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Front cover:

"The Holy Family with Attendants", *Muraqqaʿ* (E 14) in the collection
of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Lucknow school, mid-18th century,
fragment of folio 91 a, 10.0 × 13.3 cm. Watercolour, gouache.

Back cover:

"The Madonna Praying before the Crusifix" (top left), "The Madonna of St.Luke" (top right)
and "Ibrāhīm ibn Adham and Angels"(bottom), *Muraqqaʿ* (E 14) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of
the Institute of Oriental Studies, attributed to Manohar Dās, Mughāl school, *ca.* 1590—1595, folio 53 a.
Sizes: 6.0 × 7.2 cm, 2.8 × 5.8 cm, 14.8 × 19.5 cm. Watercolour, ink and gold on paper.

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Dear readers,

Scholars in the area of Oriental studies understand, perhaps better than others, that all calendars are rather arbitrary. Our work brings us into contact with texts that belong to the most varied cultures, dated in the most varied fashions. We constantly convert dates from one system of chronology to another ... We are well familiar with the arbitrariness of the dates chosen by humankind as starting points to order events of the greatest historical and cultural importance. This in no wa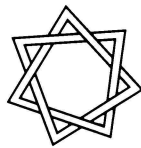y reduces the significance of these events in human history, or the role of the calendar as a vital instrument that allows human civilization to link its past and present.

One of the world's great civilizations — Christian civilization — is entering its third millennium. The millennial nature of events in our time has led many to reflect on the past and make projections about the future. Despite the diversity of their forecasts, futurologists stand united on one point: the "clock of civilization" is ticking faster, and future decades will usher in vast changes for all humankind and each one of us. These radical changes may cause growing contradictions and lead to conflict. One hopes that the lessons of history — the lessons of the not too much merciful 20th century — will not go unheeded and that the message of peace, justice, and love contained in all the great religions of the world will be heard in all hearts.

*The beginning of the third millennium marks a convergence of three holidays — Christmas according to the Gregorian calendar, which brings the Christian fast to an end, the Muslim holiday of 'īd al-fiṭr, which closes the fast month of Ramaḍān, and Jewish Hanukah. The editorial board of the journal **Manuscripta Orientalia** sends greetings to all its readers, who today live in more than thirty countries, and wishes them peace, inner peace, peace in their families, and peace in the common abode inhabited by the people of our Earth. May the lovely Persian miniatures on the cover of our journal, which bring together the spiritual legacies of the Abrahamic religions that stem from a common spiritual legacy, remind us all of the arbitrariness of difference and the indubitable unity of all shared values. We wish you a happy new year, new century, new millennium.*

E. Rezvan, Editor-in-Chief

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

I. Ianbay

NEW DATA ON THE LITERATURE AND CULTURE OF THE KRIMCHAKS*

The study and publication of materials pertaining to the Jewish Krimchak ethnolect of the Crimean Tatar language started nearly 100 years ago: Ephraim Deinard in 1878 was the first to publish the first 20 Krimchak words [1]. We know of eight books in Krimchak-Turkic published at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Krimchaks themselves: they are listed first by Yizhaq Ben-Zvi [2] and then by Wolf Moskowitch and Boris Tukan [3] as well. Only one of these books, *Sefer Ruth* published by Petrokov in 1906 (52 pages), was given special study in a paper by the author of the present article and Erdal [4]. Some authors such as Kaja, Filonenko, Keren, Khazanov, Polinsky [5] have published several short texts in prose and poetry in the Krimchak ethnolect. However, there are many other undescribed Krimchak manuscripts in various depositories.

The survey presented here is a description of the Krimchak manuscripts mentioned in the article by Lea Medvedeva [6]. Her article on the Karaite written sources in the collections of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains also a short enumeration of six [7] Krimchak manuscripts discovered among them. These manuscripts from the St. Petersburg collection are available on microfilms at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. Their numbers are: 52845 (A 61 in St. Petersburg), 52368 (A 128), 53591 (B 420), 53034 (B 98), 667836 (C 77), and 69264 (C 18). All of them are written in Hebrew script, and they are works in prose or poetry, memoirs and philological descriptions, epic works and translations of books of the Bible. Nearly all of them were written between the mid-nineteenth century and the 1920s.

Notes on transcription

For all Krimchak forms cited in the article, that is, for single words and phrases, as well as for longer example sentences and passages of texts, the transcription described below [8] is used. The motivation for adopting a transcription into Latin, with the elements of transliteration, was to make the sources accessible to non-Semitologists.

The following vowels — all fairly close to the cardinal vowels in their phonetic realization — are indicated: *a, e, ï, i, o, ö, u, ü*. In the Krimchak manuscripts these are spelled by means of 5 letters (א, ה, ו, י, ע) and some *nikud* vowel-pointings. Both diacritics and letters are sometimes omitted. The vowels *a, o, u, i*, which appear also in Hebrew, are presented as in that language. For instance, in the first syllable the letter *alef* with *kamas* and the *kamas* and *patah* signs are rendered in this transcription by *a*, for example, אײ *ay* "month", דא *da* "and", סרנוו *sarnav* "song". At the same time, there are many cases, such as בש *baš* "head", ברצא *barċa* "all, every", שבת *šabat* "Sabbath, Saturday". The letter *he* is rendered by *e*, for example, נה *ne* "what". The letter *yod* is rendered by *i*, for example, בילן *bilen* "with",

כיביכ *kibik* "like, as". The combination *alef-yod* is also rendered by *i*, for example, אײץ *ič* "in", אינאן *inan-* "to believe". The letter *'ayin* is used in the spelling for rendering the vowel *a*, for example, יעקב *yaakov* "Jacob" as in Hebrew. At the same time, there are cases of using *'ayin* for rendering the vowel *e*, for example, ישמעל *ismael* "Ismael", סעבער *sever* "beloved", בעש *beš* "five" [9].

Palatal harmony, a characteristic feature of Turkic phonology, is evident in the spelling. There are many suffixes forming pairs by alternating the vowels *a* and *e*, for example, -*a* / -*e* (dative); -*da* / -*de* (locative); -*dan* / -*den* (ablative); -*lar* / -*ler* (plural); -*maq* / -*mek* (verbal noun), etc. The *a*-suffixes are used in words with back vowels, the *e*-suffixes in words with front vowels, for example, סאיילארי *saÿlarï* "their quantity", אישצילער *isčiler* "workers", etc. Besides, the letters *kaf* and *gimel* are only used in words with front vowels, but the signs *kof* and *gimel* with a stroke are used in words with back vowels only. Therefore, the combination *xolam-vav* is rendered in the transcription by either *o* or *ö*; similarly, the combination *vav-shuruk* is

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shown as *u* or *ü*, according to palatal harmony; for example, כונלר *künler* "days", אחאר *axar* "is flowing", גורמסם *görmesem* "if I do not see", באחטסיזליח *baxïtsïzlïx* "misfortune", etc.

There are 20 consonant letters in the Hebrew alphabet. By means of using *dagesh* dotting and various strokes the number of Hebrew letters in the Krimchak character inventory is increased considerably. For some Hebrew letters,

Krimchak usage differs from Classical Hebrew. For example, the letter *shin* marks only the sound *š*; there is no *sin*. *Sade* is used for marking *č*. The letter *xaf* marks three different sounds: *k*, *x*, and *h*. *Gimel* with a point (sometimes with a stroke) marks affricate *j*, and *gimel* with a slanting stroke marks both the nasal sonorant *ŋ* and the fricative *γ*. The letter *vet* with a stroke indicates fricative *v*; the letter *pe* with a stroke marks *f*. These diacritics are often omitted.

Table 1

A summary of the sound values of vowel and consonant characters

Nos.	letter	name	transcription
1	א	*alef*	*a, e*
2	ב	*bet, vet*	*b, v*
3	ג	*gimel*	*g, j, γ, ŋ*
4	ד	*dalet*	*d*
5	ה	*he*	*h, e*
6	ו	*vav*	*v, o, u, ö, ü*
7	ז	*zayin*	*z*
8	ח	*het*	*x*
9	ט	*tet*	*t*
10	י	*yod*	*i, ï*
11	כ	*kaf, xaf*	*k, x, h*
12	ל	*lamed*	*l*
13	מ	*mem*	*m*
14	נ	*nun*	*n*
15	ס	*samex*	*s*
16	ע	*'ayin*	*a, e*
17	פ	*pe, fe*	*p, f*
18	צ	*sade*	*č, (s)*
19	ק	*kof*	*q*
20	ר	*resh*	*r*
21	ש	*shin, sin*	*š, (s)*
22	ת	*tav*	*t*

Before describing the manuscripts mentioned above, some technical notes are necessary. First, letters in round brackets refer to Hebrew proper names in the Krimchak texts. Second, suffixes, which are sometimes written in texts separately, in the transcription are joined to their stems by means of hyphens.

Manuscripts contents

I. Bible translations and other religious works. There are the books of the later prophets in manuscript B 98 (microfilm No. 53034), which is a voluminous manuscript without a title page. The manuscript consists of 130 folios, or 260 pages. The name of the translator has not yet been established. On fol. 27, there is a note in Russian: "Simferopol, 1930". This date is repeated on fol. 96.

The Hebrew texts are absent in the manuscript. It contains translations into the Krimchak ethnolect of the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah. With the exception of the book of Jeremiah, which lacks an end, all these biblical books are complete. We give here the beginnings and the ends of each book:

1. The Book of Isaiah (fols. 1—68).

The beginning: נבי ליכי ישעיהו ניג' אוגלו אמוץ ניג כי נביא ליכ
אטטי יהודה אוצון דא ירושלים אוצון דא

Transcription: *nabi-liki isayahu-nïŋ oγлu amos-nïŋ ki nabi-lik etti yehuda üčün da yerušalaim üčün.*

Translation: "The vision concerning Judah and Jerusalem Isaiah, the son of Amoz, saw".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. I): חֲזוֹן יְשַׁעְיָהוּ בֶן-אָמוֹץ אֲשֶׁר חָזָה עַל יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלָם

The end: דא בולסין איי בשיסין דאן איי בשיסינדא דא שבת דן
שבתין דא כלסין ברצא טן בש אורמג'א אלימא אטטי ייג :תם

Transcription: *da bolsïn ay bašïsïn-dan ay bašïsï-na da šabat-dan šabatïn-da kelsin barča ten baš urmaya alïma eytti iyeŋ: tam.*

Translation: "'From one new moon to another and from one Sabbath to another, all mankind will come and bow down before me', says your Lord".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. LXVI, v. 23): וּמִדֵּי שַׁבָּת בְּשַׁבַּתּוֹ יָבוֹא כָל בָּשָׂר לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֺת לְפָנַי אָמַר יְהֹוָה:

2. The Book of Jeremiah (fols. 69—96).

The beginning: סוזלרי ירמיהו ניג' אוגלו חלקיהו ניג' אול כהן לרדן כי סנתות טא יירינדא בנימין ניג'.

Transcription: *sözleri yermiyahu-nïŋ oylu xelkiyahu-nïŋ ol kohen-lardan ki santot-ta yerinde benyamin-niŋ.*

Translation: "The words of Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests in Santhoth (Anathoth) in the land of Benjamin".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v.1): דִּבְרֵי יִרְמְיָהוּ בֶּן-חִלְקִיָּהוּ מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים אֲשֶׁר בַּעֲנָתוֹת בְּאֶרֶץ בִּנְיָמִן :

The end: דא אושול ברצא כזינלרני כ'אן לרי יהודא ניג' ורים קולונדא דושמן לריניג' דא טלסין לר אלרני דא אלסין לר אלרני דא אלכיטסין לר אלרנו בבל גא.

Transcription: *da ušol barča xazïnalarïnï xan-larï yehuda-nïŋ vereyim qolunda dušman-larïnïŋ da talasïn-lar alarnï da alsïn-lar alarnï da alkitsïn-ler alarnï bavïl-ya.*

Translation: "I will hand over to their enemies all valuables of the kings of Judah. They will take it away as plunder and carry it off to Babylon".

Actually, this is not the end of the Book of Jeremiah. The end of the text in this Krimchak manuscript corresponds to the following Hebrew verse (ch. XX, v. 5): וְאֶת כָּל אוֹצְרוֹת מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה אֶתֵּן בְּיַד אֹיְבֵיהֶם וּבְזָזוּם וּלְקָחוּם וֶהֱבִיאוּם בָּבֶלָה:

3. The Book of Hosea (fols. 97—106).

The beginning: סוגו ייג' ניג' :. כי בולדו הושע גא אוגלו בארי ניג' כונלרין דא עוזיה ניג' :. יוסם ניג' אחז ניג' :. יחיזקיה ניג' כאן לרי יאודא ניג' :.

Transcription: *sözü iyeŋ-niŋ ki boldu ose-ge oylu barinïŋ könlerinde uzi-nïŋ yosam-nïŋ axaz-nïŋ yexizqiya-nïŋ xanlarï yeuda-nïŋ.*

Translation: "The word of the Lord, your God, that came unto Hosea, the son of Beeri, in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1): דְּבַר-יְהֹוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל-הוֹשֵׁעַ בֶּן-בְּאֵרִי בִּימֵי עֻזִּיָּה יוֹתָם אָחָז יְחִזְקִיָּה מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה

The end: דא צדיק לר יורור לר אלר בילן דא ביין לר סורושור לר אלר בילן. תם

Transcription: *da čadik-ler yörür-ler alar bilen da beyan-lar sorušur-lar alar bilen: tam.*

Translation: "The righteous walk in them [in the ways of the Lord] and glad persons question them. The end".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. XIV, v. 10): וְצַדִּקִים יֵלְכוּ בָם וּפֹשְׁעִים יִכָּשְׁלוּ בָם :

4. The Book of Joel (fols. 106—110).

The beginning: אישיטיג'יז בונו אול קרטלר דא טיג'לאג'יז ברצא אוטורגנל לר.

Transcription: *ešitiŋiz bunu ol qartlar da tïŋlaŋïz barča oturyanlar.*

Translation: "Hear this, ye old man; and hear, all ye inhabitants [of the land]".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 2): שִׁמְעוּ-זֹאת הַזְּקֵנִים וְהַאֲזִינוּ כֹּל יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ

The end: וניקה דא ארובלסם קנלרי אוצון ארובלמם דיר דא ייג' קונר ציון דא.

Transcription: *ve niqah-da aruvlasam qanlarï üčün aruvlamam-dir da iyeŋ qonar čion-da.*

Translation: "Their bloodguilt, which I have not pardoned, I will pardon. The Lord, your God, dwells in Zion".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. IV, v. 21): וְנִקֵּיתִי דָּמָם לֹא-נִקֵּיתִי וַיהֹוָה שֹׁכֵן בְּצִיּוֹן :

5. The Book of Amos (fols. 110—119).

The beginning: סוזלרי עמוס ניג' :. כי בולדו קויג'ו לרדא תקועדן :.

Transcription: *sözleri amos-nïŋ ki boldu qoyji-larda teqoada.*

Translation: "The words of Amos, one of the herdmen of Tekoa".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1): דִּבְרֵי עָמוֹס אֲשֶׁר-הָיָה בַנֹּקְדִים מִתְּקוֹעַ

The end: דא טיכיים אלרני יירלרי אוסטינא דא טשלן אסין דגין יירלרי אוסטון דן כי ורדים אלרגא אטטי ייג' טג'רי : תם

Transcription: *da tikeyim alarnï yerleri üstüne da tašlan-asïn degin yerleri üstün-den ki verdim alarya ayttï iyeŋ teŋri: tam.*

Translation: "I will plant them upon their own land, to be never uprooted from the land I have given them, said the Lord, your God. The end".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. IX, v. 15): וּנְטַעְתִּים עַל-אַדְמָתָם וְלֹא יִנָּתְשׁוּ עוֹד מֵעַל אַדְמָתָם אֲשֶׁר-נָתַתִּי לָהֶם אָמַר יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ :

6. The Book of Obadiah (fols. 119—120).

The beginning: נביא ליכי עובדיה ניג' ייכוליי אטטי ייג' טג'רי אדום אוצון כבר אישטטטיק קטינדן ייג ניג' :

Transcription: *nebi-liki obadiya-nïŋ yaxoley etti iyeŋ teŋri edom üčün xaber ešittik qatïndan iyeŋ-nïŋ.*

Translation: "The vision of Obadiah. This is what the Lord, your God, said concerning Edom".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1): חֲזוֹן עֹבַדְיָה כֹּה-אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהֹוִה לֶאֱדוֹם

The end: דא מינסין קוטולגן לר דגינדא ציון ניג' יישרעט אטמגא אושול דאגיני אשו ניג' דא כילסין ייג ניג' אול כאנליק.

Transcription: *da minsin qutulyan-lar dayïnda čiyon-nïŋ yišraat etmege ušol dayïnï isav-nïŋ da kelsin iyeŋ-niŋ ol xanlïq.*

Translation: "Saviours shall come up on Mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau; and the kingdom shall be the Lord's".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 21): וְעָלוּ מוֹשִׁעִים בְּהַר צִיּוֹן לִשְׁפֹּט אֶת -הַר עֵשָׂו וְהָיְתָה לַיהֹוָה הַמְּלוּכָה :

7. The Book of Jonah (fols. 120—123).

The beginning: דא בולדו סוזו ייג ניג' יונה גא אוגלו אמתי ניג' דמגא

Transcription: *da boldu sözü iye-niŋ yona-ya oylu amitay-nïŋ demege.*

Translation: "The word of the Lord to Jonah, the son of Amittai".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

וַיְהִי דְּבַר־יְהֹוָה אֶל־יוֹנָה בֶן־אֲמִתַּי לֵאמֹר

The end: אול אולו שהר כי ורדיר אנדא כוב. און אכי טומן דן

ארטיק אדם. כי בילמדי ארסינא אוג' יניניג' דא סוג' יני.א. דא חיין כוב. תם

Transcription: *ol ulu šeher ki vardïr anda köb on eki tuman-dan artïq adam ki bilmedi arasïna oŋ yanïnïŋ da soŋ yanïna. da xayvan köb.*

Translation: "The great city [Nineveh] wherein are more than a hundred and twenty thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. IV, v. 11):

הָעִיר הַגְּדוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר יֶשׁ־בָּהּ הַרְבֵּה מִשְׁתֵּים־עֶשְׂרֵה רִבּוֹ אָדָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָדַע בֵּין־יְמִינוֹ לִשְׂמֹאלוֹ וּבְהֵמָה רַבָּה :

8. The Book of Micah (fols. 123—130).

The beginning: סוזו ייג' ניג' כי בולדו מיכה אול מורשתי גא

כונלרינדא יותם ניג' אחז ניג' יחזקיה ניג' כאן לרי יאודה ניג'

Transcription: *sözü iyeŋ-niŋ ki boldu mixa ol moraštï-ya künlerinde yotam-nïŋ axaz-nïŋ yaxzaqïya-nïŋ xan-larï yeuda-nïŋ.*

Translation: "The word of the Lord that came to Micah the Moresheth (Morasthite) in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. I, v. 1):

דְּבַר־יְהֹוָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל־מִיכָה הַמֹּרַשְׁתִּי בִּימֵי יוֹתָם אָחָז יְחִזְקִיָּה מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה

The end: וריר ברללכני יעקב גא דא כרם אברהם גא כי אנדיטיג'

אטא לרימיזגא בורונגו כונלר דא.

Transcription: *verir birlikni yaaqob-ya da kerem avraham-ya ki andettiŋ ata-larïmïzya burunyu künler-de. tam*

Translation: "You will perform the truth to Jacob, and mercy to Abraham, which you has sworn unto our fathers in the old days. The end".

The respective Biblical verse in Hebrew (ch. VII, v. 20):

תִּתֵּן אֱמֶת לְיַעֲקֹב חֶסֶד לְאַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ לַאֲבֹתֵינוּ מִימֵי קֶדֶם :

II. Poetry. Krimchak manuscript B 420 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (microfilm No. 53591) contains the collected poems of the Krimchak poet Marcel Perich (מרסל פרץ), who lived at the turn of the twentieth century. The title of the manuscript is: מרסל פרץ שירלרי (*Marsel Perič širleri*) "Marcel Perich's verses". This copy-book, which contains 53 pages, is written in one hand. Most probably, the text was written at the end of the 1920's because the manuscript contains a poem dedicated to the tenth anniversary of the 1917 Russian revolution, that is, the poem could be written in 1927, not earlier. There are also 43 poems of various contents, including lyric and satiric verses. Almost all of them have titles, for example, כלוב דמכ נא דמכ (*Klub demek ne demek*) "What does club mean?"; חורוז דורר חרכענדן (*Xoroz durar erkenden*) "A cock gets up early"; קושלאריג ורגן אוגוטלרי בן אדם גא (*Qušlarïŋ vergen ögütleri ben-adem-ge*) "Birds requests for people"; שיר (*Šir*) "Song"; אנא וא יאברולרי (*Ana ve yavrularï*) "Mother and her chicks"; שטן וא ישמעל (*Satan ve Yismael*) "Satan and Ismael"; אברהם יצחקני עקדה גא אליף כיטכן סוג' ...

(*Avraham yisxaqnï akeda-ya alïp-kitken soŋ*) "When Abraham has led Ishaq to put to death"; לֵעָנִין לֵעָנִין לֵעָנִין! (*Lenin Lenin Lenin*) "Lenin, Lenin, Lenin!"; בין דוקו יוז בעש (*Bin dokuz yüz beš*) "Nineteen hundred and five"; אוכטיאבר (*Oktiabr*) "October", etc.

Even a brief glance at the orthography of the titles shows some distinctions from the other texts: the letter כ (*xaf*) is used for rendering the consonant *h*, not *x*; the letter ח (*xet*) with *segol* in initial position and the letter ע (*'ayn*) in a closed syllable are used here for rendering the vowel *e'*.

In the poem by Marcel Perich, dedicated to the first of May, we find the following lines:

Text

נישאן גון דור פרבוי מאי ...

כפיסי ציחקאן מיידאנגא   אורטאליסי פאקיר באי

סאיילארי כיסאפסיז   אינאנמאסאג' אוטור סאיי

ביר טראפדאן אישצילער   ניזאם אילן גזרלר

אוויילה גא כם כומסומוללאר, ארדי סירא פייאנערלער...

אגיזלארינדאן אחאר באל   גוזל אינטער נאציונאל

Transcription

Nišan gün-dür pervoy may, [...]
Hepisi čïxqan meydanya,   ortalïsï faqir, bay,
sayïlarï hisapsïz,   inanmasaŋ, otur say,
bir tarafdan iščiler   nizam ilen gezerler,
öyle de hem komsomollar,   ardï sïra pionerler [...]
aŷïzlarïndan axar bal,   güzel internasiyonal.

Translation

"It is the special day — the first of May, [...]
Everybody is on the square,
Both the poor person and the rich;
They are countless,
If you do not believe, please, count [yourself];
The workers are going in lines, followed by the [members of]
Komsomol;
The pioneers are after them [...];
Like honey the beautiful [song of] "The International"
Is pouring out of their mouths".

The poet's verses are evidently influenced by his concern for the circumstances of his ethnic group: he writes, for example, ישראל מיללטיג' פולוגישעניסי (*visrael milletiŋ polojšeni-si*) "Status of the Israel people" consisting of 19 hemistiches, and קרימצאקיג' אסלי אולמאחי (*qrimčakïŋ aslï olmaxï*) "The origin of the Krimchaks" (18 strophes plus 2 lines). We cite here, for example, the first strophe of the latter verse:

Text

ג'אנים אטאם! סעבער אטאם, / ריג'אם סאג'א, אג'לאט מאג'א /

נה דען אסלי וא כם נאסלי פעדה אולג'אן בו קרימצאק.

Transcription

janïm atam! sever atam / rijam saŋa, aŋlat maŋa / neden aslï ve hem naslï / peyde olŷan bu qïrïmčaq?

Translation

"My dear father! My beloved father, / I have a favour to ask of you, tell me, / what roots the Krimchaks have / [and] how they came into being?"

The question about the Krimchaks is only a rhetorical device of the poet, since Marcel Perich seems to know the answer, and he answers the question himself. He says that

the Krimchaks originate from Palestine, their forefathers lived there some thousands of years ago. Then they came to the Kingdom of Bosporus and settled in the town of Panticapeum and in the other cities of the country. The poet also says that every Krimchak knows these descent legends as well as the history of his people. The poem is an important document indicative of the historical self-identification of the Krimchaks, who considered themselves Jews by origin.

We can also extract some biographical information, if scant, on the poet. During the 1920s Marcel Perich appears to have gone hungry just like everyone else in the Crimea in this period. The poem called 1921—22 קיטליח טורכוסו (*Qïtlïx türküsü 1921—22*) "The song about the 1921—1922 famine" shows that clearly. Th e poet also lost his son. Four poems by him are dedicated to the death of the son. Three of them, written in Krimchak, are entitled אח מענים יעקבים (*Ah, menim yakovïm*) "Oh, my Jacob"; סעבגילי אוגלום יעקב פרץ אוצון (*Sevgili oγlum yakov perič üčün*) "To my beloved son Jacob Perich"; and באחטסיזליח (*baxitsïzlïx*) "Misfortune". One poem, called לזיכרון בני יעקב פרץ זל and also dedicated to the memory of his son Jacob, is written in Hebrew.

III. Songs. There are two other collections of Krimchak songs among the above-mentioned manuscripts preserved on microfilm at the Hebrew University Library.

1. MS A 128 (microfilm No. 52368) contains 324 short songs (or poems) on the folios 7—67. They consist of 4, 6 or 8 lines. We give here, for example, a short song of a man who is in love (p. 18):

בן סני ארר בולורום : יולוג׳א קורבן אולורום :
ביר גון גורמסם אולורום : טורנם בן אבני דיגילים :
אינו יילנג׳י דיגילים

Transcription: *ben seni arar bulurum / yoluŋa qurban olurum / bir gün görmesem ölürüm / turnam ben avji digilim / inan yalanji digilim.*

Translation: "I am looking for you, / I shall find you, / I shall fall a victim on your way; / if I do not see you [even] one day, I shall die. / My crane, I am not a hunter; / believe [me], I am not a liar".

Or another song (p. 13):

גמי לרדא וזז אולור : גול אצילסא יז אולור :
בן סנא גול דיימדים : אומרו אז אולור

Transcription: *gemi-lerde vaz olur / gül ačilsa yaz olur / ben sana gül deymedim / ömürü az olur.*

Translation: "Ships have balance; / if roses are blossoming, / [it means] it is summer; / I do not call you a rose, / its lifetime is short".

Some songs in the collection betray a philosophical bent. For example, on p. 35 we find the following lines:

בין ייל אומורוג׳ אולורסא
כר גון חזנא גלירסא
אזרייל גניג׳ אלירסא
מליג׳ בורדא קליר.

Transcription: *bin yïl ömürüŋ olursa / her gün xazana gelirse / azrail janïŋ alïrsa / malïŋ burada qalïr.*

Translation: "[Even] if your life is a thousand years, / if your treasure is growing every day, / when Azrail will take your soul, / all your property will remain here".

Or another example (p. 35 v):

דירכ טא אולור יפרק
דוכולור קליר ציפלק
אינסו יירגא גירדיכ צז
אולור ביר אווץ טופרק

Transcription: *direk-te olur yapraq / dökülür qalïr čiplaq / insane yirge girdik čaz / olur bir avuč topraq.*

Translation: "There are leaves on the tree, / after they fell, [the tree] becomes naked, / when man is buried, / he becomes a handful of dust".

2. MS B 420 (microfilm No. 53591) includes 54 wedding songs on 11 folios, with the first page decorated with a drawing — an ornament made in ink, which has a note in Russian placed on the edge: "I love, I loved and I will love all my life". Within the ornament one can read in Hebrew: לחטונה "For a wedding" (with the letter ט).

The first line: היורמיטלי סיילי ביילירים אשיטייז סרנוולרים

Transcription: *hürmetli siyli biylerim ešitiyiz sarnavlarïm.*

Translation: "My dear sirs, hear my songs".

The end: אולנלרי תורה אוחוגיילר ד מצָוָלרין טֵנרִנִין קַיָם טוטקַיילר ארוב יִשׂרֲאָלַיר

Transcription: *olanlarï tora oxuγaylar da mičvalerïn tenrinin qayam tutqaylar aruv israeller.*

Translation: "Their sons, the pure Israelites, will read the Torah and will fulfil commandments of the Lord".

IV. Prayers and dirges. Prayers and dirges are also present since they were performed during the services. Although the language of the religious texts of the Krimchaks is Hebrew, it is important that the Krimchak dirges were also performed in Turkic. There is a prayer-book comprising 245 folios (490 pages in the microfilm No. 69264). It is *Seder Tisha be-Av* in Hebrew. There is no date in the text. Lea Medvedeva [10] thinks that the manuscript is written on Crimean paper manufactured in the seventeenth century. The book contains a number of religious hymns in the Krimchak ethnolect of the Crimean Tatars (103 lines on pp. 133—143). We cite here one of them (fols. 139 v—142 r).

The beginning: קרדשלרים דוסטלרים סיזא חכַּיט אֵיילִים .: איגר דיגלר סגיו ביר סוד סויִלַרים .: יַכׁשׁילר יולִינא גּן קורבּן אולַים .: אגלַיים אגלַיים קנַלי יש דוכַיים .: שול וכטטא רשע קיסַר זַמַנִינדא :. קצַן כּי יִשׂראֵל אונִיג אֵלַנְדא :. רַחַת אולמַדי יִשׂרַאֵל חִק גלותי דא .: גור גֵלֵר גֵלַדִי אול און אולי חֲכַמים בַשִׁינא.

Transcription: *qardašlarïm dostlarïm size xikayet eyleyim :. eger diŋlar-saŋïz bir söz söylerim :. yaxšilar yolïna jan qurban olayïm :. aγlayïm iglayïm qanlï yaš dökeyim :. šol vakïtta raša kesar zamanïnda :. qačan ki israel onïŋ elinde :. raxat olmadï israel hič galuti-da :. gör neler geldi ol on olï xaxamïm bašïna.*

Translation: "My brothers and friends, shall I narrate something to you. I shall tell you if you listen [to me]. Let my heart be a sacrifice to a good people: I am crying bitterly with bloody tears. It was at the villain king's time when Israel was taken in his hand [and] the Israelites had no peace at all in captivity. Look what happened to the ten great wise persons".

The end: מַקבול אולדי אוגׄומא אול יַכׄשׂי אישׁלרירׄיז

Transcription: *maqbul oldï öŋüme ol yaxšï išleriŋiz.*

Translation: "Your good deeds became accepted by me".

Microfilm No. 67836 contains twenty various manuscripts. Three of them concern the mourning on the day of the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. It is a book and two fragments of the *Seder Tisha be-Av*. There is a note in Russian on the first page of manuscript No. 11: "The mourning on the day of the destruction of Jerusalem in Hebrew and with its translation, with neither beginning nor end. It was brought back by Wiener from Odessa in 1887" [11]. The text in Hebrew is here divided into small parts, each of them followed by the Krimchak translation. The manuscript consists of 10 folios, i.e. 20 pages, 17—18 lines per page. There are two dates on it: 1850 and 1863. The name of Akiva Peysakh (?) is written beside the colophon.

The Hebrew beginning of the text: בליל זה יבכיון .: וילילו בני .: ליל חרב ביתי .: ינשדרו ארמוני .: וכל בית ישראל יהרגו בינוני .: יבכו השרפה אשר שרף ייא .: .: .:

The Krimchak beginning of the text: בו גׄא גׄי גׄא דא / אגלגׄיז הף מני / קרדשלרים דוסטלרים / סרנגׄיז ויי מני / יקטילר אבימני / וירן אטטילר מקדשמני : בו גׄא גׄי גׄא דא אגלגׄיז הף מני :

Transcription: *bu geje-gi geje-de / aɤʼlaŋïz hep meni / qardašlarïm dostlarïm / sarnaŋïz vay meni / yaqtïlar evimni / veran ettiler miqdašïmnï / bu geje-gi geje-de aɤʼlaŋïz hep meni.*

Translation: "On this night / everybody will mourn over me. / [both] my brothers [and] my friends; / oh, grieve, over this: / they have burnt my house, / they have devastated my temple; / at this night everybody will mourn over me".

The end: בו קינות ני יזב ביתירדים 1850

Transcription: *bu qinot-nï yazïb bitirdim 1850.*

Translation: "I finished my writing of this *kinot* (dirge — I. I.) in 1850".

Manuscript No. 12 in this set of 20 manuscripts (the same microfilm) is the *Seder Tisha be-Av*, which consists of 11 folios. The Hebrew text appears together with the Krimchak translation. The Krimchak text starts on page 4. This manuscript has an owner record (in Russian): "From the W. Radloff collection". It also bears the same date — 1850.

The Hebrew beginning of the text: ברור ייא מה היה לנו אוי הביטה וראה את חרפתנו / אוי אוי מה היה לנו

The Krimchak beginning of the text: אגׄין יֵא נא בולדו ביזגׄא וַי בַקׄין דָא כורגון אושול כורלוכומוזנׄי וַי וַי נא בולדו ביזגׄא

Transcription: *aŋʼïn ya ne boldu bizge vay baxqïn da körgün ušol xorluxumuznï vay vay ne boldu bizge.*

Translation: "Do realize what has happened to us! Oh, look and see our disgrace, what has happened to us!"

The end: מַקבול אולדו אול יקשי אישׁלרירׄיז

Transcription: *maqbul oldu ol yaqšï išleriŋiz.*

Translation: "Your good deeds became accepted".

V. Epic literature. Turkic *destans* of the sixteenth — eighteenth centuries "Ashiq Gharib", "Dahir and Zoxra" and "Kör-oghlu" have penetrated Krimchak literature. Love stories and adventures connected with two persons in love with each other constitute the basis of the *destan* plots; they were equally popular in the Caucasus, in the Volga area, in Central Asia and Asia Minor [12]. The presence of these epic works in the Krimchak manuscripts proves that the members of the Jewish community had a vivid interest in their neighbours' oral heritage, and it was not a local phenomenon characteristic of the Krimchaks solely.

1. "Ashiq Gharib" in manuscript A 128 (microfilm No. 52368, pp. 67—202) is an anonymous folk *destan* believed to date from the sixteenth — seventeenth centuries [13].

The beginning: זמן אילן ביר זמן דא : טוורין שהרינדא ביר איחטייר אדם ואר אדי : וא א ו אדם נינׄ ביר קריסי וא ביר קיזׄ וא ביר אוגׄלו ואר אדי :

Transcription: *zaman ilen bir zaman-da : tevriz šeher-inde bir ixtiyar adam var edi : ve o adam-niŋ bir qarïsï ve bir qïzï ve bir oɤlu var edi.*

Translation: "Once upon a time an old man lived in the city of Tebriz. This man had a wife, a daughter and a son".

The end: אללה קא צוק שוכור אדיף קאוושטולר אייליכ יקׄשׄילׄׄק אילן מוראדלארינא ייטישטילר

Transcription: *allah-qa čoq šükür edip qavuštular iyilik yaqšïlïq ilen moradlarïna yetištiler.*

Translation: "They thanked the Lord very much and joined together, [and] they achieved what they searched for by their good deeds".

2. There is also a fragment of "Dahir and Zoxra" in manuscript B 420 (microfilm No. 53591, pp. 24—27) lacking neither beginning nor end.

The beginning: אולסון : בן דן קאירי יאר סוייסאג איכי כוגוג כור אולסון.

Transcription: *olsun: ben-den qayri yar söyseŋ eki közüŋ kör olsun.*

Translation: "Let it be [so]: if you fall in love with someone except me, [then] let both your eyes become blind".

The end: דונדור באנא יוזוגו .

Transcription: *döndür bana yüzügü.*

Translation: "Give me back the ring".

3. Among the manuscript texts, we also find "Kör-oghlu", which is an epic *destan* popular both in the Middle East and Central Asia. It is dated approximately to the seventeenth century [14] and is known in various versions. A further study of the Krimchak version may shed some additional light on the history of the text.

Manuscript B 420 (microfilm No. 53591, pp. 18—24) contains a large fragment (beginning) of the *destan* "Kör-oghlu" in the Krimchak ethnolect.

