-century Meccan, for example [45]. Thus, the very possibility of conducting a contextual analysis of the Qur'ānic lexicon with the aim of achieving historical or cultural insights has been seriously questioned.

Meanwhile, contemporary methodologies in source analysis have convincingly shown that the semiotic systems embodied in language, the symbols and rituals contained in sources and encoded in documents of the most varied types, present objective connections, independent of evaluative judgements. A scholar who forces the past to "confess its secrets" can reveal these connections "directly" through contact with the "collective unconscious". More than 20 years ago, M. Bakhtin wrote: "We ask new questions of a foreign culture, questions it did not ask itself. We seek there answers to our questions, and the foreign culture answers us, revealing to us new aspects, new depths of meaning. Without one's own questions it is impossible to achieve a creative understanding of anything other and foreign (but these must be, of course, serious, genuine questions). In such a *dialogic* (my emphasis — *E. R.*) encounter between two cultures, they do not blend together and do not mix; each retains its unity and overt wholeness, but they are mutually enriched" [46].

It is obvious that the unique fashion in which the text of the Qur'ān took shape — the literal recording of the Prophet's actual speech — provides special opportunities to the present-day scholar. The best answer to the question of whether it is possible to recreate the "real world" with the aid of a terminological analysis of the Qur'ān is to be found in concrete analysis of Qur'ānic language in correlation with the language of texts contemporary to it. This will allow us to approach closely those processes that led to the emergence of the Qur'ān within the Arabian cultural tradition, to follow the formation of one of the new ideology's most important aspects — the conception of the Holy scripture, sent down in Arabia and in Arabic. It also permits us to interpret satisfactorily the primary features of the Qur'ānic message features which largely determined the further development of Muslim ideology.

2

Among the numerous Qur'ānic terms used to designate people and human collectives, we find the term *jibill* (*jibilla*). Researchers and commentators of the Qur'ānic text have nearly overlooked it. This is possibly because it is used in the Qur'ān, in both its forms, only twice. The term was understood and translated in different ways: only a sphere of meaning was established ("generations", "peoples", and "multitude") [47].

We did not succeed in finding the term in the pre-Islamic or early Islamic poetry, although other Qur'ānic terms of this sort are easily found there. But the poetry does establish the meaning of the verb *jabala* as "to create". In verses ascribed to 'Adī b. Zayd, this verb is used to describe the act of divine creation (the creation of Adam) [48]. Derivations of the root were used to designate external appearance and the inborn qualities of people and animals [49]. The Qur'ān uses the term *khalq* for this [50]. Dictionaries note the term *jibla* in the meaning of "origin", "source" (of something) [51]. The word *jabla*, derived from the same root, means "skin", "surface" [52]. In this connection, one might note that the semantics of a number of terms used to designate people — *ādam*, *bashar*, *riqq*, *jilda* — are linked to this definition of people through the word "skin". The opposition of people to animals and birds, which are covered by hair and feathers, conditions this. This opposition represents one of the early forms of human self-consciousness [53]. Consequently, one can suppose that the meaning of the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) is possibly connected with extremely ancient conceptions of what is human.

In the Qur'ān, the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) is used in *sūras* which date somewhere between 615 and 618. Shu'ayb, addressing the Madyanits, says (26:184): "Fear him who created (*khalaqa*) you, and the generations of the ancients (*al-jibilla al-awwalīna*)" [54]. And Allah, addressing the "sons of Adam", reminds them that Iblīs caused many peoples (*jibillan kathīran*) to stray from the path (36:62). As we see, in both instances, "ancient peoples" are at issue. In similar contexts in the Qur'ān, we also find the terms *qurūn* (11:116/118) — *al-qurūn al-ūlā* (20:51/53) — "generations", "first generations" [55]; *al-awwalūna* — "the first [ones]" (23:83/85); *ābā'* (7:95/93) — *al-ābā' al-awwalūna* (37:126) — *al-ābā' al-aqdamūna* (26:76) — "the fathers", "the first fathers", "the ancient fathers"; *salf* (43:56) — "the predecessors".

Here one should note that in Lihyan inscriptions we encounter the term *gbl*, which is used there to designate

a popular assembly [56]. In Palmyrene epigraphy it is believed [57] to have indicated a popular assembly which brought together all of the Palmyrene tribal formations. I. Sh. Shifman adds that in Palmyra during the first century A.D. the term *gbl* indicated the civil collective as a whole [58]. It was later supplanted by the Greek term *dēmos* [59], which was used with the same meaning.

Juxtaposing the Qur'ānic usage of this term with epigraphic materials confirms that the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) is used in the Qur'ān specifically to designate the legendary ancient "peoples" of Arabia. Apparently, this term was current in stories and legends, which have not come down to us, but likely told of the fate of Arabia's ancient state formations. It goes back to the linguistic milieu of the peoples of Northern Arabia. In typical fashion, the dictionaries and *tafsīr*s of al-Ṭabarī and al-Bayḍāwī note several vowellings for this word [60]. This testifies to the fact that by Muḥammad's time there was no stable pronunciation of the word, which is characteristic of words which were perceived as foreign. We note that in poetry the term *jibl* was used in the sense of "numerous" (of people or of a kinship collective) [61]. This usage may also go back to ideas of the numerous ancient "peoples". It is significant that medieval Arab genealogists, who strove to find a place for each term known to them, and especially Qur'ānic terms, hardly ever used the term *jibill* (*jibilla*) in the hierarchy of ethnic groups.

This shows that at Muḥammad's time, at the dawn of the seventh century, memories of state formations, which had once existed in Arabia, still existed in people's memories and linguistic usage. This, in turn, may indicate that to a certain extent a cultural continuity was preserved between the society of settled centres in Inner Arabia of the sixth and seventh centuries and Arabian state formations at the beginning of our era.

3

The etymology of the term *sūra* and its Qur'ānic meaning caused difficulties both for medieval Muslim scholars and their modern European counterparts [62]. These difficulties stemmed from the fact that one cannot derive from the meanings of the Arabic verb *sāra* ("climb", "get up", "grow weak from wine") the traditional meaning of the word *sūra* — "a division of Qur'ānic text". While Muslim scholars generally strove to find another verbal root, which would allow them to derive the traditional meaning in some fashion, Europeans took to search for prototypes from other languages. Meanwhile, in the poetry produced by the Prophet's contemporaries, the word *sūra* was fairly wide-spread in the phrase *al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*, where it means "position", "rank", "glory", "fame". Thus, in the verses of the Tamīmite 'Amr b. al-Ahtam, who was, according to tradition, among the participants in the "embassy" sent to Muḥammad by the Tamīmites, we find: "I long ago exhorted Rabī'a b. 'Amr (the poet's son — *E. R.*): 'If your kinsmen encounter difficulties, see to it that you do not destroy what we are trying to build. It is not easy to preserve a high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*)'" [63].

'Absit al-Ḥuṭay'a exclaimed: "Good indeed is a man who does not forget about [his] high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*) and does not leave [others] without help" [64]. The following lines also belong to him: "And his children are white-faced and noble. The father elevated them to a high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*)" [65].

Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, who took part in the battle at Uḥud, praised his kinsmen thus: "And their matters were never lower than [their] high position (*al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*)" [66].

Although it was part of the formula *al-sūratu-l-'ulyā*, the term *sūra* could be used independently as well, in the sense of "excellence", "high position". Thus, Nābigha al-Dhubyānī praises Nu'mān the Fifth of al-Ḥīra: "Did you not know that Allah gave you a position (*sūra*) before which, as you see, every king shudders. For you are the sun, and the [other] kings are the stars. When the sun shines, you cannot see the stars" [67].

At first glance, there is no connection between the meaning of the term *sūra* in the poetry of Muḥammad's contemporaries and its meaning as a division of Qur'ānic text. But here we come to another point, which has gone practically unnoticed. From the very beginning, scholars tried to discover in the term *sūra* a meaning such as "part", "piece". These attempts were inspired by later usage and failed to note that for Muḥammad himself, when he uttered the prophecy, there was no book of 114 *sūra*s. An analysis of Qur'ānic contexts shows that Muḥammad used a number of terms to designate the smaller "revelations". "This Koran (*al-qur'ān*) could not have been forged apart from God ... Or do they say, 'Why, he has forged it'? Say: 'Then produce a *sūra* like it ...'" (10:37—38/38—39). "Or do they say: 'He has forged it'? Say: 'Not so; it is the truth (*al-ḥaqq*) from thy Lord...'" (32:3/2). "Or do they say: 'He has invented it?' Nay, but they do not believe. Then let them bring a discourse (*al-ḥadīth*) like it, if they speak truly" (52:33—34).

Analogously, the following terms are used in similar contexts, and frequently in the same verse: *āya* (16:101/103); *āyāt Allāh* (2:231); *āyāt Allāh wa-l-ḥikma* (33:34); *al-kitāb....āyāt Allāh* (4:140/139; 13:38); *al-dhikr* (15:6—9); *dhikr wa-qur'ān mubīn* (36:69); *al-qur'ān ... al-furqān* (2:185/181); *al-kitāb .... al-furqān* (3:3—4/2—3); *tanzīl* (36:5/4). Each of these terms, however, designated only one of the "aspects" of the "divine revelation". The terms differ in their "motivation". They appear in Muḥammad's preaching at various times and to a certain degree reflect the evolution of his conception of his mission [68].

The application of the term *qur'ān* to the revelation is connected with how the revelation was conveyed and uttered: Muḥammad repeats what was told to him. Under the influence of ideas of a "heavenly prototype" of the divine book and in analogy with the holy texts of the Christians and Jews, the revelation is designated by the term *kitāb* ("book"). In the form of its exposition, it is a *ḥadīth* ("tale"). It is a "miracle", a "sign", a "banner" for people (*āya*), a "reminder" of that which was sent down before (*dhikr*), a "message sent down" (*tanzīl*), the "truth" (*ḥaqq*), "wisdom" (*ḥikma*), a "division" (*furqān*) [between believers and non-believers], and, finally, "primary", "first-rate", "most authoritative", "most important" (*sūra*) [69].

In Qur'ānic language, all of these terms belong to a single lexical-semantic group, equal and correlated to the

basic concept of *qur'ān*. Later, as we know, the terms *āya*, *sūra* and *qur'ān* would acquire narrow, terminological meanings: the first designates the smallest division of Qur'ānic text, the second a mid-level division, and the third the entire holy book. This is, in fact, how *āya* 24:1 was interpreted: "A *sūra* that We have sent down and appointed; and We have sent down in it signs, clear signs (*āyāt baiyynāt*) ..." [70]. Yet even here the terms *sūra* and *āyāt* do not designate variously sized sections of the revelation, but the revelation itself in its various "functions".

The terminological usages noted above in the lexical-semantic group around the basic concept Qur'ān are retained up through the late *sūra*s (for example, in 9:86/87, the term *sūra* is used where, in accordance with the usage which later became traditional, one would expect *āya*). This shows that, although some quantity of the revelations had apparently been recorded and collected toward the end of Muḥammad's life, the term *sūra* continued to retain a meaning based on pre-Islamic usage.

The preceding material gives reason to suppose that the accepted derivation of the Qur'ānic term *sūra* from the Syriac *surta* ("line", "handwriting", "writing") does not correspond to the facts [71].

4

In her work "Qur'ānic terminology: a new interpretation", K. S. Kashtaliova noted that every Qur'ānic term has its own history and indicates a specific stage in the development of this or that phenomenon [72]. In our view, a diachronic analysis of the term *'abd* (*'abīd, 'ibād*) [*Allāh*] in Qur'ānic usage can confirm this, possibly revealing a minor "episode" in the evolution of Muḥammad's conception of the world of people and his mission.

The word *'abd* is widely represented in Arabian theophoric names in the meaning "servant [of a divinity]" or of Allah [73]. In the verses of pre-Islamic monotheist poets, the term *'abd* (*'abīd, 'ibād*) [*Allāh*] is used in the meaning of "servant/servants of God" (= person/people) [74]. This usage reflected a move from the traditional concept of a divinity as the protector of its "servant" (the protected one) to the idea of a God-creator — an absolute master of people. This idea, which reached Arabia together with Judaism and Christianity, was taken up by the *ḥanīfiyya*, a monotheistic current of thought which directly preceded Islam [75].

All Qur'ānic usages of the term *'abd* (*'abīd, 'ibād*) [*Allāh*] can be divided into four groups. The first group includes those instances where the usage underscores the absolute power of Allah over his creatures — people who are in all ways dependent on their Creator (5:118): "If Thou chastisest them, they are Thy servants (*'ibād*); if Thou forgivest them, Thou art the All-mighty, the All-wise" (see also 19:93/94). Allah is the all-powerful God-creator; the pagan divinities are themselves created (7:194/193): "Those on whom you call apart from God, are servants (*'ibād*) the likes of you" (see also 43:15/14, 19/18; 18:102).

The Prophet's opponents claimed that the messenger of Allah should possess supernatural qualities, and since Muḥammad had no such qualities, his message was false. Muḥammad answered by noting that all prophets, himself included, were ordinary people. The use of the term *'abd* (*'ibād*) [*Allāh*] in *āyāt* connected with this polemic reveals a second group of meanings of "servant of Allah" as "a member of the human race who possesses the same qualities as other human beings". In such contexts we observe a constant juxtaposition of the "servants of Allah" with beings of a higher sort (14:11/13): "Their Messengers said to them, 'We are nothing but mortals (*bashar*), like you; but God is gracious unto whomsoever He will of His servants (*'ibād*)..." [76] (see also 16:2; 40:15; 2:90/84). "He ('Īsā, son of Maryam — *E. R.*) is only a servant (*'abd*) We blessed, and We made him to be an example to the Children of Israel" (43:59, see also 3:79/73; 4:172/170).

The third group is of especial interest for us. In those parts of the message which all available chronologies date somewhere between 613 and 617 [77], the term *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*] is used to indicate righteous men (the followers of Mūsā — the Jews, the followers of Muḥammad), to set them *apart from other people*. For example, 25:63/64: "The servants (*'ibād*) of the All-merciful are those who walk in the earth modestly, and who, when the ignorant address them, say, 'Peace'". (20:77/79): "Also we revealed unto Moses, 'Go with My servants (*'ibād*) by night; strike for them a dry path in the sea" (see also 89:29; 76:6; 44:18/17, 23/22; 26:52).

This use of the term *'abd* goes back to its meaning in theophoric names. A "servant of a divinity" is not only dependent, but is chosen — a man taken under a god's protection [78]. A man, a servant of Allah, was chosen before the angels as his deputy (*khalīfa*) [79]. Muḥammad calls himself a "servant of Allah" (*'abd Allāh*) [80], as he does the other prophets [81]. Muḥammad's contemporaries also called him *'Abd Allāh* ("servant of Allah"), as was recorded by the poets [82].

The expression *'abd* (*'abīd*) [*Allāh*] — "servants of Allah" — was evidently one of the first designations of the followers of Muḥammad. The term which later became established, *muslimūn* ("those who have submitted"), contains the same connotation of dependence and chosenness.

As Muḥammad came to recognise the "universal" nature of his prophetic mission, he developed ideas of Allah as a creator and, hence, all-powerful master of the human race (*banū ādam*) and each person individually. The term *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*] is used more and more often in the undifferentiated, general sense of "person — people" independent of their relation to Muḥammad's message. For example, 34:13/12: "for few indeed are those that are thankful among My servants (*'ibād*)" (cf. 12:38: "but most men (*al-nās*) are not thankful"). Here, *'ibād*, like the word *al-nās* ("people"), designates people in general, the "human race". In this neutral usage, for all intents and purposes formal (meaning 4), there is no longer any special emphasis on the absolute dependence of man on Allah (meaning 1), nor the opposition of human beings to the supernatural nature of divinity (meaning 2). This neutral usage of the term *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*] is the most common and embraces all other instances of the term in the Qur'ān. Now, when Muḥammad speaks of the followers of his teaching, he no longer uses the simple expression "servants of Allah", as he did earlier, but "pure (*al-mukhlasūna*) servants of Allah" (for example, 15:40; 37:40/39, 74/72, 128, 160), "believing (*al-mu'minūna*)" (for example, 37:81/79, 111, 122), "the

righteous (*al-ṣālihūna*)" (27:19), "those of our servants We chose" (*alladhīna-ṣṭafaynā min 'ibādinā*)" (35:32/29), and so on. To these he opposes "[servants] gone astray (*ghāwūn*)" (15:42, compare 23:109/111; 36:30/29; 25:17/18). This usage testifies to Muḥammad's refusal to designate his followers with the terms *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*] (meaning 3). In meanings 2 and 4, the term *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*] belongs to the lexical-semantic group around the basic concept of *insān* (*al-nās*) [83], and in meaning 3 it is part of the lexical-semantic group around the basic concept of *umma* [84]. This instability, this mobility of meanings is typical of the lexical-semantic structure of Qur'ānic language and was conditioned, as we have seen, by the very history of the text's emergence. The Meccans' language lacked words capable of unambiguously expressing the necessary concepts, for the social conditions that they indicated were still at the formative stage. The terminological multiplicity and polysemousness noted above are connected with this phenomenon.

The semantic evolution of the terms in the last group is linked to the main stages in the development of original Islam: a purifying religious movement — a reform movement — an independent religion (the appearance of a small group of people (*farīq, ṭā'ifa, shī'a*) who separated from the larger society (*qawm, milla*) for religious reasons; the division of that society into two religious-political groups (*ḥizb, farīq, ṭā'ifa, shī'a*). As the number of Muslims grows, the terms *ḥizb, milla, ṭā'ifa, shī'a* begin to be used to designate the ethno-religious fellowship as a whole. In this meaning, they are later displaced by the term *umma*, which becomes the basic term for the Muslim community.

With the appearance of an opposition to Muḥammad in Medina, groups of opponents and supporters among the "possessors of scripture" also begin to be designated with the terms *farīq, ṭā'ifa, umma*. The emergence of differences within the Muslim community, the appearance of "hypocrites" (*munāfiqūn*) — people who accepted Islam in name only — also found its reflection in the use of the terms *ḥizb, farīq, ṭā'ifa*.

Returning to the term *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*], we note that it did not become established as a self-appellation for the members of the Muslim community, evidently because it could not be applied exclusively to them in the context of its pre-Islamic usage: a "servant of Allah" is not necessarily a follower of Muḥammad. We know that a *kāhin* could, in the name of a pagan deity, address to his listeners with the words *ya 'ibādī* — "oh my servants" [85]. The term could also designate a Jew, Christian or *ḥanīf*, among whom the expression *'abd Allāh* was widely used [86].

The establishment of Islam as an independent religion took place in the course of struggles not only with pagan cults, Judaism and Christianity, but also with pre-Islamic monotheistic movements. An indication of this is the struggle conducted against Islam by the *ḥanīf* Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt, whom the Prophet's followers termed an "enemy of Allah" (*'aduww Allāh*) [87]. This apparently explains the changes, which according to the tradition were introduced into certain *āyāt* by Muḥammad, where the term *ḥanīfiyya* was either removed from the text [88], or replaced by the term Islam (3:19/17). A minor episode in the history of Muḥammad's and his followers' attempts at self-identification was, possibly, the rejection of the term *'abd* (*'ibād, 'abīd*) [*Allāh*] as a self-appellation for members of the Muslim community.

5

The *āya* "Surely, Abraham was a nation (*inna Ibrāhīma kāna ummatan*) obedient unto God, a man of pure faith and no idolater" (16:120/121) evoked and continues to evoke contradictory interpretations. The difficulty lies in the application of the term *umma*, usually translated as "community", to a single man — Abraham. H. Grimme [89], for example, believed that the word *umma* here is a synonym of the term *ummi*, which was then translated as "unlearned" [90]. E. Malov, and later J. Horovitz and J. Walker tied this usage to Biblical parallels [91].

I. Yu. Krachkovsky juxtaposed 16:120/121 with 2:124/118: "And when his Lord tested Abraham with certain words, and ... said, 'Behold, I make you a leader (*imām*) for the people'" and concluded that in 16:120/121 the word *umma* should be translated as *imām*. In this he concurred with the view of a number of medieval Muslim exegetes. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī and Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥallī explained the term *umma* here through the expression *imām qudwa* — "model for imitation". Al-Ṭabarī and al-Rāzī displayed a similar understanding of the word *umma* in 16:120/121, although the latter rejected the possibility of its use in 16:120/121 in the sense of "community". Contemporary Muslim theologians and Western translators of the Qur'ān follow these traditional interpretations [92].

