Editorial Preface

The Journal of Islamic Manuscripts, the first issue of which is herewith offered to the public, explores the fascinating world of the handwritten book in Islamic cultures. It treats all aspects of the transmission of knowledge, the numerous varieties of book culture and the materials and techniques of bookmaking in the Muslim world. It also considers disciplines related to the care and management of Islamic manuscript collections, including cataloguing, conservation and digitization.

The book has always been an important feature of Islamic civilizations, which have produced handwritten books for almost fourteen centuries: ever since the beginnings of Islam until well into our age. Islamic manuscripts come from a great part of the world, from Sub-Saharan Africa to deep into China, from Andalusia and the Balkans to the furthest corners of Southeast Asia. Millions of Islamic manuscripts in an abundance of different languages are currently preserved in thousands of public and private collections worldwide.

The manuscript literature of the Islamic world is a vast area of study. Although Islamic manuscripts have long been researched and many are well-known, the rich Islamic manuscript heritage remains almost untapped: the majority of Islamic manuscripts are lacking in complete identification, satisfactory descriptions or are yet unpublished. Many Islamic manuscripts remain inaccessible and are in danger of disintegration.

Our ambition is to provide students and scholars, librarians and collectors—in short, everyone who is interested in Islamic manuscripts—with a professional journal and a functional platform. The peer-reviewed Journal of Islamic Manuscripts maintains a high scholarly level and applies academic ethics. Its principal working languages are English, French and Arabic.

The Journal of Islamic Manuscripts is not the very first medium in which Islamic manuscripts are professionally studied and discussed. This has in fact been done since more than a century in a number of scholarly periodicals in Oriental and Islamic studies of general content. The 20th century saw the emergence of more specialized periodicals, such as Ars Islamica and Ars Orientalis, both published in Washington D.C. In the Arab world mention may be made of the journal of the Arab League, in Cairo, later in Kuwait, and the
journal of the Academy of Sciences in Damascus, to name but a few. An important initiative of the past ten years is the Iranian journal Nāma-yi Bahāristān. The short-lived Leiden journal Manuscripts of the Middle East is yet another example of a dedicated publication on manuscripts, and so is Manuscripta Orientalia, which is published in St. Petersburg and which has been going strong now for a decade and a half. And the list is far from complete.

As the names of these illustrious journals indicate, they all have a slightly different scope and orientation, but they have in common that they all address a Western academic audience of philologists and historians of religion. The Journal of Islamic Manuscripts has a larger ambition. Geographically speaking it not only encompasses Islamic manuscripts from all over the world, but it also transcends the boundaries of academic literary and historical studies by giving full attention to technical matters pertaining to conservation and maintenance, and by promoting studies that are useful for conservators and IT specialists as well. At the same time this new Journal addresses a global readership that wishes to improve the knowledge on all aspects of the rich literary and scientific legacy of the world of Islam.

The Journal of Islamic Manuscripts is published by Brill Publishers in Leiden, The Netherlands, on behalf of the Islamic Manuscript Association Limited, an international non-profit organization dedicated to protecting Islamic manuscripts and supporting those who work with them. It was formed in 2004 in response to the urgent need to address the poor preservation and inaccessibility of many Islamic manuscript collections around the world. The publication of the Journal of Islamic Manuscripts is just one of its activities. Members of the association receive a paper copy of the Journal as part of their membership privileges. The publisher, Brill’s in Leiden, well-known for its high standards in scholarly publishing, takes care of the distribution of the Journal beyond the Association’s membership, and provides for the electronic publication.

It is envisaged that the journal will be published in two issues, each about one hundred pages, per year. Authors are invited to submit original studies on Islamic manuscripts for publication to the editorial board. The editors are proud to present this publication, the first of its kind, to a global readership.

Leiden, 7 November 2010

The editors
The Osler Codex of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s Commentary on Avicenna’s al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīḥāt

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Abstract
The author describes manuscript no.478 in the collection of the Osler Library, of McGill University, which was a personal copy of the scribe Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī made from a model belonging to his teacher Burhān al-Dīn al-Ībrī (d. 743/1343). The codex, copied in 761/1360, contains a reading certificate granted to al-Abarqūhī and a copy of the certificate given to al-Ībrī by his teacher Ḥubb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), as well as glosses attributed to the latter, his teacher and his teacher’s teacher, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). This witness is a good example of the importance given to the study and transmission of philosophical texts in the 8/14th century Iran, in general, and to Ibn Sīnā’s al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīḥāt, in particular.

Keywords

The present paper deals with an 8/14th century manuscript copy of the work of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) preserved in the Osler Library, McGill

1 Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (GAL) I, 592, no. 20; S I, 816. For Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī see GAL I, 670; S I, 924. See also Muhammad Taqī Mudarris Razavi, al-Allāmah al-Khawājah Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī: Ḥayātuh wa-istāḥbūh (Mašhad: Bunyād-i Pizhūhishhā-yi Islāmī, Āstān-i Quds-i Razavi, 1419 [1998 or 1999]). There are a great many manuscripts of this text that have survived, as well as some eight lithographed editions of the text printed in India (5), Iran (2) and Turkey (1). C. Brockelmann mentions the following editions: Lucknow 1293 (GAL I, 592), Istanbul 1290, Teheran 1887, 1301, India 1281, 1318 (GAL S I, 816). Additionally, copies were printed in Lucknow in 1312/1895 and 1331/1913 respectively. The earliest edition by movable type was produced in Cairo in 1907 by al-Maḥbūbah al-Khayriyyah and later reprinted in Qum in 1403/1982-3. This edition entitled Sharḥ al-Ishārāt also has the commentary by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Other later editions include the Teheran edition made in 1957 and published with the Ishārāt and al-tanbīḥāt printed by al-Maḥbūbah al-Haydarīyyah, and the 1960 Sulaymān Dunyā Cairo edition of both the Ishārāt and the commentary by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī printed by Dār al-Maʿārif. The most recent edition was made by Ḥasan-zādah al-Āmulī in 2004 and printed in Qum by Bustān-i Kitāb.
Fig. 1  First colophon in the hand of Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī (Osler 478, fol. 81b)
University, under shelf no. 478. Propertly titled Ḥall mushkīlāt al-Ishārāt (fol. 7a, line 6), that is “The Resolution of difficult questions in the Ishārāt”, the work was intended (at least partially) as Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s response to the commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) on the Ishārāt wa-al-tanbihāt (“Remarks and Admonitions”) by Ibn Sinā (d.428/1037).

Donated by Mirza Sa’eed, an Iranian physician and admirer of Sir William Osler, the well-known Canadian physician (d. 1919), the manuscript is remarkable in a number of ways. The earliest indication of its high scholarly quality comes from a letter addressed by M. Sa’eed to W. Osler, dated Hamadan, July 13, 1913:

...Since my return to my old haunts I have been searching to find something worthy of you. I obtained at the house of an old physician & philosopher whose family had had great reputations (sic), as men of learning, an old MS. which is remarkably well preserved and the notes in it proves (sic) that it has been well studied by many...

Described in the correspondence as the “Avicenna manuscript”, this commentary by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was composed (tāswīd) in the middle of Safar 644/1246 (fol. 251a).

Description of the Codex

The manuscript was written on laid, probably local (i.e. Iranian) paper with chain lines that appear to be grouped in 2s. Folios 146 and 150 are tinted light brown (buff). Although today the manuscript is foliated in pencil and contains 258 folios, including insets and 6 flyleaves, the original codex consisted most probably of some 224 leaves. Examining the quire arrangement one discovers that the quires were signed and that each quire was a quaternion (i.e.

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2 The original brief description of this manuscript can be found in my Arabic manuscripts in the libraries of McGill University: union catalogue (Montreal, 1991): no. 40. Some of the data given in this entry is either incomplete or slightly erroneous. This article remedies this deficiency. I am very grateful to my colleague Reza Pourjavady for his assistance with the research on this MS.

3 H. Cushing, The life of Sir William Osler (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1925), 2: 368. See also Dr. Sa’eed’s letter pasted onto the front of this codex. The other earlier provenance episodes are: Sulṭān Ibrāhīm...[shāykh...[ (fol.8a), ʻabdul Huṣayn ibn Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, 1174 (fol. 98a—seal impression), and al-Jafar ibn ‘Ali (fol.251a—seal impression).

4 Next to this statement is a note: hadhā sīrat mā waqṣada bi-khāṣṣīhī fi dhikr al-musawwadah; a similar statement, partially preserved is also on fol. 255a. There appear to have been one or more revisions of the original draft (see a passage on fol. 232b).
Fig. 2  Second (final) colophon in the hand of Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī (Osler 478, fol. 251a)
made up of eight leaves) with the last quire numbered 28. Furthermore, as regards the quire signatures, the beginning of each quire is indicated by the ordinal number, e.g. الثاني, الثالث, الرابع, followed by a combination of numerals and alpha-numerical notations (العدد) in order to indicate the number of leaves in each quire—for instance، مثبث i.e. folio 2 of quire 3 (fol. 22a) or مثبث i.e. folio 8 of quire 4 (fol. 38a). Catchwords appear on the verso of each folio but in some cases they are trimmed or not visible due to excessive cropping of the textblock. The quires were sewed in red threads using two sewing stations.

The Osler codex was copied in a scholar’s hand heavily influenced by the تلقيح ductus, and featuring occasionally a left-sloping head serif on the التاء or السين. The text is rubricated throughout. The first rubricated words appear on fol. 7a (the second page of the text) and they are: قال الشيخ رضي الله عنه ابن سينا، واقول (introducing a comment by ناصر الدين الرازي) and قول له (a reference to the passage by ابن سينا). The first passage attributed to فخر الدين الرزي is introduced by the expression عادلة الفدايل للشافعي. Later on, such words as isحاب are also rubricated. The quotations from الاصحابة (introduced by قول له) end with an open circle (or loop) with a dot inside. Some words are also overlined in red.

The copy, divided into two parts and having two colophons with two dates, was transcribed by أبو القاسم بن داود الباقوري. The first colophon (fol. 81b) has the date Wednesday, the 9th of شعبان 761/1360 while the second (fol. 251a) is dated Saturday, the 10th of رمضان 761/1360. It is evident from this piece of information that it took the scribe just over a month to copy the second part of this codex.

The first colophon:

tاما القسم الأول من هذا الكتاب بفضل الله تعالى وحسن التوفيق السادة بين الشتاء 1357 و1360 ومن شعبان إلى رمضان 761 و1360 وقد قيل في نسخة منPRINTF الثابتة وال_socked في أيدي السيد برهان وابن داود وقد نقلت في جميع الإبداع والإتقان وحسن الخط والتوفيق من رحمة الله عليه وعلي الستادمان الكثيرة (fig. 1)

The second (final) colophon:

ولا قد فرغ من نسخة من نسخة الس🇦رة و обеспن النسخة أول الافاد الأخرى بالاسم يعدو به الباقوري ونسخة الله عليه وعلي السيد بن داود الباقوري (الاسم) (الاسم)
According to the first colophon, the present transcription was made from a model which belonged to the teacher of al-Abarqūhī, Burhān al-Dīn [’Ubayd Allāh al-’Ibrī] and it incorporates his glosses and his teacher's glosses—his teacher being the renowned Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311) (see below). This same colophon states that Burhān al-Dīn's copy was used by him in instruction (ifādah).

Appended to the volume is one leaf from an earlier copy of the same work made by the same Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī with a reading certificate given to him by his teacher ’Ubayd Allāh al-’Ibrī, dated the 6th of Shawwāl 740/1340 (fol. 255b). The certificate reads:

The colophon of that earlier copy (fol. 255a) is dated Rabī’ I 737/1336 and it reads:

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5 In the process of looking for information on al-’Ibrī I discovered that another copy of his was used a model for further copies, namely al-Tābirah fi ’ilm al-hayah by ’Abd al-Jabbār al-Kharaqī (d.533/1138-9) (see R. Mach and E. Ormsby, Handlist of Arabic manuscripts (new series) in the Princeton University Library (1987): no. 1388).

Furthermore, on folio 251b is inscribed a copy of a certificate granted to the above mentioned Ḥūd b. Qūṭ, al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, the outstanding pupil of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, dated Rabī‘ al-awwal, 700/1300.6

It reads as follows:


Among other notes of interest is Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s chain of transmission given on fol. 82a. It reads:

Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī
Farād al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Ḥaydar ibn al-Damād [al-Nishāpūrī]
Ṣādr al-Dīn al-Sarakhsi
Afḍal al-Dīn al-Ghīfārī
Abū al-Ḥabīb al-Lawkārī

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Fig. 3 Certificate given to Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī by Burhān al-Dīn al-ʿIbri (Osler 478, fol.255b)
al-Ḥakīm Bahmanyār
al-Shaykh al-Ra’īs Abū ‘Ali al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sinā.7

Furthermore, on fols. 251a and 255a there is a biographical note giving the dates of birth, death of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, as well as the exact location of his tomb. According to this note Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was born on the 11th of Jumādá I, 597/1201 and died on the 18th of Dhū al-Hijjah 672/1274. He was buried in Baghdad, in the Mashhad al-Kāzīmī, “adjacent to the two domes of the subterranean vault facing the library” (mujāwir al-qubbatayn bi-al-sardāb tujāha khizānat al-kutub).

Marginal Glosses and Corrections

As mentioned above, the present copy contains glosses attributed to al-Abarqūhī’s teacher Burhān al-Dīn, and his teacher Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī. According to a partially preserved marginal note on fol. 7a (outer margin) they are marked by س (ṣīn) and ق (qāf) respectively.8 The qāf is often not pointed and so can easily be mistaken for و (wāw). This same note also mentions the abbreviation ر (raʾ), a reference to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (see e.g. fol. 68a, 135b, 136a). These abbreviations are written either directly above glosses in the margins or at the end of short glosses in the interline. These glosses were subsequently gathered into a new composition from yet another anonymous copy of this work, this time dated 736/1335–6, by Muhammad ibn Mustafā al-Rūmī al-Madanī in Damascus, on the 12th of Rabīʿ I 1108/ 1696.9

There are other later glosses in the margins as well as insets. There are all together 27 numbered, and one not numbered, insets sewn into the codex. Most of these glosses appear to be quite early, possibly penned in the 8/14th century and quite a few signed with such letters as م (mīm) or ف (fā’) (see e.g. fols. 57, 60, 100, 106). At least one gloss is directly ascribed to the author: min khatt al-musammīf (fol. 33a). Most of the corrections are omissions marked with ص (for zāhir), and variants indicated by an unpointed ١ (for nuskhah).

7 The same lineage is recorded in Reza Pourjavady, “A Shi‘ī theologian and philosopher of early Safavid Iran: Najm al-Dīn Ḥājjī Maḥmūd al-Nayrizī and his writings” (Free University of Berlin, 2008): 15 (for a slightly different version see p. 4).
8 A note of a similar content but also unfortunately only partially preserved can be found in the Mashhad copy (Āstān-i Quds, Hikmat 6866).
9 Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1347.
The normal signe-de-renvoi is a mark \( \text{\textdegree} \) or \( \text{\textdegree} \) which when written quickly looks like a vertical stroke with a tick on its right hand side in the upper part (sometimes resembling the numeral \( \text{\textdegree} \) placed above or between words depending on the type of correction. The unpointed \( \text{\textdegree} \) (for nuskhah) is also used for this purpose.

One other feature of this codex is the presence of syntax clarification marks in the form of the numbers \( \text{\textdegree} \), \( \text{\textdegree} \), and \( \text{\textdegree} \), written directly below the relevant words (e.g. fol. 39a). The same system is also visible in the certificate given by Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibrī to Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī (fol. 255b). These marks are used as an aid to proper understanding of a sentence's structure. In other words, they show the student which words refer to each other.\(^{10}\)

**Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibrī**

Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibrī died either in Rajab or Dhū al-Hijjah 743/1343, i.e., three years after the date on the certificate given to Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī. His proper name (\textit{ism}) is sometimes erroneously given as 'Abd Allāh, instead of 'Ubayd Allāh. The \textit{nuskhah} al-Ibrī in most sources is vocalized as al-Ibrī. However, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī (d. 911/1505) is quoted as stating that the name should be vocalized al-'Ubrī from the word 'al-'ubrah' that is 'baṭūn min al-asd'.\(^{11}\) This \textit{nuskhah} (al-Ibrī) is unusual and might be taken by some people to mean “The Hebrew”. However, the more likely explanation is that it refers to the place Ebrā (on the Euphrates, south of Melitene (Malatya, Turkey), the birth place of the great scholar and astronomer Gregory Abū al-Faraj, known as Barhebraeus (Ibn al-Ibrī or in Syriac Bar-Ébrāyā) (d. 1286).\(^{12}\)

According to various sources 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ghānim al-Farghānī al-Ḥashimī al-Hāsinī al-Ibrī al-'Ubaydالāli al-Awsī al-Ṭabarizī, to give his full name, lived in al-Ṣultānīyeh (the capital of the Ilkhanids) and then moved to Ṭabariz, where he became the \textit{qādī} of that city and where he eventually died.\(^{13}\) According to one source, namely \textit{Tārīkh 'Ulamā' Baḥrād}, he

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\(^{10}\) See A. Gacek, \textit{Arabic manuscripts: a vademecum for readers} (Leiden, 2009): 258-259.


\(^{12}\) His original name was apparently Abū al-Faraj ibn Ḥārin al-Malāṣī. See also \textit{The biographical encyclopedia of astronomers}, ed. Thomas Hockley et al. (New York, 2007): 94-95.

\(^{13}\) Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid al-Fāssī, \textit{Tārīkh Ulamā’ Baḥrād} al-musammā Muntahhab al-nakhrār (Baghdad, 1938): 75.
Fig. 4  Colophon from another copy of Abū al-Qāsim al-Abārquḥī
(Ösler 478, fol.255a)
visited Baghdad on a number of occasions. He authored several works including commentaries on the works of ‘Abd Allāh al-Baydāwī (d. ca. 685/1286), including his Ṭawālī’ al-anwār, a well-known work on theology.

Interestingly, as mentioned above, the copy of the certificate given to al-‘Ibri by Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (fol. 251b) refers to him as Burhān al-Millah wa-al-Dīn Ubayd Allāh ibn Shams al-Millah wa-al-Din Muḥammad ibn al-Bukhārī, whereas he introduces himself in the certificate given to his pupil Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī simply as ‘Ubayd Allāh al-‘Ibri. On the other hand, Abū al-Qāsim only mentions his teacher in the two colophons by the honorific Burhān al-Dīn. The nisbah al-Bukhārī is not mentioned in any of the consulted sources. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Bukhārī is probably not the same as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mubārakshāh, known as Mīrak al-Bukhārī (or al-Bukhārāyī), who died ca. 740/1340 and authored a good number commentaries on works in the fields of philosophy and astronomy, including a commentary on Hikmat al-‘ayn by Najm al-Dīn Alī al-Kātibī (d.675/1276).

Burhān al-Dīn no doubt had many students. Apart from our Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī three other names should be mentioned: 1. ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Ardabīlī al-Tabrīzī (d. 746/1346) who studied philosophy and logic under him; 2. ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Matbarī (the teacher of al-Fāsī); and 3. Ibrāhīm ibn Muhammad al-Bājjī (?), who read Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī’s Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk in his presence.

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14 al-Fāsī, Ta’rīkh ‘Ulāma’ Baghdad, 75.
15 GAL II, 254 and SII, 271. See also a copy of Sharḥ al-Tawālī’ (Princeton, Yahuda 3082) where the author’s name is given as: Qādī al-Burhān ‘Ubayd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Baydalī al-Sharīf al-Farghānī qādī Tabrīz al-mā’ruf bi-al-‘Ibri.
16 GAL II, 275; SII, 297.
17 GAL I, 613; SII, 847. Other commentaries are: a commentary on Manār al-anwār fī ṭiḥl al-fiqh by Hāfiz al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d.710/1310) (GAL II, 196; SII, 264), a commentary on Hidāyat al-fikmān by Abhār al-Dīn al-Abharī (d.663/1265) (GAL SI, 839), a commentary on al-Tāzh Nawb fī ibn al-hay’ah by ‘abd al-Jabār al-Kharaju (d.533/1138-9) (GAL SI, 863), and a commentary on al-Mulākkhas fī al-hay’ah by Maḥmūd al-Jaghmīnī (d. after 618/1221) (GAL, SI, 865). He also penned a book recommendation (taqžīr) for Rashīd al-Dīn’s al-Tawdīḥ fī al-Rahḥīthah (see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, “Qutb al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (d.710/1311) as a teacher”, 22).
19 Ta’rīkh ‘ulama’ Baghdad, 75.
20 Berlin, Petermann I, 674.
Abū al-Qāsim al-Abarqūhī

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥasan al-Abarqūhī, whose full name as given in various places in this codex is al-Ḥasan ibn Dā‘ud ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abd al-Rashid al-Abarqūhī al-’Alawī, copied this text a number of times. As mentioned earlier, the present copy contains a leaf from an earlier manuscript dated Rabī‘ I, 737/1336 and executed in al-Madrasah al-Ṣāḥibiyah al-ʿAzamiyah al-Rashidiyah (situated either in Tabriz or in Damascus). Another copy was made by him from the same model on the 5th of Rajab 754/1353 in Damascus, above the vestibule of the Great Mosque under the minaret of the bridegroom (fawqa dihliz al-jāmi‘ taht ma’dhanat al-’arūs) (for the first part—al-qism al-awwal) and in the Khānaqāh al-Sumaysātīyah (the second part) also in Damascus.21 This manuscript also includes a copy of the certificate given to Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibrī by Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī.22 Here in the colophon Abū al-Qāsim mentions another part of his name al-Bahmazādhī, referring to his ancestry (maḥṭīd). A reference to his origins is also given in a copy Abū al-Qāsim made of the Muhākāmāt bayna shurrāḥ al-Ishārat attributed to Ibn Muḥāfīz al-Hillī (d. 726/1325), which features another of his names, the nisbah Arānī. This copy, now preserved in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Damad Ibrahim Paşa 817) was made by al-Abarqūhī on the 22nd of Rabī‘ I, 740/1339, that is, just a few months before he was granted his certificate by his teacher Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibrī (see above). The nisbah Arānī is also mentioned in another manuscript penned by him, namely, Sharḥ Hikmat al-ʿAyn by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mubāraksh al-Bukhārī (d. after 733/1333), preserved in the Majlis Library (Kitābkhānah va Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī (no. 5223), and copied in Rabī‘ I, 754/1353 in the above mentioned Khānaqāh al-Sumaysātīyah. Furthermore, Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibrī refers to him in his certificate as Tāj al-Millah wa-al-Dīn. The nisbah Abarqūhī, the birth place of Abū al-Qāsim, refers to Abarqūh, a small town on the road from Shirāz to Yazd, often mentioned in the history of the Muṣaffarids in the 8/14th century.