The beginning: כור אוגׄלו. סינא אילׄלי דורט דא סאפֿאׄר אטילדי

Transcription: *kör oɤlu. sene elli dört-de safar etildi.*

Translation: "Koer-oghlu. It is written down in [18]54".

The end: דיריא דיגׄיז יולוג אולסון

Transcription: *derya deŋiz yoluŋ olsun.*

Translation: "Let a river and sea be your way".
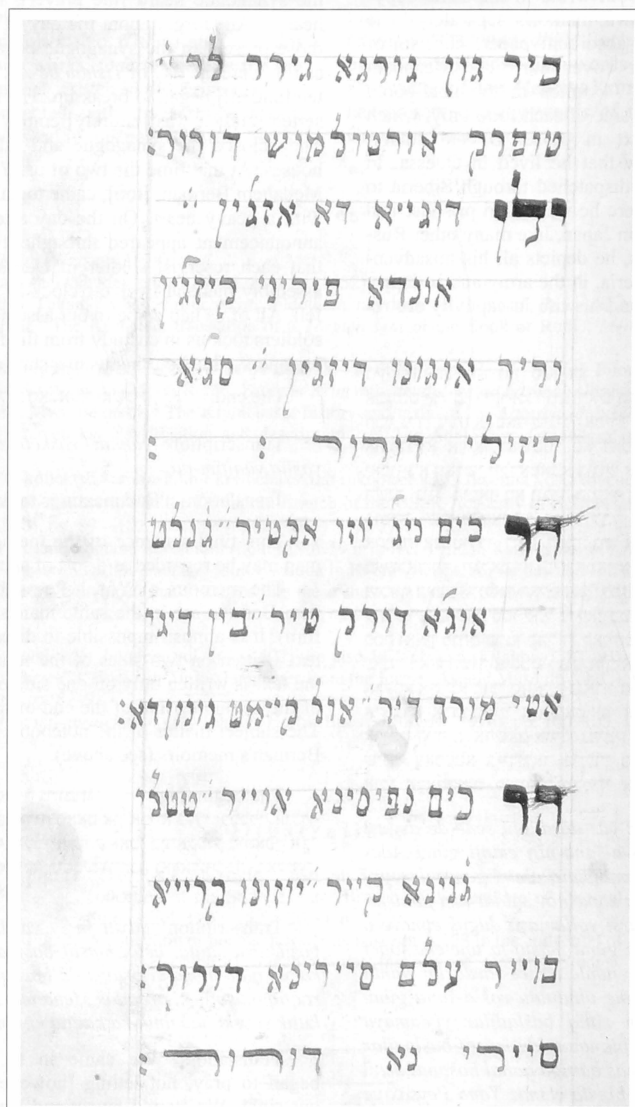
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

4. Tales, which like epic works, constitute a part of oral literature, are represented in our Krimchak manuscripts by three different tales. All of them are found in manuscript B 420 (microfilm No. 53591, pp. 28—47). Each of them begins with the traditional beginning זימאני אילן (*zemani ilen*) "once upon a time".

Manuscript C 77 (microfilm No. 67836) contains memoirs about the Russo-Japanese War (1904—1905) written by Menahem Berman and Yonah Peysakh, who took part in it as soldiers. Both wrote in the same copy-book, but each wrote his own memoirs separately. The notebook, made of bad ink-absorbent paper, consists of 124 folios and has neither cover nor title. Menahem Berman's memoirs take up 74 folios in the note-book, but the text is written on one side of each folio only, which constitutes 74 pages of text in prose. Of the author, Menahem Berman, we know that he lived in Odessa. In 1904, he was called up and dispatched through Siberia to the theatre of operations. There he was taken prisoner and spent some time in captivity in Japan, like many other Russian soldiers. In his memoirs, he depicts all his misadventures on his way through Siberia, in the army and in Japan. His impressions of the war and his life in captivity are reflected in the memoirs.

The first page of the text: בין דוקוז יוז דורדונג'ו סנא דא
אבגוסט יגירמי דוקוזונג'ו גונו ראש השנה ניג' אכינג'י גונו אדעס שעירינא
חבר גלדי ניכולאי פאדישינינ' אמירי גאזט אילן יאזאייר כי אדעססכי
אוכרוג'דא אולאן זאפוסנוי סאלדאט לארי גמיסיני ג'ייפ מאנג'וראנ'א
יאפון נ'א קארשי יוללאמאנ'א דוגוש אטמייא או סאטו אנגי סאט כי ראש
השנה גונו מוסאף טא ונסדא תוקאף אוחולאן סאטי .: קאצאן אישיטטילר
גומלה ישראל קארדש לאר קהל איצינדא אוט דושטו גומלה ניג'
איצינא אונוטולדו דאש השנה גונו אולדוגו קהל איצינדא אולג'אן חאלק
באשלאדילר ייגלאמייא סיזלאמאייא טישא בא'ב גונו כיביכ אונוטולדו
מוסאף באשלאדילאר חאלק דאג'ילמג'א קהל בושאנדי שאמאש באטטיקא
קהל בושאנדי אורטטו קהל ני קאייטטי אבינא .: שינדי ביזדא אכימיז יונה
פסח וא מן מנחם ברמן קהל דן קאייטטיק יורק אג'ירי'סי אבימיזגא .:
שינדי ראש השנה גונו צ'יקטיני אדיסא איצ'ינא בו כי יאזאייר נאקאדאר זאפאסנוי סאלד וואר איסא אודעסא
איצ'ינא ארכז יארין גא'א סאט און אכי דא גנדי אוצאסקאסינא יאביצטא
אולסין דייר .: אחשאם אולדו יאמימיז אוצאסטכא נ'א יאביצטא אולדוק
שינדי צ'אסטטאן ג'יידילאר ביזלרי סארידילאר דורט טאראפ'ימיזי כאנוויי
אילן אראסטאנט כיביכ גומלמיזי איילאדילאר.

Transcription: *bin doquz yüz dördünjü sene-de avgust yigirmi doquzunju günü roš-a-šana-niŋ ekinji günü Ades šeerine xaber geldi nikulay padišiniŋ amiri gazet ilen yazayïr ki Adesski okrugda olan zapasnoy saldat-larï jamisini jïyip manjuraya yapun-ya qarši yollamaya duguš etmeye o saatï angi saat ki roš-a-šana günü musaf-ta unetene toqef oxulan saatï :. qačan išittiler jumle israel qardašlar qahal ičinde ot düštü jümle-niŋ ičine unutuldu roš-a-šana günü olduygu qahal ičinde olyan xalïq bašladïlar yïylamaya sizlamaya tiša-be-Av günü kibik unutuldu musaf bašladïlar dayïlmaya qahal bošandï šamaš battïqa qahal bošandï örttü qahal-nï qayttï evine :. šindi biz da ekimiz Yona Peysax ve men Menaxem Berman qahaldan qayttïq yörek agïrïsï ilen evimizge :. šindi roš-a-šana günü čïqtïyï günü ohyavleni dayïldï dört bir taraf-qa Adisa ičine bu ki yazayïr neqadar zapasnoy saldad var ise Odesa ičinde arkez yarïn geje saat on eki-de gendi učastkasïna yavitsa olsun diyir :. axšam oldu yamimiz učastka-ya yavitsa olduq šindi časttan jïydïlar bizleri sarïdïlar dört tarafïmïzï kanvay ilen arastant kibik jümlemizi ayaladïlar.*

Translation: "It was on the 29th of August of 1904, the second day of *Rosh-ha-shanah* when a piece of news came to the city of Odessa. Tzar Nicolas' order was published in newspapers. It was written in newspapers that all the soldiers who were kept in the reserve of the Odessa military district were to be mustered together and [then] to be sent to Manchuria to fight against Japan. It was the time of *musaf* of the day of the *Rosh-ha-shanah* that they read the prayer of *Unetane Toqef.* When the Israelite brothers in the synagogue heard [the prayer], fire broke out in their hearts. [All] forgot about the day of *Rosh-ha-shanah* [and] those present in the synagogue began to cry and to weep as if it were the day of *Tishah be-Av*. The *musaf* was forgotten [and all] began to break up. The synagogue became deserted [and] it was [entirely] empty by the time of sunset. They closed the synagogue and [all] came back to their houses. At that time the two of us, Yonah Peysakh and me, Menahem Berman, [too], came together back to our houses with a heavy heart. On the day after *Rosh-ha-shanah*, an announcement appeared throughout Odessa, which stated that each reservist soldier in Odessa should come to his assembly place at twelve o'clock in the midnight. Evening fell. All of us had come to our assembly place. At that time, soldiers took us in custody from the four sides as if we were prisoners, [thus] putting us in a state of shame".

The end: יאמאן ראסכעלעמעכ ראסכעלדי מאג'א בו יאשליק
ואקיטים דא.

Transcription: *yaman raskelmek raskeldi maŋa bu yašlïq vaqïtïm-da.*

Translation: "Bad meetings took place in my youth".

This final sentence of the memoirs of Menahem Berman may be regarded as a sort of summary of his memoirs.

The memoirs of Yonah Peysakh mentioned by Menahem Berman are in the same manuscript (the same microfilm). It is almost impossible to discern the first half of the text written on two sides of the folios. The second half of the text is written only on one side of the folios. The folios of the beginning and of the end of the memoirs are absent. The subject matter of the notebook is similar to Menahem Berman's memoirs (see above).

The beginning: קהל ג'א ורדיח. תפילא בשלאדיק גוזומוזו
סאאטא. אסטיח מוסאף באשלאדיח סאאט און אכייא כלדי כרכלי אולדו
מוספני אורטאג'א ד בוראקיף כיטמיייא שו שאאטו בוראקטיק מוספאי אכי
ארקאדאש מנכם ברמן וא יונא פסח כיטטיכ ווסכי נאצאלניכ כה. באקטיק
כא גומלא ישראל קארדש לאר.

Transcription: *qaxal-ya vardïx. tfila bašladïq gözümüzü saata. astïx musaf bašladïx saat on ekiye keldi korxlï oldu musafnï ortaya da boraqïp kitmeye šu saatï boraqtïq musafï eki arqadaš Menahem Berman ve Yona Pesax kittik voyski načalnik-ka baqtïq ki jümle israel qardašlar.*

Translation: "We came in to the synagogue [and] began to pray, not letting [however] our watches out of our sight. We started *musaf* and we began to read it. The clock showed almost twelve. It was terrible to break off the *musaf* in the middle and to go away. At that time, we two friends, Menahem Berman and Jonah Peysakh, went to the military chief. There we saw that all [of us] are Israelite brothers".

The end: או סאאטי ור אללח קווט דיי בשלאדים אורמאג'א ביר
כוטר

Transcription: *o saati̇ ver allax quvet diye bašladi̇m urmaɣa bir danesi qol kötermedi.*

Translation: "At that time, I thought, 'God help me', and I began to beat them [so that] no one [could] lift his hand [against me]".

The final part of the text contains a description of a scandal. The author of the memoirs recounts that some Japanese accused him of stealing money, but this accusation appears to have been false.

Manuscript C 77 (microfilm No. 67836) also contains fragments of two linguistic works. One of them is the beginning of a Hebrew grammar written in the Krimchak ethnolect. Some points connected with the Hebrew vowel sounds and letters are discussed in this part. The text breaks off in the middle of the sentence: אמא א אולסא תבה ניג' סוג'ונדא (*ama alef olsa teva-ni̇ng soɳunda*) "if the [letter] *alef* is at the end of [the word] *teva...*".

The other is a fragment of a Hebrew-Krimchak dictionary organised in alphabetical order (א — ח). It contains about 1,250 individual Hebrew words along with their translation into the Krimchak ethnolect: for example, אָבִיב בָּאהר (*bahar*) "spring"; אדון אפ'נדי (*efendi*) "sir"; אֵיך נסלי' (*nasli̇*) "how"; גֶּשֶׁם יאגמור (*yaɳmur*) "rain", etc. Some Hebrew words are translated in the dictionary by Hebrew words, such as, for example, מָאורה דליכ (*dlik*) "flammable", which indicates the presence of Hebrew loan words in the Krimchak ethnolect. The value of the Hebrew-Krimchak dictionary is that it has preserved many words of the Krimchak ethnolect of Crimean Tatar.

Notes

1. E. Deinard, *Massa Krim* (Warsaw, 1878).

2. Y. Ben-Zvi, "Sifrutam shel yehudey krim", *Kiriat sefer*, 25 (1952), pp. 250—4.

3. W. Moskowitch and B. Tukan, "Adat hakrimchakim, toldotham, tarbutam velishonam", *Pe'amim*, 14 (1982), pp. 5—31.

4. I. Ianbay and M. Erdal, "The Krimchak translation of a *Targum šeni* of the Book of Ruth", *Mediterranean Language Review*, 10 (1998), pp. 1—53.

5. I. S. Kaja, "Qri̇mčaklar qri̇mda ve oqulari̇ išleri", *Oqu išleri*, 8—10 (1926), pp. 11, 15—9; V. I. Filonenko, "Krimchakskije etudy", *Rocznik orientalistyczny*, 35 (1972), pp. 5—35; Y. Keren, *Yahadut Krim mikadmutah ve'ad hashoah* (Jerusalem, 1977); A. Khazanov, *The Krymchaks* (Jerusalem, 1989); M. S. Polinsky, "The Krymchaks: history and texts", *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, 63 (1991), pp. 123—54; *idem*, "Crimean Tatar and Krymchaks, classification and description", in *The Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR* (Chicago, 1992), pp. 157—88.

6. L. Ia. Medvedeva, "O kollektsii karaimskikh i krymchakskikh rukopisei v LO Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR" ("On the collection of Karaite and Krimchak manuscripts in the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Sovetskaia tiurkologiia*, 6 (1988), pp. 89—102.

7. The list Medvedeva presents contains seven items, but MS A 59 is in fact a tale in Karaite, not in Krimchak.

8. For more details on transcribing the Krimchak source written in Hebrew script, see Ianbay and Erdal, *op. cit.*

9. Professor Michael Zand is convinced that instances like these show the impact of the Yiddish Hebrew on the Krimchak spelling (private consultation).

10. See Medvedeva, *op. cit.*

11. About him, see *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16, p. 502; see also Ia. Ianbaeva (I. Ianbay), "Tiurkoiazychnye knigi iz evreiskogo fonda v byvshem Aziatskom Muzee" ("Books in Turkic languages from the former Asiatic Museum fond"), in *Jews in Russia, History and Culture* (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 8—9.

12. Kh. G. Kor-Ogly, *Oguzskii geroicheskii épos* (Oghuz Heroic Epos) (Moscow, 1976), pp. 100, 105, 118—20ff.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

Illustrations

Fig. 1. "The Book of Amos", part of Karaite manuscript B 98 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 110a, 15.5×20.3 cm.

Fig. 2. A collection of poems, Karaite manuscript A 128 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 35a, 10.5×17.7 cm.

Sh. M. Iakerson

HEBREW INCUNABULA COLLECTION IN THE LIBRARY
OF THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA IN NEW YORK

<div dir="rtl">

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 ושלישים.
ויותר עשיתי לך ספרים מכל החכמות

</div>

"I have honoured thee by providing an extensive library
for thy 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 be to
God, lendest and borrowest not. Of many books, indeed, thou
ownest two or three copies. I have besides made for thee books
on all sciences..." [1]

Hebrew incunabula [2] form a comparatively small group of books, approximately 125—130 editions [3], which were printed in four countries — Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey (Constantinople, one edition) — over the last 30 years of the fifteenth century. The history of European Jewry in the second half of the fifteenth century has been relatively well documented, the Hebrew manuscript book in the regions under discussion already had a firm tradition of colophons (with bibliographic information) by that time, and Hebrew incunabula themselves have received study for more than two hundred years [4]. Nevertheless, to this day a large number of questions remain about the emergence and genesis of Hebrew book-printing. At present, we still do not know where and when it arose, and in which of the countries enumerated above, not to mention who was the first Hebrew book-printer and which book was the Hebrew *editio princeps* [5]. Also, we do not possess a single serious monograph on Hebrew incunabula [6], a composite catalogue of Hebrew incunabula that meets contemporary scholarly standards, or even print catalogues of the largest collections [7]. Besides, the study of Hebrew incunabula has its myths and legendary figures. For example, we have documentary evidence of book-printers and publishers that has not been confirmed by information from books themselves, and books of anonymous production the origins of which cannot be clarified [8]. Many methodological problems still remain unsolved: how is one to distinguish incunabula from early paleotypes, how to identify individual bibliographic units in editions that have been preserved only in fragments, etc. Against this backdrop of a developing discipline, it seems especially timely to study and catalogue the largest collection of Hebrew incunabula, that of

the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York (henceforth, the JTS). The Hebrew incunabula of the JTS [9] are known primarily through the composite catalogue of F. R. Goff "Incunabula in American Libraries. A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections" (New York, 1964; henceforth, Goff), and the University Microfilms International guide to the collection — "A Reel Guide to Hebrew Incunabula from the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Reels 1—20" (Michigan, 1978). The Goff catalogue is in alphabetical order, but the descriptions of Hebrew incunabula are placed in a separate section (Goff, Heb, pp. 316—22). A brief description of each edition is accompanied by an indication of which American libraries hold copies. This has served and continues to serve as the basis for referring to the presence or absence of various incunabula in the collection of the JTS, or to the completeness of defectiveness of an edition.

In 1993, I was invited to the JTS to prepare a scholarly description of the collection and to work through unidentified print fragments with the aim of identifying fragments of incunabula and integrating them into the collection. In 1999, the work was completed and the catalogue was ready for print. Now, basing myself on the results of this work [10], I can confidently state that the information found in Goff and in "A Reel Guide" on the JTS collection of Hebrew incunabula is no doubt needs serious revising: books were bought and sold; some editions and fragments categorized by Goff as incunabula were shown by analysis, in my view, to be palaeotypes. Besides, the integration into the collection of more than 200 folios significantly changed the number of fragments listed by Goff [11].

As I have noted above, the collection of the JTS is at present the largest collection of Hebrew incunabula in the world and contains 127 editions. This is especially remarkable if we take into account that the library, for objective historical reasons, is significantly younger than the famed Hebrew collections of Europe (such as, for example, the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the British Library in London, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma, or the collection of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg [12]), and it does not receive any state support, being merely the library of an educational institution that prepares, for the most part, specialists in Judaic studies and religious figures within conservative Judaism. Surely, one must admit that all quantitative information about Hebrew incunabula is rather conditional for both objective and subjective reasons. Since certain editions have survived only as unicums (single copies, usually defective), fragments, or simply individual

folios, it is not always possible to draw a line between parts of an edition or editions printed at the same printing-house in close chronological proximity. This is especially relevant when we discuss works which were known and published as parts of large collections and as individual books [13]. Moreover, there are individual editions and fragments which some specialists hesitate to attribute to the incunabula period (i.e. before January 1, 1525) [14]. It is even more complicated to determine the actual number of copies and fragments in any collection, and naturally this is true of such a "young" and diverse collection as the JTS. It contains no small number of "composite" books (that is, defective editions augmented by former owners or even by the library itself, by folios from other copies, usually with different margins and physical condition) and individual folios from various copies of the same edition which were grouped together in order to keep track of materials more easily, etc. [15].

The history of the collection

The foundation of the incunabula collection under discussion (and the entire collection of manuscripts and rare books) was laid by the judge Mayer Sulzberger (b. in Heidelheim 1843 — d. in Philadelphia 1923), a faithful friend and sponsor of the JTS library. In 1903, he donated his personal library to the JTS; it included 500 manuscripts, 2,400 rare print books, among them 45 incunabula (at that time, the fifth largest collection of Hebrew incunabula in the world [16]). At the same time, Sulzberger acquired for the JTS the library of Solomon Joachim Halberstam from Bielitz (1832—1900), who was described by Prof. Alexander Marx as "one of the most scholarly collectors of the 19th century" [17]. The Halberstam library contained 5,500 books, around 200 manuscripts, and at least one incunabulum, a full copy of a luxurious edition of the Mishnah (Naples, printed by Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, 1492; Goff, Heb-82, Census 92). Judge Sulzberger was not only a highly educated bibliophile, but also an enthusiast who dreamed of developing Judaic studies in the New World, where the Jewish population at that time was on the rise. He saw the creation of a Jewish library no less significant than the largest collections of the Old World as a way of making his dream come true, and he turned all his energy and capital to this aim. In donating two collections (his and Halberstam's), he wrote to Cyrus Adler, president of the JTS: "I hereby give to the Seminary a collection of about seventy five hundred (7,500) Hebrew and Jewish printed books and about seven hundred and fifty (750) Hebrew manuscripts [18], all of which I have lately caused to be placed in your building. They fairly represent the various branches of Jewish learning... My hope is that the Seminary may become the center for original work in the science of Judaism, to which end the acquisition of a great library is indispensable" [19].

Mayer Sulzberger was especially interested in creating a collection of Hebrew incunabula. Questions of acquiring incunabula were discussed quite often in his correspondence with the library's director, Prof. Alexander Marx, and in library reports on Sulzberger's specific donations [20]. Among the early-print books which made their way into the library thanks to Sulzberger's donations, one should note three examples of early Roman print [21], a unique

fragment from Reggio di Calabria [22], an Italian prayerbook, a Passover *Haggadah* by the printers Soncino [23], and others.

The next library to add a substantial number of incunabula to the collection of the JTS was that of Elkan Nathan Adler (1861—1946) of London. It was acquired by the JTS in 1923. Elkan Nathan Adler belonged to one of England's best-known Jewish families. A lawyer, traveller, scholar, and collector, Adler gathered his unique collection of Judaica not only at European auctions and through booksellers, but during his numerous travels too [24]. Adler's collection, which became a part of the JTS, is known mainly by virtue of the materials it contains from the Cairo genizah [25], but the very size of the collection, which contains approximately 4,200 manuscripts and 300,000 print books, commands respect. As for incunabula, according to Adler himself, among these were "sixty incunables and leaves or fragments of other twenty-five" [26]. It is important that Adler's collection brought with it several extremely rare books: the only fragments in the world of two Neapolitan editions of the books of the Bible [27], a Rome edition of *Moreh nevukim* ("Guide of the Perplexed") of RaMBaM (Goff, Heb-80, Census 86) with extremely interesting manuscript glosses in the margins, first editions of treatises of the Babylonian Talmud in the Italian editions of Joshua Solomon Soncino and Spanish editions of Solomon ben Moses Halevi Alkabiz [28], etc.

In addition to these two large collections, incunabula entered the library from other sources. I note here the most important of these:

1. The personal library of Moses Stenschneider (1816—1907), founder of Jewish bibliography. It was acquired for the JTS by Jacob H. Schiff (1847—1920), Life Director of the JTS. The Stenschneider collection contained 4,500 print books, 30 manuscripts, and several incunabula, in particular, a book of poems by Imanuel of Roma *Mahbarot* (Brescia, 30 Oct. 1491; Goff, Heb-43, Census 58).

2. Financial contributions from the son of Jacob H. Schiff, Mortimer L. Schiff (1877—1931), thanks to which

the library acquired two extremely important incunabula — the only copy of the Sephardic prayer-book *Mahzor leyiom hakippurim* ("Prayers for the Day of Atonement"; Goff, Heb-72, Census 84) and a fragment (17 folios) of the codex *Tur yoreh de'ah* (Teacher of Knowledge) of Jacob ben Asher, published in Guadalajara in around 1480 (Goff, Heb-57; Census 71).

3. The collection of Hyman G. Enelow (1877—1934), rabbi of the New York synagogue Temple EmanuEl and one of the founders of reform Judaism in the US. This collection holds editions by the printers Soncino, in particular, the treatise *Hullin* (of profane things), published by Joshua Soncino in 1489 (Goff, Heb-109; Census 126), and others.

Many people and various factors played a notable role in shaping the JTS incunabula collection, but I have no doubts that the key figure who made possible the creation of such a collection was the library's long-time director, Prof. Alexander Marx (1878—1953). His figure deserves a few biography remarks. Marx was born in Eberfeld (Germany) and grew up in Königsberg, where he completed gymnasium and university, and later finished his religious education in Berlin at the famed Hildesheimer Rabbinical Seminary. Among his teachers there were members of the German "wing" of Jewish studies, Abraham Berliner (1833—1915), the rector of the Seminary and Marx' future father-in-law, David Hofman (1845—1912), and, of course, the above-noted Moses Steinschneider, under whose direction Marx worked for two years in the Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. In 1903, the 25-year-old scholar received an advantageous offer from the President of the JTS, Prof. Solomon Schechter (1847—1915), to occupy two vacant positions: professor of history and librarian. Marx accepted the offer and came to New York in late 1903 [29]. I must confess that while studying the collection and drawing up a scholarly description, when I encountered Marx' comments on incunabula and his notes in inventory books or read the reports of the library and his scholarly articles, I could not help thinking of him. I tried to imagine the inner world of the man whose selfless labour gathered all of these books together into a single collection. The young Marx,

who began his long career at the JTS, strikes me as a scholar who inherited all of the best that had been accumulated at that time by the German school of Oriental studies: a broad grounding in history, philosophy, religious law (*halakhah*), a profound knowledge of the sources, both classical and modern languages, and a certain pedantry and scrupulousness in his work.

Marx was the director of the JTS library for 50 years and succeeded in realizing Sulzberger's dream of creating in the New World a library not inferior, but in some ways even superior, to the well-known European collections. As a student of Steinschneider and a Hebraist with broad interests, all written works were important to Marx — fragments from the genizah, documents, manuscripts and early-print books. But as director of the library, Marx had a firm policy on shaping a collection in which he indubitably granted incunabula an important place. Clearly, it is impossible to gather in one place all Hebrew manuscripts or print books, but one can try to create as full as possible a collection of Hebrew print books of the fifteenth century (the period when not only the manner of production, but the form of books, underwent gradual change). For this reason, Marx was especially interested in acquiring incunabula. One should note that Alexander Marx, like his brother Moses Marx (1885—1973) [30], had a scholarly interest in the study of incunabula. Alexander Marx was the author of a number of interesting articles [31] and the first bio-bibliography in this area — "The Literature of Hebrew Incunabula" (in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, New York, 1944, pp. 277—95). As I have already written, before Marx, there were only two incunabula in the library; Marx succeeded in creating a collection that numbered more than 100 editions. But in addition to this, Marx personally donated to the library one of the rarest incunabulum-unicums, Maimonide's *Hilhot shehitah* ("Laws of Slaughtering"; Goff, Heb-75, Census 85). The significance of Marx' work for the JTS was accurately described by Herman Dicker: "Shechter's invitation to Alexander Marx to come to New York and become professor of history and librarian must have struck the young man as a great honour, but ultimately the honour redounded to the Seminary" [32].

Basic description of the collection

The significance of the JTS incunabula collection is naturally not limited to its size. The collection displays a number of qualities which have made it, in essence, the main scholarly basis for studying the emergence of Jewish book-printing. The collection contains in full (e.g. editions from Rome, Lisbon, and Leiria) or almost in full (e.g. editions from Brescia, Mantua, Soncino, Guadalajara) the production of all currently known Jewish printing-houses and nearly all individual editions [33] (anonymous editions which cannot be identified on the basis of indirect evidence as the production of any particular known printing-house [34]). As a result, the JTS collection can be seen today as a unique thesaurus of Hebrew typefaces and decorative graphics used in the fifteenth century. The collection contains a number of books not found in other American libraries [35] (see Appendix, numbers marked with one asterisk) and nine unicums (see Appendix, numbers marked with two asterisks):

1. [*Mishneh torah*]. *Hilkot shehitah* ("Laws of Slaughtering"). [Lisbon: Eliezer Toledano], *ca*. 1492 (Goff, Heb-75, Census 85). Only one copy and one fragment of this small and extremely popular book have survived; both are in the collection of the JTS [36].

2. *Mahzor leyiom hakippurim* ("Prayers for the Day of Atonement"). [Spain or Portugal?], *ca*. 1490 (Goff, Heb-72, Census 84) [37]. An elegant edition in elongated form. This copy belonged to a member of the illustrious Italian Jewish family Finzi from the city of Carpi in northern Italy [38].

3. Leaf from the book of Aharon haKohen from Lunel *'Orhot hayim* (Paths of Life) [Spain or Portugal?], *ca*. 1490. (Goff, Heb-2, Census 2) [39].

4. RaShi's Commentary on the Pentateuch. [Zamora: Samuel Musa], (?) 1487 or 1492. This copy has an unusual history. It belonged to a famous Italian bibliographer and

collector, Leon Vita Saraval (1771—1851) [40]. In 1853, the Saraval family's library was acquired by the Judisch-Theologisches Seminar of Breslau (today's Wrocław, Poland). The library was looted during the fascist occupation and the copy in question was considered lost for many years [41]. In 1950, it was acquired by L. Rabbinovich from Mr. A. Ochs [42] and donated to the JTS library.

5. Pentateuch with *haftarot*. [Napoli: Jeshoshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino], *ca.* 1492 (Goff, Heb-17, 1, Census 20). In-folio. 13 individual folios (9 folios from the book of the Pentateuch and two from the *haftarot*). Folios from the Adler collection are bound together [43].

6. Pentateuch? [44] [Napoli: Jeshoshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino], *ca.* 1492 (Goff, Heb-16, 1, Census 21). In-oktavo. Three folios (one from the book of Genesis and two from Exodus).

7. Book of Psalms [Napoli: Jeshoshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino], *ca.* 1492 (Goff, Heb-31, 1, Census 40). In-12°. 13 folios, Adler collection [45].

8. Calendar for (5)257/(1497) [Barco (?): Gershom ben Moses Soncino], *ante* 1497 (Goff, Heb-3, Census 5). Sulzberger collection.

9. *Mahzor* (Festival Prayers) [Italy: Gershom ben Moses Soncino], *ante* 1500 (Goff, Heb-127) [46]. In-12°. 18 folios (14 from the treatise 'Abot and 4 from the liturgy of Judgment day. Adler collection.

In addition to indicating the uniques listed above, some important things must be taken into account in the modern study of Hebrew incunabula. First, this is unique examples of the employment of certain materials for printing certain editions. We know that books were copied and printed in Europe during the period on two types of material: parchment and European paper. There are also cases when the print run of an edition was printed partly on parchment (a more solid, long-lasting, and naturally, expensive material) and partly on paper. Today we know of parchment copies of 35 editions [47], of which 10 are held in the JTS, and four of which are found only in our collection. These are: (i) the second volume (*Yoreh de'ah*) of the four-volume compendium '*Arba'ah turim* of Jacob ben Asher [Solomon ben Moses Soncino, *ca.* 1490; Goff, Heb-48, Census 62]; (ii) the first three books of the medical Canon of Ibn Sina [Napoli: Azriel ben Joseph Ashkenazi Gunzenhauser, 1492; Goff, Heb-4, Census 6]; (iii) a fragment (2 folios only) from the Book of Psalms [Spain or Portugal: Shem Tov Ibn Halaz (?), *ca.* 1490; Goff, Heb-126, 3]; (iv) a fragment (2 folios only) from the *Mishneh torah* of Maimonides [Spain or Portugal: Moses Ben Shealti'el, *ca.* 1491—92; Goff, Heb-78, Census 89].

Among paper copies we note the only copies of the prayer-book *Tefillat yahid* and the Passover Haggadah published in Soncino, apparently by Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino in 1486 [48]. They have been preserved only in two defective copies, a parchment copy at the British Library and a paper one in the JTS.

Second, certain extant Hebrew incunabula are represented in the JTS collection in the most complete copies. The best example is an edition of the Commentary on the Pentateuch by Bchai ben Asher [Spain or Portugal: Shem Tov Ibn Halaz, 1491; Goff, Heb-5, Census 7]. This rare example of Sephardic printing has been preserved only in three defective copies: a copy at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (around 100 fols.) [49]; a copy at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati (124 fols.) [50]; and our copy, which is more than three times as complete and contains 411 folios. The size of our copy permitted me — correctly, I hope — to reconstruct it and rectify certain inaccuracies in the structure of the quires as given in the Hebrew Union College description [51].

Third, the collection contains various copies and fragments of the same edition. As I wrote above, the collection took shape on the basis of two large private collections that were pooled and a relatively large number of individual copies and fragments. This composition allows us to conduct an effective comparative analysis of typographic changes (mainly in the type-setting of the text) within a single edition. For example, an edition of the Pentateuch with Aramaic translation *Onkelos* and commentary by Rashi [Lisbon: Eliezer Toledano, 1491; Goff, Heb-20, Census 17] is found in the library in four copies: two paper and two parchment. A comparative study of these copies shows that there are significant differences between the parchment and paper copies in the form of additions, corrections, the use of various typefaces, running titles, etc.

Hence, it becomes clear why the JTS collection was and is such an important source for the multi-faceted study of incunabula, book-printing, and philology. I note here several studies: first and foremost, the work of A. Marx himself and his deputy Isaak Rivkind (1895—1968). Rivkind was a folklore specialist, Yiddish specialist, and ethnographer who published a series of articles under the general title *Dikdukke sefarim* ("Details about Books"). In these, he based himself on copies from the JTS collection and studied the typographic variant readings in incunabula and palaeotypes [52]. Copies from the JTS were used by Louis Finkelstein to prepare a critical edition of the commentary of David Kimhi on the Book of Isaiah [53], by Elazar Hurvitz to publish a critical text of Maimonide's *Mishneh torah* [54], and by Isaak Penkover to study the Masoretical tradition of the Biblical text [55] and others. Alexander Marx frequently stressed in his library reports that the collection's materials were actively employed by A. Freiman and Moses Marx in drawing up an encyclopaedia of typefaces and decorative elements in Hebrew incunabula, the *Thesaurus typographiae hebraicae saeculi XV*, and in preparing the description of Hebrew incunabula in the "Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke" [56]. I note also that our materials were one of the main sources for a composite of Sephardic print fragments of the Talmud drawn up by Haim Dimitrovsky [57]. A relatively large number of copies have been published in facsimile. For example, the Sephardic editions of various parts of the *Mishneh torah* [58], the richly illustrated *Meshal hakadmoni* (Proverb of the Ancients) of Isaak Ibn Sahula, A Book of Eldad ha-Dani [59], etc.

To conclude our discussion of the JTS collection, it is important to mention the accessibility of the collection to readers. The JTS library is open to the broadest circle of researchers, and virtually all of the incunabula have been microfilmed and, consequently, are available for viewing outside the library. The staff of the Special Collections reading room are extremely competent and, what is no less important, eager to help. One can only hope that the catalogue I have prepared will be published in the near future and that this publication not serve as an end in itself, but rather an impetus for renewed study.

Comparative table of the collection [60]

No.	Goff/Guide	Update data	No.	Goff/Guide	Update data
1	copy	copy & leaf [61]	64	2 copies	*idem*
2** [1]	leaf	*idem*	65	copy	*idem*
3**	leaf	*idem*	66	2 copies	*idem* & leaf
4	2 copies.	3 copies & 2 fols.	67	2 copies	*idem* & 3 fols.
5	copy & 4 fols.	*idem*	68	copy	*idem*
6	copy	2 copies & 5 fols.	69	copy	*idem* & leaf
7	2 copies	*idem*	70	copy	*idem* & 2 fols.
8 [62]	14 fols.	copy & 18 fols.	71*	copy	*idem*
9	copy & 14 fols.	2 copies & 64 fols.	72**	copy	*idem*
10	copy & 23 fols.	copy & 30 fols.	73	3 copies, 1-comprising 'Pirke Abot' only	*idem* & 14 fols.
11	copy	copy & 9 fols.	74	copy. After 13 Oct. 1503 [63]	not included
12	24 fols.	*idem*	75**	copy	*idem* & 2 fols.
13	3 fols.	5 fols.	76	copy	2 copies
14 [64]	4 fols.	*idem*	77	copy	2 copies & 19 fols.
15	18 fols.	17 fols.	78*	copy & 2 fols.	copy & 3 fols.
16,1	3 fols.	*idem*	79, 1*	10 fols.	21 fols.
16,2	fragm.	*idem*	79,2*	25 fols.	26 fols.
16,3	6 fols.	8 fols.	80	2 copies	copy
16,4	leaf	unconfirmed [2]	81	copy	copy & 2 fols.
16,5	2 fols.	unconfirmed	82	3 copies	*idem* & 13 fols.
16,6	2 half leaves	unconfirmed	83	copy	*idem*
17,1**	11 fols.	*idem*	84	copy	*idem*
17,2	33 fols.	33 fols. & half leaf	85	copy	*idem*
18	2 [65] copies	copy & 6 fols.	86	copy	*idem*
19	copy & 25 fols.	copy & 27 fols.	87	copy	*idem* & 9 fols.
20	3 copies	4 copies	88	copy	*idem* & 1 1
21	copy & 8 fols.	copy & 11 fols.	89	copy	*idem*
22	2 [66] copies	copy & leaf	90	copy	copy & 2 fols.
23	copy	copy & 4 fols.	91	copy	*idem*
24	3 copies	2 copies & 6 fols.	92*	copy	*idem*
25	copy	copy & leaf	93*	2 fols.	*idem*
26	copy & separates of Job and Chronicles	*idem*	94* [67]	3 fols.	*idem*
27*	26 fols.	33 fols.	94a [68]	copy	*idem* & 1 1
28	copy	*idem*	94b [69] **	copy	*idem*
29	2 copies	*idem*	95	copy	*idem*
30 [70]	19 fols.	missing	96*	copy	*idem*
31,1*	13 fols.	*idem*	98	2 copies & 23 fols.	2 copies & 28 fols.