F. Denny, who has devoted special study to the term *umma* in the Qur'ān, argues that Abraham in 16:120/121 is an "eponym" of the community of Muslims. He rightly notes that "theologically and mythically, of course, Abraham is a 'paragon' or 'exemplar'; but that is not the meaning in 16:120" [93].

Meanwhile, the use of a term which denotes a multitude or fellowship to designate a single unit which is part of that fellowship is a common phenomenon in the language of the Qur'ān and pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. This is connected with the fact that terms, which we frequently understand as synonyms, differed from each other, in fact, in their narrow, *functional* meanings.

Thus, in most cases, the word *bashar* in the Qur'ān serves to designate a singular noun based on the collective meaning "people, who possess the same qualities as other human beings, unlike a spirit (*rūḥ*), an angel (*malak*), or Allah". 23:33/34—35: "This is naught but a mortal (*bashar*) like yourselves, who eats of what you eat and drinks of what you drink" [94]. But the word *bashar* can also convey this meaning as a collective noun: "We sent unto them two men, but they cried them lies, so We sent a third as reinforcement. They said, 'We are assuredly Envoys unto you.' They said, 'You are naught but mortals like us ... (*mā antum illā basharun mithluna*)" (36:14/13—15/14).

The term *raḥṭ* is used in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry and in the Qur'ān in instances of blood vengeance, the offering of protection, and the violation of clan laws. Under these conditions and in accordance with the level of social development of the poet's community, the term *raḥṭ* enjoyed stable usage to designate an extremely broad ethno-

social collective in which the laws of mutual aid and mutual defence functioned without fail to their full capacity. Hind b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a, grieving at the loss of her father, who fell in the battle of Badr, underscores the unnatural character of his death at the hands of those who, in accordance with clan law, were obligated to defend him: "Oh my eyes, shed many tears for the best of the Hindifites, who will never return. His kin, his defenders (*raht*) fell on him early in the morning — the banū Hāshim and the banū al-Muṭṭalib" [95].

This term could designate a single person obligated to avenge blood. Thus, a Muslim poet grieves at the death of three comrades-in-arms who perished during an expedition to Mu'ta: "Three people — each other's defenders (*thalāthatu rahṭin*) — were sent ahead and reached the bloody watering place of death, from which no one wishes to drink" [96].

The basic meaning of words derived from the root *khlṭ* in the Qur'ān (9:102/103; 6:146/147), in pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry is "to mix" [97]. This forms the basis for the use of the term *khalīṭ* in poetry, which could designate: (i) "a group of people of mixed descent" and "a person, one of whose parents came from another tribe" [98]; (ii) "a group of blood relatives who jointly own property" and "a kinsman who partly owns group property" [99].

The term *faṣīla* is used in the Qur'ān in a meaning which stresses the clan's function in granting refuge in its dwellings and on its territory (70:11—13): "The sinner will wish that he might ransom himself from the chastisement of that day even by his sons, his companion wife, his brother, his kin (*faṣīlatihi*) who sheltered him". Important for us is that al-'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle on his father's side, was called *faṣīlat al-nabī* [100].

The Qur'ānic term *sibṭ* (*asbāṭ*) could be used in reference to a tribe of Israelites, and could also designate the patriarchs [101].

And finally, the term *shī'a* in the Qur'ān indicates a religious-political fellowship [102]. However, in verses attributed to Ḥassān b. Thābit, it is used in reference to a single man, Muḥammad: "Noble indeed are people whose party is the messenger of Allah (*akrim bi-qawmin rasūlu-llāhi shī'atuhum*), when the aspirations and parties (*al-shiya'*) shall split" [103].

The examples given above show that the use of a term which indicated a multitude or fellowship to designate a single element of that fellowship is linked to the semantic structure of Qur'ān language and the language of pre-Islamic poetry. Each term had a narrow, functional meaning which stressed one of the links between the concept it described and the surrounding world and underscored one of the qualities of the indicated object or phenomenon. It was this aspect of the meaning which was fundamental for the speaker, while the opposition of a single element to a multitude was not of decisive significance in this system [104]. A person who embodied at a given moment the function of the clan collective — the function contained in the term — could himself be designated by the term [105].

In our view, the use of the term *umma* in 16:120/121 is connected with this particular feature of the semantic structure of Qur'ānic language. Returning to this verse, we note that the Qur'ānic meaning of the term *umma* was formed in a process where various ideas influenced each other as Muḥammad's prophetic activity unfolded and as a view of the world which was in many ways new to Inner Arabia took shape in his consciousness.

As all people are sons of Adam (*banū ādam*) and creations of Allah, they are all kinsmen. Thus, a religious principle, rather than blood kinship, should ground the division of "humanity" into "peoples" and "tribes". The tribe is replaced by the religious community (*umma*), and the continuity of blood kinship (we are fellow tribesmen, we share the same blood, a common forefather, common heroes) is replaced by the idea of spiritual continuity (we profess the same faith, we share a common religious law, which was sent down through the Prophet, the leader of the community; our history is the history of God's appeal to people through the prophets) [106].

If the tribe received its name from its blood forefather, the *umma* is tied to the concept of a spiritual forefather. This, it seems to us, can explain the Medinan verse under discussion here (16:120/121). Muḥammad paraphrases it in 22:78/77: "He has chosen you, and has laid on you no impediment in your religion (*dīn*), being the creed (*milla*) of your father (*abīkum*) Abraham; He named you Muslims". *Āya* 60:4: "You have had a good example (*uswa ḥasana*) in Abraham, and those with him" (cf. 60:6). 2:124/118: "He said, 'Behold, I make you a leader (*imām*) for the people.' Said he, 'And of my seed (*dhurriyya*)?' He said 'My covenant shall not reach the evildoers'".

We find here spiritual continuity rather than the succession of blood ancestry. The image of Abraham, it seems, encompasses the major features of the societal organism, which Muḥammad designated by the term *umma*. Abraham is declared the "spiritual forefather" of Muslims. His deeds become for them a *sunna*, an example (*uswa*), a model for imitation (*imām*). This function was previously performed by the deeds performed by the forefather of the tribe and its heroes. We cite here the Biblical verse on Abraham: "And I will make of thee a great nation (*lĕ-gōi gādōl*), and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a bleessing" (Gen. 12, 2; cf. 18, 18) [107]. As the Qur'ānic conception of a community and religion (*umma*, *milla*) of Abraham, which had been distorted by the "possessors of scripture", took shape in a polemic with the latter, one can surmise that the Qur'ānic verse we treat here (16:120/121) took as its prototype the Biblical verse. However, as we have seen, such usage is conditional on the development of Muḥammad's message and the particular lexical structure of the language in which his message was conveyed (*fig. 1*).

Our conclusions are bolstered by an analysis of *āya* 11:48/50: "It was said, 'Noah, get thee down in peace from Us, and blessings upon thee and on the nations (*umam*) of those with thee; and nations (*umam*) — We shall give them enjoyment, then there shall visit them from Us a painful chastisement.'". Another *āya* (11:40/42) tells us that Allah ordered Noah to transfer to the ark "two of every kind, and thy family (*ahl*) — except for him against whom the word has already been spoken — and whosoever believes". The people who were on the ark with Noah and became the forefathers of the peoples (*umam*), are designated by the term *umma*. They owe their selection to the will of God and their own piety. The fate of each of the *umma*s was at the outset preordained on the basis of the forefathers' piety. There is a New Testament parallel to this verse (Hebrews, 11,7): "By faith Noah ... became heir of the righteousness which is by faith".

Fig. 1

Our analysis is further confirmed by al-Jāḥiẓ comments on Mu'ādh b. Jabala, Muḥammad's first emissary and, for all purposes, the founder of the Muslim community in Yemen [108]: "And Mu'ādh was an *umma* (*ummatan*) and was like Abraham, the friend of the Merciful [one]". This shows that al-Jāḥiẓ understood the term *umma* in 16:120/121 as designating Abraham the spiritual forefather and primary founder of the community of the faithful. A similar meaning of the term *umma* is found in the *ḥadīth* which states that the *ḥanīf* Zayd b. 'Amr will rise on the Day of Judgement "as if he were a single *umma* (*ummatan waḥdahu*)" [109].

Functional meanings, one of the features of which was demonstrated above, are attested not only in terms, which designate human collectives. An analogous situation exists in other lexical groups in the language of pre-Islamic texts, which have come down to us. There were many terms for dwellings in accordance with the materials from which they were constructed (earth, sheepskin, camel hides, wood, stone) [110]. Numerous words were also used to indicate the age of people and animals and "the very term by which an individual was designated indicated his age, more accurately, a specific moment in his biological development. Similar nuances were found in terms for times of day, especially periods when there was natural light" [111].

The lexical subdivisions noted here are connected with the functional meanings of words and are typical of the language of pre-Islamic poetry. Each word "describes" only one aspect of the indicated object, only one of its interconnections.

The existence of numerous words for the designation of an object or phenomenon in each of its functions and manifestations is connected with a concreteness of thought among speakers of the language. This characteristic of lexical structure is typical of the languages of many ancient peoples. This reflects the primacy in thought and the lexical system of the so-called principle of supplementarity [112], where integrity of perception is achieved through multiaspectual description.

It seems that the method proposed a half-century ago by Kashtaliova and Künstlinger gives us a unique opportunity to "force" the past to tell us what it did not realise or was not prepared to say. It allows us to recreate the fragments of a complex view of the world which differs greatly from our own, to reveal the connections and unexpected intersections in the development of concepts, the characteristic features of Muḥammad's religious psychology. These are linked to the ideas of clan society which were retained in his consciousness and which influenced the genesis of the Qur'ān's religious terminology. Such an analysis allows us to reconstruct the fragments of the enormously complex mosaic, which reproduced reality as Muḥammad saw it together with those of his contemporaries who followed him.

Muḥammad is one of those few historical figures whose activities left an indelible imprint on the "unconscious element" in his people's language, and *Nec Caesar supra grammaticos* is not about him. Moreover, it was the language of his message, the language which reflected his view of the world, the Arabic of the Qur'ān, which was soon fated to form the basis of a new social-communicative system in the vast zone of a new, syncretic culture which encompassed the Near and Middle East, North Africa and part of Southern Europe. Arabia itself formed only a small part — not the main part — of *dār al-islām*. The Arabs formed a minority among the peoples united by the new cultural movement. The Arabic language, however, became the major means of communication and one of the most important means of self-expression in the society, which created that culture.

Notes

1. E. Sepir, *Selected Writings* (University of California Press, 1949), p. 162. See also B. L. Worf, *Language, Thought and Reality* (MIT Press, 1956); F. B. Basin, *Iazyk i bessoznatel'noe* (Language and the Unconscious) (Moscow, 1968).

2. J. Willmet, *Lexicon linguae arabicae in Coranum* (Rotterdam, 1784).

3. K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabian* (Strassburg, 1906).

4. P. Kahle, "The Qur'an and the Arabiyya", in *I. Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), i, pp. 163—82.

5. Th. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910); R. Geyer [Review on] K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache in alten Arabien* (Strassburg, 1906), in *Gottinger gelehrte Anzigen*, 171 (1909), pp. 10—56.

6. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i (Göttingen, 1860). Second edition revised by F. Schwally, i (Leipzig, 1909); ii, Aufl. bearb. von (Leipzig, 1919); iii, bearb. G. Bergstrasser and P. Pretzl (Leipzig, 1938) (repr. Hildesheim, 1961).

7. Ch. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabien* (London, 1951); *idem*, "The beginning of classical Arabic", *Studia Islamica*, IV (1955), pp. 19—37; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (Paris, 1947) (repr. 1959, 1977); H. Fleish, *Introduction à l'étude des langues sémitiques* (Paris, 1947); M. Zwetler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (Columbus, 1978), pp. 112—72.

8. J. Wansbrough, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 85—118.

9. A. G. Belova, "Integratsiia i differentsiatsiia arabskikh dialektov doislamskogo perioda" ("The integration and differentiation of Arabic dialects in pre-Islamic times"), *Vsesoiuznaia konferentsiia po problemam arabskoĭ kul'tury pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo. Tezisy dokladov i soobshcheniĭ* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 4—5. See also *eadem*, "Arabskiĭ iazyk v doislamskiĭ i ranneislamskiĭ periody: opyt funktzional'noĭ rekonstruktsii" ("The Arabic language in pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods: an attempt at reconstruction"), *Funktsional'naia stratifikatsiia iazyka*, ed. M. M. Gukman (Moscow, 1985), pp. 140—57. See also E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: III. "Echoings of universal harmonies" (prophetic revelation, religious inspiration, occult practice)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/3 (1997), pp. 11—21.

10. M. Zwetler, *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry* (Columbus, 1978), p. 166. Cf. M. K. Waldman, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography* (Columbus, 1980); R. C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto, 1967).

11. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 99—100.

12. R. C. Martin, "Understanding the Qur'ān in text and context", *History of Religions*, XXI/4 (1982), p. 378.

13. E. Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Bern, 1967).

14. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 148—70. In his study of the prayer texts of the Navajo Indians, *Sacred Words: A Study of Navajo Religion and Prayer*, Westport, 1981, Sam Gill showed that it is possible to move from an analysis of the external structure of the text to an analysis which reveals specific features in the use of certain elements in ritual, mythological or situationally motivated contexts. One year later, R. Martin pointed out the possibility of adapting S. Gill's methodology to the specific features of Qur'ānic material (Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 379—81).

15. C. J. Adams, "Abū 'l-'Alā' Mawdūdī's Tafhīm al-Qur'ān", *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), p. 309.

16. M. Sister, *Metaphern und Vergleiche im Koran.* Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde genehmigt von der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Berlin, 1931), p. 46.

17. J. Barth, *Ethymologische Studien zum Semitischen* (Leipzig, 1893); *idem*, "Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Korans", *Der Islam*, VI (1915—1916), pp. 113—48; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter in Arabischen* (Leiden, 1886); H. Grimme, *Mohammed.* Vol. 1: Einleitung in den Koran; vol. 2: System der Koranischen Teologie (Münster, 1985); *idem*, "Über einige klassen südarabischen lehnwörter im Koran", *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, XXVI (1912), pp. 158—68; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch* (Göttingen, 1919).

18. O. Pautz, *Muhammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung* (Leipzig, 1898); H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qoran* (London, 1902); H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam* (Romae, 1914), i; *idem*, "Une adaptation arabe du monothéisme biblique", *Recherches de science religieuse*, VII (1917), pp. 161—86; *idem*, "Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale", *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale del'Université St.-Joseph de Beyrouth*, XI/2 (1926), pp. 39—173; P. Casanova, *Mohammad et la fin du monde: Étude critique sur l'islam primitif* (Paris, 1911—1921).

19. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

20. A. Sprenger, "Foreign words occurring in the Quran", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXI (1852), pp. 109—14; K. Dwořak, *Ein Beitrag zur Frage über die Fremdwörter im Koran* (München, 1884); *idem*, *Über die Fremdwörter im Koran* (Wien, 1885).

21. A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (Baroda, 1938). The book was well received in the scholarly circles, see, for example, C. C. Torrey, "Vocabulary of the Qur'an", *Muslim World*, XXIX (1939), pp. 359—63. D. S. Margoliouth made some minor additions, drawn from sources which were unavailable to the author (see D. S. Margoliouth, "Some additions to Professor Jeffery's Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an", *JRAS*, 1939, pp. 53—61), as did a number of other specialists.

22. Hirschfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

23. Lammens, *Le berceau*, p. 88.

24. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1925).

25. Lammens, "Les sanctuaires", pp. 39—173.

26. This method cannot really be termed new in the full sense of the word. Following the proponents of one line of thought in medieval Muslim exegesis, A. Sprenger called for explaining the Qur'ān by means of the Qur'ān itself, see his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad* (Berlin, 1869), i, p. XVI. In 1922, D. S. Margoliouth attempted to reveal the meaning of the term *khalīfa* by analysing its Qur'ānic usage, see his "The sense of the title khalifah", in *A Volume of Oriental Studies* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 322—9.

27. K. S. Kashtaliova, "O terminakh "*anba*" i "*aslama*" v Korane" ("On the terms *anba* and *aslama* in the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1926), pp. 52—5; I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Ocherki po istorii russkoĭ arabistiki* (Essays on the History of Arabic Studies in Russia) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1950), pp. 154, 159, 168.

28. D. Künstlinger is the author of a series of articles in the field; see his *Przekład i objasnienie 53-ciej Sury Koranu* (Cracow, 1926). — Prace Komisji Orjentalistycznej Polskiej Akademii Umiejetnósci, 8; *idem*, "Ṭūr und Ǧabal im Kur'an", *Rosznik Orientalisticzny*, V (1927), pp. 58—67; *idem*, "Die Herkunft des Wortes "Iblis" im Koran", *ibid.*, VI (1928), pp. 76—83; *idem*, "Ra'ina", *BSOS*, V/4 (1930), pp. 877—82; *idem*, "Einiges über die Namen und die Freuden des kuranischen Paradieses", *ibid.*, VI (1930—1932), pp. 617—32; *idem*, "Christlische Herkunft der kuranischen Lot-Legende", *Rosznik Orientalisticzny*, VII (1930), pp. 281—95; *idem*, "'Uzair ist der Sohn Allah's", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXV (1932), pp. 381—3; *idem*, "Die "Frau Pharao" im Kur'an", *Rosznik Orientalisticzny*, IX (1934), pp. 132—5; *idem*, "Sura 95", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXIX/1 (1936), pp. 1—3; *idem*, "Shuhūd in Sura 74,13", *ibid.*, XL/10 (1937), pp. 273—4; *idem*, "Die Namen der "Gottes-Schriften" im Quran", *Rosznik Orientalisticzny*, XIII (1937), pp. 72—84; *idem*, "Sab'un min al-mathānī", *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XL/10 (1937), pp. 196—8.

29. K. S. Kashtaliova, "Terminologiia Korana v novom osveshchenii" ("Qur'ānic terminology: a new interpretation"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1928), pp. 7—12.

30. *Eadem*, "K perevodu 77 i 78 stikha 22 sury Korana" ("On the translation of the verses 77 and 78 of the 22nd *sūra* of the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1927), p. 7.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

32. Kashtaliova, "O terminakh "*anba*" i "*aslama*"", p. 53.

33. M. Bloch, *La société féodale* (Paris, 1968), p. 364.

34. *Idem*, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Paris, 1961), p. 364.

35. K. S. Kashtaliova, "O termine "*shahida*" v Korane" ("On the term "*shahida*" in the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1927), pp. 117—20; *eadem*, "O termine "*ḥanīf*" v Korane", *ibid.* (1928), pp. 157—62; *eadem*, "O termine "*aṭā'a*" v Korane" ("On the term "*aṭā'a*" in the Qur'ān"), *ibid.* (1926), pp. 56—7.

36. *Eadem*, "K voprosu o khronologii 8, 24, 47 sur Korana" ("On the chronology of the *sūra*s 8, 24, 47 of the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Vostokovedenie* (1927), pp. 101—7.

37. R. Paret, *Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz* (Stuttgart, 1971) (repr. 1977).

38. M. M. Bravmann, *The Spiritual Background of Early Islam* (Leiden, 1972).

39. T. Izutsu, *God and Man in the Koran* (Tokyo, 1964); cf. J. Bouman, *Gott und Mench im Koran* (Darmstadt, 1977); see also T. Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an* (Montreal, 1966).

40. P. A. Griaznevich, "Proiskhozhdenie islama" ("The Origin of Islam"), in *Islam i ego rol' v sovremennoĭ ideĭno-politicheskoĭ bor'be razvivaiushchikhsia stran Azii i Afriki* (Moscow—Tashkent, 1980), p. 457.

41. *Idem*, "Razvitie istoricheskogo soznaniia arabov (VI—VIII vv.)" ("The development of the historical consciousness of the Arabs in 7th—8th centuries A.D."), *Ocherki istorii arabskoĭ kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 75—155.

42. B. A. Lewin, *Vocabulary of the Hudailian Poems* (Göteborg, 1978). — Humaniora, 13; Vl. V. Polosin, *Slovar' poėtov plemeni 'Abs VII—VIII vv.* (The Vocabulary of the 'Abs Poets: 7th—8th centuries A.D.) (Moscow, 1995).

43. L. Blumfild, *Iazyk* (The Language) (Moscow, 1968), p. 435; I. P. Veinberg made far-reaching use of such materials, see his *Chelovek v kul'ture drevnego Blizhnego Vostoka* (Man in the Culture of the Ancient Near East) (Moscow, 1986).