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22 Yet another manuscript based on Burhān al-Dīn’s copy and containing a transcript of the certificate is preserved in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Fazil Ahmed Paşa 877.
Fig. 5  Copy of the certificate given to Burhān al-Dīn al-‘Ībri by Qūṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (Osler 478, fol.251b)
In Conclusion

From the above evidence it is clear that this copy of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s work was al-Abarqūhī’s personal copy, one that he made for himself and used for instruction on the basis of the copy that he may have inherited from his teacher Burhān al-Dīn al-Ibri. The earlier copy may have disintegrated and this may explain why he kept its last leaf with the colophon and on its back the certificate of reading granted to him by al-Ibri. The use of the syntax clarification marks most certainly points in that direction. This manuscript is an excellent example of the teaching, scholarship and transmission of philosophical texts in 8/14th century Iran.
The Harvard University Library Islamic Heritage Project: Challenges in Managing Large-Scale Digitization of Islamic Manuscripts

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Project Manager, Digital Lab, Harvard Law School Library; formerly Open Collections Program Manager

Abstract
The Islamic Heritage Project (IHP) is a collaboration of the Harvard University Library Open Collections Program (OCP) and the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Alsaud Islamic Studies Program at Harvard University. The project focused upon Islamic manuscripts and rare books and aims at making unique or difficult-to-obtain works freely available and easily accessible worldwide. Author deals with the strategies by which a large-scale project as this one was set up, and by which considerations this project was managed in a sustainable way. The article highlights key decisions pertaining to selection, cataloging, conservation, and imaging specifications for manuscripts, as well as the local infrastructure of systems and services used in the production workflows for this reasonably large-scale project.

Keywords
Islamic manuscripts, text digitization, digitisation, collection development open access, Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal

The Islamic Heritage Project (IHP) is a collaboration of the Harvard University Library Open Collections Program (OCP) and the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Islamic Studies Program at Harvard University. Supported by a generous gift from Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal, the project focused upon Islamic manuscripts and rare books to make unique or difficult-to-obtain works freely available and easily accessible worldwide.

Undertaken with the purposes of opening access to the renowned collections of the Harvard libraries, to preserving historic works, and to creating

1 Open Collections Program Manager, Harvard University Library (schapman@law.harvard.edu). Text as presented at the Fifth Islamic Manuscript Conference, Cambridge 24-26 July 2009; statistics updated to reflect final numbers for project. Special thanks to Recep Goktas, Project Cataloger and Selection Assistant, and Susan Pyzynski, Associate Librarian of Houghton Library for Technical Services, for their important contributions to this paper.

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important new scholarly resources, IHP digitized over 156,000 pages of manuscripts and published materials and 58 maps.

This paper highlights key decisions pertaining to selection, cataloging, conservation, and imaging specifications for manuscripts, as well as the local infrastructure of systems and services used in the production workflows for this reasonably large-scale project.

Project Statistics

Following a pilot phase, IHP’s production period, from December 2007 through June 2009, yielded these totals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catalog Records</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Pages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Published Materials</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle Eastern Division, Widener Library</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>258</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard Law School Library</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Houghton Library</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>3,968</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Subtotal published materials</em></td>
<td>277</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>84,606</td>
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<th>Catalog Records</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Manuscripts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Houghton Library (250 call numbers/physical items*)</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>60,456</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Isma’ili literature, manuscripts digitized from microfilm</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7,181</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard Law School Library*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,509</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard Art Museums</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,217</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Subtotal manuscripts</em></td>
<td>308</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>71,363</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Catalog Records</th>
<th>Titles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Maps</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Harvard Map Collection</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Project Totals</em></td>
<td>643</td>
<td>678</td>
<td>156,039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All manuscripts and rare books were reviewed by conservators in the Harvard University Library Weissman Preservation Center, with 153 items (59.5%) receiving conservation treatment.
Launched on 9 October 2009, the IHP web site, <http://ocp.hul.harvard.edu.ihp>, enables users to search and browse a wide selection of Harvard’s holdings, representing numerous:

- **Regions**: including Saudi Arabia, North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and South, Southeast, and Central Asia;
- **Languages**: primarily Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, and Persian, but also Urdu, Chagatai, Gujarati, Malay, Indic languages in Khojki script, and several Western languages; and
- **Subjects**: including religious texts and commentaries; Sufism; history, geography, law, the sciences (astronomy, astrology, mathematics, medicine); poetry and literature; rhetoric, logic, and philosophy; calligraphy, dictionaries and grammar, as well as biographies and autobiographical works.

Users may additionally discover these digitized holdings (represented by more than 640 catalog records) by searching HOLLIS, the Harvard Libraries catalog, or any OAI-PMH harvesting site, such as Google, which may harvest XML data from the IHP’s open “virtual collection” data provider.

**Selection**

Harvard’s primary repositories for Islamic manuscripts are the Houghton Library, the Middle Eastern Division of Widener Library, and the Harvard Art Museum/Arthur M. Sackler Museum. Each contributed to IHP. We estimate that Houghton alone houses 1,200 volumes representing 2,000 works. So digitizing all of Harvard’s holdings was well beyond the scope of this project.

In part due to the very limited descriptive information in the existing handlists and few catalog records at the outset of the project, selectors were not charged to apply specific criteria to cull the “best” items from the collection. Instead, their primary consideration—applied with item-in-hand review—was to single out items of interest to scholars and students.

Project selectors, sometimes joined by project faculty advisors, reviewed all viable holdings at Houghton Library to identify candidate items that, above all, were interesting in their own right and/or representative of the collection’s

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**Notes**


3 Highly fragmentary materials, poor-condition objects not yet stabilized to permit handling for selection review and cataloging, and especially large volumes are examples of the types of materials deemed not viable for production digitization.
breadth of language, region, date, subject matter, handwriting, book arts, and other attributes.

In this manner, IHP staff identified several hundred candidates for digitization that possess research value, because the manuscript was found to be a work that is:

- rare or inaccessible: items not published or available only through rare, obscure, unreliable prints, or prints otherwise difficult to locate or use, e.g., MS Arab 357, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2913966>, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:3120084>, and <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:3120085>

- an autograph copy (be it fair copy or draft), or a copy copied from the autograph, e.g., MS Arab 405, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2770038>

- a very early copy from the author’s lifetime or shortly thereafter, e.g., MS Arab 342, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2480960>

- of interesting provenance (having been copied, studied or owned by a famous scholar or other important historical figure), e.g., MS Turk 48, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2902831>

- annotated with interesting notes, e.g., MS Arab 218, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2015873>

- of artistic value, with miniatures or other illustrations, illuminations, beautiful calligraphy, or exceptional binding—even if the text is well-known and widely available, e.g., MS Persian 78, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2788314>

- of a subject supporting research in a given genre or academic field that would not have otherwise been represented in the project.

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4 MS Arab 218 contains four works all by al-‘Ajlūnī, the great Damascene hadith scholar of the 18th century. Two of the works are in al-‘Ajlūnī’s handwriting, with his marginal corrections. The other two are copied a short time after the author’s death. The manuscript was owned by several members of well-established scholarly families of Damascus, and includes their notes of ownership, readership, and other notes. In sum, this manuscript exhibits many of IHP’s nominal attributes of research value.

5 Ms Persian 78 is the highlight of the illuminated manuscripts in IHP. It is a copy of well-known Shāhnāmeh, an ancient Persian epic story copied and illuminated in Lahore, in today’s Pakistan. It is an excellent specimen of the Kashmiri school of illumination and calligraphy. The manuscript remained intact and is in excellent condition. Ms Persian 63, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2041390>, and Ms Persian 24, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2034392>, exhibit excellent calligraphy and illumination of Mughal period of India.
One will also find in IHP digitized versions of fairly common books, available in multiple prints. Already being used in Harvard classes, these texts of the Islamic literary tradition may now be made available to any faculty and students also wishing to study the manuscript tradition.

Chronologically, most of IHP’s manuscripts date from the 16th to 19th centuries from the Middle East, Ottoman Turkey, India, Central Asia, and North Africa. Some are earlier, including a collection of poems of al-Mu‘izzī, dated 1156 of the Common Era. IHP digitized three 13th century manuscripts, including a legal manuscript of *al-Hidāya* (Book of Guidance), and one manuscript from the 10th century CE, *al-fajr al-thalāth wa-al-arba‘i‘un min Sharh Kitāb Sībawayh*. Several manuscripts are from the early 20th century, including MS Turk 48, a manuscript of personal correspondence of a Young Turk with various like-minded intellectuals while he was living in Geneva, Switzerland in 1900-1901.

Taken together, IHP’s manuscripts constitute a record of the diverse artistic traditions, literary cultures, learning traditions and religious interpretations of the pre-modern Islamic world.

Although a selection rationale was applied—through (sometimes cursory) item-in-hand review by specialists—IHP would not claim to have codified a single, definitive list of criteria that would be generally transferable to other digitization initiatives. Each participant in the selection process brings a unique perspective to the assessment of “research value,” and this subjective analysis is a critical component to decision making that considers may variables. Carol Mandel’s statement at an RLG symposium on selection for digitization in 1995 is apt today, “Building an effective team to select and refine a digital project is critical to its success.”

Fifty-eight maps (70 sheets) were selected from the Harvard Map Collection with an emphasis upon rarity and research value, and, of course, to depict the geographical regions associated with IHP’s texts. Approximately half of these maps were also selected for their amenability to georeferencing. Specialists in the Map Collection selected a few maps from each region, and of various scales, and will be adding 29 of the IHP digitized maps to the Harvard Map Collection.

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6 The manuscript is from the Seljukid period, and was copied and illuminated in Tabriz, a city in modern Iran. As noted in the catalog record for this manuscript, doubts have been raised as to its authenticity and its date. In this case, broadening the inquiry to determine whether a manuscript is a high-quality forgery served as the primary rationale to create a high-quality photographic facsimile.

Geospatial Library. HGL provides tools that enable users to view and study maps both as individual images and with other “data layers” encoded by longitude and latitude.8

Mandates for Digitization

Consistent with practices applied in other OCP initiatives, the overarching digitization mandates in IHP were to generate digital objects that are open, useful, and persistent; and to promote discovery of these items via a project/collection web site, the Harvard Libraries catalog, and Internet search engines.

– Objects are characterized as “open” when they are in the public domain and employ metadata standards and protocols that make them easy to locate and freely available to all with an Internet connection.
– They are rendered useful by applying open standards for structural metadata and file formats in digital imaging, and by taking care to ensure that each component of the object—e.g., page image for texts, sheet for maps—is a complete and accurate reproduction of the original “in hand” (not a simulated restored version).
– Surrogate page images, structural and technical metadata, and associated catalog records are made persistent by storing data in well-managed repositories.

Cataloging

The project catalogers10 followed guidelines in the Houghton Library Single-Item Manuscript Manual to produce full-level records for each manuscript. These guidelines mandate use of AACR2/APP, MARC 21, LCNAF, LCSH, AAT, and the application of ALA-LC Romanization tables.

The primary goal was to create modern online bibliographic records through original cataloging and updating of existing records to facilitate item-level discovery of each digitized manuscript. A second, equally valuable objective was

10 IHP employed two catalogers. The first worked part time from December 2007 to September 2008; the second worked full time from October 2008 through June 2009.
to improve the organization and description of the manuscripts housed in the Houghton and Widener libraries that were not digitized in this project.

The majority of works selected for IHP were previously described only in printed catalogs or checklists of uncataloged manuscripts. About half of the pre-existing records for Arabic manuscripts (MS Arab classification) in HOLLIS were corrected and updated, even if not “fully cataloged” to meet the standard applied to digitized items. In addition, approximately 40% of the Arabic manuscripts in the MS Arab SM classification, which were previously identified only on handlists, now appear in HOLLIS, with greater consistency in the use of classification scheme.

By contrast, Harvard’s collection of Ismaili literature in Indic languages, comprised of manuscripts and published works, was fully analyzed and described in Ali A. Asani’s *The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages: a Descriptive Catalog and Finding Aid*. Project catalogers were not only able to rely upon this text to create item-level catalog records, but, with Professor Asani’s permission, IHP was also able to digitize the entire *Descriptive Catalog* as an on line reference work one can also consult for full descriptions of original materials. (When viewing Ismaili literature from the IHP web site, one will encounter grayscale images, as these fragile works were digitized from black-and-white preservation microfilm.) Among the 27 Ismaili manuscripts digitized in IHP, one will find the oldest work in Harvard’s collection, dating to 1778, MS Ism K 22, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3: FHCL:3153251>.

The end result of the IHP cataloging effort is that over 330 Islamic manuscript titles are now available on line with item-level discovery, and several hundred titles in the Houghton Library, not yet digitized, are more accessible for use at Harvard and amenable to future digitization. These records will need only to be enhanced with vernacular scripts and additional subject classification or notes.

Cataloging challenges included the capability to read the dozen languages and several scripts present in source materials, as well as to record author, title, and date information in both transliterated and vernacular scripts whenever feasible. IHP achieved efficiencies in this workflow by using OCLC’s transliteration tool to convert transliterated text into Arabic, for subsequent copying and pasting of the term into the Aleph client used for cataloging.

It was also at this stage of the workflow, prior to conservation review, that the project cataloger and processing assistant ensured that source materials were complete, and in the correct order. An important component of this “collation” activity included the preparation of electronic metadata work-
sheets, which we delivered to the imaging specialists to automate the production of “leaf-node” encoded objects that would be presented to users via Harvard’s Page Delivery Service. (See screenshot in Appendix)

With the development of software that could build structural metadata from page images—i.e., to recognize and mark up layout and structure—greater efficiencies might be possible by moving this work to the post-digitization phase. Even then, however, the technician would need to have fluency in languages and knowledge of manuscripts organization to perform quality control, particularly if done without the original manuscript in hand.

**Conservation**

As noted above, mandates for digitization influence conservation protocols. In this case, conservation reviews and treatments were employed to produce complete digital reproductions without compromising the integrity of the original manuscripts. Thus, conservation protocols not only served to stabilize IHP-selected items for cataloging, storage, and future use, but also to facilitate production imaging with the inherent limitations of today’s state-of-the-art photography workstations (cameras, cradles, and copy stands).

For projects of IHP’s size, a question deserving of in-depth analysis—and potentially a topic of a future publication from a participant in Harvard’s project—is, “How do conservators balance the demands of a large digital project with the needs of the objects when determining treatment protocols?”

Conservators in the Harvard University Library Weissman Preservation Center (WPC) reviewed the condition of each manuscript from Houghton and Widener Libraries prior to digitization. (Manuscripts from the Harvard Art Museum were reviewed and treated by museum conservators according to similar protocols and challenges.) In Harvard’s “conventional” special collections digitization workflows, conservation review and treatment precede cataloging, which precedes digital imaging. In IHP, however, conservation review followed cataloging and preparation, as the conservators needed to rely upon staff familiar with Islamic manuscripts to determine whether pages (folios) were in the correct sequence and orientation.

Project selectors therefore took care to exclude items in such fragile condition that they could not be safely handled either for the cataloging and preparation workflow. They also included items they considered would benefit from preservation to extend their life and use. Although preservation was never used as a single criterion for selection, it was a relevant factor in a few cases
when selectors encountered “important enough” items they believed to be deserving of the opportunity to have an extended life through imaging.\textsuperscript{11}

Of the 257 manuscripts selected from the Houghton, Harvard Law School, and Widener libraries, WPC conservators judged 104 to be in suitable condition for imaging, and 153 (59.5\%) as needing treatment. The inherent nature of the Islamic manuscripts selected for IHP presented a number of conservation challenges: the sensitive media, thin burnished paper, and delicate binding structures were vulnerable to damage during photography and other stages of workflow without stabilization. In several cases, fragments were detached to reveal text on the original page, so the photographer could be permitted to photograph manuscript pages and subsequent revisions.

Two part-time IHP project conservation technicians assisted WPC conservators in treating materials to keep pace with the digital imaging production schedule.

**Imaging**

To produce *useful* digital reproductions, IHP instituted practices to digitize entire works, cover-to-cover, excepting spines of bindings unless these were deemed by curators to be intrinsic to the representation of the source item. Page images were photographed in full color, at 1:1 scale, to yield digital masters supporting delivery requirements for reading on screen and in print and, if mandated by users in the future, facilitating conversion to machine-readable text via proven Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technologies and/or keying.

Specifications for full-text and for page image “profiles”—specification of file format, color profiles, compression, and technical metadata—were IHP’s most important strategic decisions regarding volume and costs.

Had the project partners decided to make full-text searching one of the baseline components of digitization, IHP would have significantly reduced the volume of material that could be made freely available given the project budget. There would have been cost components for infrastructure development—for in-house systems and staffing or for outsourcing—in addi-

\textsuperscript{11} Consider, for example, Maydānī, Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, d. 1124, al-Sāmī fī al-asāmī, 1251. MS Arab 16, Houghton Library, <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:2254354>. Published a number of times, this manuscript had some interest for inclusion due to its early date and as an object of historical interest because it was copied in Konya during its heyday as capital of Anatolian Saljuks. The presence of faded ink throughout the manuscript motivated the selectors to show the item to conservators, who judged the item to be safe for imaging.
tion to unit costs for producing quality machine-readable representations of each page. Particularly for Islamic manuscripts, which were not machine printed, IHP presents a useful set of data to measure usability and user satisfaction if presented with good catalog records, page images, and structural metadata to facilitate object navigation and citation.

Regarding the choices of digital image formats and versions, IHP managers moved from a two-version, two-format model (TIFF and JP2) in the pilot phase to a single profile for production. The combined file size of an uncompressed TIFF master plus a very moderate lossy compressed JP2 (JPEG 2000) image for delivery averaged 56 MB per source page. The file size of a single lossless compressed JP2 image, usable as both master and deliverable in Harvard’s digital library environment, averaged 13.6 MB. Among other virtues, this four-fold reduction in file size, with no reduction to image quality, yields annual savings of thousands of dollars for digital preservation services. (During the production phase of this project, Harvard’s Digital Repository service assessed an annual fee of $2.50 per GB for managed storage and digital preservation services.)

It is also worth noting that the relatively simplified digitization workflows in this project relied upon partnering with service providers that could bundle a number of key services, not just provide quality production digital photography capabilities. At present, only Harvard’s in-house studios—in the Harvard Art Museum and the Harvard College Library—can provide the range of services to accept appropriately prepared batches of source material, then routinely produce and deposit to a preservation repository appropriately named, formatted, and structured page-turned objects. IHP was extremely well served by studios offering secure storage, environmental control, safe materials handling, photography and image processing, XML metadata production, and deposit of repository-compliant objects to Harvard’s Digital Repository Service.

Digital Library Infrastructure

The application of international standards for formats and vocabularies notwithstanding, digitization practices are highly localized. Products must be designed in fit-for-purpose fashion according to the “ingest” requirements of repositories for objects and metadata.

This was true in IHP’s design and implementation, as all project metadata records and digital objects were destined respectively for the centrally managed cataloging system (Aleph/HOLLIS) and the Digital Repository Service (DRS) for preservation and delivery. One may consult documentation on
these systems at the Harvard University Library (HUL) Office for Information Systems web site.\textsuperscript{12}

The HUL repository, discovery, and delivery systems and services used for IHP include:

- Aleph—for storage, management, and editing of catalog records
- HOLLIS—Harvard Libraries catalog for discovery of items in all formats: original print, microfilm, digital surrogate; and as the source of MARC metadata, as mapped by MODS, to the virtual collection database behind the IHP web site
- NRS—name resolution service for persistent naming of all digital objects
- DRS—digital repository service for object preservation and access to delivery services
- Virtual Collection (VC)—a locally managed XML collection of MODS records, open to harvesters using the OAI-PMH protocol, to facilitate searching/discovery of IHP materials via the IHP web site (examples of harvesting sites include Google, OAIster)
- PDS—the page delivery service, which requires XML documents in a Metadata Encoding Transmission Standard (METS)-compliant profile, for presenting logical, navigable, and citable multi-page documents
- IDS and HGL—the image delivery service and the Harvard Geospatial Library for delivery of images of maps and georeferenced data respectively

Given the scale of IHP and, in particular, its inclusion of many languages and scripts, this project led to system enhancements to ensure that materials could be easily discoverable and properly represented by delivery services. Prior to IHP, it was not possible in the Harvard METS profile and its associated Page Delivery Service environment to represent “bi-directional” text. As a result of a system enhancement, it is now possible to represent both transliterated (left-to-right) and Arabic (right-to-left) characters in the XML component presented to users as the “citation label” containing author, title, publication, and holdings information. (See Appendix)

While system development influenced the timing of some metadata creation activities and the launch of the IHP web site, service availability played an important role in moving from planning to production phases for selection, cataloging, and imaging. IHP exhibited a number of specific challenges that illustrate the general point that projects requiring simultaneous creation of content and development infrastructure require ample time. These challenges

\textsuperscript{12} Harvard University Library Office for Information Systems, <http://hul.harvard.edu/ois>.
included: limited space which inhibited expansion of imaging studios; compe-
tition from existing commitments to other projects (for conservation, imag-
ing, and, not least, doctoral dissertation research); and a relocation, and
suspension of work, of one of the project’s two digital imaging studios midway
in the project.

Important summary findings from IHP are that experienced catalogers
with an understanding and appreciation of the Islamic manuscript tradition,
special collections conservation services, and bundled capabilities for studio
photography and structural metadata production comprise the essential core
services to support “production digitization” of manuscripts, rare books, and
other special collections materials.
Appendix

Screenshot of Manuscript, MS Harvard, Houghton Library, Arab 342, f. 1v, as viewed in Harvard's Page Delivery Service, at this URL: <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/11772623?n=6&imagesize=1200&jp2Res=.25>

The first image of the sequence can be viewed from: <http://pds.lib.harvard.edu/pds/view/11772623>

This is an HTML presentation of a navigable and citable—but not full-text searchable—manuscript comprised of a single METS (Metadata Encoding Transmission Standard) XML file and individual JP2 “page images” stored in Harvard’s Digital Repository Service.

Note the bi-directional presentation of transliterated and Arabic “citation metadata,” at the top of the screen. This citation element replicates data in the bibliographic record (accessible via the “Related Links” button.)

The left pane presents leaf “node” labels that serve as navigation (go-to-page) buttons and accurate descriptions of the parts of the work that would otherwise be represented only by the sequence number of the page image being viewed. HCL Imaging Services, the project’s digitization studio, used a semi-automated process, depending upon full collation of items prior to digital photography, to generate this important component of structural metadata.
The Perils of Catalogues

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Abstract
One of the most important tasks of historians of scholarship is to ascertain the date at which certain texts became available to the public and, if possible, also to establish who actually owned them and when and how they were collected. Readers of manuscripts are in continuous debt to the compilers of catalogues. However, mistakes in catalogues can have a long life and they can lead generations of later researchers into error. This is illustrated by a small group of manuscripts which, owing to catalogues, has, for centuries (because of catalogues!), been associated with Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), whereas they actually belonged to Franciscus Raphelengius (1539-1597). The author also discusses the study of Arabic in Northern Europe during the Renaissance.