Continuation of the comparative table

No.	Goff/Guide	Update data	No.	Goff/Guide	Update data
31,2*	1 leaf	missing	99	copy & 2 fols., var	*idem*
31,3*	2 fols.	see No. 124	100*	3 fols.	copy & 3 fols.
32*	5 fols.	*idem*	101*	copy	*idem* & 4 fols.
33*	copy	*idem*	102*	copy	*idem*
34	copy	copy & 5 fols.	103,1*	leaf	*idem*
35	copy	copy & 13 fols.	103,2*	leaf	*idem*
36	copy	copy & 11 fols.	104*	45 fols.	43 fols.
37	copy	copy & 5 fols.	105	—	2 fols.
38*	2 fols.	copy [71] & 2 fols.	106*	copy	*idem*
39	copy	*idem*	107*	11 fols.	13 fols.
40	2 copies	2 copies & leaf	108*	7 fols.	6 fols.
41	copy	*idem*	109	copy	*idem* & 9 fols.
42*	copy	*idem*	110,1	2 fols.	—
43	2 copies	*idem*	110,2*	3 fols.	4 fols.
44*	7 fols.	15 fols.	111	copy	copy & 6 fols.
45*	copy	*idem*	112*	2 fols.	7 fols.
46	copy	*idem*	113*	10 fols.	14 & I [72]
47	1, 2 copies; II; IV; & 2 fols.	I, II, IV & 2 fols.	114	3 fols.	—
48	I—IV; also II	*idem* & 12 fols.	115	copy	*idem*
49	copy	copy & 14 fols.	117*	23 fols.	23 & 1 [73]
50	copy	*idem*	118	6 fols.	—
51	copy	copy & 2 fols.	119*	17ff	12 fols.
52*	5 fols.	7 fols.	120*	copy	*idem*
53*	copy	copy & 4 fols.	121*	3 fols.	unconfirmed
54*	copy	2 copies & 2 fols.	122*	copy	*idem* & 1 fol.
55*	fols. 1—40	*idem* & leaf	123	2 copies	unconfirmed
56	copy	*idem* & leaf	124	copy	*idem* & 6 fols.
57*	17 fols.	*idem*	125	copy	unconfirmed
58	2 fols.	3 fols.	126,1	10 fols.	unconfirmed
59 [74]	21 fols.	*idem*	126,2	8 fols.	unconfirmed
60* [75]	23 fols.	missing	126,3*	2 fols.	*idem*
61	2 copies	copy	126,4	4 fols.	unconfirmed
62	copy	*idem*	126,5	leave	unconfirmed
63	copy	*idem*	127*	18 fols.	24 fols.

[1] In the Appendix, one asterisk is used to indicate the only copy in America, while two asterisks — a unique copy in the world.
[2] The word 'unconfirmed' is used to indicate an edition which, in my opinion, is not an incunabulum.

Supplement

The list of Hebrew incunabula in the library of the JTS, which are absent in Goff and Reel Guide:

1. Jedaiah ben Abraham Bedersi ha-Penini, *Behinat ha-'olam* ("Examination of the World"), [Mantua: Estelina, the wife of Abraham Conat, and Jacob Levi di Tarascona], *ca.* 1474—1478(?), (Census 75). This incunable is preserved at the Schoken Institute for Jewish Research of the JTS in Jerusalem, and, for this reason, it has not been included in Goff's catalogue despite the fact that the incunable is the property of the library of the JTS.

2. (Biblia Hebraica) *Torah* (Pentateuch), *hamesh megillot* ("Five Scrolls"), *haftarot* (Readings from the Prophets). [Brescia: Gershom Soncino], 1493 (Census 22). One copy of this edition is preserved in the Library of the JTS but is not its property.

3. Fragment, only part of one leaf of Moses ben Maimon (RaMBaM; 1138—1204), *Mishneh torah* ("Codification of Talmudic Law"), [*Yad Ha-Hazakah* ("Strong Hand")]. Introduction (without continuation?). [Spain or Portugal: press of 'Orhot Hayyim'], *ca.* 1480—1490. The exact number of leaves is unknown (at least 16 leaves). The edition was not included either in Census of Offenberg. For facsimile edition of surviving leaves, see in E. Hurvitz, *Mishneh Torah of Maimonides.* A facsimile of an unknown edition printed in Spain before the exile... (New York, 1985), pp. 1—32.

Notes

1. "The will of Iehuda Ibn Tibbon" (approx. 1120 — after 1190), *Hebrew Ethical Wills. Selected and Edited with Introduction by Israel Abrahams* (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 57.

2. I remind readers that incunabula are books printed with the so-called Gutenberg method (with the aid of moveable metal letters) in the period before January 1, 1501. Hebrew books in the context of bibliographical, codicological and palaeographical studies are books of any content and in any language copied or printed in the letters of the Hebrew alphabet.

3. The exact number of printed books is not known. One can only note that P. Tishby (Jewish National and University Library) remarks in the foreword to a description of Hebrew incunabula that he "already [has] (in the original or on microfilms from various libraries) more than 140 Hebrew incunabula which have been identified without any doubt".

(תשבי, פ. 'דפוסי-ערש (אינקונבולים) עבריים. תיאור ביבליוגרפי מפורט של הספרים העבריים שנדפסו עד סוף שנת 1500 בצירוף

צילום סימני מים ופקסימילים של עמודים מיוחדים. [1]. איטליה-רומא', קרית ספר נח (1983=[1985]), עמ' 808).

A. K. Offenberg (Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana) includes in his inventory of Hebrew incunabula 139 editions (1—114, 114 bis, 10—138). See *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections. A First International Census.* Completed by A. K. Offenberg. In collaboration with C. Moed-Van Wakraven (Nieuwkoop, 1990); henceforth — Census.

4. The study of Hebrew incunabula began with the work of the Italian Hebraist Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi (1742—1831 *De hebraice typographiae origine ac primitiis seu antiquis ac rarissimis hebraicorum librorum editionibus seculi XV disquisitio historico-critica...* (Parmae, 1776); *Annales hebraeo-typographici sec. XV. Descripsit fisoque commentario illustravit ... 1795*, etc. For a detailed description of the development of Hebrew incunabula studies, see the overviews of A. Marx "The literature of Hebrew incunabula", in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore* (New York, 1944), pp. 277—95; A. K. Offenberg, "Literature on Hebrew incunabula since the Second World War", in his *A Choice of Corals* (Nieuwkoop, 1992), pp. 1—41. See also the bibliography of Hebrew incunabula: תשבי, פ.

'ביבליוגרפיה כוללת על אודות דפוסי-ערש (אינקונבולים) עבריים', קרית ספר סג/ב (תש"נ-תשנ"א), עמ' 579-602.

5. We can today state with some confidence that Hebrew book-printing arose at the end of the 60s in Rome and that the first Hebrew printers were Obadiah, Menasseh and Benjamin of Rome (for more detail, see M. Marx "On the date of appearance of the first printed Hebrew books", *Alexandr Marx Jubilee Volume.* I: English section (New York, 1950), pp. 481—501). There is no consensus on the order in which books were printed in the first Roman printing-house; in my view, we do not have sufficient information to solve the problem. But one should note that the author of the above-mentioned "Census" of Hebrew incunabula, Dr. A. K. Offenberg, feels that the first Hebrew incunabulum was the dictionary of rabbi David Kimhi *Shorashim* ("Roots"), see A. K. Offenberg, "The earliest Hebrew printed books", *Newsletter [of the] British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections,* XLVIII—XLIX (autumn 1993), pp. 10—1.

6. One should note that an attempt at a comprehensive description of Hebrew incunabula was undertaken by the above-mentioned Israeli scholar P. Tishby in a series of articles in the journal *Kiryat Sefer* (Nos. 58, 60—64) and in the journal *Ohev Sefer* (No. 1). Unfortunately, the work was not completed; only 40 descriptions were published. The most important reference work on Hebrew incunabula is Offenberg's Census. It contains, however, only brief bibliographic descriptions of editions.

7. There is, it is true, hope that this gap will be filled in the future: Prof. A. Offenberg has nearly completed a catalogue of the collection in the British library, and the author of the present article — a catalogue of the JTS collection.

8. I provide a few examples: we know of a 1446 agreement reached in Avignon between the Prague jeweller Procopius Waldfoghel and the Jewish fabric dyer Davin de Caderousse that the former would prepare the letters of the Hebrew alphabet from metal and teach the dyer the "art of artificial writing" (*ars artificialiter scribendi*). But, naturally, no traces of any book-printing activity were preserved in Avignon for the period (for more detail, see P. Pansier, *Histoire du livre et de l'imprimerie à Avignon. Du XIV au XVI siècle,* i (Nieuwkoop, 1966); in the Rome archive, documents from 1485 and 1497 have been preserved in which several names are mentioned that are entirely unknown in the history of Hebrew book-printing. Cf. R. Di Segni, " 'Nuovi dati sugli incunaboli ebraici di Roma', un Pontificato ed una citta Sisto IV (1471—1484)", *Atti del convegno Roma,* III—VII (1984), pp. 291—304. In the history of the Spanish Inquisition, we know of a *marano*, Juan de Lucena, who was accused in absentia, on the basis of testimony from numerous witnesses, of printing Jewish books in Toledo and Montalban. But we have no serious cause to believe that his printing-house actually existed. About him see J. Bloch, "Early Hebrew printing in Spain and Portugal", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* 42 (1938), pp. 370—420. Reprinted in *Hebrew Printing and Bibliography* (New York, 1976), pp. 5—54.

9. The JTS library also has a fairly interesting collection of Latin incunabula, mainly on topics linked to Judaism. In particular, the collection contains a fragment (the Book of Esther, 8 folios) of the famed 42-line Gutenberg Bible (Goff, B-526). This collection, of course, lies beyond the bounds of this article.

10. That is, January 1, 2000.

11. See the Appendix (Comparative table of the collection) in the present issue.

12. One should note that the JTS library also has the largest collection of Hebrew manuscripts in the world. According to the latest count, it holds more than 10,620 manuscripts and 40,000 genizah fragments. I thank the library's curator of special collections, rabbi Schwarzbard, who conveyed this information to me. See B. Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections* (Jerusalem, 1994), about 10,000 manuscripts and 24,000 leaves (p. 132).

13. For example, the Book of Psalms, Passover Haggadah or Mishnah treatise *'Avot* ("Saying of the Fathers") was printed separately and in prayer-books.

14. For example, an edition of a 31-line Bible which is identified by some researchers (myself included) as an Italian incunabulum (Goff, Heb-11; GW (Add) 4199/10); others believe it to be an early palaeotype. Cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Hebrew Incunables. A Bibliographical Essay* (Oxford, 1948), p. 68.

15. A sample of this type of editions can serve the fourth volume — *Hoshen ha-mishpat* ("Breastplate of Judgement") — of Halakhic codex by Jacob ben Asher *'Arba'ah turim* ("Four Orders of the Code of Law") [Piove di Sacco: Meshullam Quzi and his sons, 3 July 1475; Goff, Heb-47, Census 61]. The copy of JTS consists of 161 leaves, lacking the blank fols. 41, 151, 163, 165, 166. Originally the copy consisted of fols. 1—149, 164. The additional leaves were added later in two grouping: (1) fols. 150—158; (2) fols. 159—162; the margins of these leaves are wider and were folded to fit the dimensions of the other leaves in the copy.

16. The British Museum — 75 editions; Oxford — 67; Frankfurt — 56; Parma — 61 (data according to J. Jacobs, "Incunabula", *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, vi, p. 577).

17. A. Marx, "Some Jewish book collectors", in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, p. 230.

18. I note that at that time the entire collection of the library was approximately 5,250 books, of which two were incunabula (I was, unfortunately, unable to identify them) and three manuscripts.

19. Cited according to A. Marx, *Bibliographical Studies and Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, ed. with introduction by Menahem H. Schmelzer. Foreword by Gerson D. Cohen (New York, 1977), p. 90.

20. *The Mayer Sulzberger Alexander Marx Correspondence 1904—1923*, edited and annotated by Herman Dicker (New York, 1990). Cf., for example, Sulzberger's letters to Marx Nos. 2, 4, 9, 17, 26, 67, 76a, 80, 137, 145, 149, 186, 246 and Marx' letters to Sulzberger Nos. 3, 11, 21, 25, 27—30, 32, 33, 35, 39, 63, 73, 75, 87, 91, 97, 99, 124, 125.

21. Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaMBaM [Rome: Obadiah, Menasseh and Benjamin of Rome, *ca.* 1469—1472; Goff, Heb-86, Census 96]; Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaSHI [*idem*, Goff, Heb-92, Census 111]; Great Book of Precepts of Moses ben Jacob of Coucy [Rome: *ante* 1475; Goff, Heb-84, Census 94].

22. Commentary on the Pentateuch of RaSHI [Reggio di Calabria: Abraham ben Isaak Ben Garton, 17 February 1475; Goff, Heb-93, Census 112]. This unique edition has been preserved only in a single copy (held in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma) and in the fragment in question.

23. *Tefillat yahid* ("Personal Prayers"), Roman rite, [Soncino: Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, 7 April 1486; Goff, Heb-120, Census 138]; Passover Service. [*Idem*, Goff, Heb-42, Census 54]. Both of these editions have been preserved only in two copies. The second is in the British Library.

24. In the foreword to the catalogue of manuscripts from his collection, Adler described the geography of his travels as follows: "Egipt and Palestina were visited in 1888, 1895—6, 1898 and 1901... In 1892, 1894 and 1900 visits to Morocco... Visits to Algiers in 1905... to Persia in 1896, and Central Asia in the following year... Aleppo in 1898... to Constantinople and the Balkans an 1888 and 1913; to Spain and Portugal in 1892, 1894, 1900, and 1903; to South America in 1902—3, to North America five times during the present century, to Russia also six times, and to India and Aden in 1906". See [E. N. Adler, A. Marmorstein], *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Collection of Elkan Nathan Adler* (Cambridge, 1921), p. V.

25. Genizah (גניזה) — a place of "burying" out of use Jewish books and ritual items. The most famous genizah was found in an ancient synagogue (known as the Shamyin, Elijah, Moses or Ezra Synagogue) in Fustat (Old Cairo, Egypt) in the late nineteenth century. The Cairo genizah numbered more than 200,000 leaves, fragments and manuscripts. The discovery of this genizah caused a real revolution in the field of Hebrew studies which can be compared only with the discovery of ancient manuscripts in the Qumran caves. E. N. Adler visited Fustat in 1896, a few months earlier than the discovery of the genizah was made by Solomon Schechter, who had then a chance to visit for a short time the genizah and to bring to England about 30,000 fragments.

26. E. N. Adler, "The Hebrew treasures of England", *Jewish Historical Society of England. Transactions*, VIII (1915—1917), p. 16.

27. Pentateuch with *haftarot* (selections from the Prophets) [Naples: Joshua Solomon ben Israel Nathan Soncino, *ca.* 1492; Goff, Heb-17, 1, Census 20]; Book of Psalms [*idem*; Goff, Heb-31, 1, Census 40].

28. For example, from the Soncino editions of Joshua Solomon Soncino: Ketubbot (on marriage Settlement; Goff, Heb-111, Census 129), Gittin (on divorces; Goff, Heb-106, Census 123), Niddah (on menstruation; Goff, Heb-115, Census 131); unique fragments from the Guadalajara editions: Berahot (on blessings; Goff, Heb-103, 2, Census 118), Yoma (on Day of Atonement; Goff, Heb-119, Census 137). I note in passim that Adler wrote scholarly works on the treatises of the Babylonian Talmud, see Adler, "The Hebrew treasures of England", pp. 1—18; *idem*, "Talmud incunables of Spain and Portugal", *Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut* (New York, 1935).

29. It is interesting that Marx' work on forming the JTS library in fact began even earlier, in Europe. Judge Sulzberger appealed to him with a request to visit Bielitz and convey his opinion of the above-mentioned library of Solomon Joachim Halberstam, which he intended to acquire for the JTS.

30. Moses Marx was a professor at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati. He wrote the above-mentioned article on the emergence of Hebrew book-printing (see n. 4), an excellent "Catalogue of the Hebrew books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, 1 (1953), pp. 21—47, and a number of other works on the history of Hebrew books.

31. See, for example, A. Marx, "Die Soncino-Haggada und das Sidorello 1486", *Zeitschrift für Hebräiche Bibliographie*, VIII (1904), p. 58; *idem*, "Notes on the use of Hebrew type in non-Hebrew books, 1475—1520", in his *Studies in Jewish History and Booklore*, pp. 296—345; *idem*, "The choice of books by the printers of Hebrew incunabula", *To Doctor R.: Essays Here Collected and Published in Honor of the Seventieth Birthday of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach...* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 154—73.

32. H. Dicker, *Of Learning and Libraries: The Seminary Library at One Hundred*. Foreword by Ismar Schorsch (New York, 1988), p. 18. On the history of the formation of the library in general and on Marx' role in the process, see: M. Schmelzer, "Building a Great Judaica Library — at what price?", *Tradition Renewed. A History of the Jewish Theological Seminary*. Vol. 1: The Making of an Institution of Jewish Higher Learning, ed. Jack Werteimer (New York, 1997), pp. 679—715.

33. For example, represented entirely is the production of printing-houses from Rome, Lisbon, Leiria, and almost in full editions from Bresia, Mantua, Soncino, Guadalajara.

34. For example, an edition of the Halakhic collection *Kol Bo* (Complete Ritual; Goff, Heb-67, Census 81); an edition of the Pentateuch by the printer Isaac ben Aaron d'Este (Goff, Heb-13, Census 25); an edition of *Mishneh torah* by the printer Solomon ben Judah and Obadiah ben Moses (Goff, Heb-76, Census 87), and others.

35. Data according to Goff.

36. On the acquisition of the copy in question, see A. Marx, "Eine unbekannte Inkunabel", *Zeitschrift für Hebräiche Bibliographie*, XII (1908), pp. 5—6.

37. For more detail on the copy in question, see Marx' article "Eine unbekannte spanische Inkunabel", *Soncino-Blätter*, III (1930), pp. 97—106.

38. In accordance with the signature on the inner side of the binding's outer cover: ברוך חיים פינצי מעיר קארפי (Baruch Hayim Finzi from the city of Carpi).

39. This Halakhic work was printed in an anonymous Sephardic printing-house. Only a few books printed in this script and on paper of this type have been preserved. The anonymous printer in question is known in incunabula studies as Drucker des Orhot hajjim thanks to the identification in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke*, Hrsg. von der Komission für den Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrücke. Bd. 1—8 (A-Flühe) (Leipzig, 1925—1978), p. 486.

40. A description of the copy in question was completed by Moses Steinschneider in *Catalogueus librorum hebraeorum in biblio-theca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852—1860), No. 6924, 4. See also the catalogue of the collection drawn up by the collector's son V. Leon Saraval, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de littérature hebraïque et orientale et d'auteurs hébreux de feu...* (Trieste, 1853), No. XXVII.

41. On the vicissitudes of this book's fate, see also A. K. Offenberg, "The earliest printed editions of Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch", in his *A Choice of Corals* (Nieuwkoop, 1992), pp. 139—41.

42. On the basis of an *ex libris* on the inner side of the binding's outer cover and a note in the inventory book.

43. On the basis of a note on the inner part of the binding's outer cover.

44. It is not out of the question that we have here an edition of the Pentateuch with *haftarot* (Selections from the Prophets) or even an edition of the entire Bible, but the extant fragment does not allow for an exact determination.

45. On the basis of a note in the inventory book.

46. The identification of this edition as an incunabulum, and not an early palaeotype, evokes doubts in a number of scholars (for example, it was not included in the Census). In the catalogue I prepared, the edition is included in the section "Doubtful identifications".

47. A. Freimann note only 29 incunabula on parchment ("Die hebräischen Pergamentdrucke", *Zeitschrift für Hebräiche Bibliographie*, XV (1911), pp. 46—57.) while Offenberg (Census, pp. 199—206) — 34. Offenberg does not take into an account a fragment from the Book of Psalms (No. 3 before us).

48. The edition of the prayer-book is dated 2 *iyar* 5246 from the Creation of the World (April 8, 1486). The edition of the *Haggadah* printed in the same set of typefaces does not have a colophon. An analysis of the paper in these two editions allowed me to conclude that they were published not only at the same printing-house, but in the same period.

49. תשבי, פ. 'אינקונבולים עבריים בישראל', קרית ספר נט (1984) [1986=], מס' 4. Tishby does not indicate the exact number of folios, only the sections: from *Bereshit* to *Mikkez* (i. e. Genesis 1—44, 17).

50. M. Marx, "Catalogue of the Hebrew books printed in the fifteenth century now in the Library of the Hebrew Union College", pp. 21- -47, No. 3.

51. The structure of the quires was reconstructed on the basis of extant entire middle folios (the copy was sewn together and bound in our day without any correlation with the original structure of the quires; nonetheless, entire middle folios have survived: 27/28, 47/48, 77/78, 87/88) and in accordance with the location of watermarks on folios. The reconstruction showed that a standard quire contains five double folios (ten folios), and not four, as Marx indicates (1—15[8], 16[4]; *idem*, No. 3).

52. ריבקינד, י. 'דקדוקי ספרים', *קרית ספר* ב (תרפ"ה), עמ' 55-58; שנה ד (תרפ"ח) עמ' 275-276; שנה י (תרצ"ד) עמ' 490-491.

53. *The Commentary of David Kimhi on Isaiah*. Edited, with his unpublished allegorical commentary on Genesis, on the basis of manuscripts and early editions by Louis Finkelstein (New York, 1966). — Columbia University Oriental Studies, XIX.

54. הורביץ, א. משנה תורה לרבינו משה בן מימון. שרידים של דפים בלתי ידועים ממהדורות ספרד. הראשונים. מלפני הגירוש, שנמצאו בגניזת קאהיר ובכריכות הספרים, וכן טופס יחיד בעולם מהלכות של דפוס שחיטה...עם מבוא ועם שינויי נוסחאות מהדפוסים. ניו יורק, תשמ"ה

55. פנקובר, י. 'על גלגולי דבריו דבר ר' שמואל די אוזידה לשמות כ"ג, כה אל תוך ה"פירוש על [תרגום המיוחס ל]יונתן"', *אסופת קרית ספר* מוסף לכרך סח (תשנ"ח). עמ' 127-149.

56. A. Marx, *Bibliographical Studies and Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts in the Library of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America*, pp. 481—2.

57. דימיטרובסקי, ח"ז. *שרידי בבלי. שרידי גמרות והלכות הרי"ף* שנדפסו על ידי יהודי ספרד ופורטוגאל לפני הגירוש ובדור שלאחריו. ניו יורק, תשל"ט.

58. משנה תורה לרמב"ם מדפוס ר' משה בן שאלתיאל ספרד או פורטוגל קודם רנ"ב או רנ"ז. צילום העותק שבספרית בית המדרש לרבנים באמריקה. דברי מבוא מאת הרב ש.ז. הבלין. ירושלים, תשל"ה/1975.
A facsimile of part of the *Mishneh torah hilkot shehitah* has been published by E. Hurvitz (see above, n. 54).

59. ספר אלדד הדני (צילום המהדורה הראשונה). ניו-יורק, 1981. (יחד עם: משל הקדמוני ר' יצחק בן שלמה אבן סהולה (צילום המהדורה הראשונה); שאלות ותשובות ר' שלמה בן אדרת (צילום המהדורה הראשונה).

60. The condition of the copies is not specified.

61. This folio was bound into the end of the copy. The folio has certain typographical distinctions. Cf. Thesaurus A 60, 4.

62. Noted only in Goff.

63. This early palaeotype (*Mahzor keminhag*, Roma, 2nd edn.) was naturally not included in the collection of incunabula. But one should note the interesting fact that the printer Gershom Soncino used in it folios from the first edition [Soncino-Casal Maggiore, 1485—86; Goff, Heb-73, Census 83]. Specifically in the JTS copy — fols. 83—86 (1st volume, quire 11, fols. 3—4). For more detail, see יודלוב, י. 'המחזורים הראשונים כמנהג בני רומא, שונצינו רמ"ו-פאנו רס"ד', *קרית ספר* סד (1992-1993), עמ' 1435-1447.

64. Only in Goff.

65. There were two copies of this edition in the collection — one paper, one parchment. The paper copy was exchanged in 1998 for a manuscript and in the same year sold by the new owner at Christi's. See his description in A. K. Offenberg, "Bible (Humash or Torah) with Aramaic paraphrase (Targum Onkelos) and commentary by Rashi...", *Valuable Illuminated Manuscripts, Printed Books and Autograph Letters.* Cristie's, London, 22 (Monday 23 November 1998), pp. 47—52.

66. A single (defective) copy was sold by the library at the beginning of the 1990s.

67. Only in Goff.

68. Only in A Reel Guide.

69. Only in A Reel Guide.

70. Only in Goff.

71. A copy of this unique incunabulum (possibly the first Hebrew incunabulum, see n. 5 above) was acquired by the library in 1995.

72. Under No. 1 a collection of small fragments of various leaves, which are as a rule duplicates of the above-mentioned 14 leaves, a shown. Unfortunately, the identification of these fragments cannot be made yet.

73. A fragment of the leaf: 12 lines (*recto*) and 15 lines (*verso*) corresponding to the text on fols. 86b (lines 31—42)—87a (lines 25—46) of a standard edition of the Babylon Talmud.

74. Only in Goff.

75. Only in Goff.

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. N. Tyomkin

A FRAGMENT OF THE *PRĀTIMOKṢA-SŪTRA* FROM THE P. I. LAVROV COLLECTION AT THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES*

The study of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* in Russia and Europe began with the Pāli version, evidently recorded in Ceylon in the first century B.C. The Pāli *Pātimokha-sutta* belongs to the Theravāda school of the Hīnayāna, the southern branch of Buddhism. This text was first introduced into scholarly circulation by the Russian scholar I. P. Minaev in 1869 [1]; an English translation appeared in 1881 [2]. Scholars gained access to the Sanskrit text later, and its study began only in 1912—1913, when L. Finot published the text preserved in a manuscript from P. Pelliot's collection [3].

Despite the long tradition of studying the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, many questions regarding its terminology remain unclear to scholars. Moreover, the Sanskrit text of the *sūtra* recorded in the earliest known manuscripts during the first half of the first millennium A.D. has survived only in fragments discovered in the late nineteenth — early twentieth century in Eastern Turkestan. For this reason, the introduction of each new fragment of the *sūtra* into scholarly circulation fills *lacunae* in its text, confirms readings of already published fragments, and adds to our understanding.

The story of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*'s composition has been the subject of numerous works [4]. Scholarship is familiar with texts and fragments of the *sūtra* accepted by various Buddhist schools: Sarvāstivādin, Mūlasarvāstivādin, Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin. The earliest manuscripts preserve the texts of the Sarvāstivādins. As was noted above, they were first published by L. Finot. He published fragments of 24 folios from a manuscript from P. Pelliot's collection discovered by the latter in the oasis of Kucha (in the ruins of Duldur-Akur). When the German Turfan collection was being described, numerous fragments of the Sarvāstivādin version were also identified. Many of them were included in Valentina Rosen's book as notes beneath the line [5]. The remaining fragments, together with fragments from the English and French collections, were published by Georg von Simson [6], whose work was not completed and continues to the present day. Fragments from the collections of M. M. Berezovsky and N. N. Krotkov from Kucha, held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, were published by G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya [7]. In publishing a newly discovered fragment from the P. I. Lavrov col-

lection [8], we have tried to correlate its text with the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* of the Sarvāstivādins. Despite a large number of *lacunae* and variant readings in our text, it mainly follows the version of the Sarvāstivādins; there is much, however, that binds it to the version of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The criterion for a final conclusion was the absence in our text of the examples which serve in the Mahāsāṅghika version to buttress various rules in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. The similarity of many grammatical forms and *sāṅgha* rules in our text to forms in the Mahāsāṅghika text suggests that the written fixation of both texts took place at the same time, probably in India, in monasteries located close to one another.

In order to confirm our thesis, we identified readings at variance both with the Sarvāstivādin version and with the Mahāsāṅghika version.

The Mahāsāṅghika version is known to scholars thanks to a single manuscript on palm leaves held in the Tibetan monastery of Salu near Shigajie [9]. It was discovered in 1934 by Rahula Sankrityyana, who made a copy and brought it to India. The writing in the manuscript was identified as close to eleventh-century *pāla* writing. G. Roth refers to it as proto-*maithilī* [10]. The text of the manuscript was published in *devanāgarī* by W. Pachow and R. Mishra [11]. The text was studied and translated into English by Ch. Prebish [12]. Since his edition also includes an English translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin version from a Gilgit manuscript of the fifth — sixth centuries written in Indian Gupta on birch-bark, we were able to juxtapose our text with the Gilgit manuscripts as well. Their Sanskrit text, also in print *devanāgarī*, was published by A. Ch. Banerjee [13]. But a comparison showed that the Mūlasarvāstivādin version is much shorter and differs significantly from our text.

We now turn to our fragment (call number SI L9). It is written on paper, and consists of a single folio of *pothī*, 18.0×7.0 cm, with 8 lines of text on each side. The right and left edges are slightly damaged; there is a *lacuna* in the upper right section that encompasses 5 lines and widens toward the centre. There is another small *lacuna* in the left part. The text has been heavily abrased in places. The pagination has been preserved: folio No. 2. The writing is

Indian *brāhmī* of the Gupta type, probably fifth — sixth century A. D.

The fragment has preserved the *pārājika* section, which lists 4 transgressions, and a part of the *saṃghāvaśeṣa* section, which lists 2. The distinguishing characteristic of this fragment is the title of the second section, which has not been attested in a single text. Until now, two variants of this title were encountered in texts: *saṃghāvaśeṣa* (the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin versions) and *saṃghātiśeṣa* or *saṃghādiśeṣa* (the Mahāsāṅghika version) Our text preserves the title *saṃghādideśyaḥ* (*verso*, line 7).

At present, scholars are not of a single mind on the translation of the section titles in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, although the content of the sections themselves is clear thanks to commentaries. The *pārājika* section [14] lists 4 transgressions which cause a monk to be expelled from the community. The *saṃghāvaśeṣa* section [15], 13 transgres-

sions for which a monk is expelled from the community for a certain time, depending on the severity of his misdeed, after which he has the right to return. Scholars note that this is the only section in the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* which provides at the end the duration of the monk's expulsion [16]. In comparing the attested terms — *saṃghāvaśeṣa*, *saṃghātiśeṣa* — one can conclude that the second part contains a form derived from the root *śeṣ* ("to remain") with the prefixes -*ava*= or -*ati*=. The term *saṃghādideśyaḥ* derives from a different root: *diś* + *ā*, which here can mean "indicate, place in view" or "expel". The form -*dideśyaḥ* itself can be read as the part. fut. passivi of the perfective root.

We provide below a transliteration of the fragment, an English translation, and readings at variance with the published texts of the Sarvāstivādin and Mahāsāṅghika versions [17].

FOL. 2 r.

TRANSLITERATION

1. X *anva*[*r*]*ddha*[*mā*]*sa*[*ṃ*] *pr*[*ā*]*t*[*imo*]*kṣ*[*e*][1] [*āga*]*ccha*[*n*]*t*[*i*]. *yaḥ puna*[*r*]-*bhikṣu bhikṣubhiḥ sārddha*[*ṃ*][2] [*śi*]*kṣā s*[*ā*]*m*[*ī*]*c*[*isamā*]*pannaḥ* [*śi*]*kṣam-apratyākhy*[*ā*]*y*[*a*]XX[3]

2. *dorbalyamānāviṣkṛtvā*[4] *abrahmācaryaṃ kkṛyyāt*[5]-*maithunaṃ dharmaṃ pratisevetanta*[*taḥ*][6] *tiryag*[*y*]*o* XX *tayā*[*ṃ*] *pi sārddham-ayaṃ bhikṣuḥ pār*[*ā*]-

3. *jiko bhavatyasaṃvāsa* XXX [*bh*]*ikṣu grāmād-vāraṇyād-vā hyadattaṃ stenyasaṃkhyāta ā* XXX[7] *yathā rūpeṇādattādānena* XX

4. *rāja mahāmātro vā gṛhye* XX *badhnīyād pravāhayet*[8] *hambho puruṣa*[9] *coro si ba* XXXX *si stenyo sī*[*ti*][10] X *rū*[*paṃ*] *bhikṣu* X

5. *dattam-ādadyāt-ayam-api bhikṣu* [*pā*]*r*[*ā*]*jiko bhavatya saṃvā*X[*ya*]*ḥ punar-bhikṣur-manuṣyaṃ*[11] XXXXXXXX *jivi*[*ta*]*dvyaparo* X

6. *yecchastraṃhāraṃ vāsya parye*X*ta maraṇa-varṇaṃ vāsyānusaṃvarṇayet maraṇāya vainaṃ samādapā* XXX-*mbho puruṣa ki*[*ṃ*] X *vānena pā* X

7. *ke* X-*rjivitena mṛtante bho puruṣa jīvitād-varam iti cittānugataṃ citta*[*ṃ*] *saṃkalpitam-aneka paryāyeṇa* XXXXXX

8. XXXXXXX *vaina samā*[*da*]*payet* XX *te*[*no*]*pakrameṇa kālaṃ* XXXX *mapi bhi*[*kṣuḥ*] *pārājiko bha* XXXXXX

TRANSLATION

1. [four transgressions of the *pārājika dharmā* in the *Prātimokṣa*[*sūtra*] follow [below for reading every] half month. That monk [who] together [with other] monks has received instruction in the doctrine [and] practice [of it, and]

2. has demonstrated weakness, has violated chastity, had intercourse, even if it were only with an animal, that monk is *pārājika*,

3. [subject to] expulsion ... [If] a *bhikṣu* has [taken] from a village or the forest [a thing] not given [to him], be longing to another, in such fashion that because of this appropriation of an ungiven [thing]

4. the *rājā* or [his] prime minister has seized [the *bhikṣu*], may he ... be put into prison or expelled, saying at this time: "O you, person, [you are] a thief ...", [if] the *bhikṣu* in such fashion ...

5. has taken that which was not given [to him], this very *bhikṣu* is *pārājika*, subject to expulsion ... And also, [if] the *bhikṣu* ... has taken the life of a man

6. or found a knife for him or incited him to die, describing his nature, [saying]: "O man, how is this sinful

7. life better than death, o man, it is better to die". [If the monk] consciously, intentionally by various means

8. incites [a man to die or if] expressly because of this [the person] should die, [that] very *bhikṣu* is *pārājika*, [subject to expulsion].

Variant readings

[1] We reconstructed the reading *prātimokṣe*, Loc. sg., on the basis of the fact that between this word and *āgacchanti* the *lacuna* seems to lack space for inserting the text of the *sūtoddeśaṃ* as in the Sarvāstivādins (see Finot, p. 476) or Mahāsāṅghikas text: *sūtre prātimokṣe uddeśaṃ* (Pachow, p. 5).