44. Y. Moubarac, "Les noms, titres et attributs de Dieu dans le Coran et leur correspordances en épigraphie sudsémitique", *Le Muséon* (1955), pp. 68—78; M. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iuzhnaia Araviia v rannee srednevekov'e: Stanovlenie srednevekovogo obshchestva* (South Arabia in the Early Middle Ages: the Formation of Mediaeval Society) (Moscow, 1985), pp, 156—7.

45. H. R. Jauss, "Literary history as a challenge to literary theory", in *New Literary History* (Baltimore, 1970), ii, pp. 7—37; A. Rippin, "The Qur'an as literature: perils, pitfalls and prospects", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin* (London, 1983), p. 10; W. C. Smith, "The true meaning of scripture: an empirical historian's nonreductionists interpretation of the Qur'an", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, XI (1980), pp. 487—505; see also *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-stucturalism*, ed. J. P. Tompkins (Baltimore, 1980). In essence, this view goes back to neo-Kantian ideas on the specificity of the formation of historical categories, and in more recent time to M. Weber's theory of "ideal types" and "research Utopias", and to the ideas of Croce and Huizinga on historical knowledge as a special type of self-consciousness inherent to the society of which the historian is a product. Especially influential was O. Spengler, who postulated the fundamental impossibility of a historian's knowing cultures other than his own. In the twentieth century, these ideas were most consistently followed by such American historians as C. Beard and C. Becker, the Englishman R. Coolingwood, and a number of others. For detailed criticism of this approach, see A. Iu. Gurevich's Introduction to the Russian edition of M. Block's *Apologie pour l'histoire ou métier d'historien* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 188—94.

46. M. M. Bakhtin, *Ėstetika slovesnogo tvorchestva* (The Aesthetics of Literary Creativity) (Moscow, 1979), p. 355. See also I. M D'iakonov, "Iazyk kak istochnik po istorii drevnevostochnoĭ kul'tury" ("Language as a source for the history of the culture of the Ancient East"), in *Voprosy drevnevostochnoĭ kul'tury* (Daugavpils, 1982), p. 18.

47. See notes 54, 55, and 61.

48. 'Adī b. Zayd al-'Ibādī, *Dīwān*, compiled by Muḥammad Khabbār (Baghdad, 1965), No. 103, 8; cf. E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: I. The problem of reconstructing ancient Arabian cosmogonic and anthropogenetic lore", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/4 (1996), p. 30.

49. 'Adī b. Zayd, *op. cit.*, No. 6, 19—20.

50. The verb *jabala* is not used in the Qur'ān. The verb *khalaqa* is used to designate the act of divine creation.

51. E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, pts. 1—8 (London, 1863—1893), p. 376.

52. *Ibid.*

53. K. Vollers, "Über Rassenfarben in der arabischen Literatur", in *Centenario della nascitadi: M. Amari* (Palermo, 1910), i, p. 87.

54. I. Yu. Krachkovsky proposed two possible ways of understanding the term *jibilla*, which is either a synonym of the term *jibil*, or has the meaning "nature", "characteristic". At issue here is the term *dhaw jibilla* — lit. "possessors of characteristics". See *Koran* (The Qur'ān), trans. and commentary by I. Yu. Krachkovsky (Moscow, 1963), p. 572, n. 12.

55. This is close to how Blachère and Arberry translate the expression *al-jibilla al-awwalīna*: the first gives us "past generations"; the second — "generations of the ancients".

56. W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch* (Köln, 1954), Nos. 52, 71, 77, 91; I. Sh. Shifman, *Siriĭskoe obshchestvo ėpokhi printsipata (I—III vv. n. ė)* (Syrian Society of the Principate Epoch: I—III centuries A.D.) (Moscow, 1977), p. 207.

57. I. Starcky, *Palmyre* (Paris, 1952), p. 36 ff.

58. Shifman, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

60. Lane (*op. cit.*, p. 376) indicates that in the Medinan dialect the word *jibill* was vowelled and pronounced as *jibul*. Al-Ṭabarī in his *Kitāb jamī' al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Bulāq, 1329, vol. XXIII, p. 16) explains the term *jibill* with the word *khalq* ("a people", "people"), rightly noting a parallel between the meanings of the roots *khalaqa* and *jabala*. This is also the view of al-Bayḍawī, see *Beidhawii Commentarius in Coranum ex Codd* (Lipsiae, 1846—1848), vol. I, pp. 59, 163.

61. Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 49. See also Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Apparently influenced by this usage, Blachère translates the expression *jibillan kathīran* literally as "a numerous multitude".

62. For a detailed analysis of these points of view, see F. Buhl, "Sūra", in *Enzyclopaedie des Islām* (Leiden—Leipzig, 1924), iv, pp. 606—7; see also Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 181—2.

63. *The Mufaḍḍaliyāt*, ed. Ch. J. Lyall (Oxford, 1918), i, No. 123, 5—6.

64. *Der Dīwān des Ǧarval b. Aus al-Ḥuṭej'a*, bearb. von I. Goldziher (Leipzig, 1893), No. 77, 20.

65. *Ibid.*, No. 68, 7; see also No. 6, 15.

66. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* (al-Qāhira, 1955), ii, p. 131.

67. *Le Diwân de Nâbiga Dhoubyânî*, ed. M. H. Dérenbourg, *JA*, XII (1868), No. 8, 9—10.

68. W. M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 121—47.

69. Ibn al-'Arabī noted that the term *sūra* in the Qur'ān has the meaning "most excellent", "elevated", see Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 1965.

70. According to 11:13/16, Muḥammad proposes to his opponents that they utter 10 *sūras*. This *āya* can also serve as a basis for designated the parts into which the Qur'ānic text was divided.

71. Buhl, *op. cit.*; Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 181—182.

72. Kashtaliova, "Terminologiia Korana", p. 12.

73. G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 396—402. In Thamudic inscriptions, however, it was apparently the name of a deity. For references to published inscriptions, see T. Fahd, *La Panthéon de l'Arabie Centrale à la veille de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1968), p. 60, n. 7. A similar usage was evident in the term *imru'* (*al-mar'*), which formed part of theophoric names (Imru'-l-Qays, for example) in the meaning "man [of the deity]". It can also have the meaning "lord", "master", "deity" (*ibid.*, p. 45, n. 2; p. 181, n. 1; p. 238). Such usage is clearly a reflection of the idea of mutual "obligations" between man and pagan divinity which was widespread in pre-Islamic Arabia: see E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: IV. "Raise not your voices above the Prophet's voice" (society, power and etiquette norms)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/4 (1997), pp. 36—44.

74. See, for example, Fahd, *op. cit.*, pp. 112—9, where a corresponding usage in the verses of Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt is analysed; see also Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 210, n. 3; 'Adī b. Zaid al-'Ibādī, *op. cit.*, No. 101, 1.

75. Izutsu, *God and Man*, pp. 112—9.

76. In the course of this polemic, the basic terminological meaning of the word *bashar* in the Qur'ān took shape — "a person in his corporeal essence, as opposed to beings of another order" (see below).

77. E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies"), in *Islam. Istoriograficheskie ocherki*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1991), pp. 36—8.

78. I. Sh. Shifman. *Ugaritskoe obshchestvo XIV—XIII vv do n. è.* (Ugaritic Society of the 14th—13th centuries B.C.) (Moscow, 1982), p. 166.

79. See 2:28/30. This idea was developed by Muslim theologians who analysed the interrelation of *'abd Allāh — khalīfa*. See also K. Bakker, *Man in the Qur'an* (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 186.

80. 53:10; 25:1; 72:19, 17:1; 2:23/21; 8:41/42; 57:9, 96:10 (?).

81. 54:9; 37:171; 19:1, 30/31; 38:17/16, 30/29, 41/40, 44/45; 21:26; 17:3; 18:65/64; 66:10.

82. Fahd, *op. cit.*, p. 143, n. 4. See also Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 593, where Muḥammad is thus indicated in the message attributed to him.

83. The term *insān* (*al-nās*) appears in the Qur'ān in a number of meanings shared by other terms. To designate the concept of "people" as a species, the terms *ins*, *insiyy* (pl. *anāsiyy*) was used, as well as *anām* and *bashar*. This meaning is revealed through opposition: human (*insān*, *anām*, *insiyy*) — non-human (animals, non-living objects); man (*ins*, *bashar*) — supernatural beings.

The meanings of the terms *imru'* (*al-mar'*), *rajul* have a clearly expressed social aspect, as they are connected with social rights and the role of the individual in society. The meanings of these terms are revealed primarily through the opposition of the adult man-warrior (spouse, individual with full social rights) and woman (wife, individual without full social rights) and the adult man (possessor of the most important components of social status) and child, youth (individual without full social rights).

Clearly delineated in this lexical-semantic group is the group of terms indicating social-ideological level (*banū ādam*, *bashar*, *bariyya*, *khalq*, *nafs*, *'abd* (*'ibād*, *'abīd*) [*Allāh*]). The appearance of these terms in the Qur'ān and the development of their semantics is connected with a central idea in Muḥammad's message — the idea of the unity of God and the unity of all which exists as his creation. Man in the Qur'ān is primarily a religious being, as he was created by God and by His will. He is a descendant of Adam and in this sense a "brother" to all other people.

The term *bariyya* designates people as "creatures of God"; the term *khalq* as a part of the universe created by God; the term *'abd* as beings absolutely dependent on God, beings which worship Him and are chosen by Him; the term *nafs* as a receptacle of vital substance, received from God; the term *bashar* as earthly beings, "corporeal", as opposed to supernatural beings. Such are the most important "components" of humanity as it is established in the Qur'ān. See E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i doislamskaia kul'tura (problema metodiki izucheniia)" ("The Qur'ān and pre-Islamic culture: the problem of the approach"), in *Islam. Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo* (Islam. Religion, Society, State), eds. P. A. Griaznevich, S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 53—5.

84. The terms in this lexical-semantic group differed in their functional meanings, in the signs which were significant to Muḥammad and his listeners and which differ from our ideas on the hierarchy of human collectives and the signs which serve as the basis for their designation. For Muḥammad, his supporters and opponents, these signs were: religion as the basis for the existence of the human collective (*umma*, *milla*), the presence of a text sent down in the past in the language of members of the group (*umma*, *ḥizb*), spiritual succession as opposed to the succession of blood kinship (*umma*), the existence of specific signs common to all members of the group (*farīq*, *umma*).

The meanings of the terms reflected the nature of their emergence and aspects of the functioning of the religious community: the separation of a small group from the larger community (*farīq* < *tafarraqa*), cohesion, the formation of a political-religious group (*shī'a* < *tashayya'a*), the existence between members of the community of defence-protection relations (*shī'a*, *fi'a*, *'uṣba*), which received new social-ideological grounding and formed the basic social organisation of the early Muslim community. See E. A. Rezvan, "Termin *shī'a* v Korane (k istorii poniatiĭ "sekta", "religiozno-politicheskaia gruppirovka"" ("The term *shī'a* in the Qur'ān: on the history of the concepts "sect", "religious and political group""), in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow, 1983), ii, pp. 200—5.

85. Fahd, *op. cit.*, pp. 107—8.

86. Izutsu, *God and Man*, pp. 112—9.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

88. Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

89. Grimme, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 5, n. 7; *Koran*, trans. by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, p. 556, n. 36.

90. As specialist studies have shown, the term *ummī* in the Qur'ān designates a person who belongs to a "people" which does not possess Holy scripture. This is how the word was understood by the earliest commentators on the Qur'ān. It was apparently still used in pre-Islamic times by Arabian Jews and Christians to designate pagan Arabs. See F. M. Denny, "The meaning of ummah in the Qur'an", *History of Religions*, XV (1975); I. Goldfeld, "The illiterate Prophet (nabi ummi). An inquiry into the development of a dogma in Islamic tradition", *Der Islam*, LI/1 (1980); also H. G. Reissner, "The ummi Prophet and the Banu Israel of the Qur'an", *Muslim World*, XXXIX (1949).

91. E. Malov, "Chto oznachaiut slova Korana (*inna Ibrahima kana ummatan*) Avraam byl narodom" ("What the Qur'ānic words *inna Ibrahima kana ummatan* ("Abraham was a people") mean"), off-print from *Pravoslavnyĭ Sobesednik* (Kazan, 1914); J. Horovitz, *Jewish Proper Names and Derivatives in the Kor'an* (Paisley, 1931), p. 190; *Koran*, trans. by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, p. 556, n. 36.

92. Denny, *op. cit.*, pp. 38—9.

93. *Ibid.*, 39.

94. See also 19:17; 17:94/96—95/97; 12:31; 16:103/105; 42:51/50.

95. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 410, cf. also p. 38; *ibid.*, i, pp. 5—6; Qur'ān 11:91/93—92/94. The Qur'ān and pre-Islamic poetry show that the terms *raḥṭ, faṣīla* and derivations of the root *qrb* could indicate all of a persons relatives on both father's and mother's sides. In sixth-seventh century Meccan society these were a person's defenders in questions of blood vengeance and they could grant him refuge in their dwellings and on their territory.

96. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, 421; see also Qur'ān 27:49/48—50/49.

97. Lewin, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Polosin, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

98. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1884), i, p. 200, 1; Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 788.

99. Lane, *op. cit.*, pp. 787—8; 'Anṭara, *Dīwān* (Beyrouth, 1385/1966), No. 74, 31; 'Urwa b. al-Ward, *Dīwān* (Damascus, 1966), No. 9, 4; M. J. Kister, *Studies in Jahiliyya and Early Islam.* I—XVI. 1962—1979 (London, 1980), No. 1, pp. 123, 126; see also Qur'ān 38: 21/20—24/23.

100. Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 2407.

101. Cf. 7:160 and 4:163/161; see also 2:136/130, 140/134; 3:84/78. For a discussion of the meaning of the term *asbāṭ*, see Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Paret, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *Koran*, trans. by I. Yu. Krachkovsky, p. 509, n. 85; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1926), p. 90.

102. For example, 19: 69/70. For more on the term *shī'a* see Rezvan, "Termin *shī'a*".

103. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 565.

104. Partative phrases found in ancient Icelandic are apparently connected with a similar stage in the development of linguistic consciousness. A. Gurevich notes that "in the consciousness of the age, relations within such a group appeared so close that the mention of only the name of the head of the group was enough to evoke in consciousness the thought of the group as a whole. Apparently, individuals who formed part of such a collective were conceived of only in relation to it, and not separately" (see A. Ia. Gurevich, *Kategorii srednevekovoĭ kul'tury* (The Categories of Medieval Culture) (Moscow, 1972), p. 74). A unique feature of ancient partative phrases is that "the part does not function in them as a direct subject or object of some specific action — action is attributed to the whole, and only the whole can carry predicates. The part here is not conceived of outside of a specific, concrete multitude, nor as an independent unit, nor in relation to other multitudes. For this reason, attributes which belong to individual parts are transferred to the entire multitude and individual parts of the multitude are endowed with attributes common to the multitude as a whole" (*ibid.*).

105. The terms noted which are derived from *khlṭ, fṣl, sbṭ*, and *rhṭ* belong to the lexical-semantic group around the fundamental concept of *qawm*, which is very widely used in the Qur'ān and can replace other terms. Delineated here are the characteristics of ethno-social groups which form the basis for the functional meanings of the terms used to indicate them. This is, foremost, participation in military actions (*qawm*, cf. *shī'a, fi'a, 'uṣba*).

The terms *ma'shar* and *'ashīra* are connected with the designation of the male part of the tribe endowed with full social rights — participants in the tribal council. This usage determined the evolution of the meaning of the term *'ashīra*, most frequently used in discussions of inheritance. It was also employed where the ethno-social collective was viewed as one party in marital relations with another collective. The term *nafar* was used when the ethno-social collective was viewed from the vantage point of the number of its male members, and the term *āl* when the speaker wished to stress the genealogical, diachronic aspect of the ethno-social collective's existence. The use of the terms *raḥṭ* and *faṣīla* is connected with the designation of the functions of the ethno-social collective in defending its members. The semantics and usage of the term *ahl* are connected with ideas of co-habitation. The term *khulaṭā'* is based on the idea of joint property and co-operation in production. The term *sha'b* was used to designate an ethno-social collective of settled dwellers. The term *qabīla*, based on the idea of the relation between "part" and "whole", was connected with the designation of ethno-social collectives, which led a nomadic way of life and formed a tribal union or ethno-political group. As wee see above the term *jibil* (*jibilla*) was used to designate the "ancient peoples" of Arabia, and the term *sibṭ* to designate Jewish tribes.

Reflected in the designations of ethno-social collectives were ethno-differentiating factors (*sha'b, qabīla, sibṭ*), characteristics of social functioning (*ma'shar, 'ashīra, faṣīla, raḥṭ*), important social characteristics such as number (*nafar* — its synchronic aspect), duration of existence, and level of social stability (*āl* — its diachronic aspect).

An analysis of Qur'ānic material provides yet another convincing argument against attempts to introduce strict, static and mutually identical conformity into the rich kin-tribal nomenclature of the Arab world. A part of that nomenclature was reconceived in early Islam to designate the broad, ideo-political community of co-religionists.

106. E. A. Rezvan, "Adam i banu adam v Korane (k istorii poniatiĭ "pervochelovek" i "chelovechestvo"" ("Adam and banu Adam in the Qur'ān: to the history of the notions "the primal man" and "mankind""), in *Islam. Religiia*, pp. 59—68.

107. Malov, *op. cit.*, pp. 60—1. Cf. the use of the names of Israel, Jacob in Biblical texts (Ex. 59, 20; Gen. 32, 28; 35, 10; Rom. 11, 26.

108. Al-Jāhiẓ, *Al-Burṣān wa-l-'urjān wa-l-'umyān wa-l-ḥūlāwān* (al-Qāhira, 1972), p. 213; Ibn Manẓur, *Lisān al-'arab* (Bulaq, 1300—1307/1882-83—1889-90), xiv, p. 292.

109. Kister, *op. cit.*, XI, pp. 270—1.

110. V. M. Belkin, *Arabskaia leksikologiia* (The Arabic Lexicology) (Moscow, 1975), p. 40.

111. Griaznevich, "Razvitie", p. 108.

112. V. V. Ivanov, "Do—vo vremia—posle? (vmesto predisloviia)" ("Before—in time—after? (In place of a foreword)"), in Russian edition (pp. 7—8) of H. Frankfort, H. A. Frankfort, J. A. Wilson, Th. Jacobsen's *Before Philosophy* (Baltimore, 1967).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "The sacrifice of Abraham (Ibrāhīm)", miniature by the famous Muḥammad Zamān in the *Muraqqa'* (E-14) from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 89a, 24.9 × 17.8 cm. New European style (copy of a Flemish engraving), Iṣfahān school, 1096/1684—1685.

PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS

V. V. Kushev

THE FORMATION AND STUDY OF THE AFGHAN MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Far from all collections of Oriental manuscripts contain manuscripts in the Afghan (Pashto) language, and only a few of them have manuscript collections in which the best works of Pashto classical literature are represented with sufficient completeness.

The collection of Pashto-language manuscripts at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies runs to twenty-six volumes which contain twenty-nine copies of twenty-two works and twenty-two individual poems by eight poets, including some not represented in *dīwāns*. It is one of the largest collections in the world, which can be confirmed through a comparison with the best collections in European and Asian libraries (although it is, of course, like other Afghan collections, quantitatively not comparable to Persian collections, for example) [1].

Seven libraries in the British Isles hold 170 copies of 63 works in Pashto, mainly concentrated in two centres. For the most part, they built their collections in the nineteenth century on manuscripts brought by British officers, officials or missionaries from India. The British Library holds 69 copies of 45 works; the library of the India Office holds 60 copies of 28 works; the School of Oriental and African Studies holds only 10 manuscripts, Cambridge University — eight, and the Bodleian Library — five. These are, of course, all institutions famed primarily for their collections of Persian manuscripts [2].

Nineteen collections in India today contain 144 manuscripts of 79 works in Pashto; only the Riza Library in Rampore has a larger number of books than the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies — forty manuscripts [3].

Eight manuscripts of five works and one large collection, made up of works by many poets, are located in Germany [4]. Only one manuscript in Pashto is attested in America [5]. Collections in Pakistan, in particular the Pashto Academy, the University and Literary Society in Peshawar, and the Oriental College in Lahore doubtless contain a significant number of manuscripts, but their catalogues have not been published and one can judge their holdings only by the several dozen texts of poetic, religious and historical works they have published. We know of three Pashto manuscripts in Tashkent, one in Dushanbe, and one in Erevan [6].