Keywords
Catalogues, Arabic manuscripts, Hebrew manuscripts, Arabic studies, Arabic printing, J.J. Scaliger, Franciscus Raphelengius

Sooner or later most scholars realise how indebted they are to the compilers of library catalogues. Attributions of which they knew nothing, books whose existence they barely suspected, editions and dates altogether new to them suddenly come to light and further their research accordingly. But they are also highly dependent on cataloguers, and however advanced the techniques of cataloguing may be today, the catalogues of the past could turn out to be thoroughly misleading. One of the most important tasks of historians of scholarship is to ascertain the date at which certain texts became available to the public and, if possible, also to establish who actually owned them and when and how they were collected. For this purpose the catalogues of early library holdings can be useful instruments, but the frequently arbitrary manner in which early books and manuscripts, and most especially those in eastern languages, were listed, means that they can lead generations of later researchers into error.

The oriental collections of the Leiden University Library provide one striking example of such a case. If we glance at the shelf marks of the early oriental
acquisitions they nearly all seem to have formed part of the library of Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), who arrived in Leiden in the summer of 1593 and bequeathed his eastern manuscripts to the university at his death in 1609. But did he really own all the codices which bear the slip of paper on which is printed ‘Ex legato illustris viri Josephi Scaligeri? What about other contemporary orientalists who were at Leiden and who were quite obviously at one point in possession of some of the more remarkable manuscripts apparently in the Scaliger collection? Had they generously donated their books to the great scholar, or had their collections been acquired by the library at a different date? This was a problem which I endeavoured to solve and to which, thanks to the help of the librarians of the oriental reading room, I managed to give a partial answer.1

The collection which interested me was that of Franciscus Raphelengius (1539-1597), the son-in-law, and for many years the employee, of the French printer living in Antwerp Christophe Plantin (1514-1580). Raphelengius, who had long been interested in eastern languages—particularly in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic—came from Antwerp to the Northern Netherlands in 1586 to run the Leiden branch of Plantin’s firm. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed professor of Hebrew at the university. Not only did he produce some of the first books to be printed in Hebrew in the Northern Netherlands but he had Arabic types cut and became the main printer of Arabic in northern Europe. Although his professorship remained in Hebrew, he worked mainly on Arabic, and, at his death in 1597, left what was to be the first Arabic-Latin dictionary to be printed when it was finally issued by his sons in 1613. A pupil of the French Arabist Guillaume Postel (1510-1581), a friend of some of the leading Biblical scholars such as Andreas Masius (1514-1573) and Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie (1541-1598) who had edited the Syriac version of the Scriptures published in Plantin’s polyglot Bible, the Biblia Regia or Antwerp Polyglot which came out in 1572, Raphelengius was generally regarded as one of the finest orientalists of his day. He took with him from Antwerp to Leiden a number of interesting manuscripts, in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic, and added to his collection while he was in the North.

In 1593 Raphelengius was joined at Leiden by Scaliger, who was himself interested in Arabic and was also engaged in drawing up an Arabic-Latin gloss-
One of Van Raphelingen's parchment Qur'an fragments (Leid.Cod.Or. 228, f. 1a) showing the label with the mistaken Scaliger provenance of the manuscript.
sary. For this purpose Raphelengius lent Scaliger his most precious manuscript, Leid.Cod.Or. 231, a Latin-Arabic dictionary probably compiled in Toledo in the twelfth century by those Mozarabs (or Christians living under Muslim rule) who, after the Christian conquest of the city in 1085, had to familiarise themselves with Latin. The manuscript had originally been owned by Postel who had acquired it in 1532. In 1569 Postel had given it to Masius to lend to Plantin in Antwerp for use by Guy Le Fèvre de la Boderie, and subsequently Postel had allowed Raphelengius to keep it. Forming the basis of Raphelengius’ Arabic dictionary, the Mozarabic glossary was also one of the works that Scaliger consulted and used most frequently for his own Arabic-Latin wordlist.

Raphelengius owned other manuscripts of interest. He had some fine North African fragments of the Qur’an, Leid.Cod.Or. 228 and Leid.Cod.Or. 251, both dating from about the twelfth century, as well as Leid.Cod.Or. 241, probably written early in the sixteenth century. The last of these had once belonged to Rutger Rescius (c. 1497-1545), a friend of Erasmus and professor of Greek at the university of Louvain, and had then been given to Masius who must have transmitted it to Raphelengius. It was from the Maghribi script of Leid.Cod.Or. 251, moreover, that Raphelengius copied some of the Arabic characters he had cut, and the manuscript still retains smoke-proof impressions of the characters in the margins and on the flyleaves. There was Leid.Cod.Or.222, a manuscript, with Turkish paraphrases, of one of the main twelfth-century Arabic legal commentaries. Discovered by the Spaniards among the spoils of the battle of Lepanto in 1571, it had been taken to Rome, and was subsequently acquired by Raphelengius. A further codex of considerable importance for the history of Arabic studies in Europe is Leid.Cod.Or. 235. This contains two grammatical texts, al-Muqaddima al-kāfiya and al-Ājurrumiyya, which had been especially copied for the Italian Hebraist Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532) in December 1518 and January 1519 when Egidio, who had been elected cardinal in 1517, was in Barcelona as the legate of Pope Leo X to discuss an alliance against the Turks with the young king of Spain, the future emperor Charles V. This manuscript too had probably been given to Raphelengius by Postel who could have borrowed it from Egidio’s collection at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome but failed to return it, and it offers yet another example of a misleading statement by a cataloguer. The Leiden Arabist R.P.A. Dozy, one of the compilers of the six-volume
The flyleaf of al-Mahbūbī’s *Wiqāya* (Leid.Cod.Or. 222, f. 1a) showing the account of the Lepanto provenance of 1571, and also the label with the mistaken Scaliger provenance of the manuscript.
Catalogus codicum orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae which appeared between 1851 and 1877, read the Arabic transcription of Egidius as Octavius.

Besides a late fourteenth-century collection of medical texts mainly translated from Arabic into Hebrew and including four previously unknown works attributed to Galen (Leid.Cod.Or. 4719), Raphelengius had among his Hebrew manuscripts Leid.Cod.Or. 4725, a twelfth-century Hebrew Psalter with fine illuminated initials. After belonging to John of Sturrey, a precentor of St Augustine’s, it had been in the library of St Augustine’s Abbey in Canterbury. It had then been removed by that ardent book collector Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and, after his death in 1447, it joined other of Duke Humphrey’s manuscripts in the library of King’s College, Cambridge. The last owner before Raphelengius seems to have been St Thomas More’s son-in-law William Roper (1498-1578). Its presence in Raphelengius’ library suggests that he might have acquired it on a trip to England.

Although Scaliger consulted these and other manuscripts belonging to Raphelengius, he never owned them. After Raphelengius’ death in 1597 they remained the property of his heirs. We know this because the dozen oriental codices, which are not mentioned in the early catalogues of the Scaliger collection drawn up in 1612 and 1623, all appeared in an auction catalogue when Raphelengius’ surviving sons, Franciscus the Younger and Justus, had them sold by Elzevier in Leiden on 5 October 1626. So what happened? We still do not know exactly when the Leiden library acquired them, whether it was at the auction itself or later. The librarian at the time, Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), who may well have placed the Raphelengius manuscripts in the bookcase containing the Scaliger bequest, did not include them in the catalogues he compiled in 1636 and 1640. Only over thirty years later, in 1674, were they listed in the catalogue made by Frederic Spanheim the Younger, but under the ‘Manuscripti legati Scaligeriani’. In the summer of 1741 David van Royen, who was appointed interim librarian for three months, stuck into them the slip of paper with the words ‘Ex legato illustris viri Josephi Scaligeri’. This sealed their fate for almost two and a half centuries.
Bringing the Maqrīzī in a Better State. The Restoration and Binding of MS Leiden Or. 14.533

Katinka Keus and Jeff Clements

Abstract
One of the major acquisitions in the last decades of Leiden University Library is a large fragment (more than five hundred leaves) of the autograph copy of what is commonly called Kitāb al-Muqaffā, the biographical dictionary by the Egyptian historian Ahmad b. 'Ali al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). The material entered the Leiden library in a fearful state, and the two authors, who are paper conservators in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, have brought this manuscript back into a condition which makes it possible that it is consulted by scholarly readers. They discuss their options and their choices during the conservation process, and they describe how they brought the manuscript in a better state. They add a full conspectus of the physical composition of the manuscript as it was.

Keywords
al-Maqrizi, conservation, manuscripts

During the autumn of 1995 we were asked by Dr. Jan Just Witkam, the then Curator of the Oriental collections in the Library of the University of Leiden, Leiden, The Netherlands, to examine collection accession number Or. 14.533 with a view to making the manuscript accessible for study and to conserve as much as possible of its original character.

The manuscript is a unique document dating from the 15th century AD and is the author's own draft copy of a work that was in fact never completed.1

1 The present text is a recently reworked version of the restoration report of November 1, 1996, which is kept together with the manuscript. We are grateful to Dr. Arnoud Vrolijk, curator of Oriental manuscripts and printed books in Leiden University Library, for providing us with scans of the photographs in our original report. Not all of these have been reproduced in this article.

Except for a number of missing leaves, the volume—not the text!—can be considered as complete, although this is not so easy to determine. The reason for this is that the manuscript was continually added to at the time of writing and bibliographically speaking there is no obvious method of construction. Typically there are only 24 sheets with a centre fold (bi-folio), however three of these, pages 74, 257 and 438 are single leaves with a fold, or 'hook' or stub. All other leaves are single. Further, quite a number of leaves are different in format, in colour, and in paper quality. Clearly, numerous alterations and additions had taken place, thus it was impossible to observe any rational system of pagination. The pagination by which we consider the volume almost complete is probably of a later date, as the author would not have had a use for page numbers on a text which he was continually expanding.

The entire manuscript was presented to us rather like a huge pack of cards, a piled up collection of 550 leaves, numbered by Dr. Witkam in pencil on one side only. Much of the paper is heavy and had been glued along the spine in an haphazard way so that some 'sections' contained only a few leaves, others forming a solid pack. In its present condition it could not be photographed, read, or even handled without considerable damage potential. The first 14 leaves were already separated and the adhesive removed from the inner edge. We understood that this had been carried out in the 1980’s by Sister Lucie Gimbrère of Oosterhout, but no further work was undertaken by her on the manuscript. Allowing for wear and damage the average single leaf size measures approximately 245 × 165 mm.

The condition of the paper varied, the first part being more worn than the rest and with a fair amount of damage to the edges and corners. Some of the leaves appeared to have received attention from animals, possibly mice, which had nibbled the corners. There was also some water staining. The glued back edge of every leaf was poor and extremely uneven. The decision was made to repair only the leaves with severe damage as the paper itself was quite strong.

It seemed likely that the manuscript had been bound at some time, at first sight however one could not see any specific signs of binding. Later five threads were discovered laying loose in the pack thus pointing to some earlier binding construction. Also in checking the complete pile of leaves there appeared to be five distinct divisions within the complete pile. We examined this and came to the conclusion that there was a definite possibility that the document had, at one time, been subdivided into five roughly equal groups of leaves, blank leaves etc., giving some credence to this being so.

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3 We understood from Dr. Witkam that Sister Lucie had tried her hand on that first gathering in order to see how much time she would need for the entire work of cleaning.
After some discussion as to how to proceed it was agreed that the entire manuscript should be treated as five separate volumes, to be stored in a suitable container and bound in a manner sympathetic to the material but practical for study use. The first question of course was how to separate the leaves and make suitable sections for sewing.

The western idea of rebinding oriental manuscripts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was to ‘translate’ the entire document into a European style book with rounding and backing on the spine, sewn or artificial headbands were possible and either a standard full cloth case binding, often in green, or a library style binding with a leather spine and corners. This stiff and unyielding manner of binding, whilst protecting the contents with some success, did little for the ethnic character of the original, besides being particularly unattractive.

We examined the basis of most Oriental manuscript binding and the various traditions of the Middle and Far East and decided that although the standard Western, or European format was not the best way forward, neither was it wise just to copy an Oriental style purely for effect. Returning to the stuck-together leaves we first had to check how much could be done to remove the existing adhesive without damaging the text or the paper. That this adhesive extended onto the leaves, in some cases as much as 5 mm and here and there even onto the writing was in itself a major problem.

After some experimentation using dry and wet techniques, both water and chemical based, we observed that the adhesive reacted to water and was probably a gum. Using a fine ivory folder it was possible to separate the leaves without recourse to water vapour. By means of a preservation pencil with a moderate humidity level each leaf was then treated to remove as much gum as possible, a time consuming task. At this point it was also essential to mark the relative positions of the smaller leaves in relation to the standard format.

Having seen that with much patience this could be achieved the binding format could now be considered. We decided to make a dummy with the oriental characteristics of lightness and flexibility, using natural materials only, without decoration but with the distinctive ‘wallet’ or folded foredge. A further requirement was that the binding should be easy to dismantle and that any adhesives should be reversible. A number of experiments were carried out resulting in a sewn construction using sewn sections. The five bound volumes have sections of three bi-folios (six leaves); this varied where an original folded leaf was incorporated or where single smaller leaves could not be readily joined to other leaves. The traditional Oriental method of gathering leaves into sections is based on five bi-folios, giving ten leaves, but because the paper here is so thick we chose the three bi-folio format, resulting in thinner sections and making a more flexible binding construction.
The dummy binding consisted of ten sections of hand-made paper supplied by Griffin Mill, an Irish paper mill with an interest in making Islamic papers, each section being made up of six bi-folios. The size was approximately 210 × 155 mm, foredge and tail being left uncut. In addition a two bi-folio endpaper of the same material was added at each end. Sewing with unbleached linen thread was on four stations and two kettle stitches using a linked chain stitch at each station. There were no sewing supports. Care was taken not to make the sewing too tight. The spine was not rounded or backed but lined with one layer of long fiber Japanese tissue pasted in place. There were no headbands.

A cover of natural calf leather was then cut allowing an overlap of 2 mm at head and tail and with a foreedge flap extending 7 cm. This was marked out and folded to fit the form of the book and a strip of thin calf vellum equal to the width of the spine pasted onto the inside of the calf. The vellum strip extended at head and tail by some 1.5 cm and was turned onto the outside of the spine. The idea behind this construction is to give a certain firmness to the spine, added strength at head and tail, and to provide the stability for secondary sewing which leather by itself does not provide.

Using a yellow-ochre thread (our only concession to ‘decoration’) the text block was sewn into the cover. This was achieved by placing thin calf vellum strips in the centre of three sections, sewing through the vellum strip, the section and the cover (vellum lining and calf) at three exit/entry points, resulting in three visible sewing lines on the spine. No adhesive is used so that to remove the text block from the cover requires only a few seconds and a pair of scissors.

Finally the foredge flap was trimmed to a V form and a strip of calf 55 cm in length attached to the front cover through a vellum piece as strengtheners. This calf strip was wrapped around the binding to hold the covers firmly in place. The dummy binding was soft and flexible to handle, felt good in the hands, protected the leaves and did no damage to the text block. The trial conservation binding was approved!

The parallel trial sequence was to see how the individual leaves could be formed into sections and this was achieved using a fine Japanese ‘Kozo’ paper. The colour of the Japanese paper was hand tinted with a water-based paper dye to match the general run of leaves, there were a number with a distinctive red tint, but they were exceptions to the norm. The leaves were placed flat and strips of Japanese paper pasted in place, one strip on each side of the leaf, giving a double thickness at the fold. Using a torn fiber edging the leaves were supple and the join nearly invisible.

The manuscript was now carefully divided according to the apparent natural division. The leaves had been previously numbered in pencil with numbers on the one side (verso) only, reading from right to left. There are textual
lacunae but as it is not possible to identify how much of the manuscript is missing, either by textual or bibliographical means, it was decided not to interleave plain sheets but to bind in a ‘follow-on’ order.

The pagination per volumes came out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>volume</th>
<th>pagination</th>
<th>existing bi-folios</th>
<th>smaller leaves</th>
<th>new sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Volume 1</td>
<td>1-111</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume 2</td>
<td>112-220</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume 3</td>
<td>221-339</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume 4</td>
<td>340-442</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volume 5</td>
<td>443-550</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The page numbers of the smaller leaves and folded leaves appear in appendix A.

The sections were so gathered that any existing bi-folios remained intact and could be stitched in. The relative positions of the smaller leaves as found was also steadfastly adhered to, thus the bound sections give an accurate record of how the manuscript appeared before dismantling and binding.

Existing thread was discovered in between the leaves in five places, between folios: 55/56; 87/88 (bi-folio); 285/286 (bi-folio); 437/438 (438 is a hooked leaf); entering page 363 then travelling diagonally through the leaves to emerge beyond page 374. The discovered thread was light brown in colour, material unidentified.

The binding of the volumes was carried out in three stages, partly for financial budgeting reasons, partly to see how the first volume would appear and partly to ensure maximum insurance safety. First volume 1 was bound, then volumes 2 and 3 and finally volumes 4 and 5. The form of the dummy binding was followed precisely, using English ‘Barcham Green’ hand-made paper for the protecting end leaves. As these act as a buffer between the text and the cover a straightforward two bi-folio gathering was used for each endpaper section. There then remained only the question of volume identification. To avoid an artificial numbering system, a dot measuring 2 mm in diameter was blind tooled on the lower area of the spine, one to five dots being used in a ‘domino’ fashion.
Appendix A

Folio numbers of the leaves smaller than the standard format and probably later insertions:
Volume 5: ff. 451-454, 497, 513, 525, 532, 534, 545.

Bi-folios, all standard leaf size except ff. 67-68:
Volume 1: ff. 54/57, 55/56, 67/68, 74 (with hook), 87/88.
Volume 2: ff. 124/125, 161/162, 176/177, 189/190, 208/209, 211/212.
Volume 5: ff. 455/456, 481/482.

Appendix B

Materials used during the restoration and binding process:

End leaves—English hand-made ‘Barcham Green’ paper.
Spine lining—thicker quality ‘Kozo’ paper.
Sewing thread—unbleached linen cord supplied by Russells Ltd., UK.
Paper dye—‘Sirius’ water-based dye supplied by Braunwarth & Luthke, Munich, Germany.
Paste—hand mixed wheat starch paste, no additives. supplied by Kuimtat, Germany.
Secondary sewing thread—yellow-ochre sail makers thread, obtained in Amsterdam.
Leather—natural, vegetable tanned, ‘Archival’ calfskin, from Russells Ltd., UK.
The Container

The problem of devising a box to contain five semi-limp volumes together with a report, each volume to be separately stored and individually available, was resolved by making a double box. The inner section is a slip case with six compartments, open at the front and also with a small opening at the back. This facilitates removing the volumes at the same time firmly holding each one in place.

The slip case section is contained in a box which opens on both sides in the manner of a clamshell. The box is covered in buckram and the linings throughout are of Fabriano ‘Roma’ handmade paper. The construction keeps the contents totally dust free whilst allowing a moderate circulation of air. The completed container measures $255 \times 280 \times 200$ mm.
Conspectus of the gatherings of MS Leiden Or. 14,533, vol. 4, second half (ff. 404-442).
1. A typical piece of the original book block, glued solidly across the spine (in front). The leaf on top shows the old foliation in ink.

2. Some of the more readily separated leaves. The same leaves as in photograph 1.
3. A severely damaged bi-folio. Text in several hands, the copyist used scrap paper from a chancery (right page).
4. Existing repairs to the centerfold.

5. Separated leaves, on the right; the existing glue is clearly visible.
6. Against the light this curious joining repair shows to advantage.

7. Paper repairs and new guarding strips being added.
8. Tying on a new thread during the primary sewing process. A new guard joining the leaves is visible.

9. The spine of a sewn volume showing the Japanese paper lining over the primary sewing.
10. The secondary sewing to attach the calfskin cover, the inner section of the spine is already lined with vellum, visible at head and tail.

11. The five bound volumes with blind tooled volume indication on the back, firmly held together with the calf skin thread. The restoration report is standing at the right.
12. The container of Or. 14.533, showing the five bound volumes, and the restoration report (at right).
A magribi Copy of the Kitab al-Faraj ba'd as-Sidda, by the Iraki qadi at-Tanuhi. Study of a Manuscript of Liège University (Belgium)

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Abstract
Author introduces the Arabic manuscript collection in Liège, Belgium, which is not as widely known as it deserves to be. She singles out one particular manuscript, an 11/16th century copy of the well-known work Kitab al-Faraj ba'd as-Sidda, by the Iraki qadi at-Tanuhi (327-384/939-994). She describes the manuscript and places her detailed description within the framework of the modern scholarly and bibliographical references on Abbasid literature in general and on recent developments in codicology and palaeography in particular. She also discusses the relationship of the Liège manuscript with some of the printed editions of the Kitab al-Faraj ba'd as-Sidda.

Keywords
Magribi manuscripts, codicology, palaeography, adab, Abbasid caliphate, Buyid dynasty

It is a little known fact that the manuscripts’ section of the General Library of the University of Liège, Belgium, possesses manuscripts in Arabic script.
Alongside the collections of famous persons, such as the Baron Wittert (three manuscripts) or the great orientalist Victor Chauvin (twenty-four manuscripts), the University possesses the Dargent collection, which includes four hundred and thirty-eight manuscripts in Arabic script. Juliette Dargent was a former librarian at the University. Afterwards, she became a civil servant for Unesco in various Arab countries and gathered an exceptional collection of manuscripts in Arabic script. She bequeathed all of them to the University library, in 1986 or 1987.

This collection comprises a variety of texts, on many subjects: religious books (hadith, prayers anthologies, Coranic exegesis), scientific works (mathematics, astronomy, grammar, lexicography, history, and philosophy), juridical...
books (related to different fiqh schools),

10 fattuwa collections, literary works, adab, as well as poetry. The collection also includes several autographs, at only a century after the author's death. Dargent collection [ms. 5070]; GAL G I 1427, 11; S I 758, 11; Zirikli V 60, Kaţhala VII 305). Bauden, « Les Manuscrits arabes », p. 154.

11 Since adab literature is highly varied, to give a definition of the term is quite difficult. See Élise Franssen, op. cit., p. 54 (n. 79 for the bibliography). 'Prose belles-lettres' could serve as a simplified definition.

12 See the Tāmis al-qāṣida al-Munfarija, by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Naŷym, copied recently, in the 20th century; but the only other copy of this work is said to have disappeared in 1924 (Dargent collection [ms. 5076/b]; GAL S I 474). Bauden, « Les Manuscrits arabes ... », p. 154.

least one unicum and books which are exceptional for their binding or their illustrations.

Within this collection I conducted research on an 11/16th century copy of the Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d as-Sidda (Happiness after Hardship or more literally Relief after suffering), by Abū ‘Alī al-Muḥāsbin at-Tanūhī.15

The author of the text, at-Tanūhī was born on the 26th Rabī’ al-awwal 327 (or 329)/21st January 939 (or 29th December 940) in al-Baṣra. He was taught by the greatest learned men in religious sciences, legal studies and literature of his time. At the age of fifteen, his father died. At-Tanūhī began to work and then met an influential friend of his father, the vizier al-Muhallabi. The latter invited at-Tanūhī at his court, and the author continued his studies there, notably in literature, with the great Abū al-Faraj al-Islāmī at his court, and the author continued his studies there, notably in literature, with the great Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī. Then, in 349/959, at-Tanūhī entered the ‘Abbasid administration, but was dismissed.