[2] In the Sarvāstivādin text: *bhikṣur bhikṣubhir sārddham* (Rosen, p. 51); in the Mahāsāṅghika: *bhikṣu bhikṣunā* (Pachow, p. 5).

[3] The word *śikṣā* is repeated in the Sarvāstivādins text after [?]*apratyākhyāya* (Rosen, p. 51).

[4] Our text here follows the text of the Mahāsāṅghikas; the Sarvāstivādins have: *daurbalyaṃ tv anāviṣkṛtvā* (Rosen, p. 51).

[5] The words *abrahmācaryaṃ kkṛyyāt* are absent in the Sarvāstivādins, Mūlasarvāstivādins, and Mahāsāṅghikas texts. This is surprising, as the first *pārājika* transgression is called *abrahmācaryam* in the commentaries.

[6] The Sarvāstivādins have the same, the Mahāsāṅghikas: *pratiṣeveya antamaśato* (Pachow, p. 5).

[7] The Sarvāstivādins have *ādadyād* (Rosen, p. 53), the Mahāsāṅghikas *stainyasaṃskāramādiyeya* (Pachow, p. 6).

[8] The Sarvāstivādins have *pravāsayed* (Rosen, p. 53), the Mahāsāṅghikas *pravrajem* (Pachow, p. 6); cf. Finot — *pra[vrajayed]*, p. 477.

[9] The manuscript follows the text of the Mahāsāṅghikas, the Sarvāstivādins have *evaṃ vainaṃ vadet* (Rosen, p. 53).

[10] The Sarvāstivādins have *steyo sīty* (Rosen, p. 53), the Mahāsāṅghikas *stainyosīti* (Pachow, p. 6).

[11] The text of the third transgression in the main follows the Sarvāstivādins version published by Rosen, pp. 53—4, but contains a number of minor variant readings. Significant *lacunae* and damage make it impossible to reconstruct it fully, but it is evident that it is shorter than Rosen's text and probably closer to the Mūlasarvāstivādins version (Pachow, p. 51—2).

FOL. 2 v

TRANSLITERATION

1. (The line is unreadable; only the lower parts of the *akṣara*s have remained).
2. XXXXX *v[ā]samanugrāhya*[12] XXX*nna viśuddhi prekṣī evaṃ vadet ajānahyetavāyuṣmantaḥ avocaṃ jānahy* XXX
3. XX*śyami tuccha mṛṣaṃ vilāpadanyatrādhimānād-ayamapi bhikṣuḥ pārājiko bhavatyasaṃvā* X 4. *uddi[ṣṭ]āḥ yāvadataś*[13]*-catvāra[ḥ]* X
4. X*jikā dharmā yeṣāṃ bhikṣuranyatamānyatamaṃ dharmam-āpanno na labhate bhikṣubhiḥ sārddham saṃvā[saṃ] yathā pūrve tath[ā]* XX *pārājiko bhavatya* XX
5. *saḥ aham-āyuṣmantaṃ pṛcchāmi kaścid-atra pariśuddhaḥ dvir-api tṛr-api pṛcchā[mi]* XXX *pariśuddhaḥ pariśuddhaḥ ā-*
6. *[vu]ṣmanto y[a]smāntuṣnīm-e[va]me[taṃ] [dhā]rayata*[14] || *ime punar-vadantas-trayodaśaḥ sa* XXXXX*anvarddhamāsaṃ prātimo*XXXX
7. *śam-āgacchanti. saṃcetya*[15] *śukravisṛṣṭir-anyatra*[16] *svapnāntarāt-saṃghādideśyaḥ*[17] **1.** *ya[ḥ] [punar-bhi]kṣur-edirṇyaviparinatena*[18] *cittena* XX
8. *grāmena sārddham kāya-saṃsargaṃ samāpa[dy]eta. hastagrahaṇaṃ vā. veṇigra[ha]ṇaṃ vānyata* XX *tamasya vāṅgajātasyā vā*[19] *mṛśa*XX

TRANSLATION

1. (...)
2. ...or, without being asked, [that] unfortunate [*bhikṣu*], wishing to cleanse himself, says thus: "O noble ones, not knowing about this, I said [that] I know
3. ...[did not see] ... [spoke] a lie, empty words out of pride. This *bhikṣu* is *pārājika*, [subject to] expulsion. **4.** In sum: the following four
4. *pārājika-dharmā*: whichever *bhikṣu* should violate one of these *dharmā*s, he does not receive [the right] to live together with other *bhikṣu*s, at all times (literally: "both before and after"), he is *pārājika*, [subject to
5. expulsion]. I ask the noble ones, who is pure in this [matter]? A second [time] also, a third [time] I also ask. Pure, pure
6. are the noble ones. For this silence is maintained [by them]. Now here are given 13 *saṃ[ghādideśyaḥ dharmāḥ]* which [are part of the readings] of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* [for each] half of the month.
7. They are given [here]. The conscious ejaculation of semen at any time other than during sleep, this is *saṃghādideśyaḥ*. **1.** Again, if a *bhikṣu*, seized by passion, his consciousness undermined,
8. should enter into corporal contact with a woman, take [her] by the hand or touch [her] hair, or [should touch] any other of her members in deceipt ...
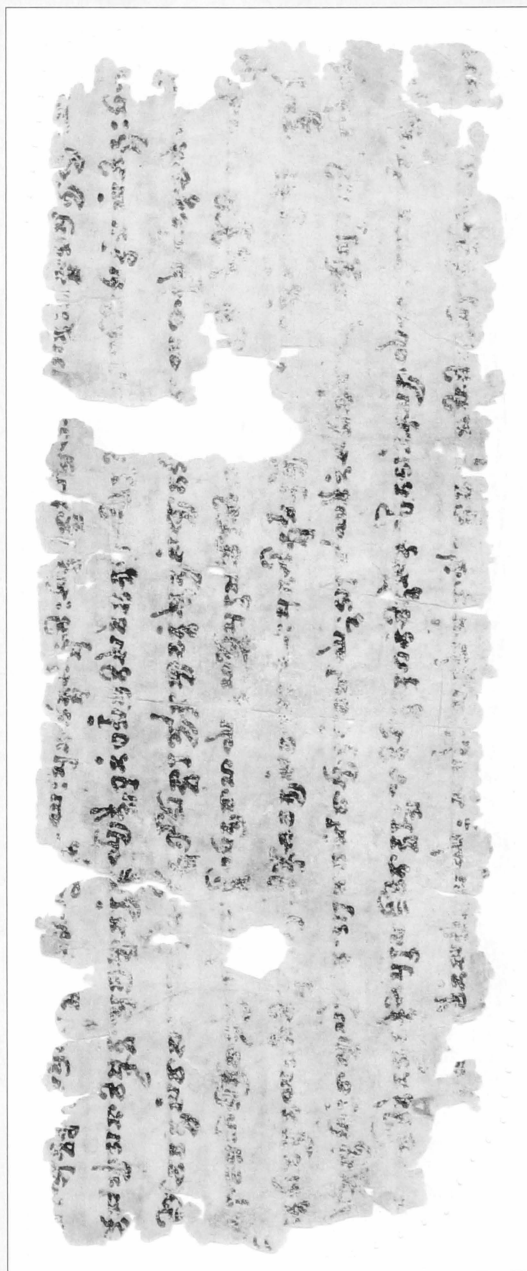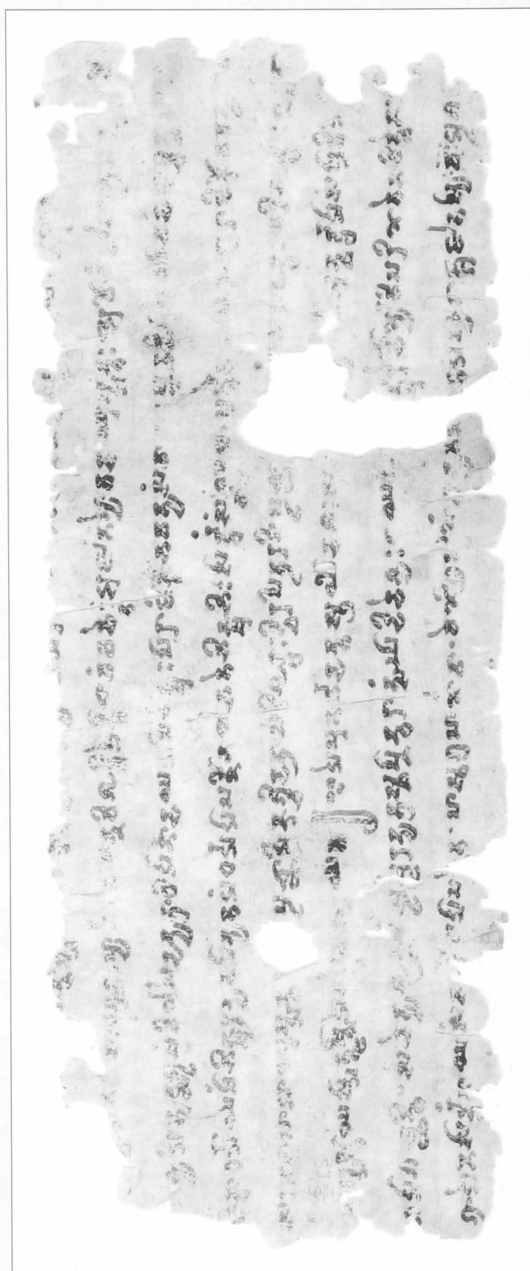
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Variant readings

[12] The text of the fourth transgression, despite a line-length *lacuna*, is clearly different than the Sarvāstivādins version published by Rosen (p. 57) and Simson (p. 211, manuscript DCb). It appears to be shorter. Instead of the forms *samanuyu-jyamāno vā asamanuyujyamāno* ("being asked or not asked"), our text probably had [*samanugrāhyamāno*] *vāsamanugra-hya*[*māno*] as in the Mahāsāṅghikas text (Pachow, p. 7). The text goes on to follow the Mahāsāṅghikas version with a few variants: *vā āpanno viśuddhiprokṣo evamvaci. ajānannevāhamāyuṣmanto avaci jānāmi. ayaṃ pi paśyāmīti iti tucchaṃ mṛṣāvilāpamanyatrābhimānāt. ayaṃ pi bhikṣuḥ pārājiko bhavatyasaṃvāsyo...* .

[13] Finot's text has *mayāyuṣmantaś=* (p. 478), the Mahāsāṅghikas *kho punarāyuṣmanto* (Pachow, p. 7). *Lacunae* in the texts published by Rosen and Simson make it difficult to reach a final conclusion on the variant readings in our text. On the basis of various extant words one can assume that both versions — of the Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsāṅghika — are not significantly at variance with each other or with our text.

[14] In Finot's (p. 479) and Pachow's (p. 7) texts — *dhārayāmi*.

[15] In Finot (p. 479) *saṃcintya*, in Pachow (p. 8) — *saṃcetanikā*.

[16] In Finot (p. 479) *śukravisargonyatra*, in Pachow (p. 8) — *śukrasya viśṛṣṭīve anyatra*.

[17] Finot, Simson — *saṃghāvaśeṣaḥ*, Pachow — *saṃghatiśeṣo*. This is evidently the future participle of the perfect root *diś + ā* — *ādideṣyaḥ* — and should mean "will be expelled" or "[he] will be placed in view". See above.

[18] It seems that our text contains a slip of the pen or an error. Cf. Finot, Simson — *udīrṇavipariṇatena*; Pachow — *otīṇṇā vipariṇatena*.

[19] The text of the manuscript follows the Finot's and Simson's texts in full. The particle *vā* is encircled by dots, which indicates that the copyist crossed it out.

Notes

1. I. P. Minaev, *Pratimoksha-sūtra. Buddiĭskiĭ sluzhebnik (Prātimokṣa-sūtra.* Buddhist Services Book) (St. Petersburg, 1869).

2. *Pātimokha*, trans. and ed. by F. Max Mu/ller (Oxford, 1881), pp. 1—69. — The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 13.

3. *Prātimokṣasūtra des Sarvāstivādins*. Texte sanskrit. Par M. Louis Finot, avec la version chinoise de Kumārajīva, traduite en fran-cais par M. Edouard Huber, *JA* (novembre–décembre, 1913), pp. 465—547.

4. We note one of the early ones — W. Pachow, "A comparative study of the Prātimokṣa", *Sino-Indian Studies*, IV/1—4, V/1 (1951—1955).

5. V. Rosen, *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins* (Berlin, 1959).

6. G. von Simson, *Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādins*. Teil 1: Wiedergabe bisher nicht publizierter Handschriften in Transkription (Go/ttingen, 1986). — Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, XI.

7. *Pamiatniki indiĭskoĭ pis'mennosti iz Tsentral'noĭ Azii* (Texts in Indian Writing from Central Asia). Fasc. 2: Publication, study, translation, and commentary by G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyeva-Desyatovskaya (Moscow, 1990), pp. 185—206.

8. On the inclusion of this part of the P. I. Lavrov collection in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, see E. Tyomkin, "Unique Sanskrit fragments of the 'Sūtra of Golden Light' in the manuscript collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I/1 (1995), p. 29.

9. The fate of the manuscript after the political changes that occurred in Tibet after its annexation by China is unknown.

10. G. Roth, "Bhikṣunīvinaya and Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣa and notes on the language", *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LII/1—4 (1966), p. 30.

11. *The Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahāsāṅghikas*, trans. by W. Pachow and R. Mishra (Allahabad, 1956).

12. Ch. S. Prebish, *Buddhist Monastic Discipline: The Sanskrit Prātimokṣa Sūtras of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins* (New York—London, 1975).

13. *Prātimokṣa-sūtram (Mūlasarvāstivāda)*, ed. by A. Ch. Banerjee (Calcutta, 1954).

14. On various interpretations of this title, see S. Le;vi, "Sur une langue pre;canonique du Bouddhism", *JA*, 10ème serie, XX (novembre–de;cembre 1912), pp. 505—6. G. Roth, "Terminologisches aus dem Vinaya der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins", *ZDMG*, 118 (1969), pp. 341—3.

15. On this term, see Le;vi, *op. cit.*, pp. 503—4; Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 343—5.

16. Prebish, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

17. The following abbreviations are used: Finot — text of the manuscript from the P. Pelliot collection, published in 1912 by L. Finot (see n. 3); Pachow — text of the Mahāsāṅghikas version, published by Pachow and Mishra (see n. 11); Prebish — study and English trans-lation of the Mahāsāṅghika version (see n. 12); Rosen — Sanskrit text of the Sarvāstivādin version, published by V. Rosen (see n. 5).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. A fragment of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* (call number SI L9), the P. I. Lavrov collection at the
St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2r, 8.0×19.4 cm.

Fig. 2. The same fragment, fol. 2v, 8.0×19.4 cm.

N. I. Serikoff

IDENTIFYING "ACEPHALOUS" MANUSCRIPTS

Since Arabic manuscripts began to be collected over the last five centuries in Europe, European librarians seem to have come to distinguish between "good" and "bad" manuscripts. A "good" manuscript is a complete manuscript, with the beginning and the end, written in clear handwriting, and preferably a holograph copy. A "good" manuscript traditionally must have a beginning containing information on its provenance and authorship. Such information includes an *invocatio* (or in Arabic *basmala*), followed by the name of the author (or his pen-name) introduced by the word *qāla* ("said"), definition of the subject of the book, and its title after the words *wa-samaituhu* ("…and I called it…"). All manuscripts lacking these features are automatically considered deficient or "bad", since the lack of the indications enumerated above for a "good" manuscript impedes unambiguous identification of manuscripts and their classification. In other words, such "bad" manuscripts cannot be easily catalogued because of the lack of necessary data about their authors, scribes, and exact titles.

However, in contrast to a modern researcher, the presence or lack of this information has never been terribly important to an Arab reader. Unlike a European collector, the most important thing to him was the text itself, and only after that the name of the author and the title. That often the name of the author was not so important is seen from an example of the tenth-century Arab geographer al-Muqaddasī. In the introduction to his *Ahsan at-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm* ("The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions"), he made an interesting observation about this particular feature:

> "Also I saw a book in the library of *al-ṣāhib*, [whose] authorship was ascribed to Abū Zayd al-Balḥī, and with maps. I also saw a copy of exactly the same book in Naysābūr, … the name of the author was not given, though some credit its authorship to Ibn al-Marzubān al-Karḥī. I saw a copy of the same book in Buḥārā [too], [and its] authorship was ascribed to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Fārisī. This latter ascription is most correct, for I have met with a number of persons who were acquainted with him and actually saw him composing [the book]…" [1].

Second, the fact that Arab readers were primarily interested in the texts themselves and only after that in their proper attribution is attested by a great number of convolutes kept in various libraries. These convolutes usually consist of fragments of various works written on a particular subject, sewn together. The same holds true for manuscripts which lack the first and the last page. Anonymous or "acephalous" for a modern European reader, these manuscripts were regarded by the Arabs themselves exactly like those including information on their titles and authorship. Because of the specific nature of Arabic learning the lack of the title or the name of the author was not a crucial matter. In the course of learning, Arab students usually mastered texts by heart. For this reason, for the readers who were familiar with a particular subject, the "acephalous" books or convolutes were not at all anonymous. Knowing by heart a number of books on a particular subject, they usually were able to identify a "bad" copy, while for a modern European cataloguer or researcher, this sort of manuscripts is among the most difficult to identify, since he/she usually is not so well-versed in Arabic texts. Even if the authorship of a particular passage is established, uncertainty still remains concerning whether the whole work may be unambiguously identified on the basis of the passage. It was quite a common practice for Arab scholars to compile their sources *in extenso*, including large parts of works which belonged to other authors; thereby they composed new writings of their own. Such a method of compilation, in their view, had nothing to do with plagiarism, which can be confirmed by another quotation from al-Muqaddasī:

> "I saw his (al-Ghayhānī's — *N. S.*) work in seven volumes in the libraries of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, though not ascribed to him. True, some ascribe the authorship to Ibn Khurradādbih. Also I have seen in Naysābūr, two succinct works, of which one is ascribed to al-Ghayhānī [and] the other bears the name of Ibn Khurradādbih as the author. They agree with each other in substance, except that al-Ghayhānī has provided some additional matter [2].

This specific method of compilation, along with missing beginnings and endings, makes the cataloguing of the "acephalous" manuscripts an incredibly difficult task for a modern scholar. Often such manuscripts are not even included in published catalogues. However, this is far from reflecting the genuine Arabic manuscript tradition, for it does not in fact take into consideration numerous manuscripts which were read and known. Therefore, the aim of the present article is to suggest some methods of cataloguing "acephalous" manuscripts. These methods have been worked out and used in the course of preparing the "Wellcome Catalogue of the Arabic Medical Manuscripts". If applied consistently, it can facilitate the identification of such difficult manuscripts and consequently to include
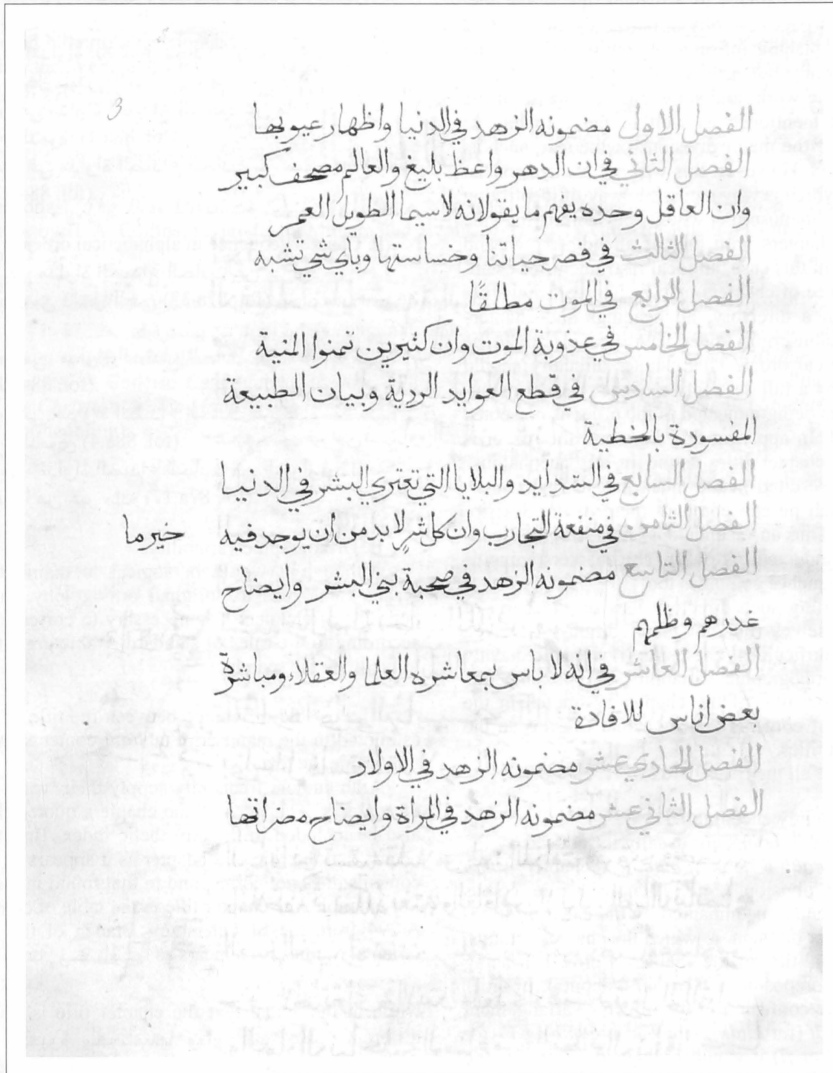
الفصل الاول مضمونه الزهد في الدنيا واظهار عيوبها

الفصل الثاني في ان الدهر واعظ بليغ والعالم مصحف كبير

وان العاقل وحده يفهم ما يقولانه لا سيما الطويل العمر

الفصل الثالث في قصر حياتنا وحساستها وباي شي تشبه

الفصل الرابع في الموت مطلقا

الفصل الخامس في عذوبة الموت وان كثيرين تمنوا المنية

الفصل السادس في قطع العوايد الردية وبيان الطبيعة

المفسورة بالخطية

الفصل السابع في الشدايد والبلايا التي تعتري البشر في الدنيا

الفصل الثامن في منفعة التجارب وان كل شر لا بد من ان يوجد فيه   خير ما

الفصل التاسع مضمونه الزهد في صحبة بني البشر وايضاح

غدرهم وظلمهم

الفصل العاشر في الله لا باس بمعاشرة العلا والعقلا ومباشرة

بعض اناس للافادة

الفصل الحادي عشر مضمونه الزهد في الاولاد

الفصل الثاني عشر مضمونه الزهد في المراة وايضاح مضراتها

Fig. 1

them in the existing *corpus* of identified Arabic manuscripts in Europe. Such identification is highly desirable since it enables one to introduce a considerable number of hitherto neglected Arabic manuscripts for the first time. It may also help to cast more light on the Arabic manuscript tradition as well as to elucidate the real use of manuscripts in the Arab world.

The method suggested here can be called chapter directory. It should be noted that Arab scribes and authors who took care of possible damage to a manuscript — the loss of the beginning or pages (wholly or partially), etc. — tried to "defend" it by placing information about the work not only at the beginning but also in other parts of the text. Thus the title of the work, and sometimes the name of the author, might be mentioned as well in the colophon or at the beginning of the major divisions of the text, such as sections or chapters. However, this was not always consistently practiced, which is why a possible way of identifying an "acephalous" manuscript would be comparing the **sequence** of its chapters with that of already known and identified works. In this case, an ideal instrument for establishing the sequence of chapters may be to create a chapter directory. In such a directory, all headings and chapters *incipits* of the manuscripts under identification are to be listed in alphabetical order. This chapter directory should be accompanied by a full description of the relevant manuscript, the chapters being indicated in the order as presented in the manuscript. In applying this directory, the reader is able to compare chapter titles found in an "acephalous" manuscript to those cited in the index and to find coincidences, after which he can compare them to the descriptions themselves. Thus an "acephalous" manuscript's identification can be conducted not only if the chapters coincide but also if their sequence coincides too.

Surely, compiling such directory lists on the basis of manuscripts themselves (but not their editions) is linked with a number of difficulties. These are: (i) words frequently encountered; (ii) orthographic variability; (iii) possible difference between the title of the chapter as quoted in the manuscript table of contents and its actual title inside the text; (iv) deficient titles.

Let us consider all the cases here.

I. Words frequently encountered.

Chapters in Arabic books are usually introduced by the following words: *kitāb* ("book"), *maqāla* ("chapter"), *bāb* ("chapter"), *faṣl* ("division"), etc. Then, as a rule, comes the number, frequently accompanied by the exact information about the larger division, to which the chapter belongs. After that the actual title of the chapter is provided, being introduced by the prepositions *fī* or *'an* ("about"). In order to avoid a possible confusion in the directory arrangement under the letters *kāf* (for *kitāb*), *mīm* (for *maqāla*), *bā'* (for *bāb*), *fā'* (for *faṣl* or *fī*) it would be logical to arrange the alphabetical list of the chapters under the first contents-communicative word. For example, a chapter entitled —

الباب ال خامس والعشرون فى مداواة العشق

(*Al-bāb al-khāmis wa-l-'ashrūna fī Madāwāt al-'Ishq*) — "Chapter twenty-five. About treatment of love" — should not be placed in the directory list under the letter *alīf*, but under the letter *mīm*, with which the word *madāwā* ("treatment") begins. Consequently, the original sequence of chapters, as given in the manuscript, needs to be altered.

For example:

Al-Maghūsī, *Kāmil al-Ṣinā'at al-Ṭibbiyya al-ma'rūf bi-l-Malakī* [3].

1. An original sequence:

الباب الثانى فى مداواة الصداع الحادث من الحرارة اذا كان ذلك مفردا من غير مادة (fol. 87a.17).

الباب الثالث فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن حرارة الثمس (fol. 87a.32).
الباب الرابع فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن حرارة مفردة تحر كت من داخل البدن (fol. 87b.10).
الباب الخامس فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن مادة واولا الصداع الدموىّ (fol. 88a.4).
الباب السادس فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن سوء مزاج بارد مفرد (fol. 88a.22).

2. Chapter sequence in alphabetical order in the index:

الباب الرابع فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن حرارة مفردة تحر كت من داخل البدن (fol. 87a.32).

الباب السادس فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن سوء مزاج بارد مفرد (fol. 88a.22).
الباب الخامس فى مداواة الصداع الحادث عن مادة واولا الصداع الدموىّ (fol. 88a.4).
الباب الثانى فى مداواة الصداع الحادث من الحرارة اذا كان ذلك مفردا من غير مادة (fol. 87a.17).

II. Orthographic variability.

Although it would be logical to maintain in manuscripts catalogues the original orthography, in the alphabetic list of chapters it is necessary to correct orthography according to the rules of standard Arabic grammar in order to facilitate the search.

III. Possible difference between the title of the chapter as quoted in the manuscript table of contents and its actual title inside the text.

Arab authors frequently supply their works with tables of contents. The titles of the chapters quoted there should also be included in the alphabetic index. But it frequently occurs that the title of a chapter as it appears in the table of contents does not correspond to that found in the text itself. For example, the chapter title in the table of contents in MS A 294 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [4] appears as فى قصر حيتما وخساستها وبأي شى تشبه
while in the actual text the chapter title is given slightly different: فى قصر الحيوة وخساستها وباى شي تشبه.
In this case, the alphabetic list should contain the title of the chapter as it is present in the table of contents, with a variant from the main body of the text in square brackets: فى قصر حيتا [الحيوة] وخساستها وباى شى تشبه.

To cite only two examples [5]:

فى عذوية الموت وان كثيرين تمنوا المنية [الموت]:
فى الشدايد والبلايا التي تعترى البشر فى الدنيا [البلايا الشاملة جميع الناس].

IV. Deficient titles.

It occurs sometimes that there is no special title of a chapter available, and the title is denoted only by the words like *al-bāb al-awwal* ("Chapter one"), and so on. In this particular case, the chapter title should be invented artificially by adding some words from the beginning of the chapter, which could be called "an artificial *incipit*".

Concerning the preliminary results of the manuscript identification method suggested I must say that at present I have compiled an alphabetical list of chapters for more than one hundred hitherto uncatalogued manuscripts which are preserved at the Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine. The method has enabled me to establish the correct titles of the following works, represented by manuscripts with neither beginnings nor ends:

1. WMS AR 191, al-Shaizarī, *Kitāb mihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba* (Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden—Köln, p. 196).

2. WMS AR 219, Naghīb al-Dīn al-Samarqandī, *Kitāb al-asbāb wa-l-'alāmāt* (*ibid.*, p. 170).

3. WMS AR 221, Abū Sahl Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz an-Nīlī, A recension of *Kitāb al-'ashr maqālāt fī l-'ayn* (*ibid.*, p. 206).

4. WMS AR 222, Abū'l-Munā b. Abī Naṣr al-Kūhīn al-'Aṭṭār al-Isra'īlī, *Kitāb minhāgh al-dukkān* (*ibid.*, p. 309).

5. WMS AR 225, Muḥammad Akhbar 'Araf Muḥammad Arzānī, *Kitāb ḥudūd al-Amrāḍ*.

Notes

1. Al-Muqaddasī, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions*. A translation of *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, trans. by B. A. Collins, reviewed by Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Ṭayyi', Centre for Muslim Contributions to Civilizations, 1998, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3. Al-Maghūsī, *Kāmil al-ṣinā'at al-ṭibbiyya al-ma'rūf bi-l-malakī*, WMS AR (Haddād 9.2). Cf. فهرست المخطوطات الطبية العربية في مكتبة الد كتور سامي ابراهيم حداد. وضعه فريد سامي حدّاد بالاشتراك مع هانس هينرش بيسترفيلد حلب ١٤٠٤ / ١٩٨٤ رقم ١٩.

4. *Rayḥānat al-arwāḥ wa-sullam al-adab wa-l-ṣalāḥ* by Mkrdīgh al-Kasīḥ. See *Arabskie Rukopisi. Kratkii Katalog* (Arabic manuscripts. A Concise Catalogue) (Moscow, 1988), No. 10510; see also Val. Polosin, V. Polosin, N. Serikoff, *Catalogue of the Christian Arabic Manuscripts Preserved at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies*, eds. N. Serikoff and H. Teule (forthcoming).

5. *Ibid.*

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Rayḥānat al-arwāḥ wa-sullam al-adab wa-l-ṣalāḥ*, manuscript A 294 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, 18th century, Syria, *fihrist*, fol. 3a, 15.6×20.1 cm.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

D. Kimmage

SŪRA 106 IN *TAFSĪR*S: QUR'ĀNIC COMMENTARY AS A HISTORICAL SOURCE

The original Arabic text of the one-hundred-sixth *sūra* of the Qur'ān, the "Quraysh", consists of a mere eighteen words: *Li-īlāf Quraysh, īlāfihim riḥlat al-shitā' wa-l-ṣayf, fa-l-ya'budū rabb hādha al-bayt, al-ladhī aṭ'amahum min jaw' wa-āmanahum min khawf*, which can be translated as follows: "For the *īlāf* of the Quraysh, their *īlāf* of the journeys in summer and in winter, worship the Lord of this House, who fed them when they were hungry and who delivered them from fear". I have left the term *īlāf* untranslated here; the dispute surrounding its meaning will be discussed later. In their efforts to clarify the meaning of those eighteen words, Qur'ānic commentators produced many pages of exegesis. The *sūra* itself represents the tip of an inverted pyramid of exegetical writing that spans hundreds of years and encompasses a variety of important issues. I will survey a stratified section of that pyramid, analysing the works of four major commentators in the hope of charting the evolution of exegetical discourse and evaluating the usefulness of *tafsīr* as a historical source.

The comparative analysis will concentrate on Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), Abū al-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (d. 1144), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1209), and al-Qurṭubī (d. 1272). These commentators were selected for no reason other than that each wrote several pages of commentary on the four lines of *sūra* 106 and that their lives encompass a period of roughly four hundred years. Each commentator's approach will be evaluated individually before an overview of exegetical discourse — as represented by this small sample, of course — is presented.

The ambitious goal of appraising Qur'ānic commentary as a source of information about historical events was inspired by Patricia Crone's comments on the ambiguities of *tafsīr* in "Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam". The commentators relate the content of *sūra* 106 to various facts about the tribe of Quraysh (their trading practices, in particular). In her chapter on sources, Crone exposes the many contradictions in the commentaries. After a barbed summary of the ensuing confusion, she concludes that the exegetical tradition is unreliable as a historical source, saying that "it is … clear that the exegetes had no better knowledge of what this *sūra* meant than we have today" [1]. In

reference to a specific event, she concludes that "what the sources offer are fifteen equally fictitious versions of an event that never took place" [2]. If Crone's assertion about the unreliability of the sources is correct, the implications for the writing of Islamic history are clearly troubling.

The debate on the historicity of the sources for early Islamic history lies beyond the scope of this paper. An attempt will be made, however, to see whether Patricia Crone's dismissal of *sūra* 106 and its attendant commentaries as historical sources is justified. Crone reads the *tafsīr* as a modern scholar in search of hard facts; awash in contradictions, she finds it wanting and rejects it, concluding that the *tafsīr* does not contain any reliable factual information. Is it possible, however, to weigh it on a different scale?

In "Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory", Jacob Lassner discusses the changes that have taken place in the reading of texts over time [3]. He notes that while the modern reader, confronted by vast numbers of books, reads **extensively**, readers of an earlier age read **intensively**. The pre-modern author embedded myriad subtleties in his text, confident that the reader would unearth them through painstaking scrutiny. "The reading of the text became an intricate game that succeeded in delighting as well as tantalizing each and every player" [4].

As the product of a different age and intellectual climate, the twenty-first-century scholar is left with a variety of imperfect approaches to the interpretation of pre-modern Arabic texts. Borrowing a term from geology, Lassner advances the idea of "establishing the stratigraphy of a text" in order to "impose a semblance of chronological order on multi-layered traditions" [5]. That idea will be applied here to the above-mentioned commentaries on *sūra* 106 in the hope of excavating from those texts a mechanism for better apprehending their contents. Perhaps a deeper understanding of the texts' internal dynamics can parry the revisionists' assertion that *tafsīr* is useless as a historical source. And even if a stratigraphy of the *tafsīr* does not provide convincing grounds for its rehabilitation as a historical source, it can certainly bear fruit in the elucidation of Islamic intellectual history.

I. The *sūra*

Before turning to the individual commentaries on the *sūra* quoted at the beginning of this paper, I will outline the basic issues addressed in those commentaries. Some of them are questions naturally arising from the content of the verse: what were the destinations of the journeys and why were they undertaken, what is "this House," why did the Quraysh suffer from hunger and fear. Other issues are linguistic: what is the function of the introductory particle *li*,

how does it affect the meaning of the word "worship" later on in the verse, what is the precise meaning of the word *īlāf*, and what is the origin of the term Quraysh. Throughout, the commentators tend to treat these issues not simply as questions to be answered, but as points of departure for wide-ranging discussions of broader themes, or as opportunities to introduce their readers to the spectrum of thought within the Islamic community on each individual matter.

II. The commentators

1. Ṭabarī. Abū Ja'far al-Ṭabarī was born in approximately 838. Although his family was from a remote section of Persia, he spent most of his life in Baghdad, the intellectual centre of the Muslim world at the time. He was a prolific scholar who wrote a history of the world as well as a multi-volume work of *tafsīr*. He is credited with having drawn together in his commentary nearly two centuries of exegesis. Jane Mcauliffe describes his basic approach as "commensensical," adding that Ṭabarī had "very little patience for those who strayed too far from the literal sense" [6]. In his commentary on *sūra* 106, Ṭabarī concerns himself with the following questions: the meaning of the term *īlāf*, the function of the introductory *lām* in the Arabic text (and the attendant issue of whether the *sūra* should be read in conjunction with the preceding verse), the precise nature of the journeys in summer and winter, and the details of the hunger and fear from which the Quraysh were delivered by the "Lord of this House".