In Afghanistan itself, 56 manuscripts were in the Ministry of Information and Culture, significantly fewer in the Kabul Museum, and a mere handful in the Public Library, the Herat Museum, the library of the former king of Afghanistan (Muḥammad Ẓahīr-shāh), and the national archive. The Academy of Language and Literature holds about one hundred copies (based on oral communications with the institution's members, since a printed catalogue of the collection does not exist) [7]. The fate of these collections and their current condition are unknown. The Royal Ark, and the buildings located within it, have sustained serious damage. Before the Ṭalibān took the capital on 27 September 1996, the Kabul Museum had already been destroyed three times (attempts at reconstruction were undertaken after each incident). Its riches have been ruined and plundered, and only a third of the books and archaeological finds in the Museum has survived [8]. The fate of other collections and personal libraries is most likely as tragic. Hence, the significance of Pashto manuscript collections outside of Afghanistan has grown; as one of the world's largest collections, this in particular applies to the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Before 1844, not one Afghan manuscript was held in the Asiatic Museum, the predecessor of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, although it even then contained rich collections of Oriental manuscripts, including many in Persian. Bernhard Dorn, who at that time was occupied with the study of Afghan history and the grammar and lexicon of the Pashto language, first became acquainted with Afghan manuscripts in the library of the East India Company in London. In 1827—1829 he completed there a translation into English of the Persian work *Makhzan-i Afghānī*, which describes the history and genealogy of the Pashto tribes. It was later published in England in two parts for the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Saint-Petersburg [9]. According to information provided by Dorn in the introductions to this edition and to a Pashto chrestomathy he later published, the East India Company held ten

Afghan manuscripts. This was then the only collection in England, although a few manuscript books in Pashto were owned privately. The names of the manuscripts in the East India Company collection are listed in the first of the works mentioned above; the second includes extended fragments from five works copied by Dorn from these manuscripts [10].

In June 1834, P. Desmaisons brought from Bukhara and handed over to Chr. Fraehn a manuscript book which contained in its binding the *Dīwān*s of Mīrzā-khān Anṣārī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muhmand as well as a few poems by other poets in Pashto and Hindustani. Ten years later it was given as a gift to Dorn and thus found its way into the Asiatic Museum. Consequently, there is reason to consider 1844 the starting date for the formation of the Afghan manuscript collection [11].

Dorn had at his disposal yet another manuscript of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's *Dīwān*, which was presented to him by the second secretary of the Russian Embassy in Teheran, Rudolph Fraehn (a folio with a poem by 'Ubaydallāh was inserted into the book). Dorn included in the chrestomathy a part of the *Dīwān* based on the text of the first of the above-mentioned copies, equipping it with variant readings from the second, and publishing the poem there as well [12].

The collection was next enlarged only in October 1855, when Dorn received on order from Calcutta copies of the *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* by Nawwāb Maḥabbat-khān and one of the Afghan translations of *Gulistān*, completed by Amīr-Muḥammad Anṣārī [13]. The manuscript of *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* was used by Dorn to teach Pashto on the Faculty of Oriental languages at St. Petersburg University (1856—1857). The current location of the second manuscript is unknown; the originals are now held in the Asiatic Society of Bengal [14].

A short time later, but already after Dorn had almost ceased his Afghan studies and teaching of Pashto, the collection of the Asiatic Museum was significantly expanded thanks to his initiative and the efforts of N. V. Khanykov, who bought in Herat and Meshhed twenty Afghan manuscripts. These entered the collection in three groups in 1858 and 1859. Khanykov evidently followed Dorn's recommendations: among these purchases were eight works which Dorn had read in different manuscripts in London. On the majority of these manuscripts, Khanykov indicated the date of purchase (in both the Julian and Gregorian calendars), the price in *qrān*s or *ṣaḥibqirān*s and the name of the seller (the previous owner of seven books is listed as Mullā Dūst-Muḥammad, Mullā 'Abd al-'Aẓīm as the owner of four more).

One should note that Chr. Fraehn and B. Dorn experienced not insignificant difficulties in filling up the collection of the Asiatic Museum with manuscript, numismatic and other materials. They were forced constantly to struggle for necessary funds from the authorities in order to organise expeditions and purchases. There were also difficulties with expanding the staff. For example, the first director of the Asiatic Museum, Chr. Fraehn, was for a long time the sole employee and undertook virtually all the necessary work to keep the institution alive. Later, Dorn made due with a single curator until two more people could be taken on staff. The salaries of academics were insufficient, and they were compelled to look for additional work. Luckily, Fraehn received an income as an honorary librarian at the Imperial Public Library. As for Dorn, he actually worked there, and this work took him away from his work at the Asiatic Museum. However, this combination of jobs corresponded to Dorn's scholarly interests (one has only to recall the catalogue of manuscripts and xylographs in the Imperial Public Library he had prepared there) [15].

The next acquisitions took place already at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1908, C. Salemann brought from Bukhara a copy of a rare *Dīwān* by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Hūtak. The last purchases were made by V. A. Ivanow in 1914 in Multan (the *Dīwān* of 'Abd al-Ḥāmid, acquired in 1916) and in Bukhara in 1915 (a hagiographic work). The Afghan collection of manuscripts was not enlarged after that.

Upon gaining access to manuscripts in Pashto, whether they were manuscripts in other collections at the beginning of his Afghan studies, or manuscripts gradually acquired by the Asiatic Museum, Dorn without delay studied them, published reports on them and their acquisition, and used them in his research. In 1836, he published several poems from the *Dīwān* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, which he had yet to receive from Fraehn. Dorn was already familiar with the poetry of 'Abd al-Raḥmān from manuscripts preserved in London [16]. In 1838, he published a list of Afghan tribes, drawn up on the basis of materials in the "History of the Afghans" in the dictionary section of the *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* by Nawwāb Maḥabbat-khān [17].

In 1840, "Grammatische Bemerkungen ueber das Puschtu, oder die Sprache der Afghanen" appeared — it was the first serious investigation of Pashto grammar in Europe [18]. The most important source for Dorn's knowledge of Pashto was the *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* by Maḥabbat-khān, which was composed in 1806. It provided valuable information on an object construction, grammatical gender, the tense system, moods and voices in Pashto. Two years later Dorn published his "Nachträge zur Grammatik der afghanischen Sprache" [19] and in 1845, *Zusätze zu den Grammatischen Bemerkungen über das Puschtu* [20]. Finally, in 1845 and 1847, using manuscripts from the collection of the Asiatic Museum — the *Dīwān*s of Mīrzā-khān, 'Abd al-Raḥmān, the *qaṣīda* of 'Ubaydallāh, the *qaṣīda* entitled *Du'ā-yi suryānī*, translated from the Arabic by Bābū-jān Laghmānī — Dorn published "Auszüge aus afghanischen Schriftstellern, eine erläuternde Zugabe zu den Grammatischen Bemerkungen über das Puschtu" [21] and "A Chrestomathy of the Pushtu". The latter was based on the above-mentioned manuscript grammatical-lexicographical work, the *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat* [22]. Attaching exclusive importance to the work of Maḥabbat-khān as a source for the study of Pashto, Dorn ordered the best possible copy of it from the Asiatic Society of Bengalia in Calcutta. The manuscript department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies also contains Dorn's written extracts on the grammar and lexicon of Pashto from earlier publications and a brief Pashto-German-Russian dictionary. These are, in essence, the materials of archival nature [23].

Dorn reported on Khanykov's further acquisitions on 3/15 December 1858, 14/26 January 1859, and 13/25 January 1860. Published in the scientific bulletin of the Academy of Sciences, the lists of these manuscripts were accompanied by Dorn's brief annotations. The first list contains 12 titles (Dorn here included as well two manuscripts received earlier on order from Calcutta); the second — three; the third — five [24].

Fig. 1

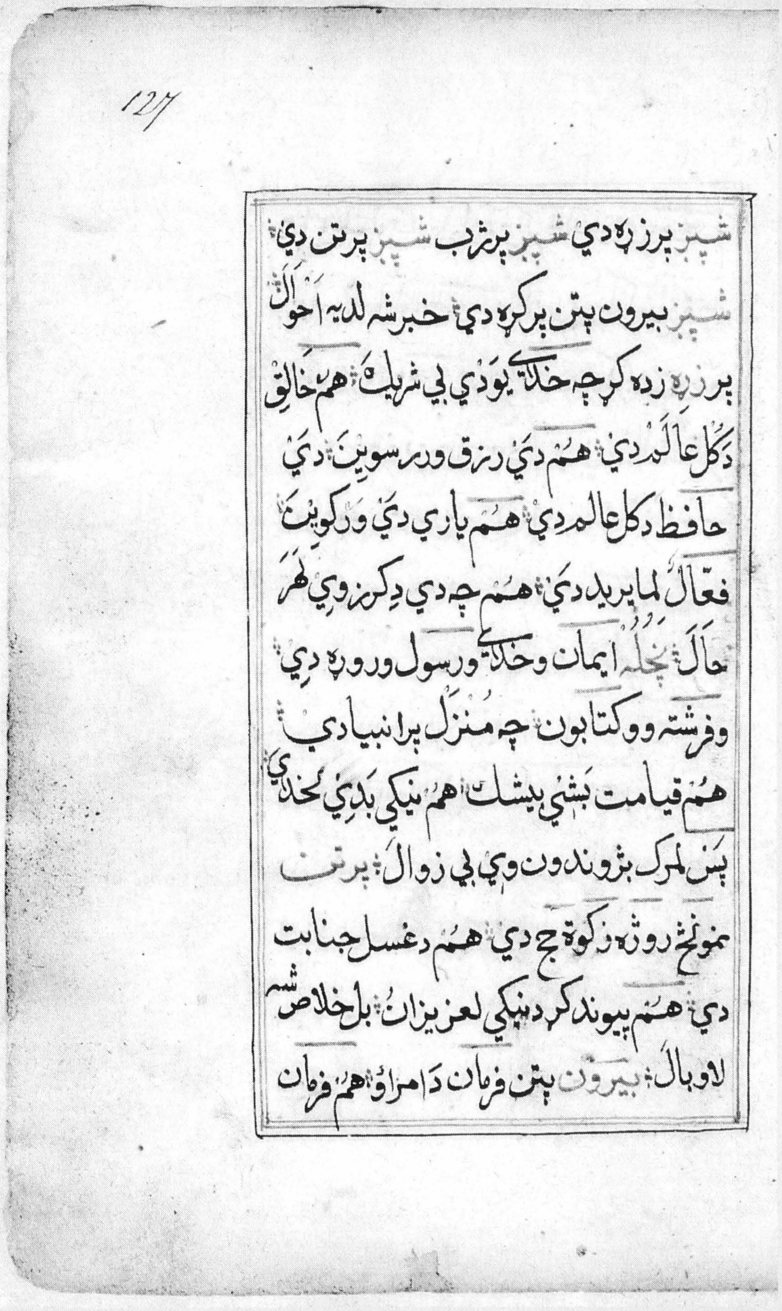

Fig. 2

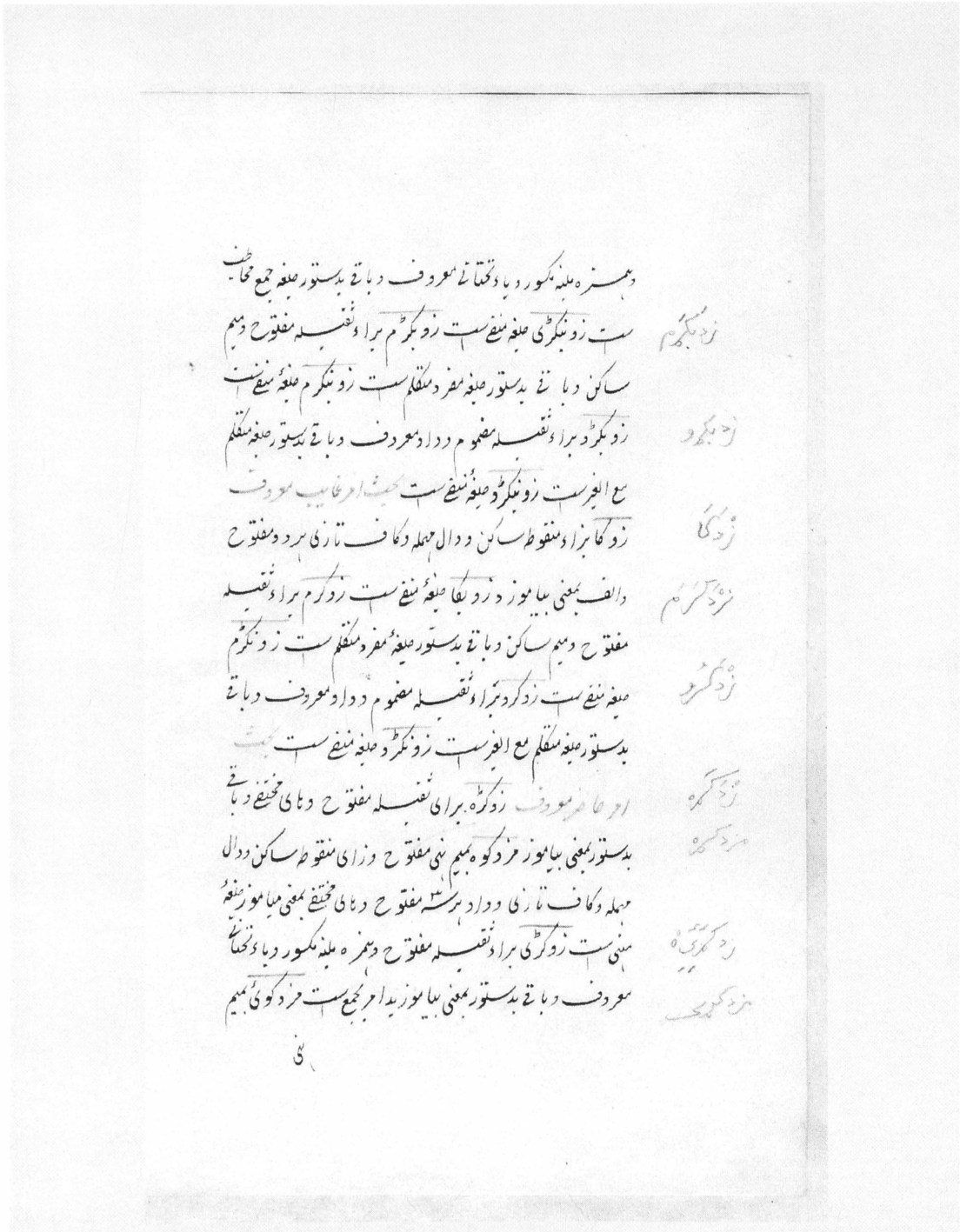

Fig. 3

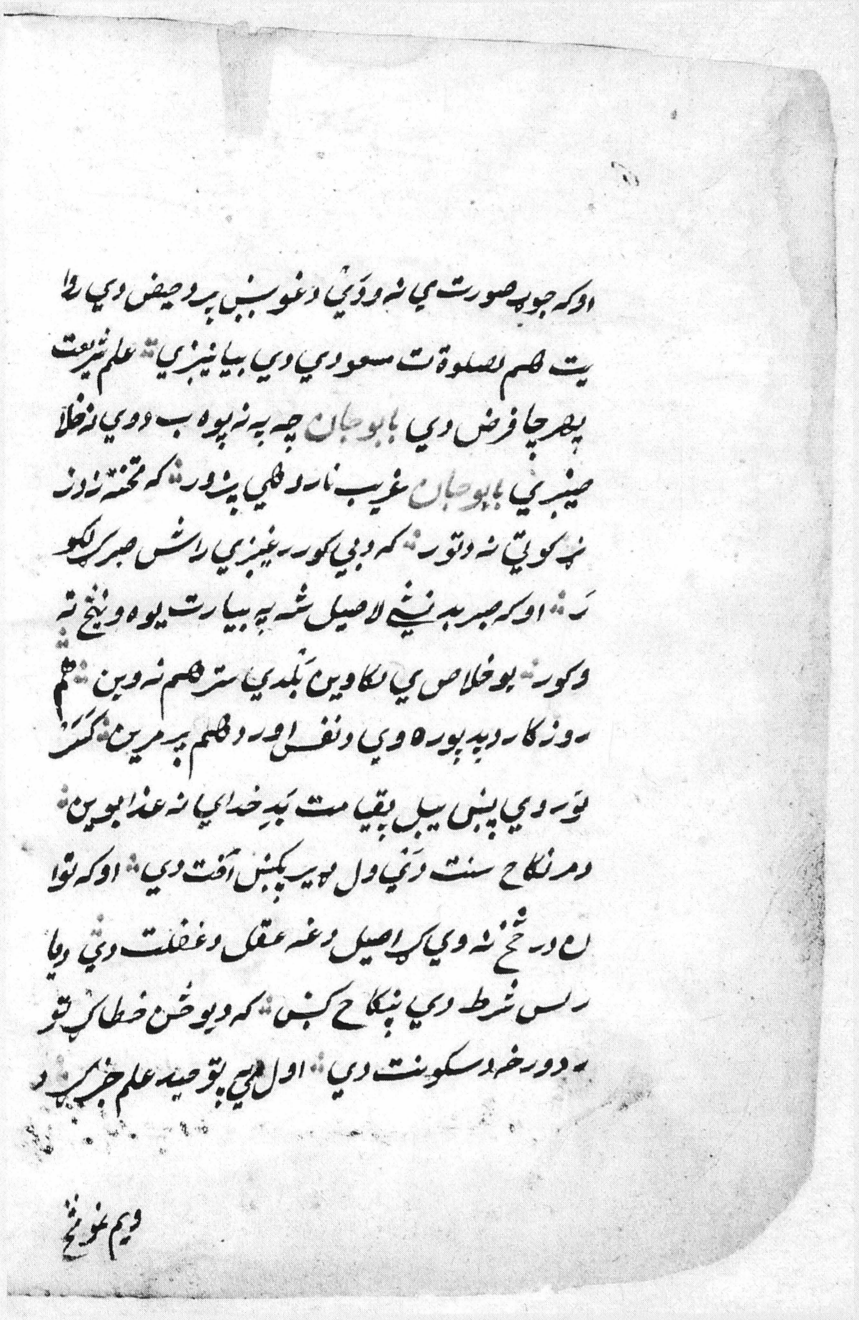

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

After this an extended interruption occurred in the history of Afghan studies in Russian. An even more extended interruption took place in the study of the Afghan manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It was only in the 1950s, that V. A. Romodin, collaborating with V. M. Masson on the "History of Afghanistan", used as source material Afghan manuscripts of Darwīza's *Makhzan al-islām* and a Persian work by the same author, the *Tadhkirat al-abrār wa-l-ashrār* [25]. In the 1960s, G. D. Lebedeva employed three manuscripts of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's *Dīwān* from the collection in her study of this poet's work. She published an article on these manuscripts in *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik 1969* (Moscow, 1972); two articles in the Afghan journal *Kābul* (Nos. 547 and 600); and defended her PhD thesis [26].

Between 1967 and 1995, the Middle Eastern department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies witnessed the publication of two monographs and around twenty articles, the defense of a number of thesises based on the manuscript *Riyāḍ al-maḥabbat*, *Makhzan al-islām*, *Qiṣṣa-i Maḥbūb wa Jallāt*, *Kitāb-i Bābū-jān*, *Dīwān* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and on the Afghan collection on the whole if the study of evolution of the graphics and orthography of Pashto, and the history of Afghan manuscript books was needed [27]. All of the aforementioned were based on materials and manuscripts in the collection of the Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies.

In 1986, the Afghan philologist Zalmay Hīwādmal worked for a short time at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, where he became acquainted with a description of Pashto manuscripts, published in 1976, as well as with a number of manuscripts from the Institute collection. One year later, on his returning to Kabul, he published a catalogue of Pashto manuscripts preserved in the libraries of Tashkent, Dushanbe, Erevan, Moscow, and Leningrad. For the most part, this catalogue deals with manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, as only six manuscripts have survived in the collections of the other cities enumerated [28]. It should be noted by the way that the Petersburg collection also contains microfilms of several manuscripts received from Matenadaran (Erevan) and the British Library (London).