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some ten years later. Disgraced and having met disgraced people, he would have had the idea to compose the *Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d aš-Šidda*.

From the year 366/977, the situation totally changed for him; he became one of the most important persons in the regime. He was a friend of and in favour with the Būyid *amīr* ‘Aḍud ad-Dawla, and would frequent the court and shine in the literary gatherings held there. He was even asked to organise the caliph at-Ṭā’ī’s wedding with the *amīr’s* daughter. But in these troubled times, such a good situation did not last long. At-Tanūḥī was accused of having spread a state secret and put under house arrest. After two months in disgrace, in 361/981, the *amīr* gave the author a chance to redeem himself. He asked at-Tanūḥī to resolve a tricky problem: the caliph refused to accomplish his conjugal duty because he did not want to father a Būyid heir to the caliphate. At-Tanūḥī took the pretext of an illness to escape this difficult task but his lie was discovered. Hence, he was dismissed, put under house arrest for a second time and obliged to pay a heavy fine. After ‘Aḍud ad-Dawla’s death, in 572/983, at-Tanūḥī lived free again, in Bagdad. He worked as a *qādī* and *hādir* lecturer until his death on the 25th Muharram 384/11th March 994.

Two works of *adab* literature that have reached us are recognised as written by at-Tanūḥī. The first one, chronologically speaking, is the *Nišwār al-muhādara wa-ahbār al-mudākara*.20 The second one is the *Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d aš-Šidda*, composed from the year 373/983. At-Tanūḥī was also a poet but none of his verse has survived.

The expression ‘*al-Faraj ba’d aš-Šidda*’ designates a literary genre which aims are to enlighten the reader21 and to underline God’s role, stimulating the faith. At-Tanūḥī inscribes himself into a pre-existing tradition but he is the first to compose a work of such a size.22 The book is actually a compilation of

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22 By his predecessors in the genre only several anecdotes are known: the ones by Ibn Abī ad-Dunyā occupy twenty leaves; the stories compiled by al-Madā’ini, five to six leaves and the
anecdotes. It begins with an introduction in which the author explains his thought—even when you are in an apparently desperate situation, keep hoping for the best because a happy end will come!—, and tells of the experiences which led him to believe thus. Then come the anecdotes. In Arabic literature, it is a short story presenting the same shape as the hadīt. Each anecdote is the story of an experience which begins badly but ends happily. The protagonists of these anecdotes were in many cases contemporaries of the author, living in Iraq or Iran. Hence it may be surprising to find a copy of this work made six centuries after the lifetimes of most of the protagonists and at the opposite of the Muslim world, in the Mağrib...

Let us now pass to the physical aspects of the manuscript. The text is written on three different watermarked papers, imported from Europe. Study of the watermarks reveals that the paper was manufactured in Venice at the end of the sixteenth century. The head and tail pages are more recent (see the paragraph about the binding); two of them, the folios B and E, are made of ones by the qādī Abū al-Ḥusayn, about fifty leaves, according to at-Tanūhī himself; see Kitāb al-Faraj bī al-Ṣiddīq, introduction, al-Ṣāliḥi (ed.), op. cit., vol. 1, p. 52.


24 Papers made in the Arabic world do not have watermarks before the middle of the eighteenth century and the Arabic watermarked papers are from the Turkish regions of the Ottoman empire; Stefan Andreescu, Les Filigranes dans les documents ottomans. Couronnes, Sofia, Textes—Asparouh Trayanov, 2007, n. 5, p. 9.


25 Three pairs of watermarks are observable. The first one (an anchor in a circle with its countermark, the monogram HP), is found on a document from the year 1594 and measuring 310 x 205 mm; see Vladimir Moșin, Anchor Watermarks, Amsterdam, 1973, p. 75 and fig. 2395. The second one (also an anchor inscribed in a circle, but the countermark is the monogram zM) is described by Asparouh Velkov, Les Filigranes dans les documents ottomans. Divers types d’images, Sofia, 2005, p. 5 and fig. 83, 83A, p. 92, talking of a document from Istanbul, measuring 418 x 311 mm and dated of 1588. Velkov observed a paper similar to the third watermarked paper of the manuscript (the watermark being a crossbow and the countermark, probably the monogram GB) on an Istanbul document dated 1594; VELKOV, op. cit., p. 11 and fig. 4, 4A, p. 145.
Fig. 1. MS Université de Liège, Bibliothèque Générale de Philosophie et Lettres, Fonds Dargent, MS 5087, Kitâb al-Faraj ba’d al-Šiddâ, beginning of chapter 5. The marginal note has been protected against trimming by folding, but is shown here partly unfolded.
the typical Trelune paper and can be dated to the eighteenth century. The folios, the result of an in-folio folding, are assembled in quinions and measure 199 mm by 277 mm, but the original leaf was at least 458 mm wide by 312 mm high.

The layout of the manuscript is regular and constant. A miṣṭara was used to realise the ruling. Twenty-seven lines are written on each leaf, in a writing frame of steady dimensions. When the text is composed of poetry, a little character looking like the letter hāʾ is traced, in a different colour than the text (more often in red), at the beginning and the end of each verse. A certain number of marginal annotations and commentaries can be observed outside the writing frame, most of the time in the exterior margins. A reference mark is sometimes used and its nature depends on the type of commentary. Most often the reference mark is zaʿ, it stands for zaḥir and is


27 These dimensions are the result of the doubling of each leaf width—a leaf is a page folded in two—, the addition of the 10 mm trimmed when the book was bound, at the top and the bottom of the page (see Jean Irigoin, « Les papiers non filigranés : état présent des recherches et perspectives d’avenir », in Marilena Maniaci, Paola F. Munafò (eds.), Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques (Erice, 18-25 septembre 1992), vol. I, Vatican, 1993, p. 302) and finally adding the dimensions of the commentaries folded not to be trimmed (see infra and fig. 1).


29 Except for six pages: the folios 61, 100, 149 and 149b have a line more [the folio numbers are a ‘translation’ of the Arabic foliation]; two lines have been added to the ff. 119b and 1b. On the leaf 115, the scribe began to write a little too high and then, after four words, noticed it and did the work again a little lower. The first written line is also the top line of the writing frame, as it is most of the times the case in Arabic manuscripts; see François Déroche, op. cit., p. 172.

30 203 × 124 mm, superior margin: 24 mm, inferior margin: 17 mm, right margin: 55 mm, left margin: 46 mm.

31 Some of them are folded in order to not be trimmed during the binding work. See f. 41b, among others (fig. 1).

used when the scribe notices and corrects an error. The ḍabba—a loop beginning with the incorrect word and going on horizontally above it—is also quite frequent.33

The catchword is written horizontally, on all the versos, just outside the ruling frame, and is generally accurate, although traced with less care than the rest of the text.

Page numbers are placed in the superior external edge of all the rectos. The numbers used are a mix of hindī and ʿubār characters, the latter being preferentially used in the Magribī.34 A particular mark indicating the middle of the quire is traced in the superior external edge of the verso of the fifth leaf and at the opposite, which is the inferior and exterior corner of the sixth leaf recto. This sign looks like a hindī 6, and is in fact the ḥamāsa ʿubahriyya, a sign used by or for binders to indicate the centre of the quire. The ink used for it is different from the one of the text.35

This manuscript is written in magribī script, typical of the Magribī countries. Hence, it is quite certain that the manuscript was copied in a territory between al-Andalus to the West and halfway present-day Libya to the East. Because the group of magribī manuscripts is quite homogeneous, the results of the study of one of them can be extended to the whole group and, so, increase our knowledge of this particular manuscript tradition. This script is immediately and easily recognizable. Its most known characteristic regards the letters fā' and qāf. Fā’ wears its diacritical point under the scriptline (and not above, as in the Mašriq) and qāf has just one diacritical point, above the loop, hence being similar to a mašriqi fā’.36 There is also a great freedom in the shapes of

33 For the exhaustive list of all the reference marks and other margin annotations found in this manuscript, see Élise Franssen, op. cit., pp. 23-26.
35 Another middle-of-quire mark (the same sign but in another ink and by another hand, probably the second binder, see infra) is observable in the superior external angle of the verso of every fifth leave.
the letters: the same letter, being in the same position, can be written in different ways. If the script is typical of the Mağrib, this is the case of the pen used to trace it too; contrary to the one used in the Mašriq, it is not bevelled but cut into a point.

To copy this manuscript, at least four different inks were used. The text (and most of the annotations) is written in black and the separations (story or chapter titles, for example, or the ‘ḥā’-s of the verses), are in red. Different shades, in the black as well as in the red inks, lead one to think that different inks have been used, perhaps by different persons. Thanks to Ibn Bādīs’ treatise (the ‘Umdat al-kuttāb wa’udderat dawi al-albāb, written around 1025), we know that three types of ink were in use: the carbon inks, the metal-gall inks and the mixed inks. Archaeometrical analyses, such as PIXE or Raman Spectrometry, would be very useful. First, because the geographical and chronological origins of this manuscript are known (see the colophon, dated of 1005/1597); second, because we know ink recipes from the Mağrib, thanks to Ibn Bādīs’ treatise, to which the results could be compared; and finally, because a group of French researchers, directed by François Déroche, has recently done analyses of this kind on manuscripts copied in the Mağrib before

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37 See Martin Levey, Medieval Arabic Bookmaking and its Relation to early Chemistry and Pharmacology, Philadelphie, 1962, pp. 7-8, 15-21; Jan Just Witkam, ‘Midād’, in EP, vol. VI, pp. 1024-1025 (1990); Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, La Fabrication des encres noires au Moyen Âge (jusqu’à 1600), Paris, CNRS, 1983, pp. 123-141 and pp. 237-243 (recipes). We can also imagine that the same ink could evolve differently and acquire a different colour because of varied conditions of conservation; however, some of the inks attack the paper and other do not. The paper type being always the same, thus there are at least two different inks in use.

38 The first one comes under nuclear physics, it is the PIXE (Particle Induced X-Ray Emission); it enables the identification of the atoms, analysing the X-ray they emit when confronted with the impact of a bundle of accelerated protons. The second one comes under analytical chemistry: Raman spectrometry (molecular analysis of the matter). The Centre Européen d’Archéométrie of the University of Liège (http://www.cearcheo.ulg.ac.be/accueil.html) could realise them. Today, this kind of analysis is still extremely scarce while their importance has been proved for long. See, for example, Monique de Paï interventions, in the seventies: Monique de Paï, ‘La composition des encres noires’, in Les Techniques de laboratoire dans l’étude des manuscrits, actes du colloque international de Paris (13-15 septembre 1972), Paris, 1974, pp. 119-132; Monique de Paï, ‘Recherches sur les encres noires manuscrites’, in Jean Glénisson, Jacques Bompaire, Jean Irigoïn (eds.), Actes du colloque international sur la Paléographie grecque et byzantine organisé dans le cadre des colloques internationaux du CNRS (Paris, 21-25 octobre 1974), Paris, 1977, pp. 55-60.
Fig. 2. End board of the binding of MS Université de Liège, Bibliothèque Générale de Philosophie et Lettres, Fonds Dargent, MS 5087, *Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-Sidda*. 
the seventeenth century and kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale of France. 39
Let us hope these analyses will be done in the near future.40

After having written a page, the scribe threw some gold pounce on the text which he had just copied, to pass to the next page without damaging his work and without waiting for it to be dry.41

The actual binding is not the original one. It probably replaces a previous binding, damaged by the spillage of a liquid on the manuscript. Indeed, contrary to the first half of the manuscript, the head pages do not present those liquid marks.42

This type of binding, a flap binding with yapp cover, is typical of the Muslim world (fig. 2). This one is made of light brown leather, probably goatskin, and its decorative pattern is blindstamped.43 Its decoration is symmetrical and identical on both sides. A polylobed central mandorla is prolonged by two

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40 The positive reaction of Dr. David Strivay, Director of the Centre Européen d’Archéométrie, Université de Liège, to my request, is encouraging.
41 Many thanks to Prof. Adam Gacek for providing me with information about this. See the entries ‘tatrīb’, ‘tarmīl’ and ‘tanšīr’ in Adam Gacek, The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography, Leiden, E. J. Brill, (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1: Near and Middle East, 58), 2001, pp. 17, 60 and 141. I was also told that the ICN (Instituut Collectia Nederland, Amsterdam) realised an analysis of this powder. I contacted them but have not received any answer.
42 The first hundred and fifty-three pages present this liquid mark, contrary to the leaves A, B and C, currently the head folios of the book. The head and tail pages were added during the binding of the book.
43 For all the jargon related to codicology and the art of the book, see Denis Muzerelle, Vocabulaire codicologique. Répertoire méthodique des termes français relatifs aux manuscrits, Paris, 1985 [online http://vocabulaire.irht. cnrs.fr/vocab.htm]. The ‘blindstamp’ is to be found at entry n° 641.08; with English, German, Italian and Spanish translation of the terms.
Fig. 3. MS Université de Liège, Bibliothèque Générale de Philosophie et Lettres, Fonds Dargent, MS 5087, Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-Ṣidda, f. C, which is pasted onto f. 1a, apparently in order to cover several owners’ marks on f. 1a. Photograph taken with counterlight.
other medallions, placed vertically and symmetrically with the central motif, on a fillet. The horizontal axis is also marked by a fillet and the whole decoration is bounded by rectangular frames, made of parallel fillets. The yapp cover presents the same type of frames. The whole binding has been realised with five tools.

This is the most common method of binding which we know from the sixteenth-century in the Ottoman empire. This binding is more recent than the manuscript itself. However, because of the general uniformity of the art of the book in the Ottoman empire, it is difficult to give a more precise dating than the margin limited by the date of the colophon, 1005/1597, and the arrival of the manuscript in Europe, in the eighties of the twentieth century. Nevertheless it is worth noting that all the closely similar examples I found are dated back to the nineteenth century.

Besides the liquid spillage already mentioned, other deteriorations are observable on the manuscript, like a great number of wormholes, mostly located in the inner margins, such that they generally do not jeopardize reading. Some of them have been restored: a piece of paper covers them and the person who applied it wrote again the text covered by it. At four occasions, the paper of the outer margin has been totally or partially replaced. A plantleaf, was found between the folios 166b and 167, certainly used as a worm repellent.

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45 Manuscript A12052, from Dr B. Moritz’s collection (Arab. 42), originally from Persia or Turkey (see Gulnar Bosch, John Carswell, Guy Petherbridge, Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking, A Catalogue of an Exhibition (May 18—August 18, 1981), Chicago, 1981, pp. 216-217, fig. 90. This manuscript is number 22 in Miroslav Krek, A catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute of Chicago, New Haven (Connecticut), 1961, pp. 7-8) and Leeds manuscript ms. 619, presented in Adrian Brockett, ‘Aspects of the physical transmission of the Qur’an in 19th-century Sudan: Script, decoration, binding and paper’, in Manuscripts of the Middle East, 2, Leiden, 1987, pp. 45-57, see especially fig. 1, p. 56.
46 Someone, probably one of the owners of the book, has written again the especially damaged passages of the text. See f. 15b, for example.
47 See for example the ff. 38, 130 and 241.
48 On the f. 118, only the superior and inferior extremities have been renewed. The page number has been rewritten at its usual place. There is a countermark CR on the paper restoring the f. 130, but it was impossible to identify this paper, since this monogram is quite common. The ff. 119 and 129 are also restored.
49 Probably a leaf of neem (Melia Azadirachta indica), according to M. Mark Clarke. I would like to thank him sincerely for this piece of information and the references in the scientific literature about this question. See, among others, Lalani Kumar Prasad, ‘Role of neem leaves in protecting textile material and paper documents’, in Conservation of cultural property in India 14-15 (1981-82), pp. 95-97.
On the inferior half of f. 246b, we can read the colophon. It tells us that the text was copied in šawwāl 1005/May or June 1597, by Ahmad ibn Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yahyā ibn Ḥaṭṭāb al-Madyūnī50 at-Tilimsānī. The scribe seems to be a learned person: he mentions the sab’a maṣānī (‘the seven repetitions’) meaning the Qur’ān (or a part of it) and thus referring to a question of Coranic exegesis dividing medieval scholars;51 he is the author of the final verses and he inserts several Coranic citations.52

A seal, illegible, and several ownership’s marks are observable but hardly decipherable:53 folio 1, on which they are written, has been stuck to the previous one, probably precisely to prevent them being read (fig. 3).

During the philological study of the text, I compared the manuscript with the critical edition of the text, for the profane prose only (chapters three to thirteen included).54 Several differences were found, either directly caused by the scribe, or because of the divergent transmission of the text which he copied.55 The variants due to the scribe are of different types. Tiredness or precipitation are the cause of several differences; the maternal tongue of the scribe, a Maġribī dialect, presumably from Tlemcen,56 misled him during the interior dictation of the text (badly pronouncing the words he reads, he writes them in an erroneous way as well), or during the reading or remembering of the text.57 Furthermore, conjugation or spelling mistakes can be observed.

The tradition to which the Liège manuscript belongs is the cause of another type of differences from the critical edition. These variants are found:

50 The reading of his nisba is confirmed by the existence of another Madyūnī; see Rudolf Sellheim, Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte, Teil I, Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 53.
52 Ni’m al-wukīl (l. 9): from sūrat Âl Imrān (‘Imrān’s family’, III, 174); ni’m al-mawṣul wa-ni’m an-nāṣir (l. 9-10): from sūrat al-Anfāl (‘The plunder’, VIII, 40); lā quwwata illā bi-Llāh (l. 10-11): from sūrat al-Kahf (‘The cave’, XVIII, 39).
53 The reading of two of them is in Élise Franssen, op. cit., pp. 38-39. One of the two is dated of the year 1253/1837-38.
54 Aš-Šālijī (ed.), op. cit., vol. 1-4. Lack of time prevented me to wholly treat the seventh chapter: the first twenty-two and the last fifteen anecdotes have been studied.
55 A very short account of this philological approach is given here; for the complete results of the collation of the manuscript, see Élise Franssen, op. cit., pp. 63-83.
56 Because of his nisba: at-Tilimsānī.
57 See the four steps of a text copy—the reading of the model, the remembering of the text, the interior dictation and the hands movements—described in Alphonse Dain, Les Manuscrits, Paris, 1997 (first edition: 1949), pp. 41-46.
– in the isnāds: their length, the names they include and the verbs introducing them vary.
– in the vocabulary: more precise terms are found in the Liège manuscript than in the critical edition and vice versa. These variants are sometimes the cause of differences in meaning.58 The verbal forms used are not always the ones chosen by the editor. Concerning the eulogies, they are generally less frequent in the manuscript but also less varied; the preferred phrase is tu ala wa-kafā (‘He be exalted and sufficient!’).
– Sixteen of the anecdotes included in the critical edition are not in the manuscript;59 a contrario, two stories and two different versions of another anecdote appear in the manuscript and not in the edition.60
– The order in which the anecdotes are told also differs. Some stories are simply inverted, but some chapters present a story succession order completely different from the one of the critical edition. In addition, two versions of a same anecdote are sometimes found.

When the differences between the manuscripts on which the edition is based are mentioned,61 the Liège manuscript is generally closer from the manuscripts mim (from Dār al-Kutub, Cairo)62 and gūyn (from the Escorial, Madrid),63 up to the fifth chapter included. Chapter six is resolutely different from the manuscripts mim, (Dār al-Kutub) and gūyn (Escorial, Madrid), among other things

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58 For example, in the story 250, f. 97b, l. 18, the protagonist says to ‘see’ something and not to hear it.
59 Particularly in the eighth chapter: ten of the missing anecdotes should be there; on the contrary, all the stories of the third, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth chapters appear in the manuscript.
61 Aš-Šālijī (ed.), op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 19-28 (introduction). The edition was based on five manuscripts (one is in Magribi script, it is designed by the letter nūn, in the edition) and a pre-existing edition (called ‘Dār al-Hilāl edition’ by aš-Šālijī, but I could not make sure whether it is the Beyruth edition, 1903-4, [re-edited: Cairo, al-Maktaba al-ilmiyya, 1938], or the edition of Cairo, Dār at-šībā’a al-ḫamlīniyya, 1955).
62 Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-Sūda, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, B 22959 (or 1945/2170 or 132235: the manuscript has three different call-numbers); 582 ff.
63 Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-Sūda, Escorial, Madrid, 714: 348 ff.
because it frequently presents passages not found in those manuscripts, but
shares some common points with the texts of ḥā (the so-called ‘Dār al-Hilāl
edition’)64 and rā (John Ryland’s Library, Manchester).65 The part of chapter
seven I studied66 is always similar to the most complete traditions;67 concerning
the verses, it is interesting to note that the ones of the Liège manuscript are
identical to the original ones (from Kitāb al-Āğānī, for example) and not to the
ones copied in the other manuscripts.68 The eighth chapter seems to follow the
same tradition as manuscript mim (Dār al-Kutub). Chapter nine is similar to
the edition and often comparable to nūn manuscript (from the Royal Collec-
tion, Rabat).69 like the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth chapters. In
other respects, chapters ten and eleven are always more complete than mim
(Dār al-Kutub), like the twelfth chapter when compared to ġayn (Escorial,
Madrid) and rā (John Ryland’s Library, Manchester). Chapters eight, twelve
and thirteen include passages that are not found in the critical edition.70

A manuscript being both an object and a text, a general approach to this copy
of the Kitāb al-Faraj ba’ d aš-Šidda has voluntarily been implemented.

It was predictable: the codicological study of a unique manuscript could
not give birth to wonderful new discoveries in the field; nevertheless, the
analysis of the codicological reality of this copy of the Kitāb al-Faraj ba’ d
aš-Šidda permitted the confirmation of sensed tendencies. For example, the
use of a gold pounce, mostly made up of sand, as a blotter, or the shape—
rectangular—and direction—horizontal—of the marginal glosses, thus differ-
ent from other marginal annotations like corrections or additions to the text.

Philologically speaking, the main contribution of this study is certainly the
discovery of the unpublished stories and their edition and translation.71 Fur-
thermore, different versions of two anecdotes included in the edited text of
the Kitāb al-Faraj ba’ d aš-Šidda were found in the Liège manuscript; in the

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64 See n. 61.
65 Kitāb al-Faraj ba’ d aš-Šidda, John Ryland’s Library, Manchester, 667; 298 ff.
66 See n. 54.
67 This piece of information has been deduced a contrario: a great majority of the missing
passages in the manuscripts mim, ġayn and, to a lesser extent, ḥā and rā, are found in the Liège
manuscript.
68 See for example the anecdote 254. It is the case in other chapters too: for chapter thir-
ten, see the stories 462 and 479. Had the scribe checked the sources?
69 Nišwār al-muhādara (where the end [al-juz’ at-tāni] of al-Faraj ba’ d aš-Šidda can be found),
70 See the end of the story 405, the beginning of the story 465, and passages in the anecdotes
475 and 477.
71 See n. 60.
edition, they were quoted as being taken from a single manuscript, the only one transcribed in Mağribi script.