Ṭabarī opens his commentary on the verse with a somewhat technical question — variant readings of the term *īlāf*. He agrees with the majority opinion that the first occurrence should be read as *li-īlāf*, yet he reads the second occurrence as *ilfihim* rather than *īlāfihim* [7]. The point is not entirely technical — *īlāf* is the *maṣdar* of a fourth-form verb; *ilf* is the first-form *maṣdar*. The fourth form is causative, and its use here implies that some agent caused the Quraysh to undertake a journey in the summer and winter; the first-form *maṣdar* preferred by Ṭabarī conveys simply that the Quraysh journeyed regularly in the summer and winter.

Ṭabarī supports his variant reading of the second occurrence with a reference to 'Ikrima [8] (d. 723). In addition to reading *ilfihim* for *īlāfihim*, 'Ikrima reads *lita'alluf* instead of *li-īlāf* at the opening of the verse. Thus, Ṭabarī demonstrates a plurality of opinion among estimable authorities while at the same time buttressing his own reading. Furthermore, he cites a Prophetic tradition which states that the Prophet was heard to say *ilfahum* [9].

Ṭabarī's eventual conclusion is implied rather than stated, which is not surprising. After all, it is unlikely that his readers — educated speakers of Arabic — would have needed much additional explanation in order to grasp a grammar-based argument. His reading may be summarized as follows: the first occurrence of the term *īlāf* is a fourth-form *maṣdar*, the second (read by him as *ilf*) is a first-firm *maṣdar*; both are derived from the root *'lf*. The first usage is causative; the second is not.

But before attempting to discern the meaning of the verse, a brief digression is necessary to determine Ṭabarī's

interpretation of the introductory *lām*. A *lām* can mean several things at the beginning of a sentence — "for" and "marvel at" are the two most likely meanings in this context. Ṭabarī's conclusion here is clearly stated: "My reading of the passage is correct, for it is said that this *lām* is used in the sense of wonderment" [10]. The *lām* of wonderment: Marvel at the *īlāf* of the Quraysh. Following Ṭabarī, we may therefore understand the meaning of the opening line as "Marvel at the *īlāf* of the Quraysh, their *ilf* of the journey in the winter and the summer".

A great deal has been written about the confusion surrounding *īlāf* and its meaning. If, however, we use the simplest meanings of the root for the first and fourth forms provided in the *Lisān al-'arab*, we obtain the following: *alifa* means *lazima*, "to stick to, frequent", as in "someone frequented this place" [11]; the fourth form is purely causative [12]. Lane translates the first form as "he kept, or clave to it... he frequented it... he became familiar with it" [13]. Updating Lane's usage, we arrive at "get used to". The causative fourth form becomes simply "to make [someone] get used to [something], cause [someone] to keep doing [something]". If one assumes that God is the implied agent of causation in the verse, a literal, if decidedly inelegant, English translation runs as follows: "Marvel at God's accustoming of the Quraysh, at their being accustomed to a journey in the winter and in the summer".

Both Lane and the *Lisān al-'arab*, however, list multiple meanings for the fourth-form *maṣdar*. The most detailed discussion is dedicated to the use of the term in the sense of a covenant of protection during a journey. The *Lisān*, citing Ibn al-'Arabī (767—846), a Kufan philologian, explains that four brothers of the Quraysh tribe were the bearers of this covenant: "The holders of the *īlāf* were four brothers... they would organize the protection and would follow one another, guarding the Quraysh and their provisions; they were called the protectors" [14]. Ṭabarī, who demonstrates great sensitivity to linguistic nuances throughout his commentary, does not mention this secondary meaning, and it seems therefore reasonable to assume that he interpreted the root in its basic sense of "becoming used to". As for the journeys, Ṭabarī provides a string of *isnād*s and *matn*s about their purpose and destination. Because the passage is a classic example of Ṭabarī's method of textual presentation, it will be analysed here at some length in an attempt to clarify the author's intent in the absence of any obvious authorial comment. The entire passage is reproduced in Appendix.

Ibn 'Abbās is cited to the effect that the journey was a necessity (*luzūmuhum*). The next *matn*, also attributed to

Ibn 'Abbās, states that the journey was forbidden to the Quraysh, presumably by God, and that they were ordered to worship the Lord of this House [15]. To this end, God provided them with food and freed them from fear; consequently, they were able to make journeys of their own volition rather than out of necessity [16]. A number of *isnād*s with curt *matn*s follow. 'Ikrima explains that the Quraysh frequented Busra and Yemen before they were ordered to settle in Mecca. Abū Ṣāliḥ says only that they were traders and that God knew of their love for al-Shām. Qatāda affirms that they travelled in the winter and in the summer. al-Ḍaḥḥāk seconds Qatāda. The next two *matn*s (presumably attributed to al-Ḍaḥḥāk since no new *isnād* is introduced) make a grammatical point and fix the destinations of the journeys as Syria in the summer and Yemen in the winter, a view supported by Ibn Zayd. Sufyān says they were traders. Al-Kalbī reaffirms the aforementioned destinations. Finally, Ibn 'Abbās has the Quraysh wintering in Mecca and summering in al-Ṭā'if.

The passage consists of twelve pieces of information with source references. Although Ṭabarī does not comment directly on the veracity of the information he presents, the author's presence can be detected in two facets of the text — its organization and its sources. The twelve *matn*s are not in random order; when read as a structured text, they form a coherent account of a shift in Qurayshi trade occasioned by the appearance of Islam. Originally, they traded out of necessity, driven by hunger and beset by fear. God freed them from that necessity, giving them the opportunity to continue trading of their own volition. The remainder of the text clarifies the destination of their journeys, explicates the grammar of the Qur'ānic verse, and finally provides the starting points for their journeys.

On the issue of the fear and hunger from which the Quraysh were delivered, Ṭabarī lists the possible culprits: raids, wars, and leprosy. Faced with scant evidence, he comes to the sensible conclusion that the text should be accepted as saying exactly what it says and nothing more:

> "For one's enemy is feared and leprosy is feared, yet God did not specify whether he delivered them from their enemy and not leprosy or from leprosy and not their enemy. His words are general in this respect. The correct interpretation is that the passage is all-encompassing, as is the glory of his commendation, for it is said that he delivered them from both hardships" [17].

If we restate the issues touched upon in the verse as questions, we find that Ṭabarī has provided a clear-cut answer to only one of them — he states unequivocally that the *lām* indicates wonderment at the miraculous blessings bestowed upon the Quraysh by God, not a connection with the previous *sūra*. On the meaning of *īlāf*, the precise nature of the journeys, and the hunger and fear, he is not nearly as clear. His grammar-based argument on the *īlāf* implies that the Quraysh received some sort of divine assistance that allowed them to conduct their trading journeys in relative security. Yet the exact nature of the journeys remains elusive, and the fear and hunger mentioned at the end of the *sūra* are left at face value. Despite these ambiguities, it seems reasonable to infer conclusions from the text when possible, as was done above in the discussion of the journeys.

2. Zamakhsharī. Abū al-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī was born in 1075. His *tafsīr* is "among the most noted and most quoted of Qur'anic commentaries" [18]. His approach differs from Ṭabarī's in that he was an adherent of the Mu'tazilite school. His commentary is a fine example of *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y* — interpretation through opinion — as opposed to the more traditional *al-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr* — interpretation through received tradition. Much of Zamakhsharī's commentary is based on the explication of grammatical points with references to classical poetry.

Zamakhsharī's commentary on *sūra* 106 opens with an assertion that the opening phrase, *li-īlāf* Quraysh, is linked to the ensuing injunction to worship the "Lord of this House". He adds that even if the Quraysh remained impassive in the face of countless other blessings of Allah, they should have been moved to worship Him by this single boon — the *īlāf* of the two journeys. Zamakhsharī also notes that the introductory *lām* indicates wonder: "And it has been said that the meaning is 'marvel at the *īlāf* of the Quraysh'" [19].

On the subject of whether or not the *sūra* is connected to the preceding verse, Zamakhsharī introduces a concept from poetry: "This resembles the principle of linked content (*manzalat al-taḍmīn*) in poetry, where the meaning of a verse is connected to the verse that precedes it in such a way that it cannot be understood independently" [20]. In addition to the idea of linked content, he cites Ubayy's version of the Qur'ān [21], in which the two *sūra*s are printed as one, and 'Umar, who read the two *sūra*s as one in the prayer at sunset. Since the only evidence Zamakhsharī presents supports a connection between the two *sūra*s, one must assume that the author believed that they were, indeed, connected.

Zamakhsharī briefly discusses *sūra* 106 in light of the preceding *sūra*, which describes the destruction of an army headed by the "lords of the elephant". The "lords of the elephant" are commonly interpreted as having directed their campaign against Mecca [22]; the Quraysh were the caretakers of the Meccan *ḥarām*, and consequently enjoyed Allah's protection: "They were secure in their journeys, for they are the people of the shrine of Allah and the caretakers of his House" [23]. Zamakhsharī mentions in passing that, thanks to this divine protection, the Quraysh were able to travel without fear to Yemen in the winter and Syria in the summer.

On the meaning of the term *īlāf*, Zamakhsharī quotes a line of poetry: *Min al-mu'lifāt al-rahw ghayr al-awārik* [24]. This rather confusing line apparently refers to the attributes of a camel — *mu'lif[āt]* is absent in Lane; a footnote to Zamakhsharī [25] compares it to the word *mu'tād* and interprets the phrase as a description of a she-camel with a swift, light gait. Zamakhsharī then provides several variant readings of *īlāf* followed by another quote from the poetry, a satirical verse mocking those who would liken themselves to the Quraysh. The verse states that the Quraysh possess *ilf*, while others do not. Lane attributes it to Musāwir Ibn-Hind, a minor, eight-century Kufan poet, and interprets the term *ilf* as "the safeguard of God" [26].

Zamakhsharī's final comment on *īlāf* is to quote 'Ikrima's variant reading of the *sūra*'s opening line, where *li-īlāf* is read as *li-ya'lafa*. Ṭabarī also cites 'Ikrima, although he reads *li-ta'alluf* in place of *li-ya'lafa* (probably a consequence of orthographical imprecision). What, then, does *īlāf* mean in Zamakhsharī's commentary? Once again,

in the absence of additional clarification from the commentator, I would opt for the most obvious reading. The implication of the second poetic excerpt is that *īlāf* is some sort of blessing or safeguard related to Qurayshi trading journeys.

Zamakhsharī then turns to the genealogy of the Quraysh and the origins of their name. He traces their heritage to al-Naḍr ibn Kanāna and states that their name is derived from *qirsh*, a shark. Zamakhsharī tells how Mu'āwiya asked Ibn 'Abbās about the Quraysh; the latter replied with a line of poetry: "For the Quraysh are dwellers of the deep from which the Quraysh derive their name" [27]. Another possibility is that the Quraysh acquired their predatory name because of their success as traders and their ability to turn a profit: "For they profited from their trading..." [28].

Zamakhsharī makes a few minor grammatical points — *riḥla* has been read as *ruḥla* ("destination"); *khawf* and *jaw'* appear without the definite article in order to underscore their intensity — and then concludes his commentary with a few remarks on the fear and hunger from which the Quraysh were delivered. The fear is depicted as having several possible causes: the lords of the elephant, raiders, or leprosy. The only source cited is a prayer: "And this was all said in Ibrāhīm's prayer" [29]. The idea that the Quraysh feared the caliphate might pass to another tribe is dismissed as "one of the commentaries' spurious innovations" [30]. Zamakhsharī does not specify the cause of the famine afflicting the Quraysh but describes it as so intense that they were forced to eat carrion. Once again, the commentator provides his readers with a variety of possible explanations rather than a single orthodox interpretation. Interestingly, Zamakhsharī expressly discards the only interpretation with political overtones.

To summarize Zamakhsharī's interpretation of the verse: he openly states that the *īlāf* is a boon from Allah and implies that it means safeguard; he implies that the *sūra* is connected to the preceding verse; he briefly mentions that the Quraysh travelled to Syria in the summer and to Yemen in the winter; he explains the origin of the tribe's name; and he describes the intensity of the famine that gripped the Quraysh and the possible sources of their fear, discounting in this regard the loss of political power within the Islamic community as a cause for their fear. For the most part, his views are not buttressed with *isnād*s and

*matn*s, but with excerpts from the poetry and grammar-based arguments.

There are a total of seven references (none of which contain *isnād*s) to sources other than the poetry: one to Ubayy and one to 'Umar on whether *sūra*s 106 and 105 are connected; one to Ṭabarī and one to 'Ikrima on variant readings of *īlāf*; one to Mu'āwiya's asking Ibn 'Abbās about the origins of Quraysh; one to Ibrāhīm's prayer in the Qur'ān [31]; and, finally, a Prophetic statement on the benefits of reading *sūra* 106. These references complement and support Zamakhsharī's analysis without determining its structure and flow. In keeping with *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y*, his text consists, for the most part, of his own analysis.

3. Al-Rāzī. Rāzī was born in approximately 1149 in what is today Tehran. Although he travelled extensively in Central Asia, he spent most of his life in Herat, which is located in modern Afghanistan. He was man of passionate opinions and "intemperate irascibility" [32]. His *tafsīr* is notable for its organization as well as its content — the analysis of each verse is divided into issues (*masā'il*) which are then further broken down into various aspects (*wujūh*). Although his *tafsīr* is anti-Mu'tazilite and traditionalist, his interests were far-ranging, and his commentary is "packed ... with philosophical and theological erudition". Mcauliffe notes that "the closest, near-contemporary Western parallel to *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* would be the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas" [33].

Rāzī's commentary on *sūra* 106 is quite extensive — he devotes eight pages of text to the verse's four lines. Consequently, this summary will be somewhat more perfunctory and diagrammatic than the two preceding summaries. I will analyze Rāzī's method of argumentation in detail with reference to his interpretation of the introductory *lām*; the remainder of his commentary will be treated in more general terms.

On the subject of the introductory *lām*, Rāzī isolates three main aspects of the issue (*wujūh*): the *lām* indicates a connection to the preceding *sūra*, or to the text that follows it, or only to the word *īlāf*. These three possibilities are systematically explored — an outline of the passage reveals several nested levels of argumentation. The entire eight-page text can be reduced to outline form quite nicely, as is indicated by the following representation of his opening lines:

I. General question of *lām*
    A. Issue of connection to preceding *sūra*
        1. al-Zujāj and Abū 'Abīda: *sūra*s connected; possible objection to this claim
                a. refutation of objection

One can imagine the ease with which his students followed his lectures.

As the outline indicates, Rāzī first cites al-Zujāj and Abū 'Abīda to the effect that the Abyssinians were routed thanks to divine intervention for the benefit of the Quraysh: "God destroyed the lords of the elephant so that the Quraysh might prevail and continue to make their journeys in the winter and summer" [34]. He counters with three arguments the possible objection that the Abyssinians were routed simply because they were unbelievers. First, God reserves the punishment of unbelievers for the Day of Resurrection (*mu'akhkhar li-l-qiyāma*); second, even if their unbelief led to their destruction, God can act with more than one purpose; and third, even if God smote them for

their unbelief alone, it is possible to view the Abyssinians' fall "for the *īlāf* of the Quraysh" because the Quraysh benefitted from it even if that was not God's express intention in the matter. Having refuted this objection, Rāzī restates his view that the Abyssinians were routed for the *īlāf* of the Quraysh (for their benefit).

He then mentions the view that the *lām* is a contraction of *ilā* and that the *īlāf* is a blessing bestowed upon the Quraysh by God. Rāzī cites al-Farrā' (751—822) to the effect that all divine boons are equal: "A blessing of God is a blessing, and all blessings are equal" [35].

Rāzī then turns to various views on the issue of whether *sūra* 106 is connected to the *sūra* that precedes it, the *sūra* of the Elephant. While some have insisted that

they are independent of each other, Ubayy ibn Ka'b's text merges them; furthermore, 'Umar read them together in the evening prayer. Rāzī notes, however, that their related content does not indicate that they are one *sūra*. In fact, the entire Qur'ān reinforces and confirms itself throughout as though it were a single verse.

In the next paragraph, Rāzī asks why the defeat of the Abyssinians should be a reason (*sabab*) for the *īlāf* of the Quraysh. Noting that the lack of agriculture in Mecca made it necessary for the Quraysh to secure food and clothing through trade, he explains that as keepers of the *haram* they enjoyed the respect of the kings with whom they transacted business. Had the Abyssinians been allowed to ransack the *haram*, the Quraysh would have lost their prestige as the keepers of the shrine (*ahl al-bayt*). Consequently, God brought about the defeat of the Abyssinians so that the glory of the Quraysh would grow rather than diminish.

Rāzī then argues that the proof of a connection between the *sūra*s lies in the fact that the injunction to worship the "Lord of this House" is an allusion to the preceding *sūra*, which describes an attempt to destroy that House. He concludes that "this shows a connection between the beginning of this *sūra* (i.e. *sūra* 106 — *D. K.*) and the preceding *sūra*" [36]. On the possibility of a connection to the remainder of the verse, Rāzī cites without comment the views of Sībawayhi (second half of the 8th century, d. *ca.* 796), the eminent Basran grammarian, and al-Khalīl (d. *ca.* 791), a grammarian with whom Sībawayhi studied, who asserted that the Quraysh are being urged to worship the "Lord of this House" as a sign of gratitude for the *īlāf*.

The discussion of the *lām* ends with the possibility that it is connected only to the word *īlāf*. Al-Kisā'ī (737—805), al-Akhfash [37], and al-Farrā' (751—822) are cited as saying that this is the *lām* of wonderment at God's having led the Quraysh from their former state of sinful idolatry to their current nobility. Once again, there is no authorial comment.

Clearly, Rāzī believes that there is a tie between *sūra* 106 and the preceding verse. He carefully investigates several justifications for this view and rejects those he finds unconvincing. Although dissenting opinions are presented at the conclusion of the section, their effectiveness is diminished by the bulk of the preceding material and by the author's support for reading the *sūra*s in conjunction with one another. They are not rejected, however; nor is it inconceivable that the *lām* can perform all three functions.

Rāzī does not limit himself to intricate discussions of technical matters. As indicated by his comment on the essential unity of the Qur'ān as a self-reinforcing text, he is interested in the philosophical implications of his theological commentary. I will briefly discuss some of his philosophical digressions after a condensed summary of the remainder of his commentary on *sūra* 106.

After explaining the role of the *lām*, Rāzī analyses the *īlāf*, arriving at a meaning that combines "accustoming to" and "preparation for". He discusses the nature of the *īlāf* and the distinction between protection from harm and procurement of benefit in the framework of the tribe's relation to God. He discusses four possible origins of the name "Quraysh" — the shark, success in trade, tribal unity, and care of the shrine and its pilgrims. No aspect of the verse is left untouched — there is a discussion of the journeys, the nature of worship, the role of the house, and the hunger and fear from which the Quraysh were freed.

Two philosophical digressions merit special attention: one on the nature of the earth, the other on the metaphor of nourishment. In the first case, Rāzī explores the role of God's beneficence — the bestowal of food upon the Quraysh (*it'āmuhum*) — when the earth has already been created for man: "He created for you all that is on earth" [38]. In response, he urges his readers to consider the things that make up the world beyond the satisfaction of their most basic needs. These include the stars, the heavenly bodies, the four elements, and the unity of the limbs amid the diversity of their forms and representations (*jumlat al-ad'ā' 'alā-khtilāf ashkāliha wa-ṣuwariha…*). Consequently, God's bestowal of food upon the Quraysh should not evoke obedience in the manner of animals, as cattle obey the master who provides their fodder, but sublime worship.

The most fascinating element of the preceding passage is that it betrays the influence of Greek philosophical concepts and a preoccupation with the deeper implications of religious commentary. Mcauliffe writes that Rāzī was "conversant with the Islamic philosophical tradition as represented by, among others, al-Farabi" [39]. Al-Fārābī (870—950) wrote commentaries on Plato and Aristotle, and it is perhaps through him that we encounter Platonic and Aristotelian imagery in Rāzī's commentary on *sūra* 106.

Finally, in a passage on the view that God brought security to the Quraysh by introducing them to Islam, Rāzī notes that before the arrival of the Prophet, the people of Mecca were boorish and ignorant. It was Muḥammad's reception of the divine revelation that helped them to surpass the Jews and Christians in wisdom. Rāzī concludes that "the bestowal of food that nourishes the body evokes thanks, while the bestowal of food that nourishes the spirit is truly no reason for thanksgiving!" [40]. The greatness of God's beneficence is thus underscored by His willingness to bestow spiritual nourishment without any expectation of recompense.

4. Al-Qurṭubī. Qurṭubī begins his commentary on *sūra* 106 with a discussion of whether the *sūra* is connected to the verse that precedes it, dealing first with those who see a connection between the two *sūra*s before turning to dissenting opinions. In support of a link, Qurṭubī cites Ubayy's edition of the Qur'ān, an *imām* who read the two *sūra*s together, 'Umr al-Khaṭṭāb, the grammarian al-Farrā', and Ibn 'Abbās. In support of the opposing view, Qurṭubī notes that the two *sūra*s are separated by the *basmala*, the traditional first line, and that the *lām* may be connected to the later injunction to worship the "Lord of this House". Qurṭubī cites al-Khalīl to the effect that the *sūra*s are not connected. Finally, al-Kisā'ī and al-Akhshaf are quoted as saying that the *lām* is the *lām* of wonderment.

In the absence of direct authorial comment, the order of presentation and the authorities cited would seem to indicate Qurṭubī's endorsement of the view that *sūra* 106 is a continuation of *sūra* 105. Furthermore, he manages to link the two *sūra*s without eliminating other avenues of interpretation, implying that the Qurayshi flight to Yemen in the face of Abraha's onslaught helped to accustom them to the ways of the road: "Allah did this for the *īlāf* of the Quraysh, that they grow accustomed to journeying and that no one dare [attack] them" [41].

Qurṭubī turns next to a discussion of various readings of the term *īlāf*, citing readings endorsed by Ibn 'Āmir (*li-i'lāf*), Ṭabarī and al-A'raj (*li-yalaf*), 'Ikrima and Ibn

Mas'ūd's edition of the Qur'ān (*li-ya'laf*), and certain Meccans (*li-īlāf*), as well as the consensus reading (*īlāf*) put forward by "the rest" (*al-bāqūn*) [42]. Qurṭubī seems undisturbed by the divergent opinions — the point of the passage is not to indicate a single correct reading, but rather to convey the plurality of readings among estimable authorities. On the coexistence of contradictory opinions, Gätje writes that "for the later Muslim exegetes, the contradictions resolve themselves in part by the fact that differing interpretations are accepted alongside one another as admissible and correct" [43]. This acceptance of contradictory material characterizes much of Qurṭubī's commentary on *sūra* 106.

Qurṭubī then presents a number of explanations for the origin of the term Quraysh — it is derived from a root meaning "profit" (*taqrīsh = iktisāb*) and indicates that they were successful traders; or it points to their unification after years of dispersion (*iqtirāsh = tajammu'*); or it is based on their role as caretakers of the Meccan *ḥarām* (*qarsh = taftīsh*); or it underscores their might by likening them to a fearsome beast of the sea, the shark (*qirsh*). Although the range of authorities cited is quite rich — ranging from poetic excerpts to Prophetic traditions — once again, no interpretation is singled out as demonstrably superior. The intent appears to be both to convey a range of opinion and to introduce anecdotal information that demonstrates the tribe's high standing in Arabian society.

Turning to the *sūra*'s second line, Qurṭubī treats, in turn, variant readings of the second occurrence of *īlāf*, the meaning of the term, the reason for the journeys, and their destination. As in previous instances, he does not establish a single orthodox interpretation, preferring instead to present a variety of opinions. Two aspects of this section deserve special attention — a specific definition of the term *īlāf*, and an extended story about the origins of the Qurayshi journeys.

In the section on Ṭabarī, I noted that both Lane and the *Lisān al-'arab* treat *īlāf* as a technical term referring to a contract of protection for a trading journey (see above). Citing al-Harawī "and others", Qurṭubī identifies four brothers as holders of the *īlāf* and defines *ālafa* as "to guard" [44]. He is quite clear on the last point, quoting al-Azharī: "*īlāf* is protection with guards" [45].

On the origin of the Qurayshi journeys, Qurṭubī tells an engaging, if odd, story of deprivation. When a family was afflicted with extreme hunger, they would sequester themselves in a tent and prepare for death. This practice was called *i'tifād*, defined by the *Lisān al-'arab* as follows: "When a man shuts himself in and requests nothing until he dies from hunger" [46]. 'Amrū b. 'Abd Mināf, a Qurayshi leader, had a son, Asad, who played with a boy from an impoverished family. When his playmate warned Asad that his family was about to undertake the *i'tifād*, a tearful Asad ran to his mother, who obligingly passed some food along to the starving family. When 'Amrū heard of this, he gathered together his tribe, reminded them of their high standing as caretakers of the shrine, broke bread for a broth to feed the starving (thereby acquiring the sobriquet *Hāshim* — "he who breaks"), and organized two trading journeys — one to Yemen in the winter and another to Syria in the summer [47].

Having established the origin of the journeys, Qurṭubī turns to their destinations. He offers two possibilities, both familiar: that the winter journey was to Yemen and the summer journey to Syria, or, according to Ibn 'Abbās,

that the Quraysh spent winters in Mecca and summers in al-Ṭā'if. A line of poetry in support of the latter view is quoted before the commentator moves on to other issues. Once again, Qurṭubī states no clear preference for one interpretation over another.

Qurṭubī then isolates four issues and discusses each one in turn: whether the first word of *sūra* 106 is connected to what precedes it in *sūra* 105, the calendar, the seasons, and the interplay of Allah's blessings and the times of the year. Qurṭubī quotes a jurist — Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabī — and "others" in support of a connection between *sūras* 105 and 106 before launching into a discussion of the proper techniques of reading [48]. The commentator stresses the innate superiority of poetry to prose and the necessity of pausing at certain times to maintain the rhythm of the poetry:

> "The Qur'ānic rhymes are among the beauties of poetry, and whoever makes them apparent by pausing reveals their beauty. Omitting the pauses hides their beauty and makes the poetry like prose, which fails to do justice to what is being read" [49].

Calendrical issues then occupy Qurṭubī for a time. He discusses the appearance of the Pleaides as a sign of winter's departure and summer's arrival, various intricacies of the Coptic calendar, the fact that there are two seasons rather than four, and, finally, the appropriateness of the Qurayshi journeys to the season in which they take place. The brief discourse on reading shores up Qurṭubī's earlier hint that *sūras* 105 and 106 can be read in conjunction with one another, while the calendrical digressions embroider the journeys and their destinations with myriad details and justifications. The final line of the section underscores both the wisdom of and common sense of the journeys:

> "[It is] possible that a man may move freely between two places at two different times, where each location is better (lit. more blessed — D. K.) than the other, as when one is in the north during the summer and in the south during the winter, like windows for ventilation and sackcloth to keep one cool and felt and *yānūsa* to keep one warm" [50].

Qurṭubī treats the injunction to worship the "Lord of this House" as a reminder of the countless blessings bestowed upon the Quraysh, among which the *īlāf* of the journeys should be the ultimate cause of their devotion to God. On the description of God as the "Lord of this House", Qurṭubī singles out for special mention His deliverance of the tribe from idolatry and His ennoblement of the Quraysh by appointing them keepers of the Meccan shrine. Thus, the Quraysh should accustom themselves to worshipping God just as they have grown accustomed to travelling in the summer and winter: *Ay li-ya'lafū 'ibādat rabb al-ka'ba, ka-mā ya'lafūna al-riḥlatayn* [51].

The final section of the commentary is devoted to the fourth line of the *sūra*, and opens with quotes from *sūras* 2 and 28 (see n. 31) on Ibrāhīm's prayer and the Meccan shrine. Qurṭubī then relates that the Meccans did not immediately accept Muḥammad's message, which caused the Prophet to call a famine down upon them. When the Quraysh finally accepted Muḥammad's message, God inspired the Ethiopians to load ships with provisions to feed the starving Meccans, whose land then began to bloom. The story is presented without sources or comment. Immediately after, al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Rabī', Sharīk, and Sufyān are

quoted as saying that the Quraysh were delivered from the fear of leprosy. Two other possibilities are that, according to al-A'mash, the Quraysh feared leprosy or, according to 'Alī, that they feared losing the caliphate. No interpretation is singled out as correct.

Qurṭubī's commentary is characterized by frequently detailed digressions — on the Coptic calendar and the constellations, for example — and elaborate stories — on the practice of starving to death in isolation. He does not pre-

sent *isnād*s, preferring to cite only the original source. Although there is a great deal of detailed information, much of its is mutually contradictory and some of it is entirely baffling; throughout, the contradictions are allowed to coexist without authorial intervention. Although Qurṭubī does indicate his own opinion at one point — in a digression on the proper technique of reading poetry — the overriding impression is one of impressive erudition unleavened by discriminating analysis or firm organization.

III. Comparison

Because of the volume of text involved, an exhaustive comparison of the four commentaries lies beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I will concentrate on the authors' treatment of two specific issues — the meaning of the term *īlāf* and the destinations of the journeys. Although the small number of commentaries analysed here precludes the advancement of a bolder thesis, I intend to show in this section that there is a general trend toward greater elaboration in the later commentaries. This tendency is evident both in the commentaries on *īlāf* and on the journeys. The implications of this phenomenon will be discussed in the final section.

1. The meaning of *īlāf*. Ṭabarī presents six *matn*s that deal directly with the meaning of *īlāf*: it is interpreted once as an indication that the journeys undertaken by the Quraysh were not difficult, four times as a blessing, and once as a sign of unity and amity among the Quraysh [52]. In the first five of the six *matn*s, a complete *isnād* is provided; only the last item is ascribed to *ba'd ahl al-ta'wīl*.

Zamakhsharī devotes scant attention to the meaning of *īlāf*. He provides a rather basic definition based on the root — *ālaftu al-makān ūlifuhu īlāf[an]: idhā ālaftuhu, fa-anā mu'lif* — quotes a few variant readings (including Ṭabarī's), and cites two passages from the poetry [53]. No *isnād*s are provided.

Rāzī's treatment of *īlāf* is more detailed — he considers it a separate issue (*mas'ala*) consisting of three aspects (*wujūh*). The first issue concerns various readings based on the roots *'lf* and *lzm*; the second presents the meaning as God's establishment of amity among the Quraysh and refers to a well-known prophetic tradition [54]; finally, he discusses the meaning put forward by the grammarians al-Farrā' and Ibn al-'Arabī — preparation and outfitting [55].

Qurṭubī begins by quoting Mujāhid to the effect that the journeys did not present special difficulties for the Quraysh [56]. He quickly moves on, however, to the tale of the four brothers who were the holders of the *īlāf*. Here, finally, we encounter the specialized definition of *īlāf* found in Lane and the *Lisān al-'arab* (see above).

2. The journeys. Ṭabarī's commentary on the journeys of the Quraysh, reproduced in Appendix and analysed in detail above, is a classic example of *isnād–matn* presenta-

tion. The basic conclusion is that the Quraysh travelled to Syria in the summer and to Yemen in the winter.

Zamakhsharī abridges Ṭabarī's conclusions, omitting the lengthy *isnād*s; he gives the same destinations, states that the journeys were undertaken to promote trade and obtain provisions, and adds that, as keepers of the shrine, the Quraysh did not have to fear raiders.

Rāzī embellishes this dry tale of commercial expeditions with details about the origins of Qurayshi wealth. He introduces the story of Asad's playmate and the practice of starving to death in isolation when afflicted by a lack of food. Qurṭubī reiterates the familiar destinations of the journey. In his discussion of their origin, however, the story encountered first in Rāzī appears with further embellishments.

3. Conclusion. The limited comparison conducted above highlights most of the major differences between the commentators. Ṭabarī is extremely straightforward — he seldom strays from issues directly tied to the text and presents his findings in the traditional *isnād–matn* format. Zamakhsharī is more concise — he illuminates a narrower range of opinions than Ṭabarī and does not provide full *isnād*s; he also sprinkles his text with frequent references to classical poetry. Rāzī is more elaborate — his commentary is intricately organized and bristles with philosophical digressions and detailed stories. Like Zamakhsharī, Rāzī does not provide full *isnād*s, preferring instead to cite only the original source. Finally, Qurṭubī is even more prone to bouts of story-telling than Rāzī, although he lacks the former's penchant for philosophy. At certain points, he provides full *isnād*s, while at other times he notes only the original source.

The basic progression is from limited commentary with fully indicated sources to heavily embroidered commentary with scant attributions. Ṭabarī employs relatively few technical terms in his *isnād*-laden text. Later commentators prune the *isnād*s even as they embellish their texts with new terms. The story of the Qurayshi practice of isolated starvation in times of deprivation is indicative of this trend. It is entirely absent in the two earlier commentaries, appearing for the first time in Rāzī; by the time Qurṭubī repeats the tale, he uses a technical term for the practice — *i'tifād*.

IV. *Tafsīr* as a historical source

Referring to the commentaries on *sūra* 106, Patricia Crone flatly states that the "tradition says nothing that cannot be inferred from the text of the *sūra* itself" [57]. But drawing inferences from a text is not like extracting ore from the earth — there is no single scientifically perfected

method that surpasses all others in efficiency. The shifting intellectual climes of recent centuries have wrought numerous changes in what we infer from a text and how we infer it; the changes that have taken place since Ṭabarī wrote his *tafsīr* are far greater and more complex.

Consequently, the inferences drawn by Crone and Ṭabarī from a four-line verse of the Qur'ān are bound to conflict, but the sparks thrown off by their friction may cast a dim light on the chasm that separates the modern secular historian from the tenth-century Muslim commentator. And somewhere at the bottom of that chasm may lie the key to unlock the maddeningly elusive texts of Ṭabarī's age. So even if Ṭabarī tells us nothing other than what he infers from the text, he tells us a great deal.

What, then, does he tell us? In an attempt to find out, I will compare the architecture of his text to Patricia Crone's chapter on sources in which she so artfully demolishes *tafsīr* as a historical source. Her chapter is a fine example of concise, well-ordered, late twentieth-century academic prose. She clearly states her thesis at the outset, she buttresses it with twenty pages of meticulously documented examples, and then reiterates her thesis at the end with a brief comment on its implications. The form of her chapter dovetails perfectly with the expectations of her field. Whether or not her readers agree with her, the entire debate takes place within the current discourse of academic inquiry, and is perfectly intelligible even to her most dedicated opponents [58].

Ṭabarī's text does not fit so nicely into our labelled boxes. To begin with, the discourse of Qur'ānic commentary is relatively foreign to this writer, who is expressing his thoughts in terms more similar to Crone than Ṭabarī. Yet if we operate on the assumption that an organizational principle does indeed underlie Ṭabarī's text and that his text was written with the expectations of his readers in mind, something should emerge from an analysis of its component parts.

He does not begin with a thesis, nor does he close with one. Rather, he proceeds methodically through the verse, examining each phrase (and sometimes each word) in turn. For the most part, he presents the attributed views of others, venturing his own opinion at only three points in the commentary. He appears content to provide his readers with a range of conflicting opinions without always clarifying his own stand on a particular issue. Are there perhaps guideposts embedded in the text which would have clarified for his readers those sections which today seem hopelessly opaque?

In a text that consists almost entirely of attributed nuggets of information — *matn*s and *isnād*s — the order of their presentation and the exact nature of their attribution would appear to be the only possible indications of the author's unstated opinion. In my analysis of Ṭabarī's commentary, I concluded that his section on the journeys (see Appendix)

can be read as a coherent description of Qurayshi trading practices. That conclusion was based on the order of presentation rather than on the nature of attribution. A detailed study of the *isnād*s, with reference to any biographical information we may possess, is another way of approaching the passage. Recent work with prophetic traditions may provide useful techniques for the analysis of seemingly opaque *isnād*s [59].