The manuscripts in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies reflect the basic repertoire of Afghan literature in general: two are works on the grammar and lexicon of Pashto; eleven are poetic works — *dīwān*s and individual poems; four copies contain works on ethics; three manuscripts comprise legends about Muḥammad and 'Alī; seven manuscripts contain five theological treatises; and single manuscripts represent the genres of hagiography and *fiqh*. There are also works treating the rules for reading the Qur'ān. Although the collection possesses *dīwān*s of well-known and loved Afghan poets — Raḥmān, Ḥamīd, Mīrzā-khān — it unfortunately lacks a *Dīwān* or *Kulliyāt* of the most renowned poet and outstanding political and military leader of the Pashtuns, Khūshḥāl-khān Khattak (B. A. Dorn also wrote of this gap). This lack is, however, compensated not only by the works of the poets listed above, but by such rare and unique holdings as a biography of Shaykh Jīlānī, several theological works, and a *Dīwān* of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Hūtak, represented in only three manuscripts in the world. As was noted above, our manuscript of this still unpublished *Dīwān* was obtained in Bukhara by C. Salemann. Raḥīm moved there in his youth from Qandahar by way of Teheran in search of a spiritual teacher, became a disciple of the well-known Bukharian shaykh and Ṣūfī poet Muḥammadī Imlā' and lived for more than 50 years in Bukhara, which he describes in his poetry. The manuscript, which awaits for its investigator, was produced no later than five years after the author's death and is of much interest to scholars. The author of the present article have published in Pashto (in *Kābul*, No. 585) a paper on 'Abd al-Raḥīm Hūtak [29] (repr. in *Qandahār*).

From its inception, the study of the Institute's collection as a whole, as well as of its individual manuscripts and works, has led to significant results in the study of Afghan culture and the grammar and lexicon of Pashto. The introduction to the scholarly world of publications of other manuscripts will doubtless provide more information on the history of the Pashtuns' culture and the history of the Afghan literary language.

Notes

1. V. V. Kushev, *Opisanie rukopiseĭ na iazyke pashto Instituta Vostokovedeniia* (Description of Pashto Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies) (Moscow, 1976).

2. *Catalogue of the Pashto Manuscripts in the Libraries of the British Isles by the Late James Fuller Blumhardt and D. N. Mackenzie* (London, 1965).

3. *Catalogue of Pushtu Manuscripts in Indian Library by Zalmy Hewadmal* (Kabul, 1984).

4. M. S. Pelevin, "Pashto (Afghan) manuscripts from the State Library of Berlin", *Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie*, fasc. 6 (1994), pp. 338—57.

5. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Garret Collection of Persian, Turkish and Indic Manuscript in the Princeton University Library*. By Mohammad E. Moghadam, Yahya Aramajani, under supervision of Philip K. Hitti (Princeton, 1939).

6. *A Catalogue of Pashto Manuscripts in Some Libraries of Tashkent, Doshanbe, Irawan, Moscow and Leningrad by Zalmy Hewadmal* (Kabul, 1987); V. V. Kushev, "K biografii Ali-Akbara Orakzaia — afganskogo poėta XVIII veka" ("To the biography of the 'Alī Akbar Ūrakzay, an eighteenth-century Afghan poet"), *Vestnik Matenadarana*, No. 12 (Erevan, 1977); *idem*, *Afganskaia rukopisnaia kniga (ocherki afganskoĭ pis'mennoĭ kul'tury)* (Afghan Manuscript Book: Essays on Afghan Writing Culture) (Moscow, 1980); *idem*, "O stranstviiakh Afganskogo poėta Ali-Akbara Orakzaia vo vladeniiakh Imperii Durrani" ("About the travels of an Afghan poet 'Alī Akbar Ūrakzay in the Durrānī Empire"), *Strany i narody Vostoka*, fasc. 26 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 212—24.

7. S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, *Manuscrits d'Afganistan* (Paris, 1966). This edition is much more fuller as compared to the first publication of the work in *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales*, III (1956).

8. Cf. *Nouvelles d'Afghanistan*, No. 73, 3e trimestre 1996.

9. *The History of the Afghans* by Neamet Ullah, trans. by Bernhard Dorn (London, 1829—1835), i—ii.

10. *Ibid.*, pt. 1, pp. IX—XV; *A Chrestomathy of the Pushtu or Afghan Language*; to which is subjoined a Glossary in Afghan and English. Edited by Dr. Bernhard Dorn (St. Petersburg, 1847), pp. I—XII.

11. *Ibid.*, p. XI.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. XI, XII, 283—353.

13. *Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, XVI/6—7 (1859), col. 103.

14. *Catalogue of Pushtu Manuscripts in Indian Library*, pp. 143, 178—9.

15. *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliotèque impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg par B. Dorn* (St. Petersburg, 1852).

16. B. Dorn, "Proben aus dem Diwan des afganischen Dichters Abdurrehmans", *Bulletin scientifique, publié par l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, I/7 (1836), pp. 54—5.

17. *Idem*, "Verzeichniss afganischer Stämme", *Bulletin scientifique*, III/17 (1838), pp. 257—66.

18. *Idem*, "Grammatische Bemerkungen ueber das Puschtu, oder die Sprache der Afghanen", *Mémoirs*. VIe série, V (St. Petersburg, 1840), pp. 1—163.

19. *Idem*, "Nachträge zur Grammatik der afghanischen Sprache", *Bulletin scientifique*, X/23 (1842), pp. 356—68.

20. *Idem*, *Zusätze zu den Grammatischen Bemerkungen über das Puschtu* (St. Petersburg, 1845).

21. *Idem*, "Auszüge aus afghanischen Schriftstellern, eine erläuternde Zugabe zu den Grammatischen Bemerkungen über das Puschtu", *Mémoirs*. VIe série, V (1845), pp. 581—643.

22. See note 10.

23. Kushev, *Opisanie rukopiseĭ*, No. 2.

24. *Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique*, XVI, Nos. 6—7, cols. 102 and 103; No. 10, col. 152; *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, I (1860), cols. 532 and 533.

25. See V. M. Mason, V. A. Romodin, *Istoriia Afganistana* (The History of Afghanistan) (Moscow, 1964—1965), i—ii.

26. For details, see Kushev, *Opisanie rukopiseĭ*, pp. 9—10.

27. *Idem*, "O stranstviiakh Afganskogo poèta", p. 7.

28. See *A Catalogue of Pashto Manuscripts in Some Libraries of Tashkent, Doshanbe, Irawan, Moscow and Leningrad.*

29. V. V. Kushev, "Kandagarskiĭ poèt v Bukhare" ("A Qandahār poet in Bukhāra"), *Blizhniĭ i Srednii Vostok (Istoriia, kul'tura, istochnikovedenie)*, (Moscow, 1968).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Dīwān* by 'Abd al-Raḥmān. Manuscript C 1901 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 71b (p. 134), 17.2 × 25.8 cm.

Fig. 2. *Makhzan al-islām* by Akhūnd Darwīza. Manuscript B 2483 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 127a, 15.2 × 24.0 cm.

Fig. 3. *Riyaḍ al-maḥabbat* by Maḥabbat-khān. Manuscript D 707-I from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2b, 19.4 × 31.1 cm.

Fig. 4. *Kitāb-i Bābūjān* by Bābūjān. Manuscript C 1907 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 6b, 15.0 × 22.1 cm.

Fig. 5. *Ḥikāyat-i Maḥbūb wa Jallāt*. Manuscript C 1900 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 14a, 12.8 × 23.9 cm.

Plate 1

Plate 2

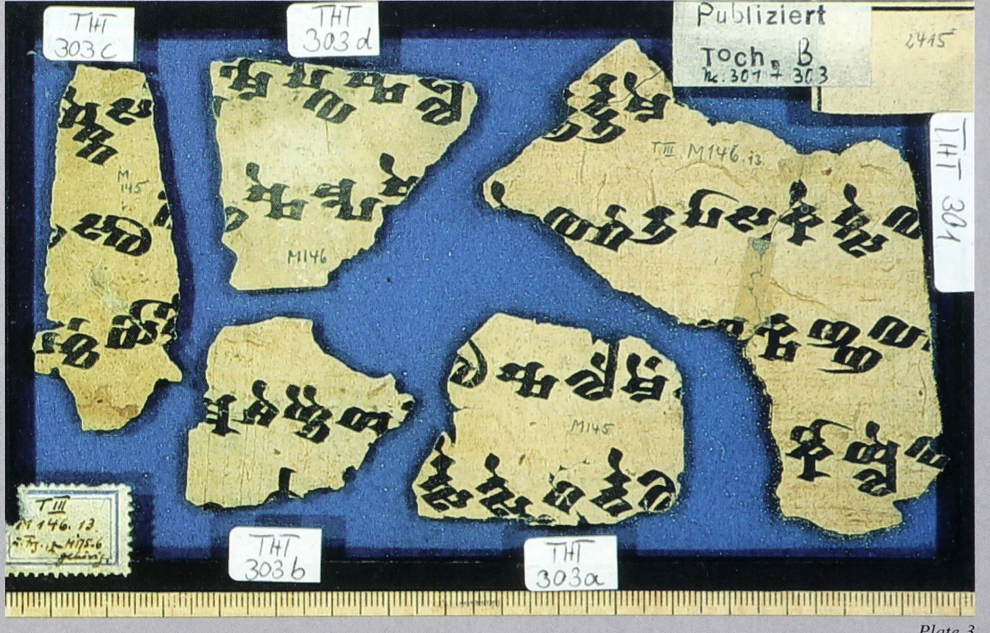

Plate 3

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

J. Gippert

DIGITIZATION OF TOCHARIAN MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE BERLIN TURFAN COLLECTION

The starting point of the project to be reported about here [1] was the conference dedicated to the fulfilment of "100 Years of Tocharian Studies" which took place in Saarbrücken (Germany) on 13—15 October, 1995 [2]. Within a panel session, the participants of the conference discussed the necessity of digitizing the Tocharian manuscripts that are preserved in several European museums with a view to two major aims. One of these consists in preserving the data the manuscripts contain for eternity. This is an aim of high priority, at least as far as the Berlin collection is concerned, because here, many manuscripts, albeit preserved in glass frames, have suffered great damages during World War II (when the collection had to be evacuated), and there are hardly any means of protecting them from further erosion.

The second aim consists in making the contents of the manuscripts more easily accessible to the scholarly world. This is a high priority aim as well, given that studies concerning the spread of Buddhist thought along the Silk Road are facing steadily increasing interest these days, digitization of original documents playing an important role [3].

As a result of the Saarbrücken discussions, the digitization of Tocharian manuscripts as preserved in the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (*ca.* 4,300 items) has meanwhile begun (since autumn 1996). At present, work is proceeding in a joint effort by Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Institut für Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft of Frankfurt University, and Tamai Foundation. Means and procedures as developed for the running project will be briefly demonstrated here using the Berlin Tocharian manuscript THT, fol. 50r, and others as examples [4].

The first task consists in photographing the manuscripts. For the time being, this is being done using high-resolution colour slide films [5] because "classical" photographing still has several advantages as against using digital cameras. It still yields much better results with respect to orthochromaticity and resolution, and slides can be stored as multi-purpose reference copies of the documents. Not depending on the availability of digital equipments, they are easily at hand for copying, presentation, etc.

In the course of the developing project, several attempts have been made as to finding the most suitable background for the photographing. It turned out that using a bright-coloured paper (white or grey) has to be preferred as against any dark-coloured (dark blue or black) background. The reason is that the Berlin manuscripts are stored in glass frames throughout and must not be taken out because this would lead to damages in many cases. When photographed through a glass frame, however, the manuscripts, lit from above, cause some shading so that writing elements on their edges may become hardly distinguishable from a dark background, especially where edges are damaged. Cf. *Plates 1* and *2* (see p. 49) where this effect is demonstrated with manuscript THT, fol. 50r, on a dark blue background; also *Plate 3* (see p. 49) and *Plate 4* (see p. 52) where two pictures of the fragments THT 301 and 303 are contrasted with different backgrounds; and *Plate 5* (see p. 52) where a greyish background showing the effect of shading is used with manuscript THT, fol. 508r.

When photographing the manuscripts in their frames, some further problems have been encountered. One of them consists in the labels that are usually fixed on the frames and which may sometimes cause a loss of readability, covering parts of the manuscripts, as in THT, fol. 508r (cf. *Plate 5* on p. 52). A similar problem may arise when the glass frame is broken (cf., for example, *fig. 1*, manuscript THT, fol. 252v, on a dark blue background). In these latter cases, a restoration of the frame may be inevitable. In every case, a ruler should be added to the item being photographed in order its original measurements to remain calculable.

The digitization of the colour slides thus produced requires a special high-resolution colour slide scanner with a scanning resolution of at least 2 500 dpi (slide adapters that can be fixed to flat bed scanners do not yield a sufficient resolution) [6]. For the purposes of the present project, scanning is being done in at least two steps.

The first one consists in a total scan of the picture, comprising the manuscript within the complete glass frame and the ruler for measuring. Doing this at a medium resolution of 1 000 to 1 300 dpi, this yields digital images that fill

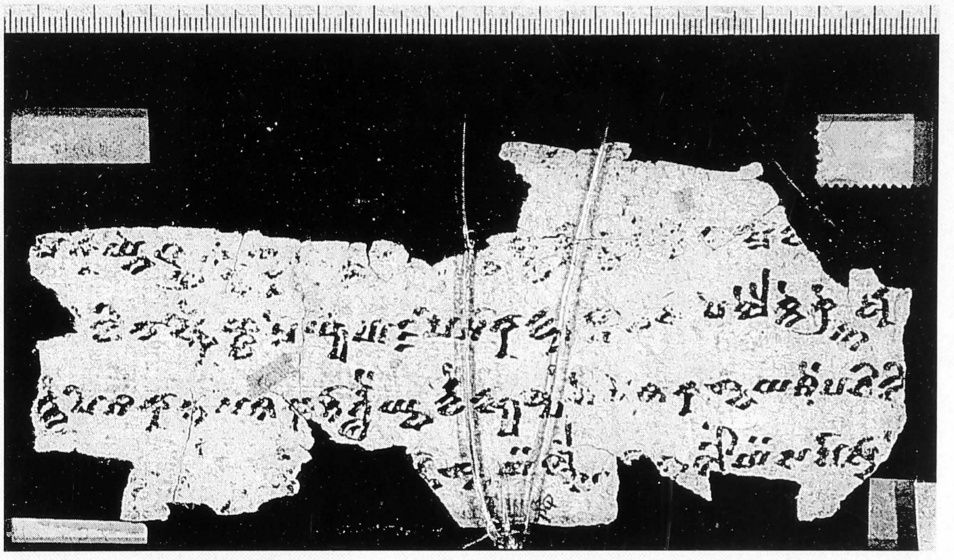

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Plate 4

Plate 5

Plate 6

Plate 7

a normal (high resolution) computer screen (at an average size of 1 200 by 800 pixels). The images thus produced will normally suffice for a reading of the manuscript contents.

Another scanning procedure, with a much higher resolution, is necessary with a view to preserving a maximum of informations for "eternal" storage as well as for high resolution printing. The calculation of what resolution is necessary depends on several factors. Starting from the size of the colour slides (36 × 24 mm.), a resolution of 2 400 dpi would theoretically yield a printed picture of double size (72 × 48 mm.) if it could be printed with the same density (i.e., without any loss of information) with a high quality printer using 1 200 dpi, and in a picture of 144 × 72 mm. if printed with 600 dpi. The actual results to be achieved with today's laser printers are quite different from that, however, because here, normally, three or four pixels are assembled together to represent grey tones which results in the typical dot rastering.

The most important factor when calculating the required scanning resolution is the actual size of the original document. If a manuscript of 360 mm. length, comprised in a colour slide of 36 mm., were to be printed in its actual size at a resolution of 1 200 dpi without any rastering, a resolution of (1 200 dpi × 10 =) 12 000 dpi would be required. Scanned files of such a resolution could hardly be handled and stored, however, considering that they would extend to more than 300 MB each (if representing a complete colour slide). This is why for the present project, a maximum scanning resolution of 2 700 dpi was accepted as sufficient for the majority of pictures. Only in rare cases where the size of the original document exceeds 40 cm. in length or 25 cm. in height, a higher resolution would be preferable (cf. THT 78, *figs. 2* and *3*, as an example); as this cannot be achieved with the present equipment, a practical solution consists in separate photographing of parts of the document.

Even with a maximum resolution of 2 700 dpi, file sizes may extend up to 26 MB if complete slides are scanned with full colour density and the resulting images are saved in plain BMP or PCX format. In order to decrease the necessary storage capacity (a standard CD-ROM with 650 MB could only comprise some 25 image files of this size), only the actual manuscripts are scanned in this way, omitting the surrounding parts of the glass frame, labels and rulers. The file size can further be sharply reduced (to about 15%) by applying data compression methods such as the ones provided by JPG formats. In this case, a minor loss of information has to be accepted which will hardly be recognizable on the screen or a printout though. With a view to eternal preservation of the manuscript contents, the development of loss-free compression methods remains a desideratum. There is one other feature, however, that should always be kept in mind when choosing file formats: Given the fast development of operating systems and peripheral equipments, we should care for the data to be stored in a format that is probable to remain convertible into future formats for a sufficient period of time. The same holds true, of course, for the storage media we now use.

Another way of decreasing the amount of storage capacity would consist in choosing a lower number of colours to be represented, i.e. 256 instead of 16 million colours, or in storing the files in greyscale format. While this would hardly have any influence on a later greyscale printout, it would mean a considerable loss of information comparing the digitized image with the colour slide it is based on. With a view to data preservation, reducing the number of colours will always mean a deterioration of quality so that it is not recommendable.

On the other hand, the digitized images can be enhanced in many ways. This begins with the choice of settings for the scanning procedure. An up-to-date scanning software will allow for a large scale of settings to be applied to each scan. Whenever written manuscripts are the object of digitizing, a maximum of contrast between script elements and their (paper or parchment) background will be required. This can be achieved by choosing a maximum of "sharpening" of contours, maybe in connection with a smoothing of contourless elements of the scanned area ("sharpen detail, smooth noise"). A sharpening function can further be applied after scanning, i.e., when handling the digitized image in a photo editing software. The results acquired in this way will be visible on the screen as well as in a printout; as they tend towards a deformation of the original visual appearance of the object, they should not be exaggerated with a view to data preservation, however.

Many of the Turfan manuscripts require a special treatment because their contents are hardly readable due to damages or fainting of the ink. Such treatment may consist in additional contrast enhancing, colour splitting and the like, to be applied during or after scanning. Although this may indeed enhance the readability (cf. *Plates 6* and *7* on p. 53, both part of THT, fol. 170r), it leads to an even stronger deformation of the represented object and should therefore not be applied to an image which is meant to document the actual state of the manuscript. It should also be noted that a digitized image can never contain more informations than the colour slide it relies upon; in special cases, it may be preferable to look for enhanced methods of photographing. Unfortunately, the reading of the badly preserved manuscripts of the Turfan collection cannot be supported by using ultraviolet or infrared films [7].

Manuscript digitizing has another aspect which is rather interpretative than practical. The data the written manuscripts contain consist of textual elements that require a special treatment if they are to be analyzed with digital methods. The scanning of a photographed document yields a digital representation which is structured in just the same way as, e.g., a digitized image of a person's portrait or a still life: It consists of nothing but dots ("pixels") with a certain colour and brightness information. Although it is possible to a certain extent to analyze such an image with respect to the elements (i.e., groups of pixels) it contains, thus filtering letter shapes from a background (this is what a so-called OCR, "Optical Character Recognition", software does), this will not normally work with old manuscripts where letters are broken, damaged, or otherwise hardly distinguishable even for a human reader. This is why entering the texts the Turfan manuscripts contain must still be done manually, all the more since the reading of a given text passage or element requires scholarly experiences and skills.