Hence, it would be interesting to compare the copies of the other Mağribi manuscripts of this text,—one is kept in the Dār al-Kutub al-Wataniyya bi-Tūnis72 and others are in the National Library of Algeria73,—to try to reveal the possible marks of a textual tradition specific to the Mağrib. Then, the archaeometrical analyses—they should be realised soon—will permit checking the ink recipes used in the Mağrib and determining exactly the number of hands that wrote the manuscript and the chronology of the different interventions.

72 For the account of the difficulties I faced during my research of other copies of the Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-Šidda, see Élise Franssen, op. cit., pp. 60-63. The lack of catalogues of manuscripts and the state of the existing handlists, inventories or (generally old) catalogues, is a big problem.

According to ’Abd al-Karīm Ḥālid, ‘Al-maḥṭūṭāt allāṣtī ṣuwwara-hā al-ma’khad min dār al-kutub al-waṭanīyya bi-Tūnis’, in Majallat maḥf al-maḥṭūṭāt al-’arabīyya 27-1, Kuwait, 1403, p. 307, the manuscripts numbered 268 and 12365 are copies of the Kitāb al-Faraj ba’d al-Šidda; the latter is written in Mağribi script.

73 I did not find any indication about the script in which they are written, but if they are local copies, they must be in Mağribi. Their reference numbers are 806 (11), 1847 (3), 1854 (1); see Hilāl Nājī, ‘Maḥṭūṭāt li-Jazā’ir’, in Majallat al-Mawārid 5-3, Bağdād, 1386/1976, pp. 207-230.
The 19th-century Malay Qurʾān
A Comparative Study of Materials and Techniques

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Abstract
The article treats two Qurʾān manuscripts that are kept in the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur. The two case studies which they present treat two Qurʾān manuscripts, both of which can be attributed to the East coast of peninsular Malaysia. The authors’ examination uses various levels of analyses, including the polarizing light microscopy (PLM) and scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray analysis (SEM-EDX).

Keywords
Qurʾān manuscripts, Malay manuscripts, colorant, X-ray analysis, microscopy

Introduction
The Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia (IAMM) is caretaker of one of the largest collections of illuminated Malay Qurʾāns in the world. These Qurʾāns mostly date from the 19th century and originate from all over Southeast Asia including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. Researcher Rajabi Abdul Razak from Universiti Teknologi MARA (UiTM) and IAMM conservator Idries Trevathan have selected and examined a total of fifteen Qurʾāns which best represent the different regional Malay Qurʾānic styles. The aim of their technical study is divided into two broad objectives. The first objective is to contribute to the art historical research, through an investigation of the materials used in particular pigments, their sources, and the manner in which they have been both prepared and applied. The second objective is to foresee how and under what conditions these Qurʾāns will deteriorate. Further: to
understand the effect that their deterioration may have on nearby components and to plan the best possible conservation response.

This paper presents two case studies taken from this study of Malay Qur’ans, both attributed to the east coast of peninsular Malaysia. Their examination uses various levels of analyses, including the polarizing light microscopy (PLM) and scanning electron microscopy with energy dispersive X-ray analysis (SEM-EDX). It must be stressed that no attempt has been made to provide the reader with any in-depth explanation on Malay Qur’anic styles of illumination. Such a study has already been excellently explored in Annabel Teh Gallop’s documentation on the subject. This paper is less about the technique and style, but focuses more upon the materials, particularly the pigments that are employed.

The Qur’ans are attributed to the 1800’s, a century that began with artists using the pigments of the Middle Ages, yet finished with the use of a vast selection of synthetic pigments. This development was the result of the industrial and technical revolutions that started to gather momentum halfway the century. Moreover, the production of paint in ‘collapsible metallic tubes’ and ‘watercolour cake sets’ made paint affordable and accessible to everyone. All these factors inevitably led to the breakdown of the ‘artist’s studio system’ and the traditional practices that went with it. Thus, the identification of pigments in 19th-century manuscripts is complicated due to the large pigment range, and also because most pigments were ground into extremely small particles that are often beyond the microscope’s magnification range.

Case Study 1

A Malay Archipelago Qur’an (cat: IAMM 1998.1.3615, dimensions: 32 × 22 cm)

1 Presented at the Fifth Islamic Manuscript Conference ‘Access and Rights’, 24-26 July 2009, Christ’s College, Cambridge. The authors are deeply grateful to Tuan Syed Muhammad Syed Al-Bukhari, Director of the Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia, for allowing them to conduct this research in the Conservation Centre of Islamic Arts Museum Malaysia. Special thanks are also due to the former head of Conservation Department IAMM, Ms. Josephine Atkinson and the IAMM conservation staff for their support.

2 SEM was performed at and assisted by the Nuclear Agency Malaysia with whom IAMM is forming a close working partnership. The SEM instrumentation used in analysis was a JEOL JXA840A scanning electron microscope with a Tracor Northern TN5502 energy dispersive x-ray analysis.

3 Before the nineteenth century artists’ materials were prepared in the artist studio, especially pigments, which were purchased in the form of a powder or raw material and ground into oil or gum by the artist or his/her assistant.
Fig. 1. The image shows the Qur’an’s opening illuminated pages showing Sūrat al-Fāṭiḥa and the beginning of Sūrat al-Baqara (IAMM 1998.1.3615).

Fig. 2. The text box and illumination framework are executed in iron gall ink which has resulted in distinct shapes to char and drop out from the page (IAMM 1998.1.3615).
Figs. 3 and 4. Watermark of “Rule Britannia” and Countermark of “Harris & M’Murdo 1815” reveal that the paper was produced in Britain in the early 19th century (IAMM 1998.1.3615).
Prior to our examination, almost nothing was known about this Qur’ān except that it may originate from the East Coast of Peninsular Malaysia by its characteristically Terengganu State style of illumination (figure 1). The pages of this leather bound book have badly deteriorated from an advanced corrosion of the iron gall ink (figure 2).4 The Qur’ān’s interior pages are literally falling away from the spine with each handling. Fortunately the first few pages, including the illuminated opening pages, were relatively well attached, enabling handling and detailed examination. The presence of many additional blank pages at the end of the Qur’ān may signify that the book may not have been bound specifically for the purpose of the Qur’ān. These blank pages enabled an uninterrupted examination of the paper’s watermark and countermark by strong transmitted light. As the sheets were compiled in a folio format whereby the paper is folded, creating two folios (four pages), only half the watermark and countermark are visible on each page. A close examination of the watermark revealed a ‘Rule Britannia’ emblem and alternate countermarks of ‘Harris and McMurdo 1815’ revealing that the paper was made in Britain in the early part of the 19th century (figures 3 and 4).5 The illuminated pages are found at the beginning on the Qur’ān including Sūrat al-Fāṭihah and the beginning of Sūrat al-Baqarah, then in the middle of the volume on Sūrat Isrā’, and at the end on Sūrat al-Falaq and Sūrat al-Nūs. The illuminated pages have seven lines to the page while all the other pages have fifteen lines to the page. The text box and illumination framework are executed in iron gall ink which has resulted in some distinct shapes to char and drop out from the page. These fragments of illumination provided an opportunity to have the pigments examined at other more advanced facilities without having to transport the whole object.6

The palette chosen by the illuminator is limited to two shades of red, one green, one yellow and a shade of gold. The pigments are mixed with Gum Arabic and applied as opaque watercolours (possibly as a gouache).7 Each colour was sampled with a scalpel from discreet flaking areas or the detached illumination fragments and placed and dispersed on a glass slide and examined using Polarizing Light Microscopy.

4 Oxidizing activity of soluble transition metal compounds in the iron gall ink contribute to the deterioration of cellulose of the paper. Acids present in the ink accelerate this decomposition.

5 William Harris and William Dick McMurdo owned several paper mills in Wales, UK, during the early 19th century. Although the date is shown in the watermark, the Qur’ān was, of course, written at a somewhat later date.

6 It was not possible to transport these Qur’āns to other premises for more advanced non-destructive analysis. The considerations of physical security, environmental conditions and insurance costs made it risky for this fragile object to be moved.

7 Gouache and watercolour paints use Gum Arabic as their binder, but gouache paint uses an extender (such as chalk) to create a thicker consistency and opacity.
Fig. 5. The red paint particles appeared a deep red/orange and sometimes cherry red colour with uniform grain sizes under magnification X40 (IAMM 1998.1.3615).

Fig. 6. The green paint appeared to contain a curious mix of particles including red, blue, yellow and green as well as traces of violet and colourless (clear) particles under magnification X40 (IAMM 1998.1.3615).
Fig. 7. The Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM-EDAX) test confirmed the composition of iron in the red paint sample (IAMM 1998.1.3615).
Both shades of the red paint particles use the same pigment except that the darker shade of red was mixed with a touch of carbon black. These inorganic crystalline red particles have a deep red-orange and sometimes cherry-red colour with uneven sizes, a large grain distribution, a high relief and a high refractive index with deep and rounded complex crystal faces (figure 5). Both the particle characteristics and an application of dilute nitric acid confirmed an iron content, identifying it as an iron oxide red of most probably haematite type (anhydrous iron (III)-oxide Fe₂O₃). The particles are tiny, almost beyond the range of magnification of the microscope, and uniform in shape, which strongly suggests that the painter was using prepared machine ground pigment. There were a few transparent particles of silica (sand) and quartz impurities which are typically present in earth colours such as red iron oxide, but these were not in sufficient quantity to distinguish the natural red iron oxide from the synthetic version. The red paint was also analyzed using SEM-EDX which produced a graph with high levels of iron and other lesser mineral impurities confirming the previous identification made under the PLM (figure 7). Iron oxide red is a stable pigment and has been widely available since antiquity. This study found that this red ochre was by far the most popular red pigment/colour used in Malay Qur’anic illumination with vermilion a distant second. Sometimes the two were even combined to achieve a richer and cooler colour. Extensive deposits of red oxides can be found all over the world making it nearly impossible to trace the source of this pigment.

The green paint appeared to contain a curious mix of particles of a number of other colours including red, blue, yellow and green as well as traces of violet and colourless (clear) particles. The overall colour appears dirty, as though the artist was experimenting or did not fully understand the working properties of the pigments. It is possible that the brush was not sufficiently cleaned between colours, allowing previously used pigments to contaminate this colour. However, the majority of the green sample appeared to be a mix of yellow and blue pigment. The blue particles are very difficult to characterize due to the extremely small particle sizes, suggesting a synthetic origin, whereas the yellow particles are very large and easily visible, displaying a golden yellow colour and angular (inorganic) crystal shapes. Together with cross-hatched lines on their surfaces and a bright colour under crossed polarized light, this almost certainly identifies the yellow as the mineral orpiment (figure 8). Orpiment, also known as ‘Kings Yellow’ is known to have been a very popular pigment in Asia during the late 19th century and its production only ceased with the introduction of Cadmium Yellow.8 Orpiment is toxic and incompatible with lead and copper.

8 Yellow is considered a royal colour in the Malay world which may be the result of how highly Kings yellow/Orpiment was prized.
Fig. 8. The characteristic features of orpiment include the crosshatched surface and a high relief. Magnification X40 (IAMM 1998.1.3615).

Fig. 9. The violet pigment in case study 2 is possibly a madder lake. Magnification X40 (IAMM 1998.1.3615).
pigments which cancel out the presence of lead white, lead-tin yellow, and verdigris, azurite and malachite from the paint mix. The green sample, when analyzed under SEM-EDX showed an incomprehensibly complicated graph, due to the many different pigments present in the paint mix. Most of the elements were present in similar quantities but there is a peak for sulphur which may point to the presence of the sulphide of arsenic (orpiment). Large amounts of potassium, magnesium, oxygen, carbon and calcium and smaller amounts of silica, lead, iron and gold are also shown. Although SEM-EDX reveals the main elements present in a sample, it often misses other closely related elements, hidden amongst neighboring peaks. This highlights the importance of preliminary analysis before using microscopy so that anticipated elements can be specifically sought.

The yellow paint is found on the page’s outer frame and is also mixed with the gold. The artist obviously had a limited access to gold paint and had to compensate with a yellow paint. The sample clearly shows the yellow as an organic colourant which has saturated the paper fibres. This raw organic yellow material, when properly powdered, may not have been made as a pigment but was applied directly as a colourant. Surprisingly, it seems as if the illuminator has opted for a local organic yellow colourant rather than the superior qualities of the mineral orpiment, which was used in the previous green mixture. SEM-EDX shows the yellow sample to contain gold with little other information. Any number of organic yellows would have been available to the Malay illuminator including the well known saffron, safflower and turmeric, but also other locally available yellows found in Malaysia’s jungles. Other Malay Qur’āns in IAMM’s collection use Gamboge yellow, a gum from a tree that grows in Southeast Asia. From its introduction in the 16th century until the development of Aureolin in the 1850’s (which quickly replaced it), Gamboge yellow was an extremely popular pigment in Southeast Asia.

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9 The carbon and oxygen might be attributable to the cellulose of the paper or just interference in the analysis, and the other lesser peaks such as potassium and magnesium are difficult to explain. They may represent impurities present in the iron oxide red contained in the mixture.

10 The arsenic sulphide (orpiment) was identified under PLM after SEM analysis was performed. Therefore, had orpiment been anticipated before SEM analysis, the data might have shown high arsenic levels thereby confirming its presence.

11 As the yellow is organic in nature, this analysis predictably failed to produce a substantial peak for inorganic elements.

12 The name Gamboge is a corruption of Cambodia where the tree also grows. Often considered a coloured resin rather than a true pigment, Gamboge quickly fades under a prolonged exposure to light.
Fig. 10. The illuminated end piece of a royal Terengganu Qur’ān (IAMM 1998.1.3468).
Case Study 2


This Qur’ān is yet another example from the north-eastern peninsula Malaysian state of Terengganu and one of the largest in the IAMM collection (figure 10). Although the Qur’ān has been heavily restored, the book is in an exceptionally good condition, as the text is written in regular carbon black ink, unlike the previous Qur’ān. Similar to the previously described Qur’ān, the placement of illumination is found in all the same verses at the beginning, middle and end folios of the volume. Illuminated pages have seven lines per page and all the other pages have 15 lines per page. The cover is missing. Inspection of the paper revealed a lack of watermarks and chain lines, a fine sheet formation and an overall thinness which is all highly characteristic of Chinese paper. Although it is said that this Qur’ān was copied for Sultan Zainal Abidin III of Terengganu (1866-1918), the style of illumination seems to take its inspiration less from the Terengganu style, and more from other Islamic styles. For example, the prominent use of blue and gold, eight pointed stars and foliate and floral decoration are all typical of a high quality Persian or Turkish Qur’ān, whereas the cloud shapes that surround the text derive from popular Chinese ‘cosmos motif’ ornamentation. All these different styles culminate to create a beautifully and uniquely illuminated Qur’ān. The colours that bring these motifs alive include two blues, one red, one violet and gold. There are also two different inks including black and red that are used alternately. Instead of gold paint being adulterated with yellow, this Qur’ān is lavishly decorated with sheets of pure gold leaf. The ink and paint is bound to the page with Gum Arabic and has a sweet smelling scent suggesting the paint might have been mixed with honey and/or perfume.13

Five pinhead samples were taken including two reds from the ink and illumination, two blues from main illuminated blue areas and the stalactite patterns on the sides of the pages and a violet from the flowers.

The red paint appeared very different in colour to the red iron oxide from the previous Qur’ān, but under the microscope somewhat similar. Because the particle sizes were beyond the magnification range of the microscope, they appeared as spherical and bacterioid aggregates. Particles were very fine with sizes ranging less than 1 μm and an even size distribution, all indicative of machine ground or synthetic paint. However, there were a few larger particles that allowed a greater insight into the red particle properties, which showed

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13 Inks were sometimes perfumed using camphor or musk. Other ingredients were added to ward of flies and worms. Honey, salt, vinegar and yogurt were sometimes added to act as a preservative to prevent or slow down the build up of mould.
Figs. 11 and 12. Micrographic view of the ultramarine particles under transmitted light (top) and under the Chelsea filter (below) (IAMM 1998.1.3468).
deep cherry red crystalline particles with extremely high refractive index and relief. The high relief prevented the transmitted light from passing through, rendering most of the particles almost opaque. Various chemical spot tests exhibited conflicting results which were ultimately inconclusive. Although unconfirmed, PLM analysis points to a red that displays all the properties of a ‘wet process’ synthetic type Vermilion pigment. It is well known among regular users of the microscope that haematite (the red colour in iron oxide red) and vermilion show similar characteristics and are extremely difficult to tell apart. More advanced analysis is required to make a definitive identification of the pigment. Vermilion is a synthesized version of the natural mineral cinnabar which has been used since antiquity. Chemically, the pigment is mercuric sulphide and, like all mercury compounds, it is extremely toxic.14

PLM analysis simply confirmed the suspected identity of the majority of the blue paint as ultramarine also known by its mineral name ‘Lapis lazuli’ (figure 11). Under the Chelsea filter (red transmission) the colour appears a red-brown colour and under transmitted light an intense blue-violet colour (figure 12). Moreover, the pigment was characteristically irregular and angular in shape and disappeared under the crossed polars. The analysis failed to show whether the pigment was the natural or synthetic ultramarine.15 The historic mineral Lapis lazuli originates almost exclusively from the Kokcha valley in Afghanistan and was traded by Muslim traders for centuries. How the Lapis lazuli pigment arrived in Malaysia is unknown, but it may have been brought by Arab or Persian traders to the port of Melaka on peninsula Malaysia’s west coast. The presence of this rare and expensive blue shows that the illuminator had access to great financial and logistical resources.

Another darker blue pigment was sampled from the inward pointing tessellations along the page borders. Under plane-polarized light, the blue forms weakly translucent dark blue particles with sizes ranging from fine to very fine. The pigment is clearly organic and as a result microscopy alone could not make a positive identification. However, the authors made an educated guess that the pigment was probably indigo in the form of an artists ‘lake’ pigment. Chemical spot tests went as far as to determine that it was not Prussian blue, a pigment which is often mistaken for indigo. Indigo blue is a vegetal extraction from the ‘Indigo Tinctoria’ plant which was introduced into Malaysia from India.15

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14 Consideration was given to the possibility that the vermilion might have been a mixed with iron oxide red as the high price of vermilion meant that it was often cut with other materials including brick dust and minium (red lead).

15 Differentiating these pigments from their synthetic substitutes through their optical qualities with microscopy proved to be almost impossible.
Lastly, violet paint was sampled from the floral motifs. Microscopically, the pigment appears to be a mixture of an organic natured crimson red dye (due to a lack of isolation of particles) and an inorganic white substance such as lead white or a carbonate. The pigment may be any number of historic red-violet lake pigments, but a likely option may be madder lake. Madder lakes are manufactured by the conversion of the adhering madder roots to alum substrates. Ideally the organic component of the red samples would have been identified definitively using other more advanced analysis. In Asia, madder has served since ancient times for dyeing textile materials.

Conclusion

Both Qur’ans were made from the middle- to late-nineteenth century, a time when a huge number of new pigments would have entered the market. Despite these developments, this study reveals how conservative the illuminators were in their choice of pigments and colours. Understandably, they would have spent many years acquiring the knowledge and skills of their art, so perhaps they were not prepared to risk their time and reputations on experiments with new materials. For example, both Qur’ans may contain locally produced organic colourants which were known to rapidly fade instead of a cheaper permanent synthetic substitute.

A comparison between the pigments used by the two illuminators raises many interesting points. The artists were working in the same culture, century and geographical region and yet the two Qur’ans appear vastly different both in style and their choice in methods and materials. These illuminators clearly possessed different skills, knowledge and experience as well as a great disparity in the financial and logistic availability of materials. This disparity of materials is demonstrated in Case Study 2 by the presence of the rare and expensive ultramarine, vermilion and plentiful use of gold leaf. The illuminator obviously had the benefit of both sponsorship and geographical access to good sources of both pigments and other illumination styles from which to copy. In addition the Qur’an also appears to have employed a very high level of sophistication and skill, adding weight to the claim that the Qur’an was commissioned by the Sultan and executed by a well-known artist. By comparison, the artist of the Qur’an in Case Study 1 has employed more modern, less expensive, ready-ground machine manufactured watercolours. The unconventional colour mixtures and inconsistent quality of the painting seem to indicate that the artist lacked experience and did not have a thorough knowledge of the pigments, their nature and capabilities. Nevertheless, taking into account the
limited palette, the artist displays great resourcefulness and skill in illuminating the Qurʾān which is evident in the green paint mixture and yellow substitute for gold. This Qurʾān displays a special charm and attraction by its local nature of its style, materials and techniques.

In conclusion, given the virtual absence of scholarship concerning the materials used in Malay manuscripts, the reader should remember that this study is only a preliminary investigation consisting of simple comparisons of scientific data and educated guesswork. Microscopic analysis has not provided all the answers, but its full potential can be reached when used in conjunction with other more advanced analytical tools. However, simple microscopic analysis has provided a good first step in improving our knowledge of the materials and techniques used in Malay Qurʾāns.

Bibliography


From Qustā b. Lūqā to Carra de Vaux. On the History of the Edition and Translation of the *Barulcus*, also called ‘Mechanic’,\(^1\) by Heron of Alexandria

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Abstract
Author describes the publication history of the Arabic translation of the work by Heron of Alexandria (1st century CE) on lifting heavy objects with little effort, a book of which the original Greek version is largely lost. He describes the rôle the manuscript (MS Leiden Or. 51, acquired in 1629, a longtime unicum) has played in the Europe of the Enlightenment. Arabist Jan Jacob Reiske (1716-1774) and King Frederick of Prussia had plans to translate the text into a European language. Finally Carra de Vaux published the Arabic text in 1893. New editions and translations have been produced since then, and more manuscripts of the Arabic text have come to light.

Keywords
History of Science, mechanics, Heron of Alexandria, Greek heritage, philology, Arabic manuscripts

From the point of view of history of science the manuscript of the Arabic translation of the *Barulcus* of Heron of Alexandria, the mathematician and many-sided technician of the first century of the Christian era, is one of the best known manuscripts in the Oriental collections of the University Library of Leiden. Most of the Greek text is now lost.\(^2\) The Arabic translation was done by Qustā b. Lūqā.\(^3\)

\(^*\) This article was originally written in German, but has remained unpublished. I am grateful to Mr. Roland Tasch for his valuable stylistic suggestions.

\(^1\) In his *Collectio*, Pappus (the Greek commentator of the 4th century CE) uses both the title ‘Ὁ Βαρουλκός (the Barulcus)’ and ‘Τὸ Μηχανικό’ (the ‘Mechanic’), but these two different references probably refer to one and the same text by Heron. In the modern editions both titles are used next to one another. I will hereafter only use the first one.