Does any of this bring us closer to answering the original question of Quranic commentary's usefulness as a historical source? Despite my reluctance to answer a concrete question with an equivocating digression, I feel compelled to do so. Although this paper has delved into four texts that contain information about Qurayshi trading practices, there is scant evidence presented here to suggest that a revision of Crone's conclusion is either viable or necessary. Where did the Qurayshi *really* go in those summers and winters? On the basis of Ṭabarī, Zamakhsharī, Qurṭubī, and Rāzī, I cannot answer that simple question in terms that would satisfy a professional historian.

Still, I find Crone's wholesale rejection of the *tafsīr* as a historical source premature. While *tafsīr* should not be used as an independent historical source, this study has, I hope, demonstrated the possibility of working with the commentaries on their own terms rather than dismissing them for failing to fulfil our expectations. Translated into specific suggestions for the employment of Qur'ānic commentary as a historical source [60], my conclusions read as follows: (1) more detailed attribution and a comparative lack of embellishment render earlier texts preferable as sources, (2) all of the commentaries are governed by a sophisticated and **comprehensible** internal dynamic that can inform the modern reader of the author's opinion even when that opinion is not explicitly stated, (3) taken in conjunction with other sources and treated with the requisite caution, the commentaries can enrich our inquiries.

Finally, I refer the reader to Juynboll and Lassner for examples of how techniques suggested by the preceding conclusions function in practice. Juynboll's *isnād* analyses, cumbersome and time-consuming though they may be, can be applied to information presented in Ṭabarī just as easily as to prophetic *ḥadīth*. The textual analysis upon which Lassner relies for his insights into Abbasid propaganda can also have a clarifying effect on the frustratingly opaque *tafsīr*. I hope I have shown that the commentaries discussed in this paper merit fresh attention along the lines suggested above, and that Patricia Crone's rejection of *tafsīr* as a historical source is not the last word on the mysterious movements of those Qurayshi traders so many years ago.

Appendix

1. Ibn 'Abbās → 'Alī → Mu'āwiya → Abū Ṣāliḥ → 'Alī: in saying "their having grown accustomed to the journeys in the winter and the summer", He says: they [the journeys] were a necessity.
2. Ibn 'Abbās → Abū Ubayy → Ubayy → 'Ammā → Abiyy → Muḥammad b. Sa'd "for the accustoming of the Quraysh", He forbid them the journey, ordering them to worship the Lord of this house. And they had enough provisions. Their journeys were in the winter and the summer, and they had no rest in the winter or in the summer. And so He delivered them from their hunger and their fear. They grew accustomed to journeying and travelled or remained in one place depending upon their desire, and this was one of God's blessings upon them.

3. 'Ikrima → Dāwūd → Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā → Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā the Quraysh had frequented Busra and Yemen, going to one in the winter and the other in the summer, "worship then the Lord of this House", and He ordered them to settle in Mecca.
4. Abū Ṣāliḥ → Ismā'īl → Sufyān → Mihrān → Ibn Ḥamīd "For the accustoming of the Quraysh, for their having grown accustomed", they were traders, and God knew that they were fond of Syria.
5. Qatāda → Mu'mar → Ibn Thawr → Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā "For the accustoming of the Quraysh", it was the custom of the Quraysh to make a journey in the winter and in the summer.
6. al-Daḥḥāk → 'Abīd → Abū Mu'ādh → al-Ḥusayn "For the accustoming of the Quraysh", they had grown accustomed to journeying in the summer and in the winter.
7. Ibid. (assumed) *īlāfihim* is in the genitive case by ellipsis, as though the passage read "*li-īlāf Quraysh li-īlāfihim* [my emphasis] *riḥlat al-shitā' w-al-ṣayf*". As for *riḥla*, it is in the accusative case because it is the object of *īlāfihim*.
8. Ibid. (assumed) "Their journey in the winter and in the summer". The Quraysh made two journeys, one to Syria in the summer, and another to Yemen in the winter.
9. Ibn Zayd → Ibn Wahb → Yūnis "Their journey in the winter and in the summer". They made two trading journeys: to Syria in the summer, and to Yemen in the winter. During the winter, Syria was too cold for them, and their winter journey was to Yemen.
10. Sufyān → Mihrān → Ibn Ḥamīd "Their journey in the winter and in the summer". They were traders.
11. al-Kalbī → Mu'mar → Ibn Thawr → Ibn 'Abd al-A'lā → Sufyān → Mihrān → Ibn Ḥamīd "Their journey in the winter and in the summer". They took two journeys, one to Yemen in the winter, and one to Syria in the summer.
12. Ibn 'Abbās → Sa'īd b. Jubayr → Ubayy → Khaṭṭāb b. Ja'far b. al-Mughīra → 'Āmir b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aṣbahānī → 'Umrū b. 'Alī "Their having grown accustomed to the journey in the winter and in the summer". They would summer in Mecca and winter in al-Ṭā'if.

Notes

1. P. Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (Princeton, 1987), p. 210.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

3. Although Lassner's comments are directed at historical treatises on the 'Abbāsid revolution, I believe that his observations on changes in the reader's approach to the text can effectively be applied to Qur'ānic commentary as well.

4. J. Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory* (New Haven, 1986), p. 19.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

6. J. D. Mcauliffe, *Qur'ānic Christians* (New York, 1991), p. 44.

7. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr Tabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān* (Cairo, 1954), xxix, p. 305.

8. Unless otherwise noted, biographical information is taken from the most recent possible edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

9. Tabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 305. The prophetic reading substitutes the accusative for the genitive. The genitive implies a repetition of the first phrase with the word Quraysh omitted ("For the *īlāf* of the Quraysh, [for] their *ilf* of the journey..."); the accusative implies a slightly different construction with the same basic meaning ("For the *īlāf* of the Quraysh, [as pertains to] their *ilf* of the journey...").

10. *Wa-l-ṣawāb min al-qawl fī dhālika 'indanā an yuqāl: inna hādhihi al-lām bi-ma'nā al-ta'ajjub.* See Tabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

11. *Wa-fulān qad 'alifa hādha al-mawḍi'.*

12. *Lisān al-'arab* (Beirut, 1972), i, p. 79.

13. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Cambridge, 1984), i, p. 79.

14. *Aṣḥāb al-īlāf arba'at ikhwatin... wa-kānū yu'allifūn al-jiwār yutbi'ūn ba'ḍuhu ba'ḍan yujīrūn Quraysh bi-miyarihim yusammawnā al-mujīrīn.* See *Lisān al-'arab*, i, p. 10.

15. Tabarī, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Wa-l-'uduww makhūf minhu, wa-l-judhām makhūf minhu, wa-lam yakhṣuṣ Allāh al-khabr 'an annahu āmanahum min al-'uduww dūna al-judhām, wa-lā min al-judhām dūna al-'uduww, bal 'amm al-khabr bi-dhālika; fa-l-ṣawāb an ya'umm ka-mā 'amma jull thanā'ihi, fa-yuqāl: āmanahum min al-mu'anniyyayni kilayhima.* See *ibid.*, p. 309.

18. Mcauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

19. *Wa-qīla al-ma'nā: 'ajjibū li-īlāf Quraysh.* See Jaddallāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq Ghawāmid al-Tanzīl*, ed. by Muḥammad 'Ulayān al-Madhkūr (Beirut, 1947), iv, 801.

20. *Wa-hādha bi-manzilat al-tadmīn fī-l-shi'r: wa-huwa an yata'allaqa ma'nā al-bayt bi-l-ladhī qablahu ta'alluq[an] lā yasihhu illa bi-hi.* See *ibid.*

21. Ubayy (d. 639) was a secretary of the Prophet who compiled an edition of the Qur'ān. See H. Gätje, *The Qur'an and its Exegesis* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 24.

22. According to tradition, *sūra* 105 (The Elephant) refers to an expedition against Mecca in 570 led by Abraha, an Ethiopian king. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, "Abraha", and also Gätje, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

23. *Wa-kānū fī rihlatayhim āminīn li'annahum ahl harām Allāh wa-wulāt baytihi.* See al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 801.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Lane, *op. cit.*, i, p. 79.

27. *Wa-quraysh hiya al-latī taskun al-bahr bi-ha summiyat Quraysh[un] Quraysh[an].* See al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 802.

28. *Li'annahum kānū kassābīn bi-tijāratihim ... .* See *ibid.*

29. *Wa-qīla dhālika kulluhu bi-da'ā' Ibrāhīm.* See *ibid.*, p. 803.

30. *Min bida' al-tafāsīr.* See *ibid.*

31. *Sūra* 2, *āyat* 126: *wa-idh qāl Ibrāhīm rabb ij'al hādha balad[an] āmin[an] wa-razaqa ahlahu min al-thamarāt...* and *sūra* 28, *āyat* 57: *...a-wa-lam numakkin la-hum harām[an] āmin[an] yujbā ilayhi thamarāt...* M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Koran* (Albany, 1976), pp. 23 and 514.

32. Mcauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 63—9.

34. *Ahlaka Allāh ashāb al-fīl li-tabqā Quraysh, wa-mā qad alifū min rihlat al-shitā' w-al-sayf.* See al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* (Cairo, s.a.), xxxi, p. 103.

35. *Ni'mat Allāh ni'ma, wa-ni'ma li-ni'ma sawā'.* See *ibid.*, p. 104.

36. *Fa-hādha yadull 'alā ta'alluq awwal hādhihi al-sūra bi-l-sūrat al-mutaqaddima.* See *ibid.*, p. 105.

37. "Al-Akhfash" is the cognomen of three grammarians: al-Akhfash al-Akbar (d. 793), who taught both Sībawayhi and al-Asmā'ī, and al-Akhfash al-Awsat (d. between 825 and 835), who was a pupil of Sībawayhi, are the two most likely choices in this context. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, i, p. 21 and Brockelman and Pellat.

38. *Khalaqa la-kum mā fī-l-'ard jamī'an.* See Rāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

39. Mcauliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

40. *Thumma it'ām al-ta'ām al-ladhī yakūn ghidhā' al-jasad yūjib al-shukr, fa-it'ām al-ta'ām al-ladhī huwa ghidhā' al-rūh a-lā yakūn mawjib[an] li-l-shukr!* See Rāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

41. *Ay fa-ja'ala Allāh dhālika li-īlāf Quraysh; ay li-ya'lafū al-khurūj wa-lā yujtara'a 'alayhim.* See Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ansārī al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1967), p. 201.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 201—2.

43. Gätje, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

44. Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

45. *Al-īlāf: shibh al-ijāra bi-l-khafāra.* See *ibid.*

46. *Al-i'tifād an yughliq al-rajul bābahu 'alā nafsihi fa-lā yas'al ahad hattā yamūt jaw'[an].* See *Lisān al-'arab*, iii, p. 295.

47. Qurtubī, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

49. *Fa-thabita bi-dhālika anna al-fawāsil min mahāsin al-kalām al-mandhūm, fa-man azhara fawāsilahu bi-l-wuqūf 'alayha fa-qad abdā mahāsinahu. Wa-tark al-wuqūf yukhfī tilka al-mahāsin, wa-yushabbih al-manthūr bi-l-mandhūm, wa-dhālika ikhlāl bi-haqq al-maqrū'.* See *ibid.*, p. 207.

50. *...Jawāz tasarruf al-rajul fī-l-zamānayn bayna mahallayn, yakūn hāluhuma fī kull zamān an'am min al-akhar; ka-l-julūs fī majlis al-bahrī fī-l-sayf, wa-fī-l-qibli fī-l-shitā', wa-fī-ttikhādh al-badāhānjāt wa-l-khaysh li-l-tabrīd, wa-l-libd wa-l-yānūsa li-l-daf'.* See *ibid.*, p. 208.

51. *Ibid.*

52. Tabarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 305—6.

53. Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 801.

54. *Wa-allafa bayna qulūbikum fa-asbahtum bi-ni'matihi ikhwān[an].*

55. Rāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

56. Tabarī contains the same quote, although he provides the full *isnād* where Qurtubī gives only the last two transmitters.

57. Crone, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

58. In "Meccan trade and the rise of Islam: misconceptions and flawed polemics", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, CX (1990), pp. 272—86. R. B. Serjeant dissects Crone's thesis and finds it wanting on virtually every level. Though he is incisive and convincing, I note only that his arguments display a somewhat disturbing tendency to buttress assertions about the distant past with reference to present practices in the Arab world, an approach for which "traditional" Orientalists have drawn much criticism.

59. For example, G. H. A. Juynboll's "Some *isnād*-analytical methods illustrated on the basis of several woman-demeaning sayings from *hadīth* literature" (*Al-Qantara*, vol. X, fasc. 2, Madrid, 1989). Both Juynboll's article and my own experience indicate that this approach is rather time-consuming.

60. I am assuming that the area of inquiry here is the early history of Islam.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

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THE *THOR BU* GROUP OF TIBETAN BOOKS AT THE INSTITUTE OF MONGOLIAN, BUDDHIST AND TIBETAN STUDIES: CREATING A DATABASE*

Electronic information systems create new technical opportunities both for inventory-making and the preservation and scholarly investigation of various objects of culture, written sources in particular. However, the creation of an electronic database for Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints faces many difficulties. The modern computer equipment necessary to create a high quality electronic catalogue is often lacking. Also, any researcher who wishes to create a manuscript database, must first of all possess an excellent knowledge of the Tibetan language for the correct comprehension of Tibetan texts, which are frequently illegible either because of decayed, poor quality paper or poor print quality. Moreover, the large number of Tibetan manuscripts and block-prints (about 15,000) in the repository of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Ulan-Ude) renders the task very time-consuming [1].

The electronic cataloguing of the so-called *thor bu* group of books (see below) in the Department of Written Texts of the Institute began in 1998 as a continuation of the general cataloguing of Tibetan sources stored here since the 1920s—30s. The non-electronic catalogue relied on 3—4 parameters of description. A card should contain: (i) composition title; (ii) book size; (iii) type of edition (manuscript or block-print); (iv) name of author (when possible).

The new electronic catalogue presumes 24 text characteristics [2]. An electronic card-description that provides all of this information would be the fullest possible description of a book. We note that the established tradition of storing Tibetan texts in the Department of Written Texts classifies texts according to formal polygraphic data. Texts are classified as (a) serial, (b) pertaining to a set class, or (c) individual editions. This classification matches the literary divisions within Tibetan Buddhism. First, there are:

1. works of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, which includes (i) the *Kanjur* (Tib. *bKa' 'gyur*), and (ii) the *Tanjur* (Tib. *bsTan 'gyur*);

2. *sumbum*s (Tib. *gSung 'bum*) — complete sets of works by Tibetan or Mongolian authors;

3. *thor bu* books (Tib. *thor bu*) — individual editions.

The contents of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon (*Kanjur* and *Tanjur*) and the canonical collections of works by noted Buddhist authors are quite well known thanks to existing catalogues of the Buddhist Canon and traditional bibliographic reference-books (Tib. *dkar chag*) on *sumbum*s [3].

Special historical circumstances and political events in Russia in the twentieth century made the Tibetan collection at the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies one of the largest in the world. Now that catalogues of the Buddhist Canon [4] and bibliographic reference-books on *sumbum*s have been published, more attention can be directed toward the *thor bu* group of books, which constitute a large portion of the Institute's Tibetan collection and can be regarded as a characteristic feature of this Tibetan collection. Individual (*thor bu*) books may include some works of interest to all specialists on Tibetan literature.

The *thor bu* group of the collection includes individual *sūtra*s or *tantra*s of the *Kanjur* as well as authored books printed separately or extracted from the *Tanjur* and *sumbum*s. Moreover, among them one finds works not included, for various reasons, in the officially printed *sumbum*s, works by anonymous authors (usually compilations), texts on religious ritual, texts by authors who did not compose *sumbum*s of their own, and, finally, apocryphal writings (*terma*, Tib. *gTer ma* "store-place", "treasure-house", "hidden and secret books"). The latter are traditionally ascribed to some outstanding author of the past, most often Guru Padmasambhava (Tib. Pad ma 'byung gnas).

In the present issue, we give two samples of electronic description of the *thor bu* books from the Institute's collection (see *figs. 1* and *2*).

Apart from the books described above, certain other texts and comments on secret *tantra* practices can be

| Number | 881 | Executor | Bazarov ▼ | Call number | No.TT-07581 |

| Full title | *,, THUB DBANG GNAS BRTAN BCU DRUG DANG BCAS PA LA MCHOD CUNG GSOL BA GDAB BA'I CHO GA THUB BSTAN RGYAS BYED YID BZHIN NOR BU'I SBYOR DNGOS GSU |

| Skt. title | N |

| Add.language | N | Seal | 68 | Shortened title | N |

| Author | |

| Edn.date | CHU KHYI | Type | XYL ▼ | Paper type | RUS ▼ |

| Paper colour | W,W | Paper quality | G ▼ | Readability | G ▼ |

| Volume No. | N | Pagination | 1A-39A | Lines number | 7 |

| Outer size | 44.5 X 10.0 | Inner size | 38.0 X 8.0 |

| Edn. place | DG'A LDAN CHOS [MDZOD?] GLING |

| Illustr. | N |

| Colophon | RJE BTSUN BLA MA DE NYID KYI DGONGS BA DANG MTHUN PAR BYAS TE, SHA KYA'I RJES SU SKYES PA'I BTSUN BA NGAG DBANG BLO BZANG BSTAN BA'I RGYAL BTSHAN DPAL BZAD PO'I SUG BRIS SU BGYIS BA 'DIS KYANG RGYAL BA'I BSTAN PA RIN BO CHE SGO THAMS CAD NAS BYOGS THAMS CAD DU DAR ZHING RGYAS LA YIN RID GNAS PA'I RGYUR GYUR CIG, DGE'O LEGS SO |

| Notes | N |

[<< Previous]   [+ Add new +]   [Next >>]

Fig. 1

| Number | 224 | Executor | Syrtypova ▼ | Call number | No.TT-07025 |

Full title: *,, BKA'DANG BSTAN BCOS LAS GSUNGS PA'I 'KHOR LO BSKOR BA'I PHAN YON BZHUGS SO,,

Skt. title: ARYA LOKI SHA RA YA

Add.language: M   **Seal:** N   **Shortened title:** N

Author: PADMA SAMBHAVA

Edn.date: ?   **Type:** MAN ▼   **Paper type:** CHIN ▼

Paper colour: W,Y   **Paper quality:** G ▼   **Readability:** G ▼

Volume No.: N   **Pagination:** 1A-4A,+1A-5B   **Lines number:** 8

Outer size: 42.5 X 9.8   **Inner size:** 37.0 X 8.0

Edn. place: ?

Illustr.: N

Colophon: BADM-A SAMBHAV-A-YIN NOMLAGSAN BARASI UGEI ACI TOSA YEHEDU // BAL METU ENE KURDUN-U ACI TUSA INU // BAGADUR TAIYJI-YIN DURATQAL JARLIG-IYAR AQAT AYUSI MANDJUSIRI-TAI GUSI // ARALI DAKINI-YIN NOMLAGSAN // AMITAN-U TOSA-YI SETKIJU // AYALGU TEGUN-E TUBED-UN KELEN-ECE // MONGGOL-UN KELEN-DUR ORUSIGULBAI // // OM MA NI PAD ME HUM HUM //

Notes: TIBETAN, + MONGOL TRANSLATION; FROM STUKOV'S COLLECTION

| << Previous | + Add new + | Next >> |

Fig. 2

included in the *thor bu* group, represented by extremely rare manuscripts or editions not available for general readers.

The bulk of *thor bu* books in the Institute's Tibetan collection (about 7,000) are small-size editions (22.0×7.0 cm). These books were printed in large quantities by Buryat monastery printing-houses for everyday needs. The small-format books were convenient to use, and the Buryat call them *ubur nom* which denotes a book kept close to the bosom under an article of clothing called a *degel*. There are also books of average size (37.0×8.0 cm) and even of large format (60.0×11.0 cm). As a rule, they are extracts from the Buddhist Canon or *sumbums*. The Russian government maintained strict control over and censored all editions which appeared in Buryat monasteries. To cite only one example, according to "Resolution No. 280 of the General Meeting of the Transbaikal Regional Administration of July 21/22, 1884", adopted in response to a petition submitted by delegates of the Buryats of the Hori Buryat district to the Governor of the Transbaikal region, five Hori Buryat *datsans* were permitted "to print prayer-books by means of wooden boards and under all necessary censorship" [5].

While the texts of the Canon (*Kanjur* and *Tanjur*) and the collections of works by famous Buddhist authors (*sumbums*) were bought in large Tibetan monasteries and printing-houses, popular texts for everyday use (ritual, educational, etc.) were printed in Buryatia. In 1884, the list of publications contained 158 titles (7,786 folios). In 1911, a report by the office of Khambo-lama (the religious leader of Transbaikalia's Buddhists) contained 1,696 titles printed at 32 printing-houses [6]. As for large-format *thor bu* texts, which are usually extracts from *sumbums*, they were printed in the most famous monasteries of Tibet — Sera (Tib. Se ra), Dreypung (Tib. 'Bras spung), Labran (Tib. Bla brang), and others.

Many texts on ritual were printed in Buryat monasteries (*datsans*) (i) for temple services (prayer-books, *rabsals* for worshipping higher deities and *khangals* for evil deities); (ii) for worshipping at home (*san-choga, serzhem, zhabtuy*, etc.); (iii) for individual religious practices (*mani, megzem, zhabdo, dubtabs, magtals*). The monastery printing-houses (the largest were in the Tsugol and Gusinozersk *datsans*) printed philosophical literature for educational purposes — on *mādhyamika* (Tib. *dbu ma*), *abhidharma* (Tib. *mngon pa*), *prajñāpāramitā* (Tib. *phar phyin*), etc. Literature on medicine — *lhanthabs* (additional reference-books), *jors* (books of prescriptions), and so on — was usually printed at the monastery of Aga, where the faculty of medicine (Tib. *sman grwa tshang*) was located.

It should be noted that since the Tibetan language formed the basis of the educational system in Buryat Buddhist monasteries, primers and textbooks on Tibetan grammar were also printed in abundance [7].

Sadhana literature forms one of the largest groups of *thor bu* books. It serves as guide to meditation practices related to various tantric deities, *yidams* of those who follow the Gelukpa [8]: Vajrabhairava, Guhyasamaja, Cakrasambara, etc.

There are many reprints of the most popular *sūtras* among the *thor bu* books: *Vajracchedikā, Suvarṇapra-bhāsa, Pañcarākṣā*, etc. The Tibetan collection of the Institute contains a large number of various editions of these *sūtras*. For example, *Vajracchedikā* (Tib. *rdo rje bcod pa*) was printed in several monasteries: in the Zagustaevsk *datsan* (a book of 55 folios), Yangazhinsk *datsan* (75 folios), Uchetuevsk *datsan* (76 folios), Jidinsk *datsan* (two books of 65 and of 69 folios respectively), Burgultaevsk *datsan* (a book of 71 folios), Olykhonovsk *datsan* (64 folios), Bultumurovsk *datsan* (72 folios), etc. Apart from these editions, there are numerous manuscript copies of this *sūtra*, which entered the collection either from the libraries of large monasteries or from the small private libraries of Buryat monks and ordinary believers. The texts of some of these manuscripts are written on black polished paper in calligraphic handwriting, seven sorts of ink being used. They are also decorated with miniatures depicting deities and have bindings trimmed with silk.

When cataloguing Tibetan texts, modern scholars use various Tibetan terms to indicate scattered texts similar to those we term *thor bu*. For example, to catalogue such kind of books in the Tibetan collection of the Peking library, Chinese scholars use the term *kha thor sna tshogs* [9], while at Otani University (Japan) the term *sna tshogs phyogs bsdus* is used [10]. In our view, the term *thor bu* is preferable since it corresponds to the living Tibetan tradition [11] and reflects the current project to create an electronic catalogue of the Institute's collection.

The following results had been achieved by the end of 1999:

1. description standards were adopted for cataloguing Tibetan texts;

2. about 3,000 Tibetan texts of the *thor bu* group were processed and entered into the database;

3. a database of more than 200 Tibetan book seals was converted into electronic format;

4. an information system was developed which functions under DBMS MS Access and provides the user with a set of forms for data input into the database;

5. a set of SQL queries was created for performing basic functions of data searching and retrieval. It will serve as the basis for an information system available both through the Department's local network and the Internet.

The importance of the current project derives from the scholarly value of the materials in the Institute's Tibetan collection. *Thor bu* texts are a rich source of reliable information about the development of Buddhism in Buryatia. Hence these texts are of interest to any modern specialist in the field. The database will make information for advanced study of Buryat Buddhism much more accessible, aiding, among other things, the establishment of closer contacts with scholarly centres in Central and East Asia.

Notes

1. On the collection of Tibetan books in the repository of the Institute of Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies seeR. E. Pubaev, "Study of the Tibetan collection in Buryatia", in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989* (Narita, 1992), ii, pp. 687—90.

2. This method was developed within the framework of the Asian Classics Input Project (ACIP) to produce a universal approach to describing Tibetan books. For details, see V. L. Uspensky, "Two years of cataloguing of the Tibetan collection in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies: some problems and perspectives", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/1 (1996), pp. 51—3.

3. See, for example, *Bod kyi bstan bcos khag gi mtshan byang dri med shel dkar phreng ba* (Rosary of Pure White Crystal, Being a Catalogue of Tibetan Collected Works) (Xining, 1980).

4. For example, *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University. Collection of Tibetan works on Buddhism* (Sendai, 1953).

5. State archive of the Chita area, stock 1, note 1, folder 2028.

6. "Catalogue of printing blocks of Buddhist monasteries in Transbaikalia", in *Four Mongolian Historical Records of Prof. Dr. Rinchen* (New Delhi, 1959), pp. 71—121. — SPS, vol. 11.

7. For example, *yi ge thob nyer mkho* (the edition of the monastery of Tsugol, 3 folios); also *bod yig gsal byed gsum bcu dbyangs yig bzhi dang bcas pa* (the edition of the monastery of Tsugol, 2 folios).

8. The main branch of local Buddhism.

9. See *China Tibetology*, I (1988), pp. 67—9.

10. See *Index to the Catalogue of Tibetan Works Kept in Otani University Library* (Kyoto, 1985), p. 214.

11. Since the term *thor bu* is used to indicate individual works in the collected works of Ganzhurva. *Catalogue of Tibetan Works Kept in Otani University Library* (Kyoto, 1973), p. 345.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

T. A. Pang, G. Stary

ON THE DISCOVERY OF A PRINTED MANCHU TEXT
BASED ON EUCLID'S "ELEMENTS"

Matteo Ricci's Chinese translation of the six books of Euclid's "Elements" has rightly been considered a milestone in the history of the so-called "cultural exchange" between Europe and China. Published under the title *Jige yuanben* 幾何原本, this work attracted the attention of historians, mathematicians and linguists, and has recently become the object of a detailed study by the Dutch scholar Peter M. Engelfriet [1], to which we owe all bibliographical references.

The Manchu translation from the Chinese text was generally supposed to have been made by the Jesuit Ferdinand Verbiest (1623—1688) on order of the Kangxi Emperor, who evidently preferred to have access to such a complicated topic through his mother tongue, which seems to prove the supposition that, at least in Emperor's younger years, Manchu was more familiar to him than Chinese [2]. It was also supposed that only one copy of the Manchu version was made (that for the Emperor's personal use), which could explain the very few researches on the topic were carried out both in China and Europe. In Europe, only one article entitled "Euclide en chinois et mandchou" by L. Vanhee was published in 1939 [3]. The author devoted just a few lines to the Manchu version:

> "Verbiest, professeur de l'empereur K'ang-hi, mit en Mandchou les six premiers livres d'Euclide, d'après le chinois. Plus tard Bouvet et Gerbillion expliquèrent également la géométrie à K'ang-hi. Bouvet (*Portrait historique de l'Empereur de la Chine*, p. 129), parlant des Éléments, écrit: 'Nous les avons composés en tartare'. Ces traductions sont restées manuscrites" [4].

Similar conclusions are also found in an earlier note by Chen Yinke published in 1931 [5], which refers to the only known manuscript kept in the Library of the former Imperial Palace in Peking [6]. This manuscript entitled *Gi ho yuwan ben bithe* and subdivided to three fascicles is now kept in the Library of the Palace Museum (*Gugong bowuyuan tushuguan*); the second, if incomplete, copy is found in the National Library of Inner Mongolia (*Nei Menggu zizhiqu tushuguan*) [7]. The copy in the Library of the Palace Museum is jealously guarded, and it is not accessible to "outsiders". An idea of its format can be taken only from the article by Li Zhaohua, which gives a reproduction of the two pages, quite illegible though [8]. The other two pages of the copy, in excellent colour reproduction, are found on p. 137 of the book *Liang chao yulan tushu* [9]; its chief compiler, Zhu Jiajin, ascribes the authorship not to Verbiest but to the French Jesuits Joachim Bouvet and Jean-François Gerbillon, in contrast to the general opinion that the author was Ferdinand Verbiest, as stated — among others — in the authoritative works of Louis Pfister [10]. Zhu Jiajin also gives the year 1690 as a probable date of the work's compilation. Doubts concerning Verbiest's authorship have been also expressed by Noel Golvers, quoted by Engelfriet as follows:

> "Verbiest, in one of his letters, wrote that Kangxi wanted a Manchu translation of Euclid. If this translation was ever made, it could not have been made before 1675, as before that period Verbiest did not master Manchu. On the other hand, H. Bernard-Maître mentions that around 1673 Ferdinand Verbiest prepared a translation into Manchu on the request of Kangxi. It could be that the date is incorrect, but it seems very doubtful that Verbiest ever made such a translation" [11].

Some interesting information, which, unfortunately, adds more confusion, is found in Gerbillon's writings. As one can judge from his texts published by Du Halde, on March 8, 1690, Gerbillon — together with Bouvet, Pereira and Thomas — had to bring to the Emperor some pages from Euclid translated into "Tartar" and to explain to him the first proposition. Next day, during the explanation of the second proposition of the Emperor, a dignitary "Tchao laoge" came in and informed the Emperor that Ricci's Chinese translation of Euclid's first six books had already been translated into Manchu some years ago; he also said that by consulting this Manchu translation it would be easier to study the subject, especially if the translator would be called for consultation. The Emperor agreed with what he was proposed and gave order to bring that translation together "with the translator" [12]. Unfortunately, Gerbillon failed to mention the name of the translator, who, however, could not be Verbiest, the latter died in 1688. Who, then, was that translator still alive in 1690?
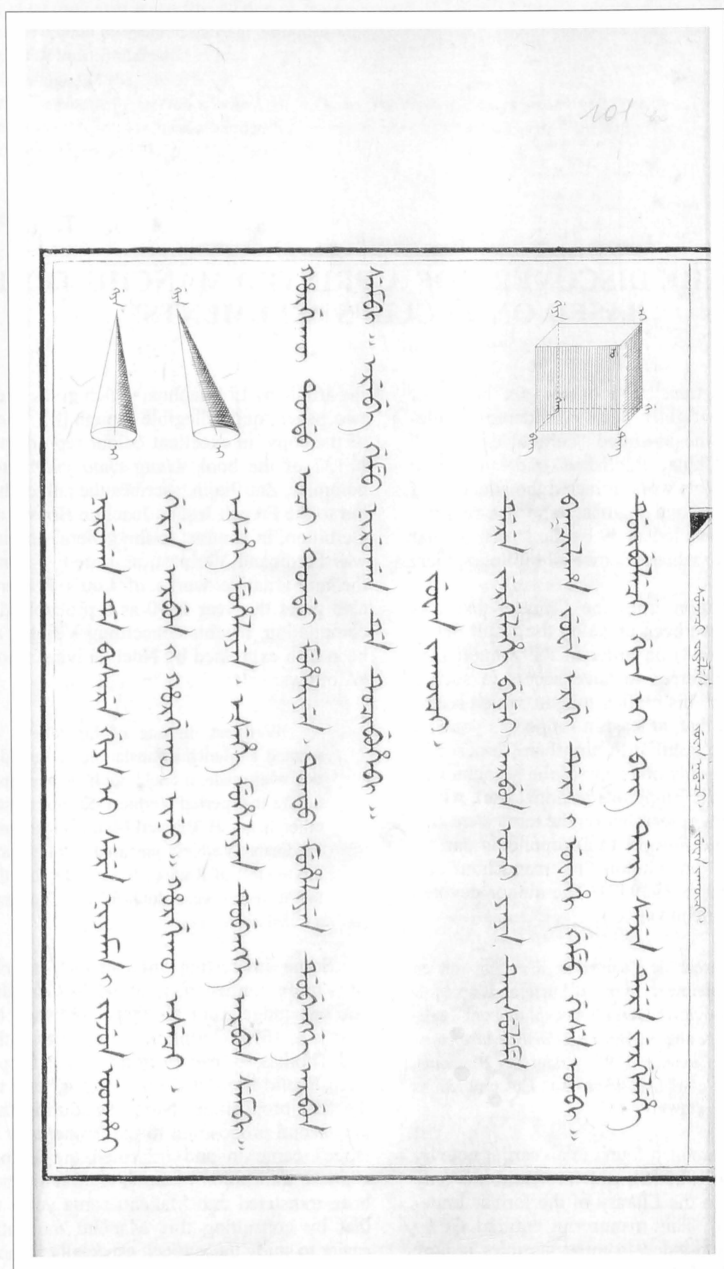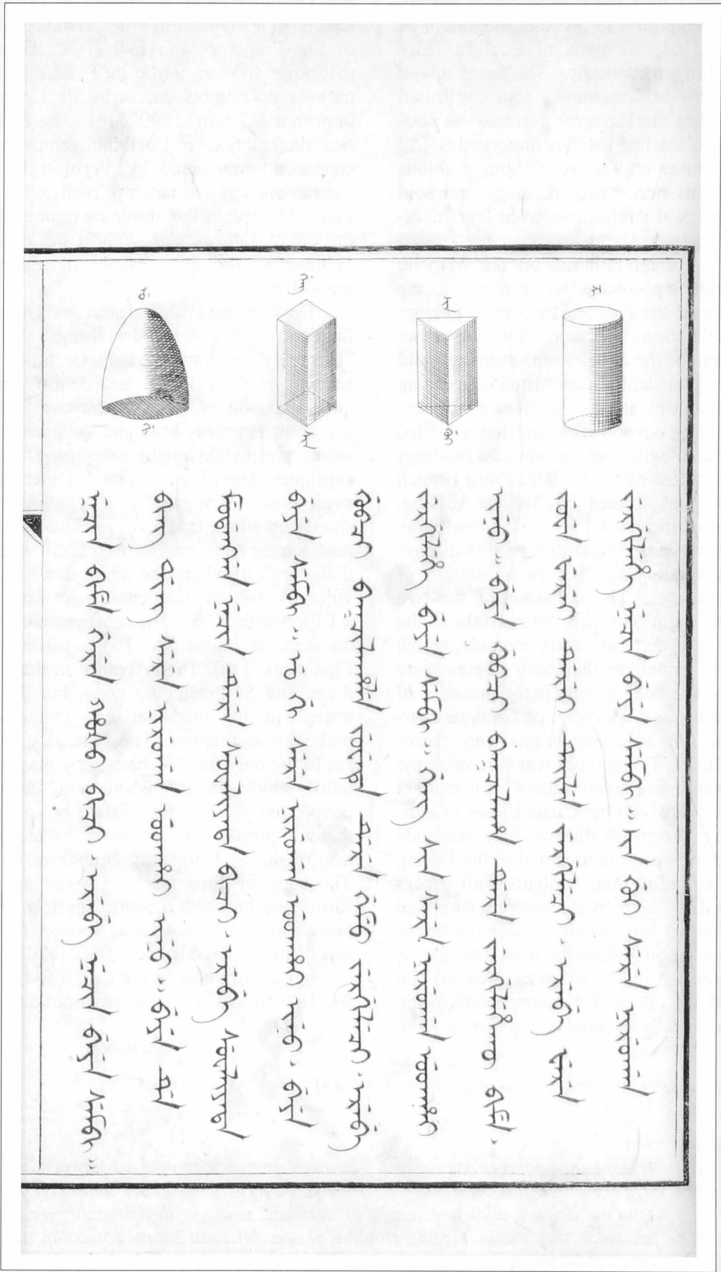
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

The available sources provide no answer to this question. The only possible translator may be Verbiest, but, if so, we have to assume that a mistake in dating the event was made or to consider the reference to the translator, called to the emperor, to be a historical inaccuracy. Anyway, we know that the lessons of geometry took place again on 24 March, and this time Gerbillon suggested to prepare an excerpt of the "most necessary and useful" parts of Euclid's "Elements" to facilitate the Emperor's studies. The latter agreed with enthusiasm [13]. This information is also confirmed by Bouvet, who wrote that the Emperor "...repassoit souvent sur les propositions d'Euclide les plus importantes. [...] Nos les luy avions composez en Tartare, & nous y abions mis toutes les propositions necessaires & utiles, qui sont dans les livres d'Euclide & d'Archimede, avec leurs demonstrations" [14].