For the entering of plain text, the question of which format to choose applies as well. This is a question of data structure rather than a question of representation, given that handling of transliterational or transcriptional and even original scripts becomes more and more easy on nowadays' computers. The data structure depends on what scholarly analysis the material has to be prepared for. Normally, the digitization of manuscript contents will form part of an

Table 1

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|c50a HI{icon}{0050rt.bmp}1
        Tvod16  {THT_50 \ Toch_B_50 \ T_III_So_64.12}  Tn16
|p1     Tcotb16  //// ri s rthav hi : [ a] ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// ri s -rtha-v -hi : ( a) ////  Tn16
|p2     Tcotb16  //// per KAññetse pap ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// pe-r -KA-ññe-tse [pa]-p  (*) ////  Tn16
|p3     Tcotb16  //// .e ce cmelne  l= l[y]e ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// (+e) ce cme-lne  l^ -l[y]e ////  Tn16
|p4     Tcotb16  //// ( )yorsa ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// yo-rsa ////  Tn16
|p5     Tcotb16  //// [s]su wnolme 72 ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// +su wno-lme 72 (*)////  Tn16
|p6     Tcotb16  //// [s= ]ttsaiK\ auL\ awa  Alle ste  am ne tS\ : kÜse m. ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// [s^ ]-ttsai-K\ au-L\ a-wa-  A-lle ste  a-m -ne -tS\ : kÜse (m+) ////  Tn16
|p7     Tcotb16  //// lanme  kca : olypo osT\ lamaM\ tnek wes  yo(r) ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// la-nme  kca : `o-lypo `o-sT\ la-maM\ tne-k^we-s^ -yo ////  Tn16
|p8     Tcotb16  //// ña  lokrenTA pudñäkte : kÜse  mñe kreñc ce [ .] ////  Tn16
        Tcotbx16  //// ña  [l]o-kre-nTA pu-dñä-kte : kÜse  -mñe kre-ñc^ce ////  Tn16
```

editorial process, aiming at either a critical or a diplomatic edition of a text. Having a digitized text at hand, however, several other aims may be envisaged that go far beyond preparing a normal printed edition. For the present project, one such aim consists in establishing the relationships between the Tocharian texts and other branches of the Buddhist tradition (Sanskrit, Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan, etc.). This presupposes the existence of digitized text corpora that can be aligned cross-linguistically. As a common basis for such an investigation, the "Wordcruncher" text retrieval program as developed by Brigham Young University [8] has proved to be well suited [9].

Another aim concerns investigations into the palaeography of the Brāhmī script as used by the Tocharians. For this purpose, it is necessary to prepare the texts in a way that allows for an indexation of separate elements, i.e. *ak aras*. Using the Wordcruncher retrieval system, this can be done as indicated in *Table 1* where THT, fol. 50r, is taken as an example again. Here, a "broader" transcription and a one-to-one-transliteration of each manuscript line are arranged interlinearily, the former one being indexable as to word forms, the latter one as to *ak aras* (which are separated either by spaces or by hyphens in the transliteration). As can be seen in the sample, several additional signs have

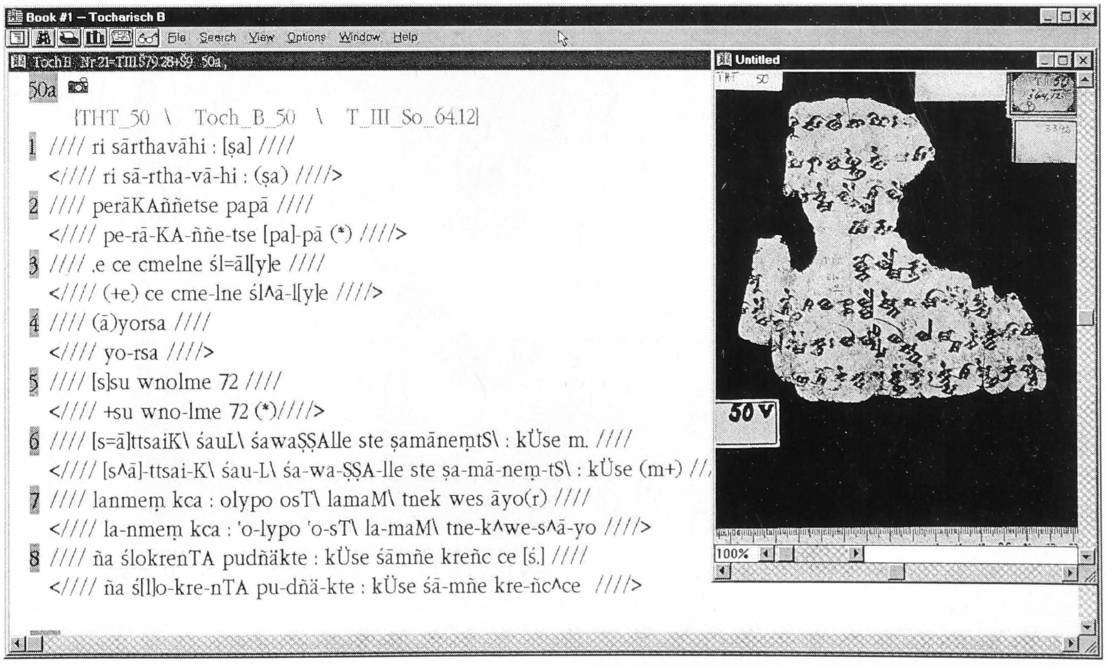


Fig. 4

Plate 1

Plate 2

been chosen for a marking of missing elements, word boundaries within *ak aras*, and the like; and as against the traditional transcription, the so-called "Fremdzeichen" are transcribed as majuscules (e.g., KA instead of *ka*). This, however, is for the practical purposes of the given task only; a conversion into other transcriptional systems remains possible as long as there is a unique relationship between each graphical item and its encoding. For the screen output of the Wordcruncher text (Windows version) cf. *fig. 4* where the digitized image of THT, fol. 50r, is linked to the rendering of the text.

In the course of the present project, the contents of the manuscripts are being typed in successively as the digitization of the slides proceeds, and by now (February 1998), about one fourth of the Berlin materials has been prepared [10]. In near future, we hope to be able to make the results available to the scholarly world in at least two different ways: Both on CD-ROMs (which are already being used for storage of data) and via an internet server. For the latter purpose, the Tocharian data have been embedded in a larger project which I have been running for about ten years now. This is the project of a "Thesaurus of Indo-European Textual and Linguistic Materials" (TITUS) the basic part of which is a steadily increasing text data base that aims at preparing all textual materials as relevant for Indo-European studies (Old Indic, Old and Middle Iranian, Anatolian, Old Germanic, Old Celtic, Italic, etc.) in electronic form for linguistic and literary analyses [11], the Tocharian texts forming one of its outstanding parts. The TITUS text data base is now being prepared for an immediate internet retrieval (on the basis of a "Wordcruncher server"). It is to be hoped that other collections of Tocharian manuscripts will be made available in a similar way soon.

Notes

1. A first short account of the project has been published in *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, VII (1997), pp. 265f. It is also available on the WWW page http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/tocharic. A preliminary version of the present report was read on the 35th ICANAS at Budapest, July 9th, 1997.

2. The conference proceedings have been published in *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, VII (1997).

3. Several projects concerning Buddhist documents have been initiated in recent times; for a survey cf. the WWW site of the Buddhist Text Encoding Initiative, http://www.iijnet.or.jp:80/iriz/irizhtml/ebti/ebtie.htm.

4. In the Berlin collection, manuscripts pages had originally been marked according to German usage where *V* stands for "Vorderseite", i.e., *recto*, and *R* for "Rückseite", i.e., *verso*. Comparing the usual abbreviations for the Latin equivalents, viz. *r* for *recto* and *v* for *verso*, this may bring about some confusion whenever the older designations are used.

5. Best results were obtained with a Kodak Ektachrome Professional film (EPY 5018).

6. Within the present project, a Polaroid SprintScan 32 Plus with a maximum resolution of 2700 dpi is being used.

7. This is due to the ink they are written with as was stated by the director of the Oriental department of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, H. O. Feistel.

8. Cf. the WWW page http://www.wordcruncher.com for details.

9. For a first-hand description cf. my contribution to the Saarbrücken conference, in *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, VII (1997), pp. 17—34. A detailed account of the requirements of a multi-lingual text retrieval will be published in the proceedings of the 2nd Conference on Language, Logic, and Computation, Tbilisi 1998 (with examples taken from the Christian traditions of the Near East).

10. The texts as available via former printed editions were first entered in a raw format by P. Olivier; the B-Tocharian texts were then corrected by Chr. Schaefer. The present arrangement is being prepared by T. Tamai in cooperation with K. T. Schmidt and myself.

11. For details, cp. the WWW pages http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/texte.htm and http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/titusldv.htm.

Illustrations

Plate 1. Tocharian manuscript THT from the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, fol. 50r, photographed on a dark blue background (see p. 49).

Plate 2. An enhanced fragment of the same manuscript, fol. 50r, shown on a dark blue background, see p. 49.

Plate 3. Tocharian fragments THT 301 and 303 from the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, contrasted with light blue background (see p. 49).

Plate 4. The same fragments, contrasted with greyish background (see p. 52).

Plate 5. Tocharian manuscript THT, fol. 508r, shown with the labels covering part of the text (see p. 52).

Plate 6. Tocharian manuscript THT, fol. 170r (a fragment enhanced), see p. 53.

Plate 7. The same manuscript, fol. 170r, contrast enhancing and colour splitting being applied (see p. 53).

Fig. 1. Tocharian manuscript THT, from the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, fol. 252v, photographed with glass frame broken.

Fig. 2. THT 78, shown with a resolution of 2700 dpi.

Fig. 3. THT 78, shown with a resolution higher than 2700 dpi.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

A. I. Mikhaylova

AN ILLUSTRATED ARABIC MANUSCRIPT OF A TRANSLATION OF A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GREEK CHRONOGRAPH

The aim of the present article is to draw attention to an illustrated Arabic manuscript (call number C 358), preserved now in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. This Christian-Arabic manuscript provides an interesting illustration of one facet of seventeenth-century Syrian cultural history. The work contained in this manuscript and, as a cultural artifact, the manuscript itself present us with a fine example of the interrelation and mutual influence of Western and Eastern culture.

The manuscript, measured 19.0 × 29.0 cm., is written in calligraphic *naskh*, in black ink. It contains 203 folios, 25 lines per page. Surface of the text: 12.0 × 22.0 cm. There are also 54 blank folios adjoining to those with miniatures, which are intended to protect them from damage. The text is enclosed in double red frame; European pagination; European dense polished paper with watermarks — a trefoil with the letters G and B, as well as three crescents. The protecting blank folios also have watermark — A. BONEFI. Headings are written either in red ink or in a large *thulth*. The cardboard binding is covered with brown leather; the leather has stamping of geometrical lines and little rosettes. The inside of the cover has orange paper glued on it, with engraved gold designs. These are depictions of dancing men and women in European clothes, of playing musicians, as well as of European-styled houses. This paper is partly damaged. The manuscript was restored by some of its owners or readers.

The manuscript contains an Arabic translation from the Greek of a little-known New Greek chronicle composed by Bishop Matthew of Cyprus, better known as Matthew Kigalas, or Tsigalas (d. 1642 ?) [1].

The chronicle, entitled Νέα σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν and published in Venice in 1637 is a universal history of the chronograph type and consists of two parts. The first one covers the period from the creation of the world to the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (r. 337—350); the second, the history of the emperors of Byzantium from Constantine the Great to the seizure of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. The work also comprises a brief history of the Ottoman sultans up through Murad IV (r. 1623—1640). The work closes with a section dealing with an ecclesiastical history of Byzantium which is brought up to 1636.

Matthew Kigalas drew up his work on the basis of a Greek chronicle attributed to Dorotheus of Monemvasia [2], from which he borrowed some factual material. However, Matthew Kigalas introduced into the first part of his book many additions, primarily of mythological character, as well as data from some other Greek chronicles. In his exposition of Byzantine history from 1391 to 1578, he included with hardly any alteration the section on "Political History" from Martino Crusio's well-known "Turcograeciae" [3].

Like the chronicle by Pseudo-Dorotheus, which went through around twenty editions between 1631 and 1818 and was translated into Russian under the Russian Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich (r. 1645—1676) [4] and into Arabic by Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, the chronicle of Martino Crusio gained fame in the seventeenth century and influenced Russian historiography.

As was mentioned above, the Greek chronicle by Matthew Kigalas was published in Venice in 1637, most likely in a very small edition, since only a few copies are now known. One of these copies is held in the State Library of Russia in Moscow. The full translation of Matthew Kigalas' chronicle into Russian was made at the end of the seventeenth century by the monk Euthymius, *spravshchik* (press corrector) at the Moscow press. For unknown reasons, the Russian translation was not printed, but was in circulation in a significant number of manuscript copies. Several copies of this Russian translation are now held in the Library of Armenia [5].

In 1648, on the initiative of Macarius, the Patriarch of Antioch, an Arabic translation of the second, more interesting part of Matthew Kigalas' chronicle [6], dealing with the Byzantine history from Constantine the Great to the fall of Constantinople and the Ottoman sultans through Murad IV, was made in Aleppo. The concluding section on the ecclesiastical history of Byzantium was for some reason not translated, which left the Arabic version without an ending. Hence, the text leaves readers with the impression of an unfinished work. Also translated from the Greek were four chronological tables with a list of Byzantine emperors and Ottoman sultans, the bishops and patriarchs of Constantinople up through Isaiah Agariotes and the Constantinople patriarchs under the sultans, ending with Neophyte, who took up the post in 1636.

The work, which in Arabic received the title *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī tārīkh mulūk al-Rūm*, was translated by two members of a literary circle headed by Patriarch Macarius. The role of this circle in the literary renaissance which took place in Syria in the seventeenth century has already been illuminated by I. Iu. Krachkovsky. The name of one of the translators, Paul of Aleppo, is well known in connection with his travels to Russia together with Patriarch Macarius and his description of their first journey in 1652—1659 [7]. The other translator was Joseph al-Muṣawwir, who also made a notable contribution to the cultural life of Syria of the period. We have, however, very little information on his life; what we do know is largely based on the additions he made to several Christian-Arabic manuscripts which he copied.

We know that Joseph al-Muṣawwir was of Greek descent; his full name is Yūsuf b. Anṭuniyus b. Suwaydān (Swidān) al-Ḥalabī [8]. His *nisba* indicates a connection to Aleppo, one of Syria's largest cultural centres. In one of our manuscripts, copied by him in 1647, Joseph al-Muṣawwir calls himself the pupil of Patriarch Euthymius II (1634—1647), known for his correction of prayer-books. After the latter's death, he began to collaborate with Patriarch Macarius, who made frequent mention of Joseph's name in his works, calling him his "spiritual pupil".

At the request of Patriarch Macarius, Joseph al-Muṣawwir made translations from the Greek for purposes of enlightenment independently or in collaboration with Paul of Aleppo [9]. It is possible that he was also friends with the latter. An example of their joint labours was the translation of the second part of Matthew Kigalas' chronicle, although the major role in the translation apparently belonged to Joseph al-Muṣawwir, as he knew Greek well [10].

Joseph al-Muṣawwir was not only a translator but also an outstanding calligrapher, and gained even greater fame as a miniaturist as well, hence his *laqab* — al-Muṣawwir (the Artist). All of these facets of Joseph al-Muṣawwir's talents are reflected in the manuscript C 358 of *al-Durr al-manẓūr fī tārīkh mulūk al-Rūm* in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. This manuscript was copied by him in calligraphic *naskh* and decorated with a large number of miniatures, which form the most outstanding feature of the copy and distinguish it from other known manuscripts of this work [11].

The manuscript contains 94 well preserved miniatures, in which the artist portrayed the emperors from Constantine the Great (r. 324—337) through the Ottoman sultans, ending with Murad IV (r. 1623—1640). Only Nicephorus II Phocas (r. 963—969) is missing in this portrait gallery. The portrait of the Nicephorus Phocas may be lacking because of his aggressive war policy towards the Arabs in Syria as well as of his hostility to the Church. It is known that showing favour to the Athos monks, he was opposing to the Church's enrichment. For example, he issued a law prohibiting the foundation of new monasteries. Besides, Phocas forced the high clergy to sign the document that prohibited the patriarch to appoint bishops without approving them by the emperor.

The manuscript also lacks a portrait of John I Tzimisces (r. 969—976), which is, however, due to the loss of the folio that contained this miniature. This folio was later restored, without the miniature, by some owner or reader of the manuscript.

The miniatures included in the manuscript testify to Joseph al-Muṣawwir's being a first-rate artist, although it should be noted that they belong to the later period of his activities and are less exquisite than his earlier miniatures surviving in another manuscript (now also in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

The Byzantine emperors are depicted in half-figure, most frequently en face (profiles were clearly not the artist's strong point), in splendid ceremonial dress with an orb or sceptre, sometimes with a sword and cross, more rarely with an open scroll or book. There are several group portraits among the miniatures. Although the miniatures there resemble one another in their general form, all of the portraits are, nonetheless, individualised by the artist. Employing the means at his disposal, the artist strove to reflect in their outward appearance certain characteristic features of the rulers, basing these depictions most likely on descriptions found in the text. The portrait of the Emperor Julian the Apostate (r. 361—363) (see *fig. 1*) can serve as a useful example. A man of fanatic conviction and extraordinary energy, Julian struggled for the revival of paganism, employing all means possible. Only his death during his Persian campaign put an end to all expectations of the adherents of the old faith. He is depicted in three-quarters-figure with an orb in one hand and a drawn sword in the other. His red-bearded face is grim, from behind his shoulder a dark devil with the wings of a bat leans over and whispers in his ear. Unfortunately, Julian's visage in the miniature was intentionally erased (later, it was traced in outline). Another figure of a devil on the orb appears to have been drawn in later.

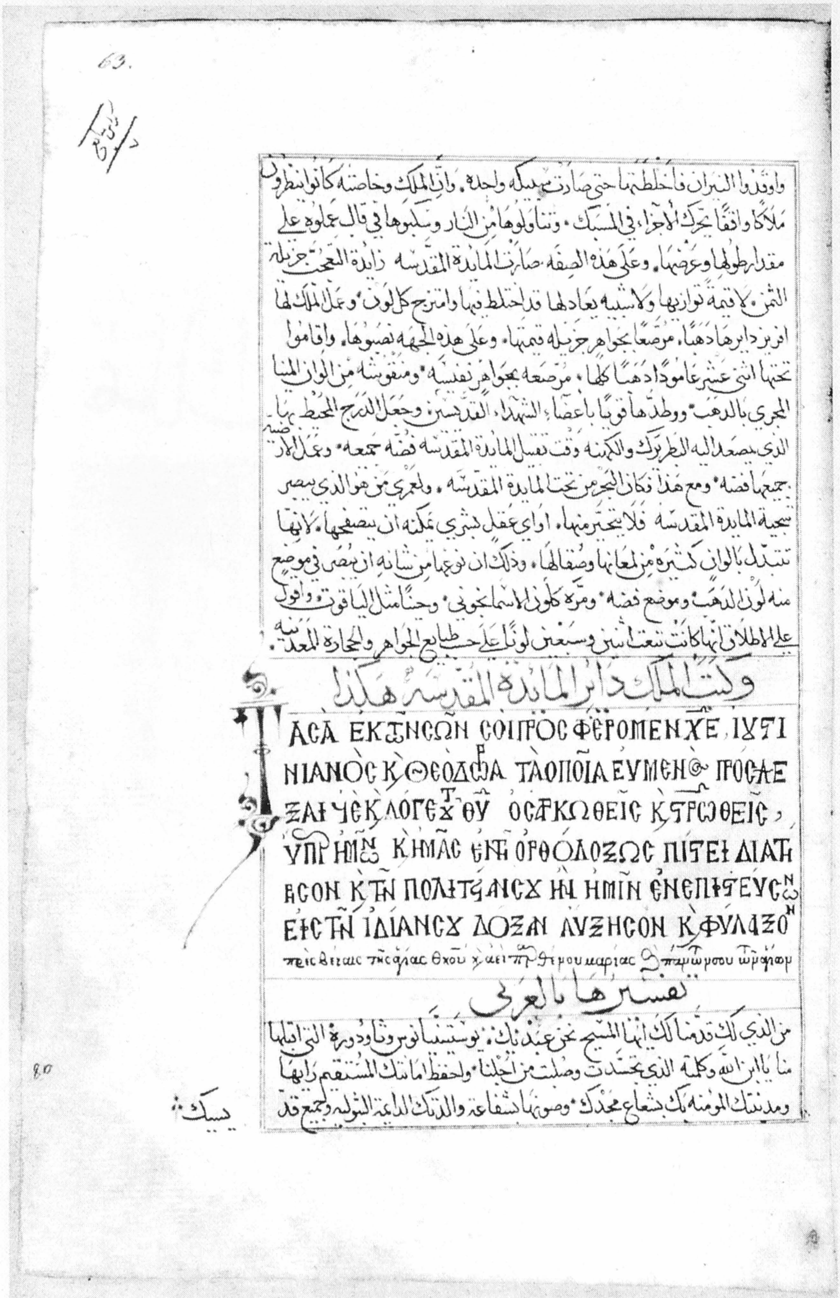
On one of the miniatures the Emperor Phocas (r. 602—610) is shown (see *Plate 1* on p. 56). It is evident that the painter sought to present a realistic portrait of this emperor, who ascended the throne as a usurper, as a result of the rebellion of the army and paupers of Constantinople. The semi-barbarian Phocas became notorious for his tyranny and numerous executions of the Byzantine nobility. His face on the portrait seems to express his terrible temper. The whole of his figure, lacking a monumental solemnity characteristic of the portraits of other emperors, looks sinister.

A miniature depicting the Emperor Constantine the Great, the founder of the Byzantine Empire (see illustration on the front cover), is distinguished by a special finesse. The noble appearance of the emperor, as he is shown on the miniature, as well as a big cross he holds as if it were a sword, seems to emphasise the personal exploits of Constantine in the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Among the miniatures of the manuscript there is one on which two emperors, Stauracius (r. 811) and Michael I (r. 811—813) (see *Plate 1* on the back cover), are depicted. Both of them are shown in profile, with garlands on their heads. It is hard to say with certainty why the two emperors appear on the miniature together. One of the explanations could be that the Emperor Michael I, the husband of Stauracius' sister, was elevated to the throne when Stauracius was still alive. It is known from the history that Michael I was a mere plaything in the hand of the Church and distinguished himself by his abundant gifts to clerics, as well as by his severe persecutions of heretics, especially the Bogomils. One can also notice the striking resemblance of

Fig. 1

Fig. 2


وكتب الملك دائر المائدة المقدسة هكذا

تفسيرها بالعربي

Fig. 3

the portrait of the Emperor Stauracius to his depiction on one of the pendant stamps surviving in the collection of the State Hermitage [12].

Finally, one miniature portraying the Emperor Leo VI the Wise (r. 886—912) (see *Plate 2* on the back cover) draws special attention. The noble simplicity and earnestness, with which the emperor is depicted, have their historical background. It is known that Leo VI was an outstanding character proved to be a prolific legislator. Interestingly, the emperor is shown with a scroll in his hand, on which the text written in red can be clearly seen.

The unified late Byzantine style (which displays noticeable Western influence), with its palette of bright rich colours prevailing, the splendour of the garments, enriched by gold, the texture of the fabric and the sparkle of gems, conveyed with a masterly combination of colours, is typical only of miniatures with the portraits of Byzantine emperors. The portraits of the Ottoman sultans up through Murad III (1574—1595), though betraying the same depiction style (cf. *Plate 2* on p. 56), clearly demonstrate an influence of Oriental manner of miniature painting.

The portraits of the sultans after Murad III are made already in the style of late Turkish miniatures in which a different, more reserved scale of colours is used. The sultans are for the most part depicted in full figure. Their figures are often shown full, with short legs and arms, and their faces look somewhat feminine and rather expressive. The last sultan in this row, Murad IV, a contemporary of the artist, is depicted together with his vizier Husrev Pasha, a quiver with arrows behind his back.