\(^2\) Some fragments have been preserved in Book Eight of the *Collectio* of Pappus (see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden 1974, vol. 5, p. 153)

\(^3\) Qustā b. Lūqā died in 300/912. He is considered one of the most important translators of Greek texts into Arabic. He was a Christian and his mother tongue was Greek. He had a talent for all sciences, and he has also translated texts of Aristarchos, Autolykos, Hypsikles and Theodosius.
The Leiden copy of this Arabic translation probably dates from the 13th century. The text treats the theory and the construction of several types of machines by means of which one can lift heavy objects with little effort.

The codex that contains the Arabic text of the Barulcus is one of the 211 manuscripts that were acquired in Morocco and the Near East for the Leiden library by Jacob Golius (1596-1667), the professor of Mathematics and of Oriental languages in Leiden. The Leiden manuscript would remain till well in the nineteenth century the only known copy in Europe of the Arabic translation of Heron’s work.

Golius was well aware of the importance of this manuscript for the world of learning. He worked for a while on a translation into Latin, but only part of that would be published, and that as late as 1785 in *Specimen Mechanicae Veterum per Mechanicam Recentiorum Plenius Expositum*. The author and editor of that work was Antonius Brugmans (1732-1789), the professor of the natural sciences in Groningen. He tells the reader in his preface that a Mr. de Reuver of Zeeland had kindly put at his disposal Golius’ unpublished Latin translation. But it was said that the manuscript was at many instances difficult to understand and that he could only communicate very little about its content.

This publication is the second and youngest source known to us in which the Latin translation by Golius of the Barulcus is mentioned. That manuscript has till today never surfaced.

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4 MS Leiden Cod. Or. 51 (1).

5 That treatise appeared in the *Commentationes Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensis*, vol. 7 (1785), pp. 75-88.

6 Brugmans refers to him as the secretary of the ‘Staaten’, the provincial parliament, of Zeeland. I could not find anything more about him.

7 It can, of course, not be excluded that Golius considered his translation as unfinished. Brugmans does not give any detail about the manuscript of Golius’ translation.

8 The text of Heron is divided into three books. On pp. 78-79 Brugmans gives only the first chapter of the first book, in which it is explained how an object of known weight can be moved with a known force with the help of a mechanism of gears. On the pages that follow (pp. 80-88) he treats the effect of the friction on the movement of the shaft and the gears.

9 The first time the manuscript of Golius Latin translation of the Barulcus was mentioned was by Matthias Ankerzen in his preface to his edition *Poema Tograti, cum Versione Latina Jacobi Golii Hacenus inedita*. Trajecti ad Rhenum 1707 (‘the poem [= Lāmiyyat al-’Agān] by al-Tughrā‘i, together with the Latin translation which till now has remained unpublished. Utrecht 1707’).

Qustā b. Lūqā’s translation of the Barulcus of Heron of Alexandria (MS Leiden, Or. 51, p. 1, detail of the title-page).

J.J. Reiske’s inventory of the Leiden Oriental manuscripts collection (*Manuscripti Libri Orientales*, MS Leiden, Or. 1373, f. 12b, detail) showing the entry of Qustā b. Lūqā’s translation of the Barulcus of Heron of Alexandria.
A page from *Maqāla* 3 of Quṣṭā b. Lūqā’s translation of the *Barulcus* of Heron of Alexandria showing one of Heron’s designs for a machine to lift heavy weights with little effort (MS Leiden, Or. 51, p. 60).
The second attempt to make the Barulcus better known in a circle of scientists is connected with the names of the Prussian king Frederick the Great (1712-1786) and Johann Jacob Reiske (1716-1774). In the course of the seven-years-war King Frederick had conquered the town of Leipzig and had chosen it as his residence. In order to prove that he had many-sided interests he invited in December 1760 a group of conspicuous personalities from cultural and intellectual life to join him there. Among these was also Johann Jacob Reiske,11 an expert of both the Greek and Arabic language. The king had had a long conversation about Arabic literature with this outstanding scholar, who is reputed12 to have liberated Arabic philology from the clutches of the philologia sacra13 and they spoke in particular about the Barulcus. When he was a student in Leiden, from 1738-1746, Reiske had held the manuscript in his hands when he was ordered by the directors14 of the University to rearrange the manuscript collection of the Leiden library.15 That conversation had given the

1980) did not retrieve the translation during his research on the whereabouts of the manuscripts of Golius’ private collection.

11 Reiske’s biography, which after his death was published by his wife Ernestine Christine (D. Johann Jacob Reiskens von ihm selbst aufgesetzte Lebensbeschreibung. Leipzig 1783) does not mention the conversation with King Frederick. The only information we have about this conversation we can retrieve from the two answers that were written by Reiske’s friend Georg Wernsdorf (1717-1774), who was Professor of Oriental languages, of Poetry and of Rhetoric in the university of Danzig. These two letters, one of March 1762 and the other of August 1763, are incorporated in the correspondence, which has been added to the ‘Biography’ on pp. 769-789.


13 ‘Wolle man dem Arabischen aufhelfen, so müsse man es nicht als Theologe treiben.’ (Lebensbeschreibung, S.31).

14 See P.C. Molhuysen, Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit, Vijfde deel, ’s-Gra venhage 1921, pp. 128*-129*.

15 MS Leiden Cod. Or. 1373 is a witness of Reiske’s work in the library. He calls it his ‘own handwritten catalogue’ (‘eignen geschriebnen Catalogum’), that was ‘unlike the previous catalogue, which is arranged according to subject-matter, but according to the sequence of the books, according to size. […] For this I received from Mr. Schultens, on behalf of the directors of the University, a remuneration of 9 Dutch guilders, for an undescribably hard work which lasted for several months.’ ([…] ‘nicht wie der alte war, nach den Materien, sondern nach der Reihe, oder Folge der Bücher, nach dem Formate. […] Dafür bekam ich, aus den Händen des Herrn Schultens, eine Belohnung von 9 holländischen Gulden, und zwar im Namen der Herrn Curatoren, für eine unbeschreibliche Arbeit von einigen Monaten.’ Lebensbeschreibung, p. 23). With ‘the previous catalogue’ he referred to Catalogus librorum tam impressorum quam manuscriptorum bibliothecae publicae universitatis Lugduno-Batavor, Lugduni apud Batavoros, 1716. Albert Schultens (1686-1750) was the Interpres and professor of Oriental languages in Leiden.
king the idea, as becomes clear from the letters of Wernsdorf, to ask Reiske to prepare a French or a Latin translation of the *Barulcus*, probably not in the least *ad majorem regis gloriam*. Reiske never produced the translation, and we do not know why he did not. Gotthart Strohmaier assumes that the reason for this was that the person who had just liberated Arabic studies from the clutches of Bible exegesis, would not reduce them again to an ancillary science, this time of classical philology.

In the course of the 19th century science and scholarship got more and more interested in its own history. Time had come in which important texts could be edited on a grandiose scale. Orientalists profited from this as well. In their studies they had become independent to such an extent that they could now produce text-critical editions of their own classical authors. That is how they invaded the space of classical philology, with which they quickly came on an equal footing. Numerous historical and geographical works were published and many still stand out as exemplary. The *Barulcus* appeared in 1893 for the first time in a complete translation into French, which was made by Carra de Vaux, who simultaneously published an edition of the Leiden manuscript. Seven years after that also a German translation was published, together with an edition of the Arabic text, for which three more manuscripts could be used. The edition and translation were produced in one volume by L. Nix and W. Schmidt. Either edition has recently been reprinted.

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17 The two letters of Wernsdorf do not give any specific information on this issue. In the second letter, apart from the words of the king which are repeated by Wernsdorf with agreement, the possibility is also mentioned to produce a retranslation into Greek (*Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 785).
20 In 1974 the number of manuscripts had risen to six, see Fuat Sergyin, *GAS*, vol. 5, p. 154.
The Islamic Manuscripts in the McPherson Library, University of Victoria, Victoria, B.C.

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Abstract
The article describes the modest collection of Islamic manuscripts in Victoria, B.C. (Western Canada). One manuscript in particular, a remarkable late Ottoman illustrated prayer book, receives attention. The little amount of other Islamic manuscripts that somehow have found their way to Victoria's University Library are described here for the first time.

Keywords
Arabic manuscripts, McPherson Library, University of Victoria, Evâmi Şerif, Qua'ān manuscripts, catalogues, Victoria B.C.

Introduction
The pleasant climate and lovely natural surroundings of Victoria, on Vancouver Island in British Columbia, Canada, makes the town the favourite retreat of the Canadian pensioner. But the benign climate is not Victoria's only advantage. Among the numerous benefits of the town special mention must be made of its university, 'UVic', which is situated on a spacious campus, a small world in itself with many amenities available. Sometimes the beauty and simplicity of the place is unreal. When I first visited UVic, in the spring of 2008, I found the comparison with the set of the British TV children series Teletubbies compelling. All over the campus, on undulating meadows, hip hopped rabbits that were clearly unaware of the fact that in most other places they would only be seen as a source of protein, but not here. Deer are freely roaming around as well, in smaller numbers than the rabbits though, and the well-cared for

1 Research for this paper was mainly conducted on the spot during the spring of 2009 and the summer of 2010. I am grateful to curator Chris Petter and his staff for freely allowing me to work with the small but precious Islamic manuscripts collection in the McPherson library. I thank Dr. Hélène Cazes for offering me the best of her hospitality during my stays in Victoria.
Finnerty Gardens garden round off the first impression of a paradisiacal place. At closer inspection appearances may prove to be misleading sometimes.

The McPherson library is one of UVic’s great assets. UVic is a relatively new university, with a degree-granting status that dates back to 1963. Its institutional predecessor, Victoria College, was founded in 1903. The McPherson Library building in its present shape is now part of the William C. Mearns Centre for Learning (the ’Mearns Centre’), an expansion to the northeast side of the original library, which was completed in as recently as 2008. It is the typical North American campus library, mostly catering for the needs of a growing and transient students population, with kind and efficient staff, with ample IT accommodation, a fair collection of reference works, and research collections on subjects taught in the faculties.

Other Islamic Manuscript Materials in Victoria, B.C.

The present description only contains Islamic manuscripts and fragments which are kept in the McPherson Library. Yet, it is useful to mention a few other places in Victoria where Islamic manuscripts are kept as well, just to give a more complete picture of what one can expect to find when visiting Victoria.

On UVic’s campus there is, apart from the McPherson Library, another institution which possesses a few Islamic manuscript materials. This is the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery, which has a statute which separates it from UVic’s University Library. The Museum’s website mentions some Indian miniatures, and it is probable that the Museum holds more than what is actually shown on the internet. Apart from the Maltwood collection proper, the Maltwood Art Museum and Gallery houses several more collections in which also Islamic objects of art, including manuscripts, are contained. All this needs further investigation.

There is one more institution in Victoria, though not in UVic, which has a few Islamic manuscript materials in its holdings, mostly calligraphic, illuminated and illustrated fragments in Arabic, Persian (both from Iran and India), and Turkish. This is the Art Gallery of Greater Victory. This Gallery has an

2 As UVic’s library website has it: ‘McPherson Library is a key component of the William C. Mearns Centre for Learning.’ The address of the Special Collections department of UVic is McPherson Library/Special Collections, University of Victoria, PO Box 1800 STN CSC, Victoria BC V8W 3H5, Canada, e-mail address: specoll@uvic.ca.

3 Part of the Museum’s collection can be viewed at: <http://www.maltwood.uvic.ca/newmis/index.php>.
extensive permanent collection of more than 17,000 works that reflects its three main areas: extensive Asian art holdings which include the most comprehensive collection of Japanese art in Canada; historical collections which feature Canadian and international works; and a contemporary art collection which features national and international artists, with a particular commitment to Canadian artists and those from BC and the local regions.4 Some Islamic manuscript materials have been added in course of time, mostly through donations, but collecting them has never been the Gallery's core activity.

Thirdly, it should be remembered that Victoria is, because of the composition of its population, a relatively affluent town, and I would not be surprised if there existed private art collections in the Greater Victoria area in which more Islamic manuscripts or miniatures are held. The ex-Elphick manuscript which I describe hereunder is a proof for this assumption. So far I have not located any other materials, but this too needs further research.5

Islamic Manuscripts in the McPherson Library

The collection of Islamic manuscripts in UVic’s McPherson Library is of limited scope. It counts seven accession numbers in all. These numbers consist of the year of acquisition, followed by a serial number. I have not come across an acquisition’s inventory—which must exist—nor have I found a provenance for all of the manuscripts. Of these seven accession numbers, only two are really books in the codicological sense (1995-014 and 2000-003), the other five are fragments of a few pages at most. Five items are written on paper, two are fragments on parchment (1992-037-1 and 2005-032).

The collection was started as a representation collection, brought together for teaching purposes: ‘Since the 1980’s the University of Victoria has been collecting Islamic manuscripts to serve the interests of History in Art.’6 UVic’s collection policy for special materials is simple, modest and efficiently formulated: ‘The primary role of Special Collections is to acquire rare, fragile, and

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4 Information derived from the Gallery’s website. A number of the Islamic manuscript fragments of the Gallery’s collection were seen by me in the original on August 24 and 26, 2010. Ms. Lori Graves, the Gallery’s registrar, was so kind to allow me to work in the stacks of the Gallery for a first look at the Islamic manuscripts.

5 I gratefully acknowledge here the help I received from Dr. Marcus Milwright, in the Department of History in Art in UVic, in completing this overview of collections outside the McPherson Library.

6 See the basic facts on UVic’s Special Collections in their website: <http://library.uvic.ca/site/spcoll/sc.html>.
fugitive books, manuscripts and archival material which will support teaching and research, particularly in the Humanities, within the University and in the broader community.\(^7\)

The somewhat haphazard collecting policies that the Islamic manuscripts collection reflects are an indication of that, and the financial means of the library for expanding the Islamic manuscripts collection have always been limited. However, one manuscript (MS 1995-014), an illustrated Arabic prayer book from Ottoman Turkey dating from the late-18th century, is truly remarkable. It deserves special mention here, it is exceptional for its ornamental wealth and it has given rise to important research, which will be summarized hereafter. The acquisition of the manuscript in 1995 was inspired by Prof. Anthony Welch, then holding the chair of Islamic Art and Architecture, Iranian Painting, and Architecture of Muslim India in UVic’s History in Art department, and later serving UVic in the position of dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts. Most of this article is devoted to a description of that manuscript.

I am not aware of any other Islamic manuscript materials in the possession of UVic’s library and I assume that the seven items here described are the only ones presently available.\(^8\)

At the end of my description of UVic’s seven Islamic manuscripts I attach an appendix containing a short description of an Arabic manuscript which was in a private collection in Victoria (Mr. and Mrs. Elphick), but which eventually was not acquired by nor donated to the McPherson library, or any other public collection. It had been inspected by Prof. Welch in 1996, who returned it to its owners and only in 2009 the manuscript surfaced in the antiquarian book trade in the greater Victoria area, from where I purchased it for my private collection.

A Description of the Collection

The descriptions are in order of accession number, which reflect the chronological order of acquisition and registration by UVic’s library. I largely adopt the method of describing manuscripts, which I have first introduced in my catalogue of the Leiden Library.\(^9\) Following that approach, I first give the

\(^7\) From the Library’s website, as seen on July 19, 2010.

\(^8\) Thus confirmed to me by personal communication of August 19, 2010, from Dr. Chris Petter, curator of the Special Collections in the McPherson Library.

MS Victoria 1981-003

Arabic, indigenous paper, one single leaf with text on either side, 23.2 × 13.5 cm, expert naskh script likely to have been written in Persia, 10 lines to the page, text set within a double frame (blue and gold, and between the two frames is illumination work with floral motifs), apparently originating from an elegantly executed copy. Undated, but in the library administration the year 1751 is mentioned, which cannot be corroborated by the manuscript. The fragment is now kept in a passe-partout.

Unidentified fragment of a prayer text. The prayer formulas are directed to God, who is addressed in the second person.

Notes on the portfolio and on a loose piece of paper, which is kept together with the manuscript, seem to indicate that this fragment originates from a copy of al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalin by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Gazari (d. 833/1429), GAL G II, 203. This is in fact a rare work and I have not been able to consult it. In popularity it seems to have been superseded by the author’s own compendium Uddat al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn min Kalām Sayyid al-Mursalin. Comparison of the Victoria fragment with the two printed editions of the Udda which I did consult, did not yield any result. The added notes which identify the present leaf as a fragment of al-Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn, and the other evidently incorrect or unverifiable details which are given in them, do not mention a source, and they may have been part of information provided by an imaginative vendor. On the other hand, it is not impossible that this information, which was somehow added to the manuscript, but which cannot be verified on the present fragment, was available in other leaves of the same fragment before it possibly was split up in the antiquarian trade. Anyway, for the moment a positive identification with al-Gazari’s work could not be established.


11 I consulted two editions of this popular work of which there exists no critical edition: one published by al-Maṭba’a al-Ṭāmimiyya, Cairo 1303 (1886), the other by Dār al-Wirāqa, Ḥamā 1396 (1976).
On the recto side is a chapter or section header, written in gold ink set against a blue background in cloud-like shape. The text of the header and the beginning of the prayer run as follows:

\[
\text{وكان من دعائه عليه السلام في الكُلَّ و*لاقَانَة*}
\]

... 

Added to the leaf are two sheets of paper with a handwritten tentative translation into English of the Arabic text, of which is said ‘translation by Abdullah (Art History Grad Student, 1985)’.

Also added is a slip of paper containing a typed description which contains the following mix of confusing, misleading, contradictory and suggestive information: ‘Al-Harzi,12 Mohamed | fl. 1751; Turkey or Persia | 2 pages; 1751 | Single leaf from 18th Century religious manuscript, “Hassi Hasin” (Prayer and Contemplation). Written in Arabic (probably in Turkey) in the Naskhi hand. May be an Ishmaeli text. Illuminated, gilded and decorated with a floral motif.’

**MS Victoria 1992-037-1**

Arabic, parchment, 16.2 × 22 cm (largest measurement), 1 leaf with text on either side, ragged edges with damage especially in the four corners of the leaf (was the leaf taken out of an album?), also three larger and a number of smaller holes in the leaf, ‘Abbāsid bookhand, possibly of the 4/10th century, 16 lines of text on either page, text area: c. 13 × 19.0 cm, now kept in a passe-partout.

The diacritics for the consonants are done with little strokes, the vowels are given with red dots; unadorned, rather primitive ten-verse dividers which are possibly of a later date, although there seems to be space left open for them, can be observed at the end of āyā 10, 20 and 30.

An old fragment of the Qur’ān (54:1-32).

Recto (hair side): Qur’ān 54:1 (al-Qamar)—16 (wa-Nudhuri).

Verso (flesh side): Qur’ān 54:17 (laqād yassaranā)—32 (fa-hal).

Images of either leaf are shown at several instances in the Digital Image Database Online (DIDO), of the History in Art department of UVic,13 Nos. 085585, 085586, 085587, 085588, 266618, 266619.

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12 Corrected in pencil into: ‘Al-Jazri’.

Provenance: Bruce and Dorothy Brown Collection, officially transferred to the University of Victoria on June 27th, 1996. Earlier provenance: Acquired through Maggs Bros. Rare Books, London, who gave as the ultimate origin of the fragment ‘North Africa’.

**MS Victoria 1995-014**

*Codicology*

Collective volume with texts in Arabic and Turkish, manuscript on brownish coloured European paper (with watermark, not further analyzed) of two different types (pp. 1-312, 313-412), 19.5 × 12.7 cm, 412 pp., written mostly in a bold, fully vocalized *naskh* script. Two (or possibly even three) hands can be distinguished: pp. 4-271, 272-310, 313-403, the first of which is of calligraphic quality, the others are less accomplished, and on p. 311 the colophon is written in *thuluth* script by the first or second copyist. The divide between the two sorts of paper coincides with the divide between hands. At the end of the volume (pp. 406-408) a Turkish text has been added, which is written in *ruq’a* script within frames that were not used for the second part of the volume. The entire content of the volume is set within a composite frame (gold, red), black ink, with the use of gold and white ink, and several colours. Up till p. 311 the texts are written in 9 lines to the page (traces of the use of a *mitarîk*), with cloud shaped divisions between the lines. From p. 313 onwards many calligraphic panels and drawings are given with a varied number of lines. The first part of the manuscript is dated 1201 (1786-1787), and was allegedly copied by Mūsā Efendi b. Ḥasan Efendi, a pupil of Ibrāhīm al-Rudūsī Efendi, but actually it was copied by Muṣṭafā Ayyūb Efendîzâda (colophon on p. 311, see transcript and translation below). This first part has catchwords at the bottom of every verso page. Larger illuminations are on pp. 4 and 272, and in the text part there numerous smaller headings in white ink on a gold background. There are numerous illustrations in the second part (pp. 313-403). The volume is bound in a full-leather Islamic binding, with gilded ornamentation (borders, central medallion, corner pieces). Remnants of painted gold ornamentation on the edges (floral motifs) are still visible.14

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14 The front board of the binding is reproduced by Alexandra Bain, *The late Ottoman Enâm-i şerîf*, p. 401, fig. 16.1.
Introductory Remarks

The Victoria manuscript has been extensively studied by Alexandra Bain, *The late Ottoman En'am-i şerif. Sacred text and images in an Islamic prayer book*, 507 pp. Unpublished PhD thesis 1999, University of Victoria (supervisor Prof. S. Anthony Welch). Ms. Bain describes the Victoria manuscript in great detail on pp. 228-253 of her dissertation. On pp. 401-442 of her book she reproduces 161 images taken from the Victoria manuscript, which number includes a reproduction of all pages of the second, illustrated part of the present manuscript (pp. 312-403).

Ms. Bain treats twenty-eight manuscripts of the *An'am* type, twenty-four from libraries in Turkey, two from the New York Public Library, one from the British Library in London and one from the McPherson Library in Victoria B.C. She places the Victoria manuscript within the historical context of the production of late-Ottoman illustrated Islamic prayer books of the *An'am* (*En'am*) type. At first she gives a thematical analysis of the material contained in the different manuscripts (pp. 42-169). This she follows up with a description of the corpus of *An'am* manuscripts which she has composed for her research.15

The present description of the Victoria manuscript was at first made by me without recourse to Alexandra Bain's unpublished dissertation. I had not been aware of its existence until I was told about it by Mr. Terrence Tieu, a member of the staff of McPherson Library, and by then my first draft of the description of the manuscript was already completed. I then checked my description against Ms. Bain's account of the manuscript and wherever I thought fit to include elements of her descriptions into mine I have indicated this. My purpose is to give a factual description of the Victoria manuscript, whereas it was Ms. Bain's ambition to undertake a comparative study of the content and the religious imagery in Ottoman illustrated prayer books. The interpretative challenges that follow from Ms. Bain's treatment of this genre of works exceed the scope of my description.16

On the codicological level I observe a division into two parts in the Victoria copy of the *An'am*. These two parts were made separately, possibly by a division of labour, and that the only thing that holds them together is the binding....

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15 Shelf mark of either of the two volumes in the McPherson Library: (SC) the BP 18 3.3 B 35. Prints or electronic versions of the book can be purchased through the internet from University Microfilms International in Ann Arbor, Michigan (ISBN 0612373290). A read-only version of the book is available from the reference page of www.islamicmanuscripts.info.