After these brief historical remarks on the Manchu translation of Euclid and its problems, we turn now to the copy kept in the Library of the Palace Museum in Peking. Its mention in a few publications indicated, as well as rather scarce comments on them of the authors, unfortunately, did not allow us to make any substantial conclusion concerning the contents of the manuscript. It was therefore a real surprise to discover — among several new and not yet filed works — during a new cataloguing of the Manchu holdings in the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies by Tatiana A. Pang, a *printed* Manchu version entitled *Gi ho yuwan ben bithe.* First it seemed to Tatiana Pang, the author of this discovery, that this Manchu version was Ricci's translation of Euclid, entitled *Jihe yuanben.* The collation of the two pages published by Zhu Jiajin with fols. 99a—100a of the St. Petersburg copy showed that both texts coincide, which gave us the grounds to conclude that both copies were identical. The feature of the Peking copy is the presence of some linguistic corrections and additions of Chinese characters in red ink; these linguistic corrections were reproduced in the printed edition. The geometrical figures in the printed version were drawn (engraved?) anew as is evident from the different direction of the punctuated lines to indicate the figures' shadow. From all this we may conclude that the St. Petersburg block-print is identical to the Peking manuscript. But when collating their contents with Ricci's Chinese version of Euclid's "Elements", we were surprised to find that we had before us *two completely different* texts, which had nothing in common except the title. This led us to the second conclusion that the texts represented by Zhu Jiajin's manuscript and by the St. Petersburg block-print, are *not* a translation of Ricci's Chinese version of Euclid,

as was previously supposed. It was clear that both texts were rather based on some other Western source. This source can be identified as Ignace Pardies's "Elémens (sic) de géométrie", published in Paris in 1671 [15]. It was the very same work of Pardies which was used by both Bouvet and Gerbillon, and, according to Pfister, Gerbillon translated it into Manchu in order to have it published "on order of the Emperor" in 1690 — "...Géométrie pratique et théorique, tirée en partie du P. Pardies, écrite en tartare et traduite en chinois par ordre de l'empereur, qui l'a fait imprimer à Pekin, 1690" [16]. The fact that there existed *two* Manchu texts of Euclidian geometry, of which one was supposedly translated by Verbiest from Ricci's Chinese translation, and was never printed and is evidently lost now, seems to explain the above-mentioned lack of clearness in the circumstances surrounding the translation of Euclid's "Elements" and the presence of rumours concerning the translators.

The fact that both Verbiest and Gerbillon (with his confathers) worked with the Kangxi Emperor on Euclid's "Elements" is confirmed by Gerbillon himself, who, according to Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, wrote: "Tandis qu'il se faisoit expliquer a nouveau ...ce que le P. Verbiest luy avoit autrefois enseigné de geometrie pratique et des autres parties de mathematiques, il nos ordonna de luy expliquer dabord en tartare les elemens d'Euclide, qu'il avoit desiré d'apprendre il y avoit longtemps" [17]. It should be added that Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, in her research on Antoine Thomas, ascribed to his pen a "Traité d'algèbre", of which she writes that it is an edition "en trios volumes, fait en mandchou à un seul exemplaire destiné à l'Empereur K'ang-Hi, en 1696, chaque feuillet est muni du sceau du monarque. Existe-t-il encore à Pékin? Nous l'ignorons" [18]. The reference to three volumes might indicate our St. Petersburg copy, but the date 1696 and the absence of the "imperial seal" in that copy prevent us to make this assumption. Thus, the only printed edition identical to the only hand-written copy may be Gerbillon's translation which was published by a "court writer" [19]. This conclusion agrees with Pfister's note, and we can state that the only printed copy known is found in the Manchu collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Oriental Institute. The copy in three fascicles — in excellent condition — forms one *tao* with a fourth fascicle on geometry entitled *Suwan fa yuwan ben bithe,* another copy of which is preserved in the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo [20].

Let us turn now to the text. The first fascicle begins on fol. 1a—1b with a brief anonymous and undated foreword:

Gi ho yuwan ben bithe.uju. jai. ilaci. duici fiyelen

[1a] *ujui fiyelen: Sioi.*
Gi ho yuwan ben (ton-i sekiyen sere gisun:) bithe serengge. eiten jaka-i ton kemun be bodoro miyalire amba fulehe. abkai šu na-i giyan-i jergi babe tacire da sekiyen: yaya toro be tacire de. urunakū neneme ja ci deribufi. mangga de isinambi: jergi tangkan be fekurakū. ilhi aname kiceme sithūme ohode. ini cisui šumin somishūn de dosinambi: tuttu ofi Gi ho yuwan ben bithe de. ja emteli arbun be juleri. jursu šašaha arbun be amala. juwe adališara dimu-i dorgi tacire kimcire de. [1b] *ja ningge be juleri. manggangge be sirame obufi. jergi tangkan banjibufi. niyalmai ilhi aname tacire de acabuhabi. geli jergi tangkan be songkolome. arbun nirugan-i turgun giyan gebu hacin be tucibume. sure giyangnara be bairakū obume. getuken leolen be ujude arahabi:*
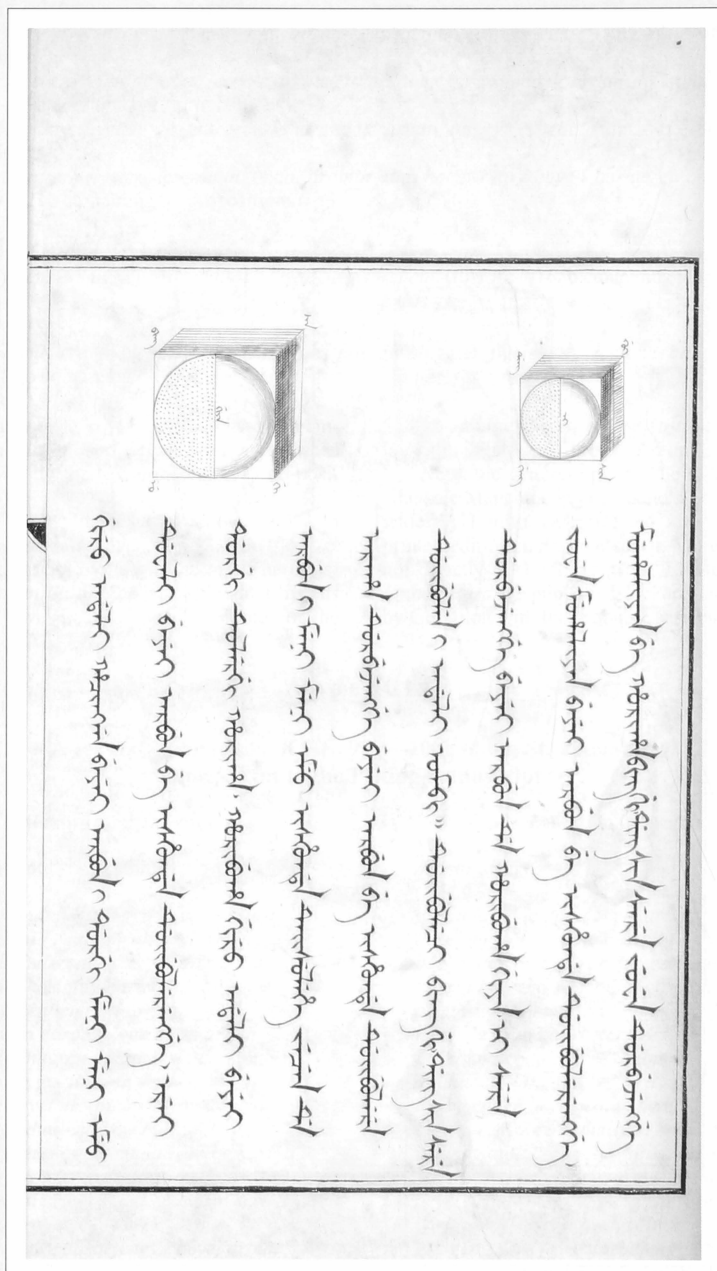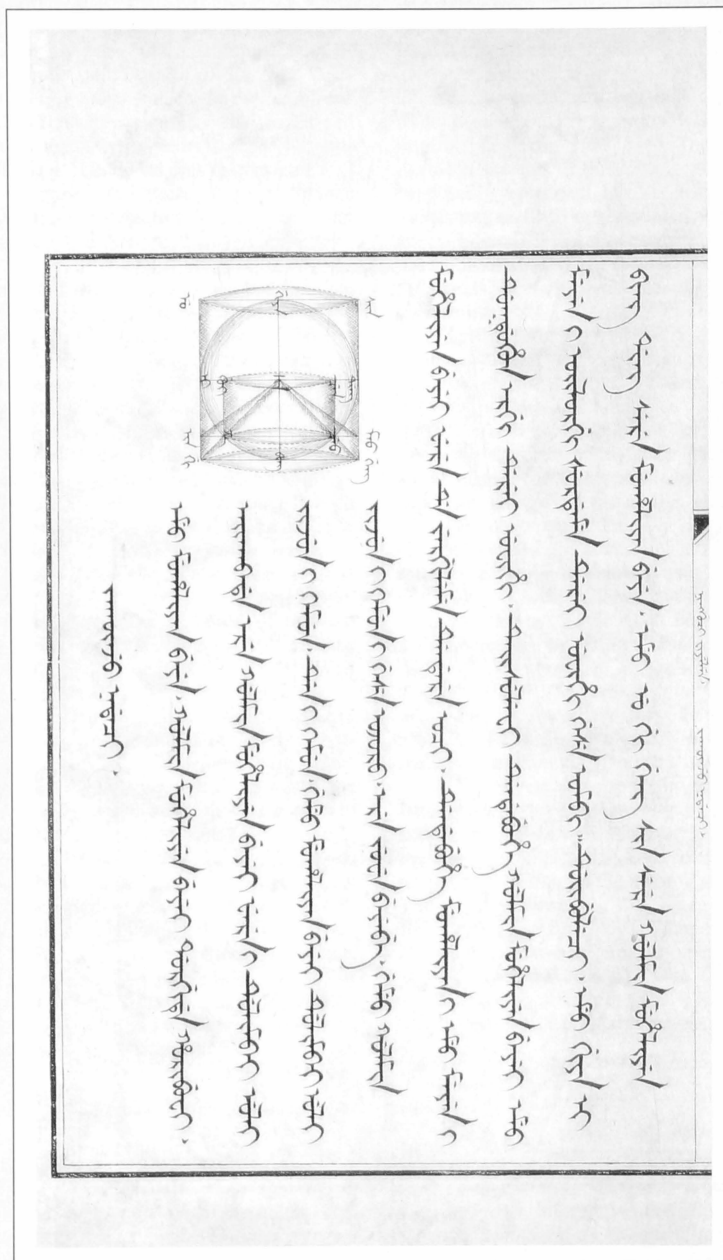
Fig. 3

Fig. 4

This undated and anonymous foreword present in the St. Petersburg printed copy of Euclid's "Elements" is immediately followed on the same folio by the table of contents for all three fascicles:

First fascicle:

uju (fols. 1b—21b containing 34 propositions);

jai fiyelen: ere fiyelen de ilan hošonggo arbun-i harangga be gisurehebi. (fols. 22a—36b containing 14 propositions);

ilaci fiyelen: ere fiyelen de duin jecen-i arbun ci deribume geren jecen-i arbun de isibume gisurehebi. (fols. 37a—49b containing 17 propositions);

duici fiyelen: ere fiyelen de muheren-i harangga arbun be gisurehebi. (fols. 50a—86b containing 24 propositions);

sunjaci fiyelen: ere fiyelen de golmin. onco. jiramin. ilan hacin-i du-i beye-i harangga babe gisurehebi. (fols. 87a—121b containing 31 propositions).

Second fascicle:

ningguci fiyelen: ere fiyelen de duibulen-i giyan be gisurehebi. (fols. 1a—165b containing 90 propositions).

Third fascicle:

nadaci fiyelen: ere fiyelen de gisurehengge. julergi ninggun fiyelen de leolehe babe arara arga. (fols. 1a—93b containing 53 propositions).

As for the fourth fascicle kept in Tōyō Bunko, it comprises the *Suwan fa yuwan ben bithe*, with a foreword (fols. 1a—2b) followed by the text containing 75 propositions (fols. 3a—123b).

The envelope of the *tao* itself has a yellow label with the Chinese title *Manzhou suanfa yuanben* 滿洲算法原, i. e. the title of the fourth fascicle found in the *tao*. The omission of the *Jihe yuanben* on the *tao* may explain why this unique work, a real jewel in the Manchu holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies, lay without notice and remained unknown so far.

Now, the general opinion the Peking manuscript to be "the sole Manchu copy of Euclid's *Elements* existing worldwide" [21] must be corrected after the discovery of its printed edition in St. Petersburg. Moreover, its text is based not directly on Euclid but on "Elémens de géométrie" by *Ignace Pardies*, published in Paris in 1671 and translated by Gerbillon with the probable assistance of Bouvet.

Appendix

A textual comparison of fols. 99a—100a of the St. Petersburg block-print to the Peking manuscript*

St. Petersburg block-print	Peking manuscript
[fol. 99a, last line] *susai jakûci.*	*//susai jakûci.*
[fol. 99b] *giru adali hacingga beyei arbun-i dorgi meni meni / emu duwali beyei arbun be ishunde duibulerengge. erei / dorgi tulergi horiha. horibuha giru adali beyei / arbun-i meni meni emu <u>ishunde teisulehe</u> jecen de / araha durbejengge beyei arbun be ishunde duibulere / duibulen-i adali ombi: duibuleci / bing <u>gi</u>. ding <u>sin</u> sere / durbejengge beyei arbun de horibuha giya. i sere / juwe muhaliyan beyei arbun be ishunde duibulerengge. / muhaliyan be horiha bing <u>gi</u>. ding <u>sin</u> sere juwe durbejengge /* [fol. 100a] *beyei arbun-i u gi. geng sin sere emu <u>ishunde teisulere</u> juwe jecen de araha / jin u. gui geng sere juwe durbejengge beyei arbun be ishunde duibulere / duibulen-i adali ombi: adarame seci. ere fiyelen-i susai sunjaci / meyen de hacingga jecen-i arbun-i dorgi meni meni emu duwali giru adali arbun be*	*giru adali hacingga beyei arbun-i dorgi meni meni emu duwali / beyei arbun be ishunde duibulerengge. erei dorgi tulergi / horiha. horibuha giru adali beyei arbun-i meni meni emu / <u>ikiri</u> jecen de araha durbejengge beyei arbun be ishunde / duibulere duibulen-i adali ombi: duibuleci / bing [内] [己 gi] ding [丁] [辛 sin] sere / durbejengge beyei arbun de horibuha giya [甲] i [乙] sere juwe / muhaliyan beyei arbun be ishunde duibulerengge. muhaliyan be / horiha bing [内] [己 gi] ding [丁] [辛 sin] sere durbejengge beyei arbun-i u gi. // geng sin sere emu <u>ikiri</u> juwe jecen de araha jin u.* **gui geng sere juwe durbejengge beyei** arbun *be ishunde duibulere / duibulen-i adali ombi: adarame seci. ere fiyelen-i susai / sunjaci meyen de hacingga jecen-i arbun-i dorgi meni meni emu duwali giru adali / arbun be*

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* Given the Peking manuscript reproduces the page not completely, we give here in bold the text reconstructed according to the St. Petersburg copy; underlined words show the text divergences in both copies.

ishunde duibulerengge. duibulere arbun-i
dorgi tulergi horiha horibuha giru adali
arbun-i meni meni emu _ishunde teisulere_
jecen de araha necin derei duin durbejengge
arbun be ishunde duibulere duibulen-i
adali sehe songkoi. tere giya. i sere juwe
muhaliyan beyei arbun be ishunde
duibulerengge. giya. i sere muhaliyan
beyei arbun be horiha [fol. 100b] bing gi
ding sin sere juwe durbejengge beyei
arbun-i emu _ishunde teisulehe_ u gi. geng
sin sere juwe jecen de araha jin u. gui
geng sere juwe durbejengge beyei arbun
be ishunde duibulere duibulen-i adali ojoro
be ini

ishunde duibulerengge. duibulere arbun-i
dorgi tulergi horiha horibuha giru / adali
arbun-i meni meni emu _ikiri_
jecen de araha necin derei duin durbejengge
arbun be / ishunde duibulere duibulen-i
adali sehe songkoi tere giya. [甲] i [乙] sere juwe
muhaliyan beyei / arbun be ishunde
duibulerengge. giya [甲] i [乙] sere muhaliyan
beyei arbun be horiha bing [丙] [已 gi]
ding [丁] [＊ sin] sere / juwe durbejengge beyei
arbun-i emu _ikiri_ u [戊] gi [已]. geng [庚]
sin [＊] sere juwe jecen de araha jin [壬] u [戊]. gui [癸] /
geng [庚] sere juwe durbejengge beyei arbun
be ishunde duibulere duibulen-i adali ojoro
be ini

Notes

1. P. M. Engelfried, *Euclid in China. The Genesis of the First Translation of Euclid's Elements in 1607 & Its Reception up to 1723* (Leiden — Boston — Köln, 1998).

2. For this issue, see L. D. Kessler, *K'ang-hsi and the Consolidation of Ch'ing Rule 1661—1684* (Chicago — London, 1976), p. 151: "He knows Tartar and Chinese, but he likes the Tartar best".

3. L. Vanhee, "Euclide en chinois et mandchou", *Isis*, 30 (1939), pp. 84—8.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

5. Cen Yinke 陳 寅 恪, "Jige yuanben manwen yiben ba 幾 何 原 本 滿 文 譯 本 跋", *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan. Lishi yuyan yanjiu jikan* 中 央 研 究 院 歷 史 語 言 研 究 集 刊, II/3 (1931), pp. 281—2.

6. See Li The Ch'i, *Union Catalogue of Manchu Books in the National Library of Peiping and the Library of the Palace Museum* (Peiping, 1933), p. 12, No. 316.

7. Huang Runhua 黃 潤 華 and Qu Liusheng 屈 六 生, *Quanguo manwen tushu ziliao lianhe mulu* 全 國 滿 文 圖 書 資 料 聯 合 目 錄 (Peking, 1991), p. 228, No. 0963.

8. Li Zhaohua 李 兆 華, "'Jige yuanben' manwen chaoben de laiyuan《 幾 何 原 本 》滿 文 抄 本 的 來 源", *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故 宮 博 物 院 院 刊, 2 (1984), pp. 67—9.

9. Zhu Jiajin 朱 家 溍, *Liang chao yulan tushu* 兩 朝 御 覽 圖 書 (Peking, 1992).

10. L. Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine 1552—1773* (Chang-hai, 1932), p. 449.

11. Engelfriet, *op. cit.*, pp. 136—7, quoting N. Golvers's *The Astronomia Europaea of the Ferdinand Verbiest S.J.* (Nettetal, 1993), p. 99 and p. 266, No. 100. — Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XXVIII. See also H. Bernard-Maître, "Les adaptations chinoises d'ouvrages européens", *Monumenta Serica*, 10 (1945), pp. 1—57, 309—88, also No. 458 on p. 374.

12. From the German translation of Du Halde's French publication, *Ausführliche Beschreibung des chinesischen Reiches und der grossen Tartarey*, 4 und letzter Theil (Rostok, 1749), pp. 198—9.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

14. J. Bouvet, *Histoire de l'empereur de la Chine* (Paris, 1699), pp. 87—8.

15. See Mo De 莫 德, "Dui zai wo guo liuchuan de jige banben de yanjiu 對 在 我 國 流 傳 幾 個 版 本 的 研 究", in his *Oujilide Jihe yuanben yanjiu* 歐 幾 里 得 幾 何 原 本 研 究 (Hohhot, s.a.), pp. 145—66; Liu Dun 劉 鈍, "Fang Tai suojian shuxue zhenji 訪 臺 所 見 數 學 珍 籍", *Zhongguo keji shiliao* 中 國 科 技 史 料, 16/4 (1995), pp. 8—21. For references and further remarks, see Engelfriet, *op. cit.*, pp. 437—8.

16. Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

17. Yves de Thomaz de Bossierre, *Jean-François Gerbillon, S.J. (1654—1707)* (Leuven, 1994), p. 95. — Louvain Chinese Studies, II.

18. *Idem, Un belge mandarin à la cour de Chine aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Antoine Thomas 1644—1709* (Paris, 1977), p. 164.

19. Engelfriet, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

20. N. Poppe, L. Hurvitz, H. Okada, *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Toyo Bunko* (Tokyo, 1964), p. 294, No. 502. For a detailed description, see the catalogue of the Manchu holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies by Tatiana A. Pang (forthcoming).

21. Zhu Jiajin, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Gi ho yuwan ben bithe*, block-print C 291 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fasc. 1, fol. 101 a, 17.6×27.7 cm.

Fig. 2. The same block-print, fasc. 1, fol. 98 b, 17.6×27.7 cm.

Fig. 3. The same block-print, fasc. 2, fol. 99 b, 17.6×27.7 cm.

Fig. 4. The same block-print, fasc. 2, fol. 154 a, 17.6×27.7 cm.

OUR ARCHIVE

Dear colleagues,

The article published below opens a new rubric — "Our archive". It is hardly a secret that many of the Russian-language publications on Eastern manuscripts and documents have remained inaccessible to our colleagues in the West, either because of the language barrier or because these publications were often issued in small editions for specialists only. However, a significant number of them still remains topical, introducing into scholarly circulation little-known or even unknown manuscripts or containing the analysis of facts collected over decades of research on sources and documents.

Dozens of Russian scholars dedicated their lives to studying the written legacy of the peoples of the East. Alas, time marches on and many names have been forgotten amid the colossal changes which have overtaken Russia and the huge amount of information Orientalists now confront. Luckily, library shelves have preserved for us the results of the inquiries and hopes, reflections and research of our colleagues from numerous scholarly centres of the former USSR.

A vast area encompassing many newly independent states continues to use the Russian language as a common tongue for intellectual discourse. One of the many Russian scholars who devoted his life to the study of the Eastern written legacy was Georgy Nikolaevich Chabrov (1904—1986). It is to his memory that we dedicate the first publication in our new rubric, and it is his article that we publish on the pages below.

Familiarizing the readers of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, who live in 30 countries, with the scholarly heritage of famous Russian Orientalists, we are fortunate to be able to rely on the help of our friends from all the former republics of the USSR and our friends in the West. The biographical information on G. N. Chabrov which follows is based on materials prepared by V. Germanov at the journal's request and under the direction of Dr. Vincent Fourniau, Director of the Institut Français d'Études sur l'Asie Centrale (IFEAC), to whom we express our sincere gratitude.

We are also much indebted to our French and Uzbek colleagues for their help in readying this publication.

E. Rezvan, Editor-in-Chief

V. Germanov

GEORGY NIKOLAEVICH CHABROV (1904—1986) AND HIS WORKS

G. N. Chabrov was born on January 19, 1904 in St. Petersburg. In 1927, he completed the Faculty of Linguistics and Material Culture at Leningrad (today St. Petersburg) University. His closest teachers at the University were A. A. Andreev and S. N. Valk.

Between 1927—1930, Chabrov worked in various institutions in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Yaroslavl, and Tashkent. The year 1936 marked a turning point in his life, since in this year his career as a scholar and pedagogue began. In 1936, he joined the staff of the Republic Museum of Arts in Tashkent as a research fellow and academic secretary. For some time after 1941, he held the post of director of the history section at the USSR Nizami State Pedagogical Institute in Tashkent, but in 1943, he entered the active army. After the end of the Second World War, he started his work as academic secretary of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History and Archaeology. From 1948 on, Chabrov was a senior lecturer in the section (*kabinet*) of history of the USSR and head of the sector of museum studies at Central Asian State University of Tashkent. Between 1966 and 1971, he stood at the head of the sector of bibliography at the USSR Nizami State Pedagogical Institute in Tashkent. Beginning with the organization of the Tashkent State Institute of Culture in 1971, and until his retirement in 1980, he headed the sector of the history of the USSR at that institution. He died on January 22, 1986.

In 1946, Chabrov defended his dissertation on the history of Central Asia — *Ocherki istorii planirovaniia i stroitel'stva russkikh gorodov dorevoliutsionnogo Turkestana* (Essays on the History of the Planning and Construction of Russian Cities in pre-Revolutionary Turkestan), — and in 1966, his higher degree (doctoral) dissertation *Izobrazitel'nye istochniki po istorii Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana v XVIII — pervoĭ polovine XIX vv.* (Depictive Sources on the History of Central Asia and Kazakhstan in the 18th — First Half of the 19th Centuries). During his nearly half-century of work on the History Faculty of Tashkent State University, he developed and taught special courses on written sources for the history of Central Asia [1] as well as the history of engraving and Russian art from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. In 1960, Chabrov organized at the main library of Tashkent State University a scholarly circle for studying the history of Central Asia and Uzbekistan. Until 1969, its sessions allowed many scholars in Tashkent to deliver over 1,000 papers on the study of Central Asia, the history of geographic discoveries, the history of book culture, and library science.

A scholar of vast interests — an historian and archivist, art historian, and expert on sources — Chabrov is, however, known primarily as an expert on books (together with N. A. Burov and E. K. Betger), whose pioneer investigations on a history of book culture in Turkestan (and in the Soviet republics of Central Asia) were well known. Chabrov began his work as bibliographer with the article "Pervye litografirovannye izdaniia proizvedeniĭ Alishera Navoi v Sredneĭ Azii" ("The first lithograph editions of works by 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i in Central Asia"), which appeared in 1948 [2]. But the most significant analytical study on book history in Turkestan remains to this day his 1954 work "Iz istorii poligrafii i izdatel'stva literatury na mestnykh iazykakh v dorevoliutsionnom Turkestane" ("On the history of polygraphy and the publishing of literature in local languages in pre-Revolutionary Turkestan") [3]. It provided the first synthetic overview of extensive archival information, and literary and other sources.

In the first half of the 1960s, bibliographic science was enriched by the appearance of an entire series of scholarly articles by Chabrov; resting on a solid base of sources and analytically astute, they treated the history of books in Turkestan. The collections *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy* (The Book. Research and Materials) contained his articles "Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semĕnov kak knigoved" ("Aleksandr Semenov as a book specialist") and "U istokov uzbekskoĭ poligrafii. Khivinskaia pridvornaia litografiia. 1874—1910 g." ("The origins of Uzbek polygraphy. The Khīwan court lithography. 1874—1910") [4]. In the article "Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie turkestanskoĭ litografirovannoĭ knigi (1880—1917)" ("The artistic format of Turkestani lithograph books (1880—1917)") [5], Chabrov gave his analysis of the art and mastery of Uzbek lithographers, artists of the lithograph book who innovatively combined in their creative efforts national traditions of the manuscript book with European and Russian methods of formatting printed books. The fundamental two-volume academic edition *400 let russkogo knigopechataniia* (400 Years of Russian Book-printing) also contained sections by Chabrov on the history of book-printing in Central Asia in the late nineteenth — early twentieth century. Taking into account the conception and goals of the edition, Chabrov provides a general overview of the centuries-long book culture of Central Asia, casting light on the history of manuscript, lithograph, and type-set books.

Chabrov was the first to publish an article on Central Asian bindings in the Soviet literature on books. This work, which was published in 1964, still stands and is of interest to specialists in the subject [6]. His other articles "O natsionalizatsii poligraficheskikh predpriiatiĭ v Turkestanskoĭ ASSR (1918—1920 gg.)" ("On the nationalization of polygraphic enterprises in the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic: 1918—1920") [7] and "Problemy izucheniia istorii uzbekskoĭ knigi" ("Problems in studying the history of the Uzbek book") [8], providing a theoretical basis for research on book history in the republic, at the same time correctly the need to gather and provide a bibliography for all print and lithograph books. As he remarks, "To this day we do not have a list of lithograph editions, full lists of Uzbek type-set books issued in the pre-Revolutionary period and published in the Soviet period". He notes also that for these reasons it is absolutely necessary to compile a bibliography of all editions encompassed by the concept of the "Uzbek book". This remark remains valid today.

A series of later works — "Knigoizdatel'skoe delo v dorevoliutsionnoĭ Sredneĭ Azii (1871—1917 gg.)" ("Book-publishing in pre-Revolutionary Central Asia: 1871—1917") [9], "Nachalo knigoizdatel'skogo dela v dorevoliutsionnom Turkestane" ("The beginning of book-publishing in pre-Revolutionary Turkestan") [10], "Problemy izucheniia istorii knigoizdatel'skogo dela v respublikakh Sredneĭ Azii" ("Problems in studying the history of book-publishing in the republics of Central Asia"), in which he notes future avenues for approaching the history of the book in Central Asia in the Soviet period [11], "Ėkslibris i ego mastera" ("*Ex libris* and its masters") [12] and, finally, "Uzbekskiĭ ėkslibris" ("Uzbek *ex libris*") [13], which began the study of the Uzbek book graphics — greatly contributed to the developing of Central Asian book study.

Chabrov, who taught from 1963 to 1983, first on the Library Faculty of the Nizami State Pedagogical Institute in Tashkent and later of the Tashkent State Institute of Culture, was also the author of a special course entitled "The book in pre-Revolutionary Turkestan". Materials for this special course and his scholarly notes provided the basis for the work he wrote late in life; it was *Kniga dorevoliutsionnogo Turkestana* (The Book in Pre-Revolutionary Turkestan) [14], which has unfortunately remained unpublished as have a number of other works of Chabrov [15].

The major part of the scholars life was spent in Uzbekistan, now an independent state. He came to the country as a young man, and he was among those numerous Russians who did much to develop its humanities and sciences. He lived as an Orientalist in an ancient part of the Orient, the cradle of many Eastern cultures, and was wholly devoted to the main topic of his scholarly research — Eastern book history. A man of vast learning, he also did much to develop education in Uzbekistan, and he had many followers in studying Central Asian book culture who continue to advance his investigations in the field.

Notes

1. He discussed this work in the article "Opyt razrabotki spetsial'nogo kursa po istochnikovedeniiu istorii Sredneĭ Azii" ("Attempting to develop a special course on the use of sources on the history of Central Asia"), *Voprosy arkhivovedeniia*, 2 (1963), pp. 69—71.

2. In *Zvezda Vostoka*, 3 (1948), pp. 98—100.

3. In *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo universiteta*, 57 (1954), pp. 77—98.

4. See *Kniga. Issledovaniia i materialy*, 3 (1960), pp. 409—19; *ibid.*, 4 (1961), pp. 317—29.

5. See *Trudy Instituta istorii AN Tadzhikskoĭ SSR*, 29 (1960), pp. 205—24.

6. The article entitled "K izucheniiu sredneaziatskogo knizhnogo pereplĕta" ("On the study of Central Asian book-binding") was published in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 2 (1964), pp. 136—41. The English translation of this article is published below.

7. In *Nauchnye trudy Tashkentskogo universiteta*, 238 (1964), *Institut nauki*, book 50, pp. 134—41.

8. *Ibid.*, 261 (1964). *Bibliografiia*, issue 10, pp. 88—90.

9. In *Uchenye zapiski Tashkentskogo Gosudarstvennogo Instituta im. Nizami*, 71 (1966), pp. 8—31.

10. See *Knigovedenie*, 5 (1970), pp. 3—4.

11. *Ibid.*, 2 (1968), pp. 14—8.

12. In *Zvezda Vostoka*, 1, pp. 149—52.

13. In *Tvorchestvo*, 10 (1971), p. 4.

14. *Kniga dorevoliutsionnogo Turkestana. 1868—1917* (The Book in Pre-Revolutionary Turkestan. 1868—1917), type-written (1982), 110 pp. (in Chabrov's personal archive).

15. *Knigovedenie v Turkestane (1870—1917 gg.)* (Book Studies in Turkestan: 1870—1917), type-written (1970), 16 pp. (in Chabrov's personal archive); *E. K. Betger o printsipakh postroeniia i metodakh raboty otdelov starinnoĭ i redkoĭ knigi* (E. K. Betger on the Structural Principles and Work Methods of Sections of Old and Rare Books), type-written (1971), 8 pp. (in Chabrov's personal archive); *Tipografii dorevoliutsionnogo Turkestana, vypuskavshie knigi i broshiury v 1868—1917* (Typographies of Pre-Revolutionary Turkestan Which Issued Books and Brochures in 1868—1917), type-written (1972), 12 pp. (in Chabrov's personal archive).

<div style="text-align: right;">

G. N. Chabrov

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ON THE STUDY OF CENTRAL ASIAN BOOK-BINDING

The history of bookbinding has ancient roots. It became known in Europe in the first century A. D. The well-known Soviet Oriental studies scholar A. A. Semenov dates the appearance of bindings among the people of the Near East to the time of the Sassanids [1]. It would seem that such an ancient art should have attracted substantial study. Indeed, foreign researchers have done a great deal of work on Iranian bookbinding of the sixteenth — eighteenth centuries, which attained a high level of sophistication [2]; but virtually nothing has been done to study Central Asian bookbinding. Only recently have Soviet descriptions and photographs appeared of the most interesting examples of Central Asian binding art of the fifteenth — eighteenth centuries [3].

Unfortunately, each Oriental studies scholar describes Central Asian bindings in his own fashion, although by 1939 A. A. Sememov had already developed a well-considered system for their description [4]. Semenov distinguishes full leather bindings and half-leather. A full leather binding is a single piece of leather which encases the board covers of a manuscript. As concerns half-leather bindings, it features boards lined with leather and fastened with a leather back. In Semenov's descriptions, he always notes the colour of leather, sometimes its type (shagreen, *sawra*), and the quality and condition of the binding ("good", "old", "worn"). He always notes the presence and nature of imprints and the names of binders located within figured stamp marks applied with *muhr* stamps. But Semenov almost never notes the material and colour of the back, as well as the decoration of the book's fly-leaves. In the five-volume description of manuscripts at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences edited by him and produced with his personal participation, in most cases only special bindings exceptional in form are reviewed. In such cases, the descriptions are accompanied by photographs (mono-chrome, unfortunately), the most interesting of which are photographs of a binding from plane tree boards (early 19th century) and a lacquered binding with extremely beautiful decorations of Central Asian origin dated to 1799 (both in the third volume). Of note in the fourth volume is a photograph of a luxurious binding of poured silver for a Qur'ān made in Bukhārā in 1841, and a lacquered binding from 1862. The latter is notable for its depiction of flowers borrowed from the adornments of Chinese porcelain, which was imported in large quantities to Central Asia beginning in the 1790s.

Also, N. D. Miklukho-Maclay made no small contribution to the description of Central Asian bindings; he drew up an extensive "Description of Tajik and Persian manu-scripts of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies", Moscow, 1955. Miklukho-Maclay calls bindings with board covers lined in leather "Eastern". Among their varieties he identifies Central Asian bindings of the *muqawwā'* type. These are the same as the bindings that A. A. Semenov terms "half-leather". In his descrip-tions, Miklukho-Maclay always notes the binding material, and often adds information on the quality or condition of the leather in the binding ("smooth", "soft", "old"). But the colour of the leather is quite often omitted. In other cases, without giving information on the quality of the leather, the description notes the presence of imprints (simple and "with gilding"). The colour and type of leather in backs is never indicated. Descriptions of fly-leaves are extremely rare; the presence of flaps and names of craftsmen in imprints are usually given.

The descriptions of A. T. Tagirdzhanov [5] also discuss Eastern bindings (leather, board); he considers Central Asian *muqawwā'* bindings one of their varieties. In these descriptions, the colour of the leather is always indicated, and there is sometimes information on its quality. Also listed are the presence of imprints and names of craftsmen in stamps. But fly-leaves are here described only in excep-tional cases.