In all the miniatures, the background is white-blue; the depictions are usually two-dimensional. In a few cases, coloured blocks, intended to depict the palace floor made of different sorts of marble, create the appearance of depth. All of the miniatures are framed. To the right and left of the head, the names of the emperors and sultans are written into the miniatures in large Greek letters (sometimes the inscriptions are located on the margins of the manuscript).

In addition to the miniatures, the manuscript is adorned with an elegant coloured *'unwān*, with sky blue and gold prevailing. The usual formula with which Christian-Arabic manuscripts begin is written into the *'unwān* in white.

Unfortunately, the manuscript lacks a colophon or any concluding words. Nor did the copyist indicate the title on the title page; it was written in later in a different hand. It seems that the copy was for some unknown reason left unfinished. The time of the copy and the name of the calligrapher and artist can be established only indirectly. Paul of Aleppo's marginal additions to the manuscript indicate that it was copied and adorned with miniatures after Patriarch Macarius' first journey to Russia, which finished in 1659, but no later than 1667, by which time Joseph al-Muṣawwir was no longer alive [13]. It is most likely that this manuscript was the artist's last work.

The fate of this manuscript is no less interesting or important for us. Paul of Aleppo's numerous marginal notes testify that he was its first owner. Joseph al-Muṣawwir possibly completed this manuscript especially for Paul, perhaps as a memento, or probably for presenting to someone during Macarius' second visit to Russia in 1664. Be it as it may, the further fate of the manuscript, and of its owner, turned out to be connected with Georgian mid-seventeenth century culture and history. There is reason to suppose that the manuscript was with Paul of Aleppo in Georgia while he was returning to his homeland from Russia. This is the key to the mysterious circumstances under which the manuscript found its way into the hands of Vakhtang VI (1675—1737), ruler of Georgia. That he indeed possessed the manuscript is attested by written additions to the miniatures, which contain translations into Georgian of the Greek inscriptions. R. R. Orbeli established, on the basis of her painstaking palaeographic investigation and comparison with the autograph of Vakhtang VI's diary of his journey to Russia, that these notes belong to this ruler.

One can assume that the manuscript remained in Georgia after Paul died there in 1669 and was buried in one of the country's monasteries. Around 1737, Vakhtang VI would have had an opportunity to become acquainted with the manuscript in a monastery and make his notes.

The path by which this manuscript found its way back to its Syrian homeland remains vague. Written additions make clear that in 1762 its owner was a certain Christian Arab (his name is written over). In 1777 and 1784 the manuscript belonged to two brothers — Ilyās Buṭrus and Anṭoniy Buṭrus al-Samhānī, also a Syrian. At the very end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, the manuscript was acquired by J. L. Rousseau (1780—1831), a well-known collector and French Consul in Aleppo and Tripoli. Rousseau's collection of Oriental manuscripts, which contained the manuscript in question, was bought in two groups by the Russian government in 1819 and 1825. It then entered the manuscript collection of the Asiatic Museum, at present the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies.

Notes

1. See É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonée des ouvrages publiés par des grecs au dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1894), i, pp. 355—6; D. Russo, *Studii istorice greco-române* (Bucurşti, 1939), i, pp. 87—91.

2. I. N. Lebedeva, "Khronika Psevdo-Dorofeia Monemvasiĭskogo i eĕ russkiĭ perevod" ("The chronicle of Pseudo-Dorotheus of Monemvasia and its Russian translation"), *Trudy otdela drevne-russkoĭ literatury*, XXI (1965), pp. 68—74; also see *eadem*, "Pozdnie grecheskie khroniki i ikh russkie i vostochnye perevody" ("Later Greek chronicles and their translations into the Russian and Greek "), *Palestinskiĭ Sbornik*, fasc. 18 (81) (Leningrad, 1968).

3. *Turcograeciae libri octo a Martino Crusio ... utraque lingua edita* (Basileae, 1584).

4. We know also of a translation of the work into Romanian, see Russo, *op. cit.*, pp. 91—3.

5. I. N. Lebedeva, "Grecheskiĭ original russkogo perevodnogo khronografa" ("The Greek original of a translated Russian chronograph"), *Sbornik soobshcheniĭ i materialov Biblioteki Akademii nauk SSSR po knigovedeniiu* (Leningrad, 1964), pp. 305—7.

6. A comparison of the chronicle's Arabic text with the Russian translation in the Academy of Sciences library manuscript, which was independently checked against the Greek text according to the 1637 Venetian edition by I. N. Lebedeva, shows that it is a full, and not a compiled translation.

7. For detailed bibliographic information, see I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Selected Works) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, pp. 686—705ff.

8. See the colophon of the autograph manuscript of Joseph published in J. Naspallah, *Catalogue des manuscrits du Liban* (Harissa, 1958), i, p. 104.

9. On manuscripts of Joseph's translation, see G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Citta del Vaticano, 1949), iii, p. 113.

10. Checking certain excerpts of the Arabic and Russian texts against each other demonstrates their complete linguistic and stylistic congruence, which allows one to conclude that these are high-quality translations.

11. For a detailed description of the manuscript, see V. Rosen, *Notices summaires des manuscrits arabes du Musée Asiatique*, Premiere livraison (Saint-Pétersbourg, 1881), pp. 135—41, No. 190. There is another manuscript of this work in the autograph of Joseph al-Muṣawwir which is possibly the first copy of the translation, see *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath, Catalogue* (Cairo, 1928), i, p. 111, No. 999. Other copies are enumerated in G. Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 107; yet another manuscript is located in Baghdad, see Kūrkīs 'Awād, "Al-makhṭūṭāt al-tārīkhiya fī khizānat kutub al-maṭḥaf al-'Irāqī", *Sūmar*, XIII (1957), p. 55. In this connection it is worthy of note that the copying of one of the manuscripts of this translation was begun in the summer residence of Russian Tsars in Kolomna (not far from Moscow), in 1654, by a copyist who belonged to the retinue of Patriarch Macarius during his first journey to Russia. The copy, however, was completed in Syria in 1679 by another person, see *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, iii, pp. 102—3, No. 1305; also I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Selected Works) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), vi, pp. 543—4.

12. See *Istoriia Vizantii* (The History of Byzantium) (Moscow, 1967), ii, p. 69.

13. See Macarius' conclusion to his translation into Arabic of the first part of Pseudo-Dorotheus' chronicle, completed in Russia in 1667, where the name of Joseph al-Muṣawwir is accompanied by the word *marḥūm* ("deceased").

Illustrations

Front cover:

The portrait of the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great (r. 324—337), the founder of the Byzantine Empire. Miniature from a Christian-Arabic manuscript entitled *al-Durr al-manẓūm fī tārīkh mulūk al-Rūm* (C 358) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 11b, 11.8 × 9.5 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. Portrait of two Roman Emperors — Stauracius (r. 811) and Michael I (r. 811—813). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 101b, 11.9 × 7.5 cm.

Plate 2. Portrait of the Roman Emperor Leo VI the Wise (r. 886—912). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 120a, 11.2 × 10.0 cm.

Inside the text:

Plate 1. Portrait of the Roman Emperor Phocas (r. 602—610). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 74b, 11.7 × 8.8 cm. (see p. 56).

Plate 2. Portrait of the Ottoman Sultans Osman I (r. 1299?—1324) and Orkhan (r. 1324—1360). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 168a, 12.0 × 6.7 cm. (see p. 56).

Fig. 1. Portrait of the Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate (r. 361—363). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 28a, 12.0 × 12.0 cm.

Fig. 2. Portrait of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (r. 1481—1511). Miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 182a, 11.2 × 8.0 cm.

Fig. 3. Folio 63a of the same manuscript. Surface of the text: 12.0 × 22.0 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

***Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, sous la direction de François Déroche et Francis Richard. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997, 399 pp.**

In June 1994, the Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth — BNF), known for its stimulating initiatives in the field of codicology, organised an international colloquium on manuscripts of the Near East. The publication under review here was prepared on the basis of papers delivered at the colloquium. The materials, in both French and English, each introduced by a short summary in the second language, are grouped in four thematic sections. Most of the papers are characterised by a striving to diversify and perfect methods of manuscript study. This finds its reflection in stressed attention to detail in the examination of individual manuscripts and in the compilation of information about large numbers of manuscripts into tables and diagrams. The book is notable for its high standard of typography, and photographic plates presenting manuscripts from various collections, mostly from the BNF, are well reproduced (the list of illustrations at the end runs to more than 130 items).

Six papers make up the first group of contributions under the heading "Les matériaux du livre". When reports circulated that fragments of ancient books and bindings had been discovered between the ceiling and roof of the Great Mosque in Ṣan'ā' (Yemen), they sparked a sensation. Now Ursula Dreibholz reports on the results of her long years of research of the finds and provides a detailed description of the surviving parts of three wooden bindings or, more accurately, cases for books. Fragments of inscriptions in Kufic script on the back covers were discovered and deciphered by her. The author advances a hypothesis that the bindings date to the ninth century A.D.

"Les codex de la bible hébraïque en pays d'islam jusqu'à 1200: formes et formats" by Michèle Ducan and Colette Sirat (Paris) presents in table form data on the dimensions of a large number of manuscripts from the Cairo *genizah*, which date from the tenth to twelfth centuries. The manuscripts are currently stored in the National Library of Russia (St. Petersburg) and Cambridge.

Adam Gacek's (Montreal) contribution deals with the contents of a section on the art of book-binding from a manuscript on art and crafts which is ascribed to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (d. 694/1294), a Yemeni ruler of the Rasūlid dynasty. The author studied the text on the basis of three manuscripts and, as in his other works, devotes special attention to issues of terminology.

Marie-Geneviève Guesdon (Paris, BNF) dedicated her paper to methods of folios numbering used in Arabic manuscripts. Her foremost attention is paid to a special system of pagination by recording the first words of a new folio on the reverse side of the preceding folio in the lower left corner, beneath the final line of text. The material for her study was provided by manuscripts in the BNF which date from A.D. 1150 to 1450. The author notes how these designations (custodes) are distributed on the folios forming quires, how they are positioned in relation to the final line of text, and how they differ in manuscripts copied at various times. Quantitative results are given in table form.

Geneviève Humber (Paris) shows that in Arab manuscripts of the ninth to twelfth centuries A.D. one can find evidence of a codicological unit (*juz'*) unrelated to the logical division of the text. The *juz'* may be a large quire or small volume, most likely something in between a quire and a volume, neither wholly one nor the other. It is equipped with a title page which indicates its number, the title of the work, and the name of the author. The text begins on the reverse side of the title page with the *basmala* and breaks off on the final page with the colophon, after which, in most cases, the contents of the following *juz'* are listed. A *juz'* was usually stored without a binding. Apparently, it was convenient for copying and practical use for a limited time.

In "Illumination and its functions in Islamic manuscripts", Muhammad Isa Waley of the British National Library surveys types of adornment and methods of adorning ordinary manuscripts. The author bases his analysis on the culture of "manuscript producing" rather than art history.

The second group of contributions, entitled "Copistes et écritures", comprises seven papers.

In her "L'onciale penchée en copte et sa survie jusqu'au XV^{e} siècle en Haute-Égypte", Anne Boud'hors (Paris) surveys seventeen philological manuscripts of the Sa'īdic tradition from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

Two papers discuss the origins of Arabic writing and defend contrary opinions. François Briquel-Chatonnet (Paris) analyses the particular features of Aramaic and early-Arabic writing, taking into consideration the latest epigraphic discoveries and paying special attention to the general form and system of writing. She is inclined to sup-

port the theory of J. Starcky on the Syriac origin of Arabic writing, although she does not deny that there is greater similarity between Arabic and Nabatean letters. Valentina Colombo (Milan), on the contrary, supports the more widely accepted Nabatean theory on the origin of Arabic writing, relying on an analysis of the letter *alif* in inscriptions and the earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts. She also accepts the influence of the general form (*ductus*) of Syriac writing on Arabic and strives to reconcile the two views.

Paul Géhin (Paris) reports on the results of a detailed study of a bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript in the BNF (Supplement grec 911). He establishes that it contains the text of the Gospels, copied in Italy or Sicily by a certain Euthymius in A.D. 1043. He notes that this manuscript, unique in its provenance, presents an outstanding example of Arabic Maghrib-Andulusian script. The author remarks that in the nineteenth century it belonged to the Holy Sepulchre library in Jerusalem. He also claims that two folios which had been torn out of it were brought to St. Petersburg by Porphyry Uspensky. At present, these folios are preserved as part of his collection found in the National Library of Russia (No. 290).

Dickran Kouymjian (Fresno, USA) presents a program for drawing up a new album of Armenian paleography with the use of computer technology.

Ramazan Şeşen (Istanbul) assesses the information contained in the colophons of Islamic manuscripts, beginning with the earliest Arab manuscripts and ending with Turkish examples from the eighteenth century. Drawing on materials from the enormously rich collections in Istanbul, he tries to show that the contents of colophons in the course of time became more detailed and diversified.

In an extremely brief paper, Gérard Troupeau (Paris) analyses data on the colophons of Christian-Arab manuscripts. In concise, general terms he lays out the chronology of manuscripts and confessional affiliation of the copyists — Coptic Jacobite, Greek Malkite or Syriac. Important terms are noted throughout the paper.

The third section is entitled "Transmission des textes". It consists of four papers.

A large paper by Eleazar Birnbaum (Toronto) contains a "methodological investigation of autographs" by Kātib Çelebī, or Ḥājjī Khalīfa (1609—1657). He stresses that in drawing up his two famous reference works, which to this day serve Islamicists, the Turkish bibliographer employed non-traditional methods. Kātib Çelebī observed strict alphabetical order in the arrangement of materials and used an original system of cards. Relying on the vast materials found in Istanbul and exhibiting exceptional industry, he collected a huge information extracted from an enormous number of historical, literary and biographical works.

C.-P. Haase (Kiel), in his paper describes his re-discovery of Piri Reis' seafaring maps surviving in an early manuscript in the library of Kiel University. The author compares it with published versions well known to scholars.

P. Orsatti (Rome) examines the ratio of manuscript to text in Persian lyric poetry and finds a mystical, talismanic significance in how the *makhlaṣ* ("refuge") — the dedication to the *mamdūḥ* — was recorded.

A. Sidarus (Evora, Portugal) presents in her paper the complex history and format of an extremely unusual Greek-Coptic-Arab philological manuscript from the BNF.

The fourth section, "Les bibliothèques et leur histoire", contains four papers.

Iraj Afshar analyses mentions of *'arḍ*s (a writ addressed to a ruler or high official) in Persian manuscripts of the Indo-Iranian tradition. These mentions testify to a given manuscript's belonging to the royal or public (*vaqf*) libraries and aid in understanding their history. At the close of his work, the author provides two tables of data on the eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts under discussion.

G. Colas (Paris) tells of manuscripts which were brought from India by French Jesuits between 1729 and 1735. These include approximately 160 volumes, primarily manuscripts in the Telugu, Sanskrit and Tamil languages.

Finally, B. Martel-Thoumian (Montpelier) surveys manuscripts acquired by the Damascus library Ẓahīriya between 1943 and 1972, devoting special attention to historical works and the prices paid for them.

The section concludes with a bio-bibliographical reference work by S. T. Rasmussen on the history of Arabistic and Semitological studies in Denmark.

A. Khalidov

Francoise Briquel-Chatonnet. *Manuscrits syriaques. Catalogue.* Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997, 264 pp.

A new catalogue of Syriac manuscripts prepared by F. Briquel-Chatonnet, a noted French Semitologist and specialist on Syriac literature, offers readers descriptions of manuscripts held in the four most significant French collections — the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Bibliothèque Méjanes d'Aix-en-Provence, the Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, and the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg. The Bibliothèque nationale de Paris possesses the richest collection among them. The main body of this collection began to take shape already in the seventeenth century, while recent acquisitions date to the 1990s. By the end of the nineteenth century, a large part of the Syriac collection — 288 items — had been described in H. Zotenberg's catalogue "Manuscrits orientaux. Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaites) de la Bibliothèque nationale", Paris, 1874. To this day, all scholars of Syriac literature make grateful use of this catalogue. Those manuscripts which entered the collection between 1874 and 1911 (46 items) were described by J.-B. Chabot and F. Nau. The latter also equipped the Syriac catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale with corrections and addenda. These reference sources remained inconvenient to use, however, as they were published in periodicals (*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* and *Journal Asiatique*). They have not yet been re-published in a single edition, which would be most welcome.

After 1911, the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris' collection of Syriac manuscripts grew by 80 items. These included 13 manuscripts which belonged to Addai Scher, the Chaldean archbishop of Seert (Siirt, in present-day Turkish Kurdistan), as well as manuscripts from the collections of the famed French scholars F. Nau and F. Graffin. A description of these new acquisitions occupies a large part of the new catalogue, which also provides descriptions of 27 manuscripts from Strasbourg and five from Aix-en-Provence and Lyons. Although Lyons holds only two Syriac manuscripts, their value is extraordinary, as one is a manuscript which contains the *Hexaemeron* of Jacob of Edessa, dated to the ninth century, while the second is a twelfth-century "Breviary".

The author of the catalogue under review has arranged the material of each entry in accordance with a strict two-part system. The first part deals with the manuscript's contents: the author's name and the title of the text in the form accepted by contemporary scholars are followed by the original title in Syriac script (Eṣtrangĕlā) and the beginning of the work is given, also in Syriac. If the manuscript contains several works, headings are provided for each work in the collection. In the case it is a fragment, the author cites the beginning of the surviving (or readable) portion. The author set for herself the task of, where possible, indicating losses in the text or, alternately, noting the appearance in the manuscript of extra folios. If the manuscript has already been published or has entered scholarly circulation in another form, information is given about such publications and the scholarly history of the text.

The second part of the description contains codicological information, divided into three headings. The first provides the date of the manuscript, colophon data, information about the copyist and place of the manuscript's creation, and its owners (private and collective). The second analyses the writing, noting its particular features, diacritical signs and punctuation, numeration of the folios and quires; it also describes and dates corrections and marginal notes, added by copyists or readers, and analyses the artistic lay-out of the manuscript. The third gives information about paper or parchment, ink, the number and dimensions of folios, the number of columns with text per folio, number of lines per column, proportions of folios and margins, number of quires and folios per quire, and binding.