16 In the early summer of 2009 I met with Ms. Bain in Victoria and discussed with her among other things her thesis and the Victoria manuscript.
of the manuscript. The two parts in that binding are written on two types of paper of different colours, possibly at different times, and by different copyists. This formal division into two coincides with a division of content. From pp. 4-311 the volume contains sacred texts, mostly Qurʼān, and some prayers that relate to the devotion of the Prophet Muḥammad. In the part of pp. 312-405 the volume contains a large collection of images and calligraphical panels, equally of religious and devotional nature, but of entirely different orientation, of intercession, Shafā, and of protective magic, Ṭāʿīwād. As becomes clear from Ms. Bainʼs research, other An ām collections are composed in a similar way, quotations from the Qurʼān and other prayer texts to start with, after which follows a series of images and calligraphies. As far as codicology is concerned, the Victoria manuscript consists of two different parts, but in what pertains to the contents, the Victoria manuscript is one bibliographical entity. The difference between the codicological and the bibliographical approaches may be explained if one assumes that this prayer book was produced by division of labor between a small group of artists, or rather craftsmen: calligraphers, illuminators, painters and a bookbinder. It would be interesting to find out whether in other such An ām collections a similar division of labor can be observed.

The Turkish part with medical recipes at the end, which I have treated here-under as text No. 3, is obviously a later addition written on pages that were left blank (except for the frame) when the volume was already complete. The fact that there are pages with empty frames may be yet another indication that there was a division of labour during the manufacture of the manuscript.

Description of the Content

(1) pp. 4-311. Al-An ām al-Sharīf (title so on p. 311, where the word al-An ām in an Arabic context is treated as masculine), consisting of sūraʼs and āyāt from the Qurʼān and other sources. The section contains Qurʼānic quotations.

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17 As can be easily seen when one opens the book at the opening of p. 312 (end of part 1) and p. 313 (beginning of p. 2).
18 All Qurʼānic references are to the numbering in the Cairo edition (originally the one sponsored by King Fuʻād I, and first published in 1924), which seems to be out of fashion nowadays. For finding the Qurʼānic references I made use of the concordance by Muḥammad Fuʻād ʻAbd al-Baqī, al-Maṣāḥ al-Muṣafiras li-Alfāz al-Qurʼān al-Karīm, in the edition Cairo (Dār al-Hadith) 1422/2001. Conrary to other editions, this particular one also reproduces the Qurʼānic text, and follows the Muṣaf Maṣmaʻ al-Malik Fahd, the ‘Qurʼān of the King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qurʼān’, the large Qurʼān producing complex in Medina, which was founded by King Fahd b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz of Saudi Arabia. It should be noted that the Victoria manuscript frequently has alternative names of the sūras and these have been maintained in the present...
Opening page of An`am-i Sharif, an Ottoman prayer book of the late 18th century, showing Sūrat al-Fāṭihā. MS Victoria-1995-014, p. 4.
and devotional texts which pertain to God (pp. 1-259) and the Prophet Muḥammad (pp. 259-311).

– p. 4: sūrat al-Fātiha (Qurʾān 1). Illustration in Bain, p. 402, fig. 16.2.
– p. 5: beginning only of sūrat al-Baqara (Qurʾān 2, last word al-Muflihūn, 2:5). Illustration in Bain, p. 402, fig. 16.3. Taken together, pp. 4-5 look exactly like the double illuminated opening page of an Ottoman Qurʾān.
– pp. 6-7: the final verses only of sūrat al-Baqara (Qurʾān 2:284-286), to be said at the time of the five ritual prayers, according to the heading in Turkish (Awqāt-i Khamsa-da Qirayat ülhnān).
– pp. 8-11: Qurʾān 3:189-200, to be said during each day and night according to the heading in Turkish (Kullu Yawm wa-Layla Qirayat ülhnāq). The prayer is in part composed of Qurʾānic verses.
– pp. 12-71: sūrat al-Anām (Qurʾān 6), from which the collections of this type derive their name, as sūra 6 is the first sūra to be reproduced in such selections from the Qurʾān.
– pp. 112-127: sūrat Yāsīn (Qurʾān 36).
– pp. 187-190: the seven Āyāt-i Sharīf, each with a heading in Turkish. The first of these āyāt (p. 187) is Qurʾān 9:51, the second (p. 187) is Qurʾān 10:107, the third (p. 188) is Qurʾān 11:6, the fourth (p. 188) is Qurʾān 29:60, the fifth (p. 189) is Qurʾān 11:56, the sixth (pp. 189-190) is Qurʾān 35:2, the seventh (p. 190) is Qurʾān 39:38. Illustrations in Bain, pp. 402-403, figs. 16.5-16.8: manuscript pp. 187-190.

On pp. 192-253 follows غزَّ 30 (غزَّ `امَّا) of the Qur’an in its entirety, followed by سُورَة الْفَاتِحَة (Quরٰىن 1; this section not illustrated in Bain). The names of the سُورَات in the here following list have been maintained exactly as they occur in the manuscript.

- pp. 192-196: سُورَة النَّبَا (Quরٰىن 78).
- pp. 196-200: سُورَة النَّازِيَة (Quরٰىن 79).
- pp. 200-204: سُورَةahuس (Quরٰىن 80).
- pp. 204-207: سُورَة الْكَعْوَس (Quরٰىن 81).
- pp. 207-209: سُورَة الْهَيْتَمُ (Quরٰىن 82).
- pp. 209-213: سُورَة الْمَتْفَف (Quরٰىن 83).
- pp. 213-215: سُورَة الْيَس (Quরٰىن 84).
- pp. 216-218: سُورَة الْمَعَدَّث (Quরٰىن 85).
- pp. 218-220: سُورَة الْأَبْسَ (Quরٰىن 86).
- pp. 220-222: سُورَة الْعَلَّا (Quরٰىن 87).
- pp. 222-224: سُورَة الْجَهَّاَل (Quরٰىن 88).
- pp. 224-227: سُورَة الْفَجِّ (Quరٰىن 89).
- pp. 227-229: سُورَة الْبَلَد (Quరٰىن 90).
- pp. 230-231: سُورَة الْشَّمَس (Quరٰىن 91).
- pp. 231-233: سُورَة الْلَّيْل (Quరٰىن 92).
- pp. 233-234: سُورَة الْمَدَح (Quربٰىن 93).
- pp. 234-235: سُورَة الْحَبِّي (Quربٰىن 94).
- pp. 235-236: سُورَة الْهَيْدَان (Quربٰىن 95).
- pp. 236-237: سُورَة الْقَمَام (Quربٰىن 96).
- pp. 237-238: سُورَة الْجَدِّ (Quربٰىن 97).
- pp. 238-240: سُورَة الْقَدْر (Quربٰىن 98).
- pp. 242-243: سُورَة الْقُرُّ (Quربٰىن 100).
- pp. 243-244: سُورَة الْقَرَاء (Quربٰىن 101).
- p. 244: سُورَة الْطَّالِب (Quربٰىن 102).
- p. 245: سُورَة الْجَعْل (Quربٰىن 103).
- pp. 245-246: سُورَة الْمَعَازِن (Quربٰىن 104).
- pp. 246-247: سُورَة الْفَل (Quربٰىن 105).
- p. 247: سُورَة الْقَرَن (Quربٰىن 106).
- pp. 248-249: سُورَة الْكَوْثَر (Quربٰىن 108).
- p. 250: سُورَة الْفِي (Quربٰىن 110).
- pp. 250-251: سُورَة الْبَحْر (Quربٰىن 111).
- p. 251: سُورَة الْجَلِّ (Quربٰىن 112).


– pp. 263-266: Asmā’-i Sayyidinā Fakhr-i Ālam (‘the Pride of the World’ = the Prophet Muḥammad). There follow 98 (the MS says on p. 268: 99 Asmā’) names (Muḥammad of course being the first name, but that name is not given in the list, hence the count of 98), which are concluded by tammat Asmā’-i Nabi. This list of ninety-nine names of the Prophet is different from the list of 201 names of the Prophet as given by al-Ḡazūlī in the introductory part of his Dalā’il al-Khayrāt. The possible relationship between the two lists in terms of overlap has not been investigated. Illustrations in Bain, pp. 406-407, fig. 16.19-16.22: manuscript pp. 263-266.

– pp. 267-272: several prayers (each introduced by a basmala) for in the evening and in the morning (akbhsamd wa-sabāḥda), in Arabic, headings (instructions) in Turkish. Illustrations in Bain, pp. 407-408, fig. 16.23-16.28: manuscript pp. 267-272. See also Bain, pp. 63-65.


– On p. 311 follows the colophon, which is written in thuluth script:

The completion of the writing of this noble al-An‘âm and exalted Word was done in the hand of the servant [of God] who is in need of the grace of his Lord the Almighty, Mūsā Efendī b. Hasan Efendī, a pupil of Ibrâhīm al-Rudūsī Efendī, may the grace of the Creator be upon him. Earlier he had requested from me that I write his name in this copy for reasons of blessing.19 So I asked God counsel in a dream and I wrote his name, and I am [the one] hoping to receive the abundance of my Lord, so that He may forgive me and that He may pardon the sin of me, Muṣṭafā Ayyûb Efendîzâda, may God make easy to everyone of us what He wishes. In the year 1201.

This colophon text is somewhat enigmatic, as it seems surprising a copyist being asked to write someone else’s name as the copyist of the manuscript, and then nevertheless making himself known as the actual copyist. It implies, I think, the existence of a pre-industrial workshop of painters and calligraphers involved in producing beautiful books, both prayer-books and Qur’âns. The copyist Muṣṭafâ Ayyûb Efendîzâda may or may not have been a pupil of al-Rudūsī, but he does not say so in the colophon. If he was he did his co-pupil Mūsā Efendî b. Hasan Efendî a favour, and if he was not he may have wanted to receive a favour from Mūsā Efendî b. Hasan Efendî. Work in the hand of Ibrâhîm al-Rudûsî, the workshop’s master, is known from a colophon in an An‘âm prayer-book which is in the collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd. That manuscript is dated 1165/1751-1752. Another pupil of al-Rudûsî’s is a certain Ḥâqqî Uthmân from Bosnia, who is the copyist of a manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, al-Durr al-Munazzam fī Sirr al-Ism al-A‘zam by al-Bistâmi.20

19 Bain, pp. 42-46, elaborates on the concept of Tabarruk, blessing.
The fact that the colophon is here in the volume and not at the end is explained by Bain (p. 231), on the authority of Uğur Derman, as follows: ‘By placing the colophon between the text and the images, the calligrapher has apparently indicated responsibility for the former and not the latter.’ The reality is much more prosaic, however, as we have seen, that there are within the binding of the Victoria manuscript in fact two different codicological entities, written by different copyists on different paper, and not necessarily at the same time. An illustration of the colophon is in Bain, p. 418, fig. 16.67: manuscript p. 311.

– p. 312: blank.

(2) pp. 313-405. Collection of calligraphic panels (many in Ḥilīya-style), which are often provided with a title written in a panel over the image. Parts of this section can be read as a large collection of religious imagery. In the genre Anām prayer books the prayers in the first half of the manuscript are usually followed by a collection of devotional images and calligraphies. It is this religious imagery that has received most attention in the work by Alexandra Bain. Since Bain’s dissertation there has appeared a photographic survey of the Ottoman relics kept in the Topkapi Palace, which work could be considered as the present-day sequel to the image section in the late-Ottoman Anām prayer books.21

The beginning of this part coincides with the beginning of a new quire. The texts of this second part are written in a hand different from the hand(s) of the first part, and on evidently different paper. This entire section has been reproduced by Bain, pp. 418-411, fig. 16.68-16.158.

– p. 313: a Ḥilīya with several textual elements: the verse of the Qur’ān on which the practice of Taṣliya, invoking God’s blessing on the Prophet, is based (Qur’ān 33:56), also mention of Hasan, Ḥusayn, Ga’far b. Ṣadiq and Imam Muhammad al-Mahdi, four of al-Asmā’ al-Husnā, etc. Bain, p. 232, calls this figure the ‘Great Seal’. She mentions symbolic meanings for elements in this image, which cannot, however, immediately be deduced from texts in the image itself. The question whether or not these symbolic meanings are correct falls outside the scope of the present description. The

A catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts and miniatures. Dublin (Hodges) 1958, No. 444, on pp. 80-82.

same goes for all other symbolic interpretations by Bain, and I refrain from using these. Of course, I have profited from Bain’s (unpublished) thesis, in particular of her translations of most texts incorporated in the illustrations and illuminations in the Victoria manuscript. See also Bain, pp. 70-78. Bain treats the properties of this figure Muhr-i Kabir, the ‘Great Seal’, on pp. 108-110 of her thesis.

– p. 314: a calligraphic Circle with title Ism Rabb al-‘Alamin, the ‘name of the Lord of the Worlds’, and the word Allāh in a central circular panel.
– p. 315: a calligraphic Circle with title Ism al-Nabī Muḥammad, the ‘name of the Prophet Muḥammad’, and the word Muḥammad in a central circular panel.

On pp. 316-335 follows a series of Ḥilyas. Each Ḥilya has a title panel on top, a ‘sub-title’ panel at the bottom, a large central circle with text in which the exterior of the person to whom the Ḥilya is dedicated is described, and four smaller circles in each corner with names of the Prophet Muḥammad (Aṣmā’ al-Nabī). Bain in her descriptions (pp. 233-240) of these Ḥilyas translates the Turkish texts in full or in excerpt.

– p. 316: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Ādam-i Ṣafi, the Ḥilya of Adam (prayer text in Turkish for him, and on the following Ḥilyas for the other prophets, the Prophet Muḥammad and the first four caliphs).
– p. 317: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Nūḥ, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Noah.
– p. 318: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Ibrāhīm, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Abraham.
– p. 319: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Iṣhāq, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Isaac.
– p. 320: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Iṣmā’īl, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Ismael.
– p. 321: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Lūṭ, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Lot.
– p. 322: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Dāwūd, the Ḥilya of the Prophet David.
– p. 323: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Mūsā, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Moses.
– p. 324: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Hārūn, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Aaron.
– p. 325: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Yāqūt, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Jacob.
– p. 326: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Yūsuf, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Joseph.
– p. 327: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat ’Īsā, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Jesus.
– p. 328: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Muḥammad, the Ḥilya of the Prophet Muḥammad.
– p. 329: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Fakhr-i Aṭām, another Ḥilya of the Prophet Muḥammad (thus because of the use of the same eulogy as in the preceding Ḥilya).
– p. 331: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat Ōmar, the Ḥilya of the second Caliph ’Ōmar al-Fārūq.
p. 332: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat ʿUthmān, the Ḥilya of the third Caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.

p. 333: Ḥilya-yi Ḥadrat ʿAlī, the Ḥilya of the fourth Caliph ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

On pp. 334-337 come Ḥilyas and religious images of a design different from the ones on pp. 316-333.

p. 334: Ḥilya with epithets of the Prophet Muhammad, with calligraphic construction of ya Mannān and ya Hannān within a six-pointed star. See Bain, pp. 116-118, for a thematic treatment.

p. 335: Ḥilya with calligraphic construction with the word ʿalā (with an implicit reference to the name 'Alī?), made in a four-sided design which shows four times the sentence inna Allāh ʿalā Kullī Shayqadīr (Qurān 2:20 and several other places), with an enlargement of the preposition ʿalā so that it looks as if the name ‘Alī is given. Bain (pp. 239-240) interprets this page as the 'Seal of the Qurānic verse inna Allāh <alā>22 kullī shayqadīr”. See also on Mubr and its protective properties, Bain, pp. 78-93. See for a similar but more complex (five-sided design) calligraphy of this inna Allāh ʿalā Kullī Shayqadīr MS 400 in the Sakıp Sabancı collection.23

p. 336: Mubr-i Nubuwwat-i Muhāmmad Mustaṭfā, the seal of the Prophethood of the Chosen Prophet Muhāmmad. Under the title the space is divided into three vertical panels. The seal is in the centre and is represented here as an oval with two pointed extremities, containing the text of the Muslim creed, and at the side of which are four cartouches with phrases which partly consist of Qurānic expressions. See Bain, pp. 94-96.

p. 337: Mubr-i Ḥadrat-i Sulaymān, A Ḥilya-like panel with the seal of the Prophet Solomon, shown as a five-pointed star set in circular form. Several of God’s Asmā’ are given in the central circle and several of the Prophet’s Asmā’ in the separate smaller circles in the corners. See Bain, pp. 114-116, for a thematic treatment.

pp. 338-339: two Ḥilyas with texts, partly consisting of Qurānic expressions (p. 338: Qurān 68:51-52; p. 339: Qurān 17:82, 26:80, 41:44, 10:57). Bain refers to these two Ḥilyas with the word Taʿwidh, ‘protective amulet’, a word that she occasionally uses elsewhere in her thesis as well. That term is not used in the manuscript, however. See also Bain, pp. 100-104.

22 This word is not read by Bain.

– On pp. 340-351 are Ḥilyas or Ḥilya-like compositions, for a number of Companions. At first it seems that a list of al-ʿAshara al-Mubashshara is meant, the ten Companions who have been promised paradise during their lifetime.²⁴ However, the list in the present manuscript differs from the usual lists: Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Ḡarrāḥ is missing in the sequence, as happens more often for that matter, as Wensinck explains. Added, however, are the two grandsons of the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Ḥasan (p. 344) and al-Ḥusayn (p. 345), and an ʿAbdallāḥ, who may be identified as the early companion ʿAbdallāḥ b. Masʿūd (p. 348). That brings the number of reverable persons on these pages up to twelve, a significant number.


– p. 341: Ḥilya-like drawing with Ḥadīth-i ʿUmar al-Ğīrāğ, the second Caliph Abū Bakr. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-ʿĀsmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles.

– p. 342: Ḥilya-like drawing with Ḥadīth-i ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, the third Caliph ʿUthmān. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-ʿĀsmāʾ al-Ḥusnā, in smaller circles.

– p. 343: Ḥilya-like drawing with Ḥadīth-i ʿAlī, the fourth Caliph ʿAlī. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-ʿĀsmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles.

– p. 344: Ḥilya-like drawing with Ḥadīth-i Ḥasan, al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the elder grandson of the Prophet. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Circles for the ʿĀsmāʾ have remained empty.

– p. 345: Ḥilya-like drawing with Ḥadīth-i ʿUsayn, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the younger grandson of the Prophet. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-ʿĀsmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles (here and in several other instances the manuscript mistakenly has Rasm instead of Ism, which may mean that these superscript labels have been written before the main circle was filled).

– p. 346: Ḥilya-like drawing with Rasm-i Ḥadīth-i Ṭālḥa, the Companion Ṭālḥa b. ʿUbaydallāḥ. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-ʿĀsmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles.

– p. 347: Ḥilya-like drawing with Rasm-i Ḥadīth-i Zubayr, the Companion al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām. His name is written in large script in black ink

²⁴ See A.J. Wensinck, art. ‘al-ʿAshara al-Mubashshara’ in EI², vol. 1 (1960), p. 693, where a variation in the usual list is mentioned and explained.
with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles.

- p. 348: Ḥilya-like drawing with Rasm-i Ḥadrat-i ʿAbdallāḥ. He is not further identified, but it seems probable that the early companion ʿAbdallāḥ b. Masʿūd is meant. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles.

- p. 349: Ḥilya-like drawing with Ism-i Ḥadrat-i Ābd al-Rahmān, the Companion Ābd al-Rahmān b. ʿAwf. His name is written in large script in black ink with gold outline, within a circle. Some of al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles.


- pp. 352-353: Sharh-i Muhr-i Kabīr (in Turkish on p. 352), the ‘Great Seal’ of Gāfur b. Ṣādiq (who is mentioned in the text, not in the title panel), with on p. 353 a composition of dawāʾir and other shapes, which together constitute the seal, which is explained on the previous page. Bain, pp. 243-245, gives a full translation of the texts in this composite seal. See also Bain, pp. 110-112, for a thematic treatment of this Seal.

- On pp. 354-355 of the manuscript is a sequence of Ḥilyas reminiscent of the series on pp. 317-332, 338-339, above.

- p. 354: Ḥilya-like drawing with the names of the Seven Sleepers of Ephese and their dog Qitāmīr. The title-panel does not contain text. Some of al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles. Bain, p. 245, refers to this page as the ‘Seal of the Seven Sleepers’. See also Bain pp. 96-99 for a comparative treatment of this use of the word ‘seal’.

- p. 355: Ḥilya-like drawing with Qurʿān 68:51-52 in the outer circle, and a Lā Quwwa wa-lā Hawla… in the central part. of al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusnā in smaller circles. Bain, p. 246, refers to this page as a Taʿwīdh, a term which she elsewhere translates as ‘protective amulet’.

- p. 356: Rasm-i Banḡa-yi Rasūl Allāh, a drawing of the hand (Banḡa = Panḡa = five [fingers]) of the Prophet Muhammad. A hand in gold is shown against a blue background with red floral design. In the hand are several Arabic texts in white ink, the Shabāda and other shorter texts. Finally the well-known text on ʿAli and his sword Dhū al-Fiqār. See also Bain, pp. 150-152.

- p. 357: Rasm-i Qadam-i Sharīf, a drawing of the foot of the Prophet Muhammad. A foot sole in gold is shown against a blue background with
Religious imagery in An`ām-i Sharif, an Ottoman prayer book, with drawings of the hand and the foot of the Prophet Muhammad. MS Victoria-1995-014, pp. 356-357.
Religious imagery in An‘ām-i Sharīf, an Ottoman prayer book, showing the staff of the Prophet Mūsā, with the two snake heads, referring to his conversation with Pharaoh. In the lower half of the illustration are a prayer mat and a prayer rug in the form of a prayer niche with lamp. MS Victoria-1995-014, p. 360.
red floral design. In the foot is a text in white ink, in a mix of Turkish and Arabic is given, among other things on entering Ğânnât Ādūn, the Gardens of Eden. See also Bain, pp. 146-148.

- p. 358: Rasm-i Na‘lây-n-i Sharîf, a drawing of one sandal (although the title uses the dualis form) of the Prophet Muḥammad. One sandal in gold is shown against an orange background with red floral design. In the sandal is a text on the defensive property of God’s name:

لا يفزء عني في الأرض والسماء

See also Bain, pp. 152-154.

- p. 359: Lâ Fatâ illâ ‘Alî lâ Sayfa illâ Dhu al-Fiqâr, ‘there is no young man such as ‘Alî and there is no sword such as Dhū al-Fiqâr’. A drawing of three panels, in the central panel of which is shown the two-pointed sword of ‘Alî. A sword in gold is shown against an orange background with red floral design. In the sword is a Shahâda-like text in white ink. Around, in four circles are the names of the four archangels: Gâbrîl, Mikâ’il, Isrâ’îl, ‘Azrâ’il. Another circle says: Mâ shâ’a Allâh. In the four cartouches in the two side panels is a quatrain-like invocation of God. See also Bain, pp. 148-150.