Binding descriptions by the Orientalists of Tajikistan are unfortunately extremely schematic [6]. They distinguish two types of bindings: Eastern and Central Asian (avoiding the term *muqawwā'*). "Eastern" bindings are described without an indication of their material. As concerns "Central Asian" bindings, their description is frequently accompanied by terms hardly comprehensible to the non-specialists such as "usual", "ordinary", "local". In charac-terizing "Central Asian" bindings, the compilers limit themselves to general information on the material (leather, lacquer), but say nothing about the colour or type of leather in backs, although they give detailed information on the colour of leather in bindings: dark green, yellow-green, greenish, dark crimson, bright red, etc. Information on how the leather was processed and the presence of binders' names in stamps is given only in exceptional cases; the same is true of the processing of fly-leaves.

What conclusions can we draw from these varied de-scriptions? In our view, descriptions of bindings should necessarily include information on the type of binding ("Eastern", *muqawwā'*, lacquered), the material, and the

colour of the covering and back, as well as how the covers and fly-leaves of the book were processed. Only then will catalogues and manuscript descriptions of Eastern manu-scripts contain sufficient information for Orientalists and art historians who study the bindings of Central Asian manuscript books.

<p align="center">* * *</p>

A. A. Semenov noted that Central Asian bindings are worthy of the most scrupulous study: "Later Central Asian bindings," he writes, "fashioned only in the Bukhāran and Khūqand khānates (that is, in the cities of Bukhārā, Samarkand, Khūqand, Tashkent, and others) were excep-tionally original; there is nothing like them elsewhere in the East" [7]. Which characteristics are typical of Central Asian bindings of the eighteenth — nineteenth centuries, when binding art achieved in Central Asia a remarkable degree of originality? Primarily, this is the ubiquitous presence of *muqawwā'* bindings covered in coloured leather with red and green covers and an imprint. Brown, variously toned red, and green leather was pasted on the board base of bindings. (A Khīwan innovation of the eighteenth century was bindings of black leather, unknown elsewhere.) Book covers were made from red, and also "specially processed blue (green-blue) bumpy leather from male donkey" (A. A. Semenov). Such leather was called *saura* or *sawra*. The tops and bottoms of backs ended in small scraps of leather so that one could easily remove a book from the shelf by taking hold of one of these scraps.

As before, the eighteenth century also witnessed the production of bindings from a single piece of brown leather with no decoration. In such books, imprints adorned only the fly-leaves, which were made from the same leather (No. 2777) [8]. At the same time, we also know of bindings from brown leather with red backs; such bindings could be adorned with embossed stamps between which were located embossed decorations reminiscent of bows (No. 2071). Bindings from red leather with green-blue backs were also decorated with embossed stamps. These stamps differed in colour from the bindings: they were not red, but dark brown. A relatively simple red binding of this type could have a magnificent fly-leaf of red leather with embossed floral ornamentation (No. 10565).

But the colouration of embossed stamps was not the only distinguishing characteristic of ornamentation on eighteenth-century bindings. Stamps might include "prints of binders' seals" with their names. Such stamps were lo-cated on the upper and lower board twice: at top and bot-tom, usually with a significantly larger stamp filled with floral ornamentation between them. Stamps with the names of binders also came in colours. On one binding of green leather with a red back, the name stamps are cherry-coloured and the middle stamps are red-gold (No. 3064). Curiously, name stamps were not located at a standard dis-tance from the ornamental stamp. If the distance from the ornamental stamp to the upper name stamp was 3 cm, then it was only 2.5 cm to the bottom stamp. The frequent use of this device indicates that it was not an accidental mistake, but a conscious aesthetic effect. Binders of the eighteenth century developed several other methods to enrich the ap-pearance of books. A. A. Semenov notes, for example, that a leather border of a different colour could be pasted around the edges of a monochrome binding "some three millimetres from the edge" [9].

Half-leather bindings with multicoloured backs pre-dominated in Central Asia in the eighteenth century. In rare cases, we also find lacquered bindings of extremely crude work. Neither in the eighteenth century nor later do we find the "lovely lacquered bindings of papier-mâché with a sur-face covered in painting" described by V. Dolinskaya [10]. But their existence is confirmed by photographs in one of the volumes which describe the collection of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences [11]. They were apparently produced in limited quantities.

Unlike their Persian counterparts, Turkestani lacquered bindings never contain depictions of living things (birds, animals). Such are the distinguishing characteristics of Central Asian book bindings of the eighteenth century.

In studying nineteenth-century bindings, we observe the further development and enrichment of methods invented in the eighteenth century. At the same time, we witness a fairly significant difference between bindings produced in the first half of the century and those produced after Central Asia became part of the Russian Empire. In both halves of the cen-tury, one still encounters bindings made from single pieces of coloured leather decorated with embossed stamps which fre-quently tell us the names of the binders. But *muqawwā'*-type bindings clearly predominate: they cost far less and at the same time better satisfied the aesthetic requirements of buy-ers. In this period, *muqawwā'*-type bindings were also made of yellow leather. Methods invented in the eighteenth century to colour stamps in hues which differ from the colour of the binding were further developed and enriched in the first half of the nineteenth century. Red bindings then generally fea-tured green stamps and black bindings gold stamps, which were unknown in the eighteenth century. Bindings in yellow leather had red stamps.

The decoration of bindings with borders should be con-sidered an innovation developed by nineteenth-century craftsmen. Borders were made up of embossed line decora-tions and edging of various widths. The space closer to the edge of the binding was usually filled with lanceolate ele-ments or, more rarely, wavy lines. We know of cases where the border consists of a single line made up of lanceolate elements. In addition to embossed borders, there are also painted borders: red on brown bindings, green on red, and brown on green.

In books from the first half of the nineteenth century, leather is no longer used to decorate fly-leaves. Paper fly-leaves of grey or green tinted paper appear. One notes the fly-leaf of a manuscript from the first third of the nineteenth century on violet paper with traced designs: brown "grasses" and white and blue "fruits" (No. 3465). On some fly-leaves, the covers of Indian lithographs were used for decoration.

Research on bindings from the second half of the nine-teenth century is made easier thanks to the work of Russian scholars. Curious members of the Russian intelligentsia, for whom Turkestan became a second homeland, carefully studied the works of local artists. They were especially in-terested in local bookbinding. The first museum in Turkestan, opened in Tashkent in 1876, included among its exhibits "examples of the natives' book-binding art" [12].

The book-binding mastery of Samarkand craftsmen was also studied by the folklore specialist Yu. O. Yakubovsky. In 1896, he published the article "Bookbinding craft of the natives of Samarkand" [13]. The materials gathered by

Yakubovsky are of great interest. He indicates that bindings of paperboard covered in leather and "multicoloured paper of its own hue" were made in Samarkand. Three colours were favourites for leather and paper for bindings at that time: red, yellow, and green. Bindings continued to be decorated with imprints in the form of borders and stamps. The latter were applied with a *muhr* stamp made of yellow brass in Khūqand. The stamp was placed over the freshly pasted leather or paper of the cover and applied with blows of an iron pestle (*kuwā*) with broad flat ends. For linings, craftsmen used ordinary Russian paper, pasted it on, and then coloured it red, green, and sometimes blue with lacquer oil paint. Craftsmen also knew of special Russian binding paper, but were not eager to use it; it was not as strong as paper processed in the manner just described.

Residents of Khūqand were considered the best bookbinders during Yakubuvsky's time. They were the ones who produced simple binding tools for their colleagues, which were difficult to obtain in Samarkand. Yakubovsky is the only person to provide us with information on the cost of bindings: "An average Sart binding costs from one to two *tenga*, 15—30 kopecks". But one master-binder informed Yakubovsky that his workshop could also fashion expensive bindings "with decorations based on metal". Such bindings cost around four rubles.

There is interesting information on book-binding in Bukhārā in the special chapter "Bookbinding and items from papier-mâché" from an ethnographic study by O. A. Sukhareva [14]. There, in the capital of the Bukhāran khānate, binders were called *sawad* or *muqawwāsāz*. They lived not far from the Ghāziyān quarter. Book-sellers also bound their wares. Craftsmen lined the board covers of bindings with paper usually coloured a swampy green. The traditional means of decorating a binding — imprints — was widely employed there as well. In speaking of papier-mâché items, Sukhareva mentions only *qalamdān* boxes for writing instruments, saying nothing of lacquered bindings. This art had apparently already been lost in Bukhārā. In the dictionary of Bukhāran craft terms drawn up by Sukhareva, we find the leather types *kīmukht* or *sāghrī* (shagreen), made from the hide of a horse's or donkey's croup by *kīmukhtgar* craftsmen.

Of course, the great mastery of Central Asian bookbinders in the second half of the nineteenth century is confirmed by the artful objects they produced. A typical example of a manuscript binding from this period presents a binding in red leather lined along the edges with a strip of green *sawra*. The back is of brown leather and the binding is also edged in brown leather. Interesting is the decoration of a border in which one edge is filled with tear-shaped decorations (No. 3762, see *fig. 1*).

During this period, lacquered bindings were made only in Khūqand and Khīwā. One of the Khūqand bindings from the 1870s is decorated in paint on a red background. The board is surrounded on all sides by a relatively wide border. The central part bears traditional figured stamps and brown "bows" (No. 3806). Very effective is a Khīwan lacquered binding with a back of black leather. The covers of the binding are decorated in floral designs, filling several parallel rows of strips. They alternate with strips of text embossed on a black background. The rich fly-leaves of this book are executed in the same fashion (No. 2858, see *figs. 2* and *3*).

Evidence of a conscious return to eighteenth-century methods can be seen in a number of more recent bindings produced either in the early twentieth or very late nineteenth century. One such binding, of brown leather with a red back and lined along the edges with *sawra*, is decorated only with a plain border of very simple design (No. 4150). The binding of a book made in 1901 successfully reproduces older methods of decoration. The brown leather which covers the book is decorated only with embossed stamps. The same modest style marks the book's fly-leaves of brown, undressed leather (No. 3620).

A few observations can be added concerning bookbinding format. For the eighteenth — early twentieth centuries, a binding height of 24—27 cm and width of 17—18 cm can be considered the dominant format. Formats of 18.0×11.0 cm were employed as well. Large-format books (height 30—45 cm and width 27—28 cm) are comparatively rare. Such formats are typical only for a few types of "luxurious" lithograph books. The stamps which decorate bindings of the eighteenth — early twentieth centuries are relatively uniform. Small stamps come in variations of a shield filled with floral ornamentation or text with the binder's name. Large stamps, which Russian binders often termed *sredniki* (lit. "middlers", or so-called medallions — *eds.*), were more diverse in form, ranging from an extended oval to whimsically cut shields. The formats for stamps are unusually diverse, although one can identify regularities. For example, small stamps are usually of the following dimensions: 1.8×1.5 cm, 2.0×1.5 cm, and 2.9×3.0 cm. The height gradually increases; stamps with a height of 3 to 9 cm should be considered large. The width of such stamps varies from 2 to 6.5 cm. Books of 18.0×11.0 cm had small stamps no higher than 2 cm; large ones ranged from 3 to 7 cm.

When the only lithograph books available in Central Asia were of Iranian and Indian origin, the bindings of lithograph books were the same as the bindings of manuscript books. But at the very end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth, local lithograph production underwent impressive development and the bindings of lithograph books diverged entirely from traditional book bindings [15]. A. A. Semenov formulated the overall tendencies to simplify lithograph book bindings as follows: "In place of the complex work of a *ṣaḥḥāf* (bookbinder — G. Ch.), which included providing the binding with a leather back, lining the edges of the board covers with leather, and pasting in and colouring paper to cover them; in place of all this, they began to print ready paper covers for bindings either glossy green or matte blue in colour. Leather was no longer required for the back; ordinary calico would do" [16].

Semenov's observations are entirely correct. One should only note that this evolution was gradual: it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the most powerful enterprise in the pre-Revolutionary national printing trade, Gulām Ḥasan Arijanov's Tashkent lithography, established itself on the book market, that half-leather bindings were completely supplanted by bindings pasted over in paper such as those described by Semenov. We add to his remarks that designs on new print covers frequently imitated old book bindings, even bearing traditional stamps printed in bronze. On such covers, local traditions were whimsically combined with a wide array of European type-set ornaments.
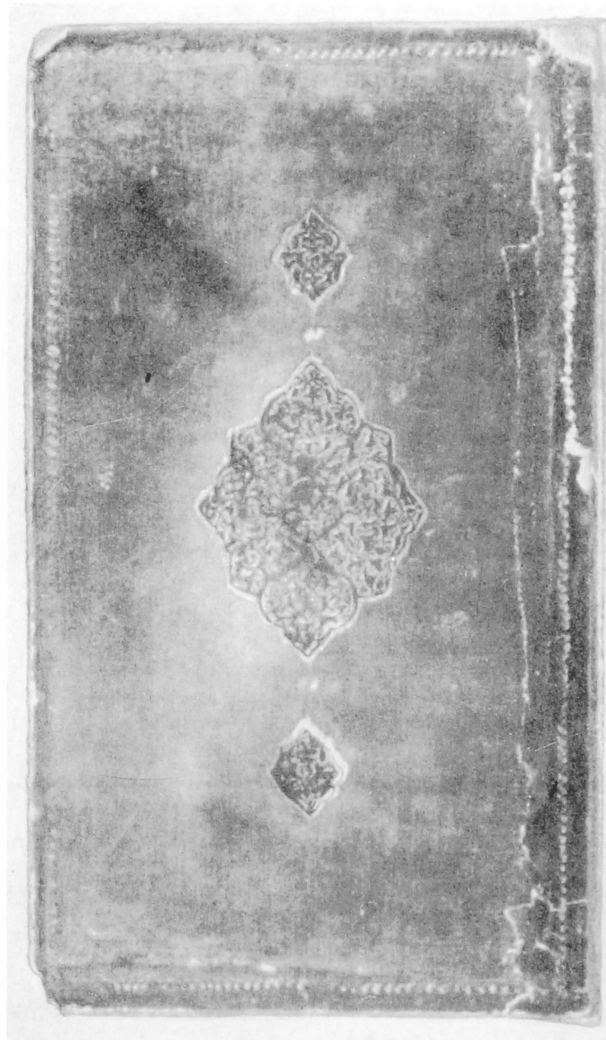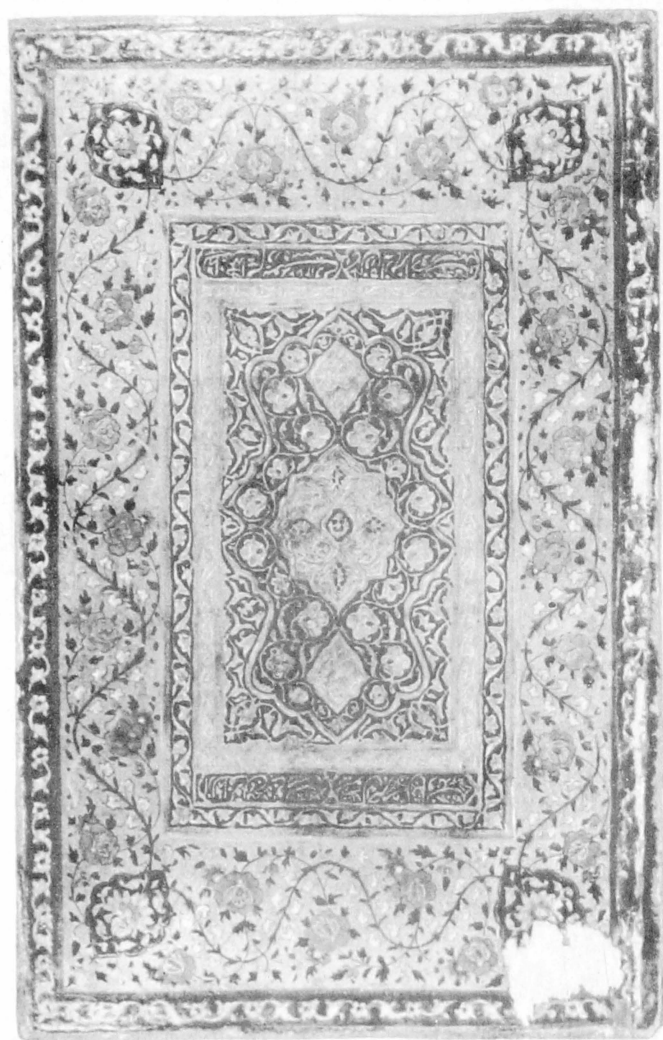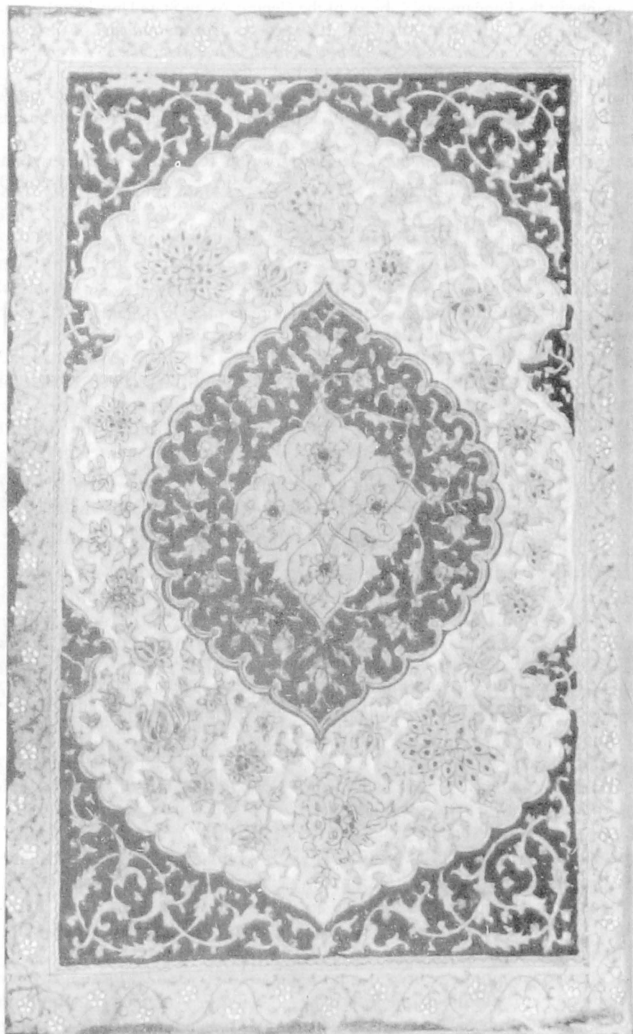
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Notes

1. See A. A. Semenov, "Geratskaia khudozhestvennaia rukopis' ėpokhi Navoi i eë tvortsy" ("The Herat artistic manuscript in the era of Nawā'i and its creators"), *Alisher Navoi* (Moscow, 1946), p. 171.

2. See F. Sarre, *Islamische Bucheinbände. Buchkunst des Orients* (Berlin, 1923); A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present* (London, 1938), v; H. Rodenberg, *Buchkunst des Morgenlandes* (Leipzig, s. a.).

3. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences), 5 vols. (Tashkent, 1952—1960).

4. See A. A. Semenov, *Opisanie vostochnykh litografiĭ Fundamental'noĭ biblioteki Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* (Description of Eastern Lithographs in the Fundamental Library of the Central Asian State University), manuscript held in the Fundamental Library of the V. I. Lenin Tashkent State University, Tashkent, 1939; cf. his *Opisanie tadzhikskikh, persidskikh, arabskikh i tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Fundamental'noĭ biblioteki Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. V. I. Lenina* (Description of Tajik, Persian, Arab, and Turkic Manuscripts at the Fundamental Library of the V. I. Lenin Central Asian State University) (Tashkent, 1956).

5. See A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie tadzhiksikh i persidskikh rukopiseĭ Vostochnogo otdela biblioteki Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. A. A. Zhdanova* (Description of Tajik and Persian Manuscripts in the Eastern Section of the Library of the A. A. Zhdanov Leningrad State University) (Leningrad, 1962), i.

6. See *Katalog vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoĭ SSR* (Catalogue of Eastern Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR), vol. I, ed. by and with the participation of A. M. Mirzoev and A. N. Boldyrev (Dushanbe, 1960).

7. A. A. Semenov, *Khudozhestvennaia rukopis' na territorii sovremennogo Uzbekistana* (The Artistic Manuscript in Contemporary Uzbekistan), manuscript held in the Fundamental Library of Tashkent State University, Tashkent, 1948, fol. 8.

8. Here and elsewhere we cite inventory numbers from the manuscript collection of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent.

9. A. A. Semenov, *Khudozhestvennaia rukopis' na territorii sovremennogo Uzbekistana*, fol. 8 b.

10. V. Dolinskaia, "Miniatiurnaia zhivopis' v Sredneĭ Azii" ("Miniature painting in Central Asia"), *Zvezda Vostoka*, 4 (1957), p. 152.

11. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Akademii nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR*, iii, p. 377.

12. *Turkestanskie vedomosti* (Turkestan Gazette), No. 28 (1876).

13. See *Spravochnaia kniga Samarkandskoĭ oblasti na 1896* (Reference Book of the Samarkand Region for 1896), issue IV (Samarkand, 1896), pp. 63—4.

14. O. A. Sukhareva, *Pozdnefeodal'nyĭ gorod Bukhara kontsa XIX — nachala XX stoletiia* (The Late-Feudal City of Bukhara at the End of the 19th — Beginning of the 20th Century) (Tashkent, 1962).

15. For information on the distinguishing characteristics of bindings for Turkestani lithograph books, see G. N. Chabrov, "Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie turkestanskoĭ litografirovannoĭ knigi (1880—1917)" ("The artistic format of Turkestani lithograph books: 1880—1917), *Trudy AN Tadzhikskoĭ SSR*, vol. XXIX: *Iskusstvo tadzhikskogo naroda*, collection of articles, issue 2 (Dushanbe, 1960).

16. A. A. Semenov, *Khudozhestvennaia rukopis' na territorii sovremennogo Uzbekistana*, fols. 17—18.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. A nineteenth-century bookbinding of *sawra* with a border edge, filled with tear-shaped decorations.

Fig. 2. A Khīwan lacquered binding with a back of black leather. The covers of the binding are decorated in floral designs, filling several parallel rows of strips. They alternate with strips of text embossed on a black background.

Fig. 3. Another sample of a similar binding.

BOOK REVIEWS

Radnabhadra. *"Lunnyĭ svet"*. *Istoriia rabdzham Zaia-pandity*. **Faksimile rukopisi. Perevod s oĭratskogo G. N. Rumiantseva i A. G. Sazykina. Transliteratsiia teksta, predislovie, kommentariĭ, ukazateli i primechaniia A. G. Sazykin. Sankt-Peterburg: izdatel'skiĭ tsentr Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie, 1999, 176 str.**

Radnabhadra. *"Moonlight"*. *The Story of Rabjam Zaya Pandita*. **Facsimile of the manuscript. Translation from the Oirat by G. N. Rumiantsev and A. G. Sazykin. Transliteration of the text, introduction, notes, and indices by A. G. Sazykin. St. Petersburg: "Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie" Publishing Centre, 1999, 176 pp. — Texts of Eastern Culture: the St. Petersburg Scholarly Series, VII.**

One of the most important tasks of Oriental studies is to make the main literary texts and historical sources from the manuscript collections of libraries and archival collections of various scholarly centres accessible to a broader circle of scholars and those interested in the East by publishing critical and facsimile editions and translations. The older generation of Russian and Soviet Oriental studies scholars considered this an extremely important matter. But as a result of the objective factors, which affected Russian scholarship in the 1980s—1990s, this tradition, established in the nineteenth century, faced grave threats. At that time, a group of dedicated scholars — namely, Yu. A. Petrosyan, O. F. Akimushkin, I. A. Alimov, V. N. Goregliad, E. I. Kychanov, L. N. Menshikov, E. N. Temkin, O. I. Trofimova, and A. B. Khalidov — took it upon themselves to continue the grand tradition of Russian Oriental studies, and in 1993 founded the series "Texts of Eastern Culture: the St. Petersburg Scholarly Series" at the Publishing Centre "Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie". Its purpose is to introduce into scholarly circulation new texts of Eastern written culture — manuscripts, documents, xylographs, etc. — as well as new editions of texts when former publications do not meet contemporary scholarly requirements.

I note here that the broadest possible completion of this "important task" in Oriental studies is complicated by a number of objective factors. Many years of painstaking work are required to prepare a critical edition of a text, an academically viable translation of a manuscript or xylograph relevant to scholars, and a thorough study of the material and detailed commentary on it. The volume of medieval Eastern literature is significant, and the number of qualified specialists on ancient and medieval literature and history with access to the written material is comparatively limited. As a result, the comprehensive study of even the basic literary texts and historical sources encounters difficulties. In our case, the series has only published seven books over seven years. They include the "Story of Rabjam Zaya Pandita" under review here.

The Oirat Zaya pandita Namkhai-Jamtso (1599—1662) was an outstanding personality, a talented literary figure, creator of Oirat writing, author of a large number of translations from the Tibetan, he also made a notable mark on the society and political life of the Oirats in the first half of the seventeenth century. Luckily, we possess valuable information about the life and work of this Oirat advocate of enlightenment. At the end of the seventeenth century, one of his closest disciples, Radnabhadra, wrote a biography of Zaya pandita. An indisputable virtue of the biography is its detail and great veracity in describing the deeds of Zaya pandita, as well as military and political events in the Jungar khānate in the seventeenth century.

The Jungar khānate, or Oirat state (1635—1758), was the last powerful nomad state in the history of Central Asia; its history is closely linked to that of the Kazakhs, the Mongols of Kāshghar, the Uzbeks of Mawarannahr, and the Kirghiz of Tien Shan. Hence, a biography of Zaya pandita is an extremely important source not only for the history of the Western Mongols (Oirats), but also for the many Turkic peoples of Central Asia. Zaya pandita's biographer sometimes provides unique accounts missing in other known sources. For example, only in the "Story of Rabjam Zaya pandita" do we learn the season and year of the Kazakh *khān* Jahāngīr's (Yangir) death: the winter of 1652 (year of the Dragon)[1]. Thanks to information provided by Zaya pandita's biographer, the publisher and translator of Churās's "Chronicle", O. F. Akimushkin, succeeded in specifying the year in which the Oirats seized the Yarkend khānate and managed to establish an accurate reading of the

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[1] For additional details, see T. I. Sultanov, *Kochevye plemena Priaral'ia v XV—XVII vv.* (Nomadic Tribes in the Aral Region in the 15th—17th Centuries) (Moscow, 1982). Appendix: Materials on the chronology and genealogy of the Kazakh khāns (15th—17th centuries), pp. 120—1.

Oirat commander's name, Sumer, which is rendered inaccurately in Arabic writing both in the "Chronicle" by Churās and in the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* [2].

Until now, there had been no full scholarly edition of the biography of Zaya pandita or academically viable translation, that is, a translation that conveys the content of the work as accurately as possible. Specialists in Mongolian studies used various copies of the biography, often makeshift and incomplete, while specialists in other fields such as historians of Eastern Muslim countries used the unedited Russian translation (a rough draft) of the biography prepared in 1938 by G. N. Rumiantsev on the basis of an incomplete Oirat original [3].

The edition of the Zaya pandita's biography prepared by A. G. Sazykin is based on an irreproachable manuscript of the work. It is the most complete of all known manuscripts and also contains additional information on the history of the Oirats for the period from 1678 to 1691.

This manuscript, acquired by A. V. Burdukov in 1910 in Western Mongolia, is today held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number C 413). For the new translation into Russian, a "line-by-line, entirely unedited" translation by G. N. Rumiantsev from the Orientalists' Archive (at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) was used.

Thanks to the careful labours of Russia's most prominent Mongolian specialist, Aleksei Sazykin, we now have a full scholarly edition and reliable Russian translation of one of the most important texts of seventeenth-century Oirat literature, the "Story of Rabjam Zaya Pandita" by Radnabhadra.

It is our hope that the Publishing Centre "Peterburg-skoe Vostokovedenie" will follow this book with new editions as relevant in theme and impressive in execution.

T. Sultanov

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[2] Shāh-Maḥmūd Ibn Mīrzā Fāḍil Churās, *Khronika* (Chronicle). Critical text, translation, commentaries, study, and indices by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1976). See Commentaries, pp. 307—8, 324.

[3] *Biografiia Zaia-pondity. Perevod s kolmykskogo iazyka* (Biography of Zaya pandita. Translation from the Kalmyk Language) Orientalists' Archive at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, section II, inv. 1, item 345.

Osmanlı devleti ve medeniyeti tarihi, ed. E. İhsanoğlu, vol. ii. İstanbul: 1998, XXXVI, 849 pp., 250 ills. — Osmanlı Devleti ve Medeniyet Tarihi Serisi, 2;

Osmanlı matematik literatürü tarihi — History of Mathematical Literature during the Ottoman Period, hazırlayanlar E. İhsanoğlu, Ramazan Şeşen ve Cevat İzgi, ed. E. İhsanoğlu, vols. i—ii. İstanbul: 1999, CVI, 720 pp. — İlim Tarihi Kaynakları ve Araştırmaları Serisi, 8. Osmanlı bilim tarihi literatürü, No. 2;

H. Sahillioğlu. *Studies on Ottoman Economic and Social History*. İstanbul: 1999, 221 pp. — Ottoman History and Civilization Series, 3;

The West and Islam: Towards a Dialogue, ed. D. Abuhusayn and M. I. Waley. Istanbul: 1999, 152 pp., 20 ills. — Lecture Series, 1.

The present review examines the latest publications of the Turkish Centre for Research on Islamic History, Art and Culture (İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi), founded in 1980 at the initiative of its current director, Prof. E. İhsanoğlu within the organizational framework of the Islamic Conference. These publications are extremely diverse and reflect the entire spectrum of the Centre's interests, which stand out in the context of similar organizations by virtue of their excellent scholarship, outstandingly executed publications, and broad range of interests.

Osmanlı devleti ve medeniyeti tarihi is the second volume of a broad-based collective monograph on the history of the Ottoman state and civilization (first published in 1994) written by a group of Turkish scholars under the direction of Ekmeleddin İshanoğlu, head of the Centre for Research on Islamic History and Culture. The book consists of several parts: Language and Literature, Religion, Education and Science, Art and Architecture. Each of these sections provides comprehensive information on the given topic. For example, the chapter on literature does not fail to treat the so-called "Indian" style, which influenced Turkic-language literature. It also lists the names of a great many literary figures who lived during the Ottoman Empire, their chief works, and major poetic anthologies (*tezkere*). The main events in literary life throughout Ottoman history are examined as well. The history of music in the empire also receives detailed attention: the scope is exhaustive, ranging from various types of musical works to musical instruments. This detailed exposition is complemented by 250 illustrations: photographs of manuscripts, buildings, portraits, miniatures, musical instruments (for a list of illustrations, see pp. XIII—XX). These illustrations are all the more important because they were taken from rich Turkish collections which remain insufficiently familiar to European scholarship to this day. The book is augmented by excellent indices and a useful bibliography (pp. 569—648). Written in the best scholarly traditions by a group of the most competent Turkish specialists (one of whom, Dr. Esin Atil, is a member of the Free Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution; the others work in Turkish universities and research centres), is undoubtedly worthy of becoming an encyclopaedia, or at least an important reference source, for the history of culture, art, and architecture in the Ottoman Empire. The virtues of this collective monograph render it of interest not only to specialists and students in Ottoman studies, but also to anyone with a knowledge of the Turkish language.

The publication of the two-volume *Osmanlı matematik literatürü tarihi* was timed to coincide with the 700-year anniversary of the Ottoman Empire. This thorough, profes-

sional reference work on the history of mathematical literature in the Ottoman Empire includes the names of 491 mathematicians who lived between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. The names of these scholars are arranged by the dates of their death. Each name is followed by brief biographical information (when available), as well as a list of works on mathematics (in Arabic script and Latin transcription) and manuscript copies arranged in chronological order by the date of their copying.

We note the accuracy with which the reference work was prepared: nearly all manuscript collections in Turkey were scrutinized, an enormous number of articles and monographs consulted, and a multitude of manuscript collection catalogues studied. Published in Turkish and issued on excellent paper, the book also features a convenient scholarly apparatus and a detailed bibliography. Thanks to these features, it is easy and pleasant to use this reference work. In Russian scholarship, one finds a close parallel in the three-volume work prepared by G. N. Matvievskaya and B. A. Rozenfeld, which is, unfortunately, not cited by the authors of the publication under review[1].

There can be no doubt that this publication of the Centre for Research on Islamic History, Art, and Culture from the series "The History of Ottoman Scholarly Literature" is a notable contribution to creating a multi-faceted history of Muslim scholarly thought.

The economic history of the Ottoman Empire in the late medieval period is the subject of a collection of articles by Prof. Halil Sahillioğlu entitled "Studies on Ottoman Economic and Social History". The author is a professional historian and economist who has for many years conducted far-ranging research on various aspects of the economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire. The eight articles gathered together here (seven in English, and one in French) reflect the most important part of his investigations. Basing himself on a wide array of diverse sources, the author examines such important questions in the history of the Ottoman Empire as the problem of monetary circulation, treasury receipts and expenditures, and the economic and social aspects of the institution of slavery. The chronological framework is from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.

Of special interest, in my view, is his work on the international circulation of money and precious metals in the history of monetary circulation within the Ottoman Empire from 1300 to 1750 (pp. 27—64). In their entirety, the studies collected in the book are interesting not only for their sources, some of which are unfamiliar to European scholars, but also for the reflection they provide of the views, positions and discussions now current in Turkish historical scholarship. In this connection, it is fruitful to compare the author's work with the research of his Russian colleagues[2]. Without doubt, the book deserves the serious attention of specialists on Turkish history, as well as all those with an interest in or connection to the history of the Ottoman Empire.

In recent decades, many European countries have encountered the problem of increasing immigration from Muslim countries, which has led to a search for means of integrating these groups into the value systems and lifestyle of Western civilization. Another aspect of this problem lies in the area of international relations. What principles will underlie relations between Western and Islamic civilization? Will the West consider Islam an ideology which aims for world domination and, in this sense, as the inheritor of the communist idea? Will Muslim countries, in turn, view Western civilization as a direct threat to their independence? Or will relations be based on mutual respect for the history, culture, and traditions of one's own and other countries? "The West and Islam: Towards a Dialogue" focuses on a single idea: the necessity and importance of inter-civilizational dialogue. It presents the views of six prominent scholars and politicians from both East and West on the issue (also, five of the 12 publications that make up the book are by Prof. E. İhsanoğlu, director of the Centre).

The book represents an attempt to outline means of solving the difficult problems of communication between civilizations through a more detailed examination of the role of Islam in history and culture, as well as a comparison of two different mentalities: Eastern and Western. The appearance of this collection cannot fail to arouse the interest of Russian specialists, as Russia today faces all of the issues noted above[3].

B. Norik

[1] G. P. Matvievskaia, B. A. Rozenfel'd, *Matematiki i astronomy musul'manskogo srednevekov'ia i ikh trudy (VIII—XVII vv.)* (Mathematicians and Astronomers of the Muslim Middle Ages and Their Works: 8th—17th Centuries). Bibliographic reference work (Moscow. 1983), i—iii.

[2] See, for example, M. S. Meïer, *Osmanskaia imperiia v XVIII v. Cherty strukturnogo krizisa* (The Ottoman Empire in the 18th Century. Aspects of Structural Crisis) (Moscow, 1991); *Osmanskaia imperiia v pervoï chetverti XVII v.* (The Ottoman Empire in the First Quarter of the 17th Century). A collection of documents and materials drawn up by H.M. Ibragimbeyli and N. S. Rashba, ed. M. S. Meyer, (Moscow, 1984).

[3] Cf. the materials of an international scholarly conference held in Zvenigorod (near Moscow) in 1992 *Islam i problemy mezhtsivilizatsionnogo vzaimodeïstviia* (Islam and Problems of Interaction between Civilizations). Theses of papers and reports (Moscow, 1992).

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Submissions