We note with pleasure that F. Briquel-Chatonnet consistently employs water-mark dating methods when describing manuscripts written on paper. The analysis of water marks as a means of dating Syriac and other Oriental manuscripts was first proposed by N. V. Pigulevskaya. In a 1927, at a meeting of the Society of ancient literature in Leningrad, she delivered a paper concerning the importance and necessity of such kind of investigations, since the stability of Syriac scripts and its conventional and unchanging calligraphic forms leave few other possibilities for dating documents. Complementing N. V. Pigulevskaya's observations on the extensive distribution of Italian and French paper among the Syrians, F. Briquel-Chatonnet has discovered in French collections several nineteenth-century Syriac manuscripts written on paper of Russian origin (pp. 207, 208).

Several manuscripts presented in the catalogue are of interest; some of these have already drawn serious scholarly attention. Such are six copies (366, 408—409, 412, 430, 435, S 4140) of a work by the well-known eighth-century Syriac writer Theodore bar Kōnī — "The Book of the Scholia", a philological and theological commentary on the Bible. Although four of these copies contain only the final second scholion, it is an especially important text, as it is dedicated to a description of 92 sects and heresies which were wide-spread in the Near East in the early Middle Ages. The former owner of several of these copies was the noted French diplomat and scholar H. Pognon, who made a significant contribution both to identifying this outstanding Syriac writer and to dating his life and work.

Among the widely known works of Syriac literature presented in the catalogue are the ascetic homilies of Isaac of Nineveh (in the Russian tradition, he is known as Isaac the Syrian) — 359, 378, IX; a historical work by John bar Penkayē, still not published in full — 405, 406, S 4133; grammatical treatises by John bar Zū'bī and Elias of Nisībis — 426; and various anonymous medical and astrological texts — 423, 424, 425. Of indubitable importance are texts which were translated into Syriac — excerpts from homilies by early Christian authors such as Gregory of Nazianzus, Evagrius Pontius (of whose work little has survived in the original Greek), Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.

F. Briquel-Chatonnet's catalogue grants due attention to fragments. Under number 389 are grouped numerous passages from manuscripts, the contents of which vary widely — biblical, liturgical, hagiographic, philosophical. No. 389 B is important for the study of Christian hymns; it presents 10 poetic fragments dated by handwriting to the period from the eighth to twelfth centuries and written in the twelve-syllable meter favoured by the famed Syriac poet Jacob of Sērūgh. The author of the catalogue has succeeded in identifying a substantial number of fragments. This could not have been an easy task, and bears witness to her erudition and broad acquaintance with texts from many genres of Syriac literature. Identifying the remaining fragments is a task for future scholars — this new catalogue will, of course, stimulate the interest of Syriologists in these fragments.

We note with pleasure the codicological similarity of Syriac manuscripts from French collections with those held in St. Petersburg. This relates foremost to a ninth-century Strasbourg manuscript (S 4116) which contains spiritual works by Sahdona (Martyrius), a Syriac writer from the first half of the twelfth century — the so-called "Book of Perfections", which contains five epistles as well as wise sayings. The Strasbourg manuscripts is defective; it lacks folios at the beginning and end. The two final folios of this very manuscript, which originated in the Sinai, are held today in the National Library of Russia (Syr. new series No. 13). They were discovered and published in 1927 by N. V. Pigulevskaya, who always spoke of her discovery with great enthusiasm. It was, in fact, a very important find, as the identification of these two folios permitted the identification of the author and the contents of the text, and made it possible to read the name of the copyist and discover the time and place of the manuscript's creation. Thanks to the work of this Russian scholar, other folios from this manuscript were subsequently found in the Ambrosia library in Milan and in the collection of A. Mingana in Birmingham. It is only because of these discoveries that we now have a relatively clear sense of this unique work by a Nestorian writer, a work based on his profound understanding of the Christian patristic tradition. It provides a detailed exposition of issues of Christian morality. Modern scholars have

shown that this work exerted serious influence on other Eastern Christian literatures, reaching in translation Arabic and Georgian readers.

Manuscript No. 395, a liturgical book of the Jacobite order, also draws our attention. Certain sections of the manuscript date from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, as the manuscript was restored and touched up several times. The author of the catalogue was able to date accurately the stages of restoration. The manuscript belongs to the same group as the Gospel from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (осн. ф. No. 6), which dates to 1578. Geographic indications in the colophons of both manuscripts coincide and lead us to the Northern part of Mesopotamia — Melitēne (Malatya in present-day Turkey), where the Jacobite diocese of Gargar or Gerger was located. The diocese included the convent of the Virgin Mary and Mār Zakkāi or Zacchaeus, where our Gospel was copied. It stood on one of the heights above a fortress (or camp — Syr. *ksṭr'*) Vank (not *dwnk*, as one finds on page 115 of the catalogue). The famed convent Abū Ghālib (Syr. *'bwglyb*, not *bwglyb*, as on page 115) and the convent Bar-ṣauma were also located there. Both manuscripts mention the same figures in the church — Mār Ignatius, Antioch patriarch of the Jacobites, and Mār Basil, maphrian of the East. Though the manuscript in the possession of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is not as lavishly adorned as the Paris one, which contains miniatures, the St. Petersburg manuscript is noteworthy for its index to gospel readings for the entire year (fols. 3b—6). The index is written out in a decorative grid, painted gold and blue. The manuscripts juxtaposed here doubtless represent one and the same school of book illuminating.

We consider it appropriate to note that the manuscripts in the Paris and Petersburg collections are united by the genuine kinship of their copyists. The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection holds a manuscript (coll. Dittr. No. 8) — an order of holiday services — which was copied in Alqosh. The colophon tells us that Alqosh enjoyed the patronage of the prophet Naum. The manuscript was copied in 1659 by the priest Isrā'īl, son of the priest Hormīzd, grandson of the priest Isrā'īl of Alqosh. Manuscript No. 426 in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris is a collection of grammatical works, copied in Alqosh in 1880 by Isrā'īl Shakhīmā, son of the priest Hormīzd, etc. Thus, the manuscript was copied by the great-great-grandson of the copyist of the Petersburg manuscript. The names Isrā'īl and Hormīzd were apparently passed from generation to generation in this clan of clerics and copyists.

Thanks to the convenient indices in F. Briquel-Chatonnet's catalogue, it is quite simple to perform comparative analysis of the names of copyists and place names found in colophons. The book contains nine indices: authors, headings (given separately in European scholarly form and Syriac original), beginnings of texts, proper names found in colophons and marginalia, place names, and dated and illuminated manuscripts.

In conclusion, we can state with confidence that this new catalogue represents a worthy continuation to the traditions of Syriac manuscript scholarship long maintained by our French colleagues. It will be a fine aide for more than one generation of scholars and will serve to spur interest in research on Syriac literature and culture.

E. Mescherskaya

PROCEEDINGS

of the 17th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants

(Saint-Petersburg on 21—26 August 1994)

Ed. by ***W. Madelung, Yu. Petrosyan, A. Khalidov, H. Waardenburg-Kirkpatrick, E. Rezvan.***

St. Petersburg: THESA, 1997. Pp. 316, $ 29 (postage included), paperback.

We take pleasure in presenting materials from the seventeenth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants (UEAI). This major international forum drew 73 specialists from fifteen countries (Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and other European nations, as well as from America, Israel, and Lebanon).

The following topics were presented for discussion at the Congress:

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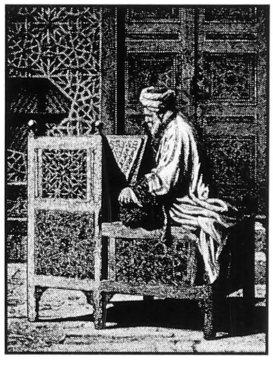
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE 17th CONGRESS OF THE UEAI



Thesa
St. Petersburg
1997

- **The Muslim world and Eastern Europe: contacts and interaction;**
- **Textual criticism and research methods;**
- **The art of war in the Islamic world: theory and practice.**

An international editorial board was created to oversee the publication of materials after the Congress' conclusion. It reviewed the texts presented by participants and selected those studies, which fully responded to the topics chosen for the Congress and met all standards of professionalism. In this fashion, **30 articles** were selected for publication. Their authors represent Russian and European Arabists and Islamicists from **12 countries**. The articles presented here cover a vast range of topics: the history of the spread of Islam in Russia and Central and Eastern Europe; the art of war in the Islamic world; the history of culture, literature, and religious and political teachings; linguistic issues in the Arab-Muslim world. They reflect the general level, tendencies and perspectives, which will determine the future development of Arabic and Islamic studies in Europe and Russia at the turn of the twentieth century.

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ASIATIC MUSEUM. TREASURES FROM ST. PETERSBURG ACADEMIC COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS (CD-ROM SERIES)

In 1995, various institutions began the publication of CD-ROM series based on the international manuscript heritage. The "Memory of the World" program of the UNESCO was initiated in order to realise new approaches to safeguarding documentary materials and to make the first step toward creating a decentralised interactive world library.

It is our pleasure to introduce here another project in the field:

"Asiatic Museum. Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic Collection of Oriental Manuscripts (CD-ROM Series)". Among eighty-five thousand manuscripts in 65 living and dead Oriental languages, which are preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (formerly the Asiatic Museum founded in 1818), Russian Academy of Sciences, there are many rare or unique religious, historical, and scientific works awaiting their publication.

In 1997—2000 at least ten extremely interesting manuscripts from the collection are expected to be published in the proposed series:

✓ Issue No. 1. **"Secret Visionary Autobiography"** of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617—1682). His work is an outstanding example of Tibetan spirituality, being both the record of Dalai Lama's years-long visionary experiences and a description of the most esoteric rituals of Tibetan Buddhism as well.

Author of the publication — Dr. ***Vladimir Uspensky***

✓ Issue No. 2. A three-volume manuscript of great importance from both the textological and codicological points of view. It appears to represent one of the **earliest Arabic translations of the Bible**, as well as the oldest copy of such a translation. The MS was transcribed in Damascus in 1236 from an original executed in Antioch in 1022. In 1913, the MS was presented by Gregory IV, Patriarch of Antioch, to the Russian Tsar Nicholas II.

Author of the publication — Dr. ***Valery Polosin.***

✓ Issue No. 3. ***Zuhar al-riyāḍ wa-nuzah al-murtāḍ*** (***"Flowers of the Garden and the Pleasure of Walking There"***), a unique 14th-century manuscript from Baghdad, which contains an anthology compiled by Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Ṣubayḥ al-Shanbakī (al-Shunbukī?) al-Asadī. The MS is the autograph of the compiler who at times reports in the text on the progress of his work. Neither the author, nor his work are mentioned by any reference-books on Arabic literature. Most interesting is that the book was created in a ravaged Baghdad, then a mere shadow of the 'Abbāsid empire's glorious capital. The work provides rare evidence for the literary activities in the city after its devastation by the Mongols as well as for literary sources which were then available.

Author of the publication — Prof. ***Anas Khalidov.***

✓ Issue No. 4. One of the most important **Qur'ānic MSS** in the world, dated to the 8th century A.D. Eighty-one large parchment folios in **Hijāzī** script contain about 40 per cent of the text of the Qur'ān. The MS of the Qur'ān comprises full text of twenty-two ***sūras*** and fragments of another twenty-two. The MS also contains corrections in the orthography of the sacred text, which were made in red ink, most probably a century after the date of copying. Besides, the space between separate ***sūras*** is filled with coloured ornaments (very interesting compositions of triangles, arcs, intertwined or intersecting lines, sometimes evocative of nomadic jewelry) with ***sūra*** titles and information about the number of ***āyāt***. The MS was displayed at the exhibition "Pages of Perfection" (Paris—New York—Lugano—Salzburg) in 1995—1996.

Author of the publication — Dr. ***Efim Rezvan***

✓ Issue No. 5. A fifteenth-century illustrated Turkish manuscript of the ***Iskandar-nāma*** (***"The Book of Iskandar"***), which contains a poem-***mathnawī*** by Aḥmadī (1334/35—1412/13), written in Old Anatolian Turkic at the end of the fourteenth century. In 1931, the MS was displayed as an item of Persian book art at the International Exhibition of Persian art in London. However, stylistic features of several miniatures in the MS testify to its Ottoman provenance and reflect an early, very special and, undoubtedly, intriguing period in the development of Ottoman painting, when its own original manner was emerging. The style of the miniatures is marked by a charming simplicity and naive realism which almost wholly disappeared in the sixteenth century.

Author of the publication — Dr. ***Irina Petrosyan***

✓ Issue No. 6. **"Gulshan" ("Flower-Garden")**, a unique Qājār manuscript which is going to be presented at the exhibition "The Qājār Epoch: Two Hundred Years of Painting from the Royal Persian Courts" organized by the Brooklyn Museum of Art and scheduled for 1998. This large-sized eighteenth-century MS (68.0 × 48.5 cm) is a real poetical library enclosed in one volume. It includes 103 poems of different genres and lengths by 47 authors of the eleventh—eighteenth centuries. The MS is illustrated with 100 first-class coloured miniatures by at least 3 painters from Iṣfahān (the size of the miniatures varies from 18.2 × 28.5 cm to 37.0 × 26.5 cm).

Author of the publication — Prof. ***Oleg Akimushkin***

✓ Issue No 7. A richly illustrated fifteenth-century manuscript containing the Mamlūk treatise ***"Kitāb al-makhzūn fī jami' al-funūn"*** by Ibn Abī Khazzām al-Khuttalī. The writing was not only a kind of manual meeting practical needs for the military training of Sulṭān guards and Mamlūks, but also for arranging Cairo's colossal ***furūsiyya*** festivals, forerunners of the carousel festivals at European courts. The St. Petersburg copy of the treatise is of prime importance both for the history of the text and the Mamlūk school of book miniatures. The MS was displayed at the exhibition "Pages of Perfection" (Paris—New York—Lugano—Salzburg) in 1995—1996.

Authors of the publication — Dr. ***Efim Rezvan*** *and Dr.* ***Alikber Alikberov***

✓ Issue No 8. The manuscript of ***Kankai Ibun*** (***"Remarkable Facts about the Sea Surrounding [the Earth]"***) was produced in 1807 on the basis of questions put to four Japanese sailors who had returned home after nearly 11 years of seafaring. In 1793, their ship was overtaken by a typhoon. In 1803, after many adventures the sailors made their appearance in St. Petersburg where the Tsar Alexander I granted them an audience. Year later four of them returned home on board of the Russian sloop ***Nadezhda***. The St. Petersburg MS of the work is one of the most authoritative and close to the autograph MS. Apart from its great value for the history of the text, the MS is richly illustrated with coloured drawings depicting much of what the sailors saw during their long voyage through to Russia and back to Japan.

Author of the publication — Prof. ***Vladislav Goreglyad***

✓ Issue No. 9. A unique Sanskrit manuscript entitled ***"Conspectus of Sacred Texts"***, which was found in Central Asia (Turkmenistan) by a Buddhist Teacher of the early first millennium A.D. The MS is written in Old Indian script ***brāhmī*** on birch bark. Initially, it belonged to a Buddhist preacher, whose activity took place about the tenth century A.D. among monks and laymen on the territory of contemporary Turkmenistan. The writing contains a conspectus of Buddhist dogmatic texts — ***sūtras***, the disciplinary code — ***vinaya***, and didactic stories of the ***jātaka*** and ***avadāna*** type relating to one of the Hīnayāna Buddhist schools, namely Sarvāstivāda. The conspectus seems to have been written partly by the owner himself, and partly by a professional scribe. The MS is unique in many respects. But first and foremost it deserves special attention because of its antiquity. Historians of Buddhism have never possessed such an old text which shows the everyday professional activity of a preacher and the intellectual scope of that activity. The specialists on Buddhism will find in it new, important information on the history of the Buddhist Canon.

Author of the publication — Prof. ***Margarita Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya***

✓ Issue No. 10. Illustrated Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs of ***"One Hundred Thousand Verses"*** (or ***"The Great Yum"***, Skt. ***Mahā-Prajñāpāraramitā*** in one hundred thousand ***ślokas***). Block-print editions and manuscripts of ***"The Great Yum"*** from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies differ both in the number of illustrations (up to 112) and the contents of the pantheon they represent, being especially valuable for the study of Buddhist iconography and Mongolian iconography in particular.

Author of the publication — Dr. ***Alexey Sazykin***

Note: Issues Nos. 6 and **10** present miniatures found in the corresponding manuscripts and block-prints. Other **issues** present manuscripts as a whole. Every CD-ROM (IBM-MAC hybrid) of the series contains a short video lecture by a scholar, a short excursion through the Institute and its collection, the full text of the research devoted to the MS, a special synopsis of all the material presented, and many multimedia effects. The language of the project is English.

The Author and Coordinator of the project — Dr. ***Efim Rezvan, Manuscripta Orientalia***
Deputy Editor-in-Chief

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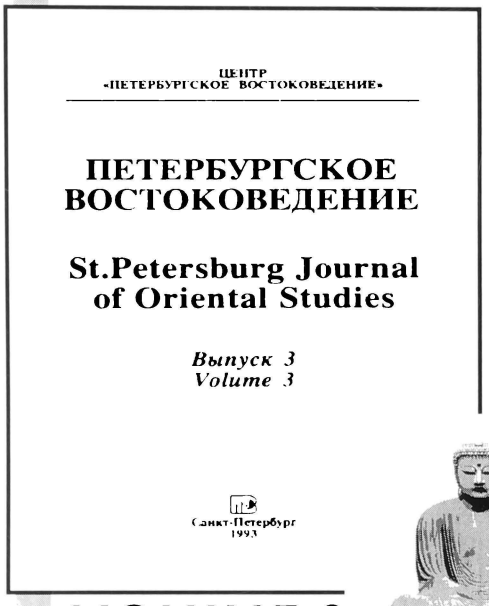

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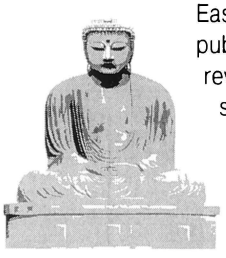

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POBox 111, St.Petersburg, Russia, 198152
Fax: (7812) 183 53 81.
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AUTHORS

Prof. Dr. ***Jost Gippert*** — at present Professor of comparative linguistics at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität (Frankfurt/M), specialist in the field of Indo-Germanic textology and philology, expert in Japanese and Chinese studies. He is an author of several computer programs for processing texts in European and Eastern languages.

Dr. ***Shimon M. Iakerson*** — Senior Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the history of Hebrew culture, expert in the field of the Hebrew manuscript and first printed book tradition, author of a series of monographs and articles.

Prof. Dr. ***Anas B. Khalidov*** — Head of the Near Eastern Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in the field of Arabic manuscript tradition, culture and literature, author of manuscript catalogues, monographs, and articles.

Prof. Dr. ***Vladimir V. Kushev*** — Chief Researcher of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Iranian studies, expert in Afghan literature and culture. He is an author of a series of catalogues of manuscripts, monographs and articles.

Prof. Dr. ***Elena N. Mescherskaya*** — Senior Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, expert in Syriac literature and culture, author of two monographs and a series of articles in the field.

Mrs. ***Alexandra I. Mikhaylova*** — former researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Arabic manuscripts and literature, author of two catalogues of Arabic manuscripts and a series of articles.

Dr. ***Efim A. Rezvan*** — Deputy Director of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in Arabic and Islamic studies, author of a number of monographs and articles dealing with Russian-Arab relations, the history of Islam and Oriental studies computing.

Dr. ***Arzu A. Sadykhova*** — Senior Lecturer on the Arabic language and literature at the North-Western Personnel Centre (St. Petersburg), specialist in Arabic literature, author of a number of articles in the field.

Prof. Dr. ***Nataliya N. Tumanovich*** — Senior Researcher at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, specialist in the Persian history and literature, author of a number of monographs and articles in the field.

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