- p. 360: Rasm-i ‘Aṣâ-yi Ḥadrat-i Mūsâ, a drawing of the staff of Moses. A staff in gold with a double handle (ending in snake heads, a reminder of the change of the staff into a snake when Moses stood before Pharaoh) is shown against an uncoloured (therefore brown, the colour of the paper) background with red floral design. A niche with a lamp is shown, with caption: Sâġgâda-yi Sharîf, ‘the Noble Prayer-rug’ and a mat is shown with caption Ḥaṣîr-i Sharîf, ‘the Noble Mat’.

- p. 361: Rasm-i Gul-i Ḥadrat Fâbhr-i Kā’înât, the ‘Rose of the Pride of Beings’. A flower with the name of the Prophet Muḥammad, the ten leaves carry the names of eight of al-‘Ashâra al-Mubâshshara, and those of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. See on this group also above, the descriptions of pp. 341-351 of the Victoria manuscript.

- p. 362: Ḥilyâ with a large letter ‘Ayn and the words ‘alâ Allâh. Bain, p. 249, reads this ‘calligraphic pun’ (as she calls it) as ‘Ayn ‘alâ Allâh’ = ‘an Eye upon God’. See also her thematic and comparative treatment of this calligraphy on pp. 118-123. The composition is written in gold against an uncoloured background with some floral ornaments in red. Title panels have remained empty; also Qur’ân 2:137, a number of invocations, and the name of the four archangels.

- p. 363: Rasm-i Liwâ al-Ḥamd-i Rasûl Allâh, ‘the Banner of Praise of the Messenger of God’. Against an uncoloured background filled with floral
Religious imagery in An‘ām-i Sharif, an Ottoman prayer book, showing the battle-ax (Tabar) of the Prophet Muḥammad. MS Victoria-1995-014, p. 364.
ornaments stands a pole with three hanging banners, all in gold. On the banners are written in white ink (from right to left): the Basmala, the Shahāda and the Ḥamdāla. See Bain, pp. 158–161, for a comparative study on this banner.

– p. 364: Rasm-i Ṭabar-i Mu’tabbar, the ‘Considerable Battle-ax’. Against an uncoloured background filled with floral ornaments stands an ax or a club on a stick, the upper part is circular in silver, inside of which there are two smaller circles of gold. The silver part has the Shahada written in black ink, whereas the two gold circles contain invocations to God and to the Prophet Muḥammad. Bain, p. 250, refers to the ax as ‘the Prophet’s teber, or battle-ax’.

– p. 365: Rasm-i Ḥūr Mā-yi Sharīf, ‘the Noble Ḥūr Mā’i’. The title is difficult to understand. A Hawar is a white poplar (Lane, Dictionary, vol. 2 (1865), p. 666; thus also in Wehr, Dictionary (1971), p. 212). The manuscript shows a date palm with green stem and leaves, and three bunches of dates on either side is standing on what seems the top of a hill. Bain, p. 250, does not really translate the title and just gives ‘The noble date palm’.

– pp. 366-367: Drawings of the mosques of Mecca and Medina, each with parts of either town around them, seen as from above and in perspective. Mecca at right (p. 366), with sandy ground (as in Qur’ān 14:37, bi-Wādin ghayr Dhī Zar), mountains in the foreground (Abū Qubays?) and in the background. Smaller mosques can be seen further away, apparently pilgrimage stations. In the Ḥaram, the Ka’ba stands out; it is surrounded by an enclosure, and by the little buildings of the four law schools and of the Zemzem source. Seven minarets are shown. Medina at left (p. 367), on green ground as it is an oasis, mountains in the background. In the mosque the Qubba, cupola, over the Prophet’s grave stands out. Other landmarks are the Prophet’s minbar, pulpit, and Fāṭima’s palm tree. Exactly this type of images of Mecca and Medina occurs from the early nineteenth century onwards in Ottoman copies of al-Jazūlī’s Dalā’il al-Khayrāt.25 On p. 371 of the manuscript is a close-up drawing of the Ka’ba. See Bain, pp. 124-145, for a thematic and comparative treatment of this theme of Mecca and Medina.

The occurrence in this form of the images of Mecca and Medina poses an additional problem for the dating of this second part of the Victoria manuscript.

Religious imagery in An’ām-i Sharif, an Ottoman prayer book, showing the relics of the Prophet Muhammad, here illustrated as his copy of the Qur’an, his mantle, his rosary and his ritual washing utensils. MS Victoria-1995-014, p. 369.
Images in perspective of the two holy places seem to occur in late Ottoman copies of al-Çazuli’s Dalâ’il al-Khayrât from the first quarter of the 19th century onwards. If this is also the case with the images of Mecca and Medina in late Ottoman copies of the An’âm prayer books, this would be another argument that the second part of the Victoria manuscript (from p. 313 onwards) is younger, possibly by several decades, than the first part (pp. 1-312) of the manuscript.

– p. 368: Rasm-i Shağara-ye Tūbā, with the Maqām-ı Ħadrat-ı ‘Azrā’il, the Tūbā tree, growing upside-down, standing on a hill, also upside-down. This tree of paradise, shown here with an abundant and multi-coloured foliage, is usually connected with the Qur’ānic words ‘In shade long-extended’ (Qur’ān 56:30). The upside down hill is indicated to be the Maqām (grave, place of worship?) of ‘Azrā’il.

– p. 369: Mukhallafât-ı Rasūl Allāh, showing the possessions which the Prophet left behind, the Prophet’s relics, all provided with captions. Depicted are the Prophet’s mantle (Hırqa-yi Sharīf), his copy of the Qur’ān (Kalām-i Qadîm), his prayer beads (Tābih), his water jar for his ritual ablutions (Ibrīq-i Sharīf) together with his basin (Lakan-i Sharīf). See also Bain, pp. 154-158.

– p. 370: Rasm-i Sang-āq-ı Rasūl-i Akram, the war banner of the Prophet Muhammad. Against a blue background with floral ornaments in red, the banner (Sang-āq, but written with a ghayn in the manuscript) and its pole are depicted in gold. The banner has, in white ink, the text of the Shahāda. On the side are four cartouches containing the text of the Shahāda and an elaboration of either of its two elements. See also Bain, pp. 162-163.

– p. 371: Bayt Allāh al-Mukarram, a close-up of the Ka’ba. Compare this also to the image of Mecca on p. 366. Black in front, showing the Ka’ba’s gate (Bāb), in gold. Also shown, on a gold field, is the Maqām Ibrāhīm, the place of Abraham, also is visible the gutter of the Ka’ba. Two panels on the side display the verse of Qur’ān on God’s house (3:96). In the lower half of the page, against a background of red, is in white ink the verse prescribing the pilgrimage (Qur’ān 3:97).


– p. 373: Rasm-i Maqām-ı Maḥmūd, the ‘Praiseworthy Place’. Bain, p. 252, translates this as ‘the station of Muḥammad’ and also ‘the Station of Maḥmūd’, but there is no Arabic construct state here between two substantives but a Perso-Turkish idafā construction between the substantive Maqām and the adjective Maḥmūd, as is the case in the Qur’ānic expression to
which Bain refers (Qur’an 17:79): "Maqāman Mahmūdan, ‘a station of praise and glory’ (translation of Abdullah Yusuf Ali of 1934, the context is the exhortation to nightly prayer), and as is the case in the text of the prayer on this page, al-Maqām al-Mahmūd. The Maqām itself is here shown as a rectangle in gold, with a prayer text in white ink, written in oblique direction. The prayer invokes the Prophet Muhammad’s intercession, Shafā’a, on the Youngest Day.

On pp. 374-389 follows a series of war banners (written as Sangāqāh, in the alternative spelling for the more common Sangāqāh), first two banners of the Prophet Muhammad (pp. 374-375), then (pp. 376-387) the banners of the twelve persons who were already mentioned in the Ḥilya-like calligraphic pages on pp. 340-351 (see the references there to al-‘Ashara al-Mubashshara), and on pp. 388-389 these are followed by the banners of the two paternal uncles and companions of the Prophet, Ḥamza and ‘Abbās. These are the banners which the believers must follow on the Youngest Day.

– On pp. 374-375: two pages with on either one a drawing of the banner (Sangāqāh) of the Prophet Muhammad: p. 374 has the title: Sangāqāh-i Rasūl Allāh, p. 375 has the title: Sangāqāh-i Rasūl-i Akram. Apart from the difference in title, the texts on either page are identical. On each page stand three banners in gold, each on a pole which is also done in gold. There is one large banner in the middle, with two smaller ones on either side. The largest one contains the text of the Shahāda, the two smaller ones together contain part of Qur’an 61:13. On the uncoloured background of either page is an invocation for the Prophet’s intercession (Shafā’a), the same text written three times.

– p. 376: Sangāqāh-i Ḥadrat-i Abū Bakr, the banner of Abu Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the first caliph. On the page stand three banners in gold, each on a pole which is also in gold. They are identical to the banners following hereafter on pp. 374-375. On the uncoloured background of either page is an invocation for the Prophet’s intercession (Shafā’a), and a Hamdala. The banners on pp. 377-389 and the accompanying texts are identical to those on the present page.

– p. 377: Sangāqāh-i Ḥadrat-i ‘Umar, the banner of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second caliph.

– p. 378: Sangāqāh-i Ḥadrat-i ’Uthmān, the banner of ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, the third caliph.


– p. 380: Sangāqāh-i Ḥadrat-i Ḥasan, the banner of al-Ḥasan b. ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭalīb, the elder grandson of the Prophet Muhammad.
– p. 381: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i Ḥusayn, the banner of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib, the younger grandson of the Prophet Muhammad.
– p. 382: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i Ṭalḥa, the banner of Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydallāh, a Companion.
– p. 383: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i Zubayr, the banner of Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, a Companion.
– p. 384: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i ʿAbdallāh, the banner of ʿAbdallāh, apparently a Companion, possibly to be identified as ʿAbdallāh b. Masʿūd.
– p. 385: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the banner of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, a Companion.
– p. 386: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i Saʿd, the banner of Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, a Companion.
– p. 388: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i Ḥamza, the banner of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the paternal uncle of the Prophet and a Companion.
– p. 389: Sangāgh-i Ḥadrat-i ʿAbbās, the banner of ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the paternal uncle of the Prophet and a Companion. The caption in the upper part of the page is missing, the panel has no text.
– pp. 390-396: a continuous invocative prayer in Arabic (based on al-ʿAsmāʿ al-Ḥusnā), in which sometimes Qurʾānic phrases are used (e.g. beginning of p. 392: Qurʾān 6:65; on p. 396 a sequence with elements from Qurʾān 42:11, 112:3-4, 2:285, etc.). On pp. 390-393 the text is written inside cypress-like figures standing against a coloured background (different colours: alternatingly blue and pink, with floral ornamentation) filled with floral ornaments, and on pp. 394-396 in forms that look like tombstones against a coloured background (different colours: alternatingly pink and orange, with floral ornamentation). The shapes of cypresses and tombstones are distinguished from the background by a gold outline, the lines of text are written in cloud-like shapes.
– pp. 396 (bottom) -397. A prayer to be said on the Youngest Day, in a mix of Turkish and Arabic. Written inside tombstone-like shapes which are distinguished from the orange background (with floral ornamentation) by a gold outline, the lines of text are written in cloud-like shapes.
– p. 398. Prayer (Duʿāʾ) for Friday, in a mix of Arabic and Turkish. Written inside a tombstone-like shape which are distinguished from the pink background (with floral ornamentation) by a gold outline, the lines of text are written in cloud-like shapes.
– p. 399. Prayer in a mix of Arabic and Turkish, beginning with the Shahāda, followed by elements of sūrat al-Ikhlās (Qurʾān 112), and other Qurʾānic
expressions. Written inside a tombstone-like shape which are distinguished from the pink background (with floral ornamentation) by a gold outline, the lines of text are written in cloud-like shapes.

– pp. 400-403. Sequel to the prayers of the previous pages, with on pp. 402-403 different types of tombstone shapes, but otherwise in the same pattern of ornamentation as used for the previous prayer texts on pp. 390-399. On pp. 404-405 are two empty frames.

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(3) pp. 405-408. Bab-i Ma‘ğūn . . . Collection of medical recipes, in Turkish, written in minute ruq'a script, 12 lines to the page, with a relatively wide interline. This entire section has been reproduced by Bain, pp. 441-442, fig. 16.159-16.161. This Turkish text, which is unrelated to the Nos. 1 and 2 in the volume, has apparently been written inside the empty frames that were there already, as a continuation of pp. 404-405. The series of empty frames continues on pp. 409-410. Pp. 411-412 are blank.

The McPherson Library keeps three boxes of colour slides of images from this manuscript, which are together registered in the library's accession list as 2002-006. The slides have at the time of writing of this catalogue been digitized and will be placed in the library's website in due course.

**MS Victoria 1998-034**

Persian, indigenous Persian paper, one single leaf, 34.5 × 22.2 cm, expert nastaliq script from Iran, text on either side of the leaf, written in four columns, and these columns set within a composite frame (blue, dark red, black, gold, green, gold within black outline, red), 25 lines to the column, held in passe-partout on which is written as an estimate dating: 18th century, which may very well be accurate.

A leaf from a copy of the *Shāhnāma* by Abu al-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Maṇṣūr Firdawsī (c. 935-1020), coming from the Bahrām Gūr cycle. On the recto side is a chapter heading written in gold within a panel with floral design (brown-red ink): *Dāstān-i Bahrām bā Keshāwarz*, ‘the story of Bahrām with the farmer’.
The text of the fragment corresponds to the Moscow edition by E.E. Bertel’s, vol. 7 (Moscow 1968), pp. 377-383, distiches 1273-1369.

Earlier registration: On the recto side is an ex-libris label from University of Victoria Library. Also on that page is a sticker with typewritten text in three lines: ‘(sc) PK6456 A2’. SC stands for ‘Special Collections’.

MS Victoria 2000-003

Arabic, with some Persian, manuscript on indigenous paper, 28 × 17.5 cm, leaves unnumbered, ca. 500 ff., fully vocalized large naskh script (text area with frame: 20.5 × 10.5 cm), in two hands; the second, more recent hand on a text area with frame: 20.5 × 10.2 cm on the final 20 leaves of the volume only, from the middle of al-Nāzi’āt onwards till the end, first word in this hand: wal-Ǧibāl, Qurʾān 79:32; this part in the second hand is apparently a newer replacement for the final quire of the original manuscript; 11 lines to the page, illuminated double opening page (ff. 1b-2a) for sūrat al-Fāṭihā and the beginning of sūrat al-Baqara (last word on f. 2a: qablika, in Qurʾān 2:4), black ink with rubrication (for sūrat titles, marginalia, etc.), entire text within a composite frame (blue, red, but the part in the more recent hand has a more simply executed double frame in red ink only), catchwords on every verso page, full-leather Islamic binding, the greater part of which has been preserved, but which is now only loosely connected to the text block. The leather shows simple blind tooled ornamentation.

A copy of the Qurʾān from the North West Frontier area of former British India, or from Afghanistan, apparently the complete text.

The text of sūrat al-Fāṭihā (f. 1b) has been provided with an interlinear translation in Persian, which is not well legible anymore. The wide interline in the entire manuscript might indicate that a full Persian translation of the Arabic text was to be added. There are original and later numbering mark for the āḏārāṣ and their subdivisions in the margins. As the first ġuz’ covers 17 ff., the entire codex may contain slightly over 500 ff. The āḏārāṣ do not coincide with the quires.

Earlier provenance: Loosely inserted is a short handwritten note (on stationary ‘15, York Terrace, Regent’s Park.’) saying: ‘Jany 13, 19. This Koran

Illuminated opening page of a 19th-century Qur’ān from Afghanistan or the North-West Frontier area in present-day Pakistan. Sūrat al-Fātiha, with inter-linear Persian translation. MS Victoria 2000-003, f. 1b.
was discovered in an Indian Temple during the Indian Frontier war—Tirah Campagne. V.L. Eardley-Wilmot Capt RE'.

MS Victoria 2002-006

Three plastic boxes containing colour slides of MS Victoria 1995-014 (see above). The slides have been used for the digitization of that manuscript and the images will be placed in the website of the McPherson Library at some moment in the future.

MS Victoria 2005-010

Arabic, thick Chinese paper with vertical ‘chain lines’ which are clearly visible in the paper’s structure, set at different distances from one another (irregular, but between at least 1 and 1.8 cm), one single leaf with text on either side, 26.4 × 18.4 cm, fully vocalized bold Chinese-Arabic script (al-Khaṭṭ al-Ṣīnī), 5 lines to the page, black ink with occasional use of red for reading signs, gold verse dividers (three in all, written slightly over the text, not on the line), five lines to the page, entire text set in a double frame (red ink, 16 × 11.5 cm), catchword on the verso side of the leaf, now held in a passe-partout.

A single leaf from a Chinese Qur’ān, containing a small part of sūrat Yūsuf (Qur’ān 12).

First word recto side: Kaydikunna (Qur’ān 12:28), last word verso side: Aydiyahunna (Qur’ān 12:31).

See for a somewhat similar handwriting the Chinese Qur’ān reproduced in Arthur J. Arberry, The Koran illuminated. A Handlist of the Korans in the

27 I owe the correct reading of this name to Mr. John Frederick, of the Special Collections Department of McPherson Library. Vere Levinge Eardley-Wilmot (1886-1965) was with the Canadian Government Mines Department. He fought in the First World War. He gained the rank of Captain in the service of the Royal Engineers (source: <http://www.thepeerage.com/p39485.htm>, read on August 19, 2010). With him a Canadian earlier provenance of the present manuscript becomes possible.

However, the address printed on the note (15, York Terrace, Regent’s Park, apparently in London) in the early 1900’s was where the British anthropologist Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873-1940) lived. His studies on the Sudan are well-known, as are studies by him on other regions in the world, but it proved to be impossible to establish a direct link between him and the present manuscript.

The Tirah campaign took place in 1897-1898 and was part of the long standing military operations of the British-Indian army on the North-West frontier. The temple mentioned in the note must, of course, have been a Muslim place of worship.
Page from a Qur’an manuscript on paper, from China, showing part of Sūrat Yūsuf (Qur’an 12:30-31). MS Victoria 2005-010, verso side.
Page from a Qur’an manuscript on parchment, from the Maghrib or Andalusia, showing part of Sūrat al-Anām (Qur’an 6:70-75). MS Victoria 2005-032, f. 1a (flesh side).
Chester Beatty Library. Dublin (Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd.) 1967, plate 70 (MS Chester Beatty 1602), for which Arberry gives a dating of 18th century.

Earlier provenance: In the right bottom corner of the verso side is written in pencil: ‘3844’.

MS 2005-032

Arabic, parchment bifolium (not coming from the centre of the quire since the text is not continuous, but probably the leaf just underneath the central leaf), hinge of the bifolium now very fragile and in risk of tearing loose, hair side: ff. 1b-2a, flesh side: ff. 2b-1a, 18 × 17.9 cm, text area 15.5 × 13.2 cm, ragged edges, all four corners of the fragment are missing (as if the leaf was taken out of an album), the corners in the upper margin are also missing, several smaller worm holes in the pages, some mud or ink blots over the text, which on the whole remains well visible, Maghribī or Andalusī script, brownish ink, diacritics (Naqt) in the same ink as the ductus (Rasm), reading signs (Shadda, Sukūn) in green ink, vowels in red ink, 14 lines to the page, verse dividers in the text, small concentric circles to indicate the beginning of every tenth āya, smaller dividers in order to indicate the beginning of every fifth āya. Kept in a portfolio.

Two fragments from sura 6 of a North African (or Andalusian?) Qurʾān.

(1) ff. 1a-b. First words on f. 1a (flesh side): wa-lahwan wa-gharrathumu l-hayātu al-dunyā (Qurʾān 6:70) Last words on f. 1b: ḥakīmun ʿalimū | wa-wahabnā (Qurʾān 6:83-84).

(2) ff. 2a-b. First words on f. 2a (hair side): ‘alayhim kulla shay in qubulan (Qurʾān 6:111). Last words on f. 2b: fa-man yurida (Qurʾān 6:125).

Earlier provenance: In the right top corner of the verso side is written in pencil: ‘8182’. Purchased from Sam Fogg, London.
Appendix

MS ex-Elphick Collection, Victoria, B.C.

Arabic, combined use of machine-made paper, and of laid paper of English manufacture, mostly bifolia on a pile now consisting of 192 ff. of 21.2 × 16 cm, kept together in a loose leather binding with a leather tie cord. Watermark: Britannia (ff. 189-190) with counter mark ‘THE BUDGE ROW FOOLSCAP 3183’ (ff. 191-192), and variants of that. Written in West-African script in a number of different hands and accordingly different lay-outs, in black ink, with frequent use of red ink for the vowels and other markers. The text was written on unbound bifolia, with catchwords at the bottom of the second leaf only of each bifolium. Obviously, catchwords on the first leaf of the bifolium are not needed, and they are not there. At the end of the text a colophon is written in which the copyist tells that he has completed the manuscript on a Saturday morning, and also that his name is Fōdi (Fōdio?) Sīdī Funā Fannāwī.

The manuscript contains most of the second half of a West-African Qur’ān, with two considerable lacunae.

(2) ff. 82-171. Qur’ān 37:5-65:1.

Colophon, from the last word of sūrat al-Nās (Qur’ān 114) onwards (f. 192b):

وَالطَّلَّةُ سُورَةُ الآيةُ الشَّامِيَةُ الْكِتَابِ تَمَّ لَهَا أَمْرُ اللَّهِ وَقَدْ ضَيَّقَ الْيَوْمُ عَنْهَا لِلْكِتَابِ فَلَمَّا حَذَّرَهَا لَمْ تَحْذَرْهَا وَقَدْ قَاطَعَهَا فَلَمْ تَقَاطَعْهَا وَقَدْ خَلَافَهَا فَلَمْ تَخَلَّفَهَا . . .

Translation: ‘…and of men. Sūrat al-Fātih/ al-Kitāb (apparently the instruction to recite that sūra). Is completed, thanks to God and His good help. Thanks to God, the Lord of the Worlds. The book was completed on Saturday morning, and it was written (and what… [?]) by Fōdi Sīdī Funā, Fannāwī by descent. The Arabic text of the colophon transcribed here between angled brackets is covered with black ink and is not well legible.

Earlier provenance: This manuscript once belonged to Mr. and Mrs. Elphick of Victoria, B.C. How and where it got into their possession I do not know, but in 1996 they apparently had owned it already for quite a while. Probably in the course of 1995 they showed it to Prof. Anthony Welch, then dean of UVic’s Faculty of Fine Arts, who sent it back to them on February 8, 1996.
Last page of a West-African Qur’an manuscript, with Sūrat al-Nās (Qur’an 114) and the colophon. MS ex-Elphick collection, f. 192b.
His letter of that date, which contains a short description of the manuscript, is preserved together with the manuscript. On May 23, 2009, I purchased the manuscript from 'The Haunted Bookshop', an antiquarian bookseller now established in Sidney, B.C., on the northern tip of the Saanich peninsula, near Victoria International Airport.