THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE OF
AL-FURQAN ISLAMIC HERITAGE FOUNDATION
The Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation was established in 1988 by the Yaman Cultural Foundation. The Foundation aims to promote, sponsor, and initiate research in the field of Islamic manuscripts, as well as assist in the preservation and restoration of Islamic manuscripts. The Foundation also is interested in cataloguing previously uncatalogued collections, and recording manuscripts with the latest technology.

This issue is the Proceedings of the Inaugural Conference of the Foundation on *The Significance of Islamic Manuscripts* held on 30th November/1st December 1991.
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INTRODUCTION

This volume is the issue of the Inaugural Conference held in London by Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation in November/December 1991. On this occasion the Foundation invited a number of eminent scholars from the Middle East, North Africa, South Asia, Europe, and America to present papers on a wide range of topics concerning the heritage of Islamic manuscripts. Al-Furqān Foundation was formed as a result of the important initiative of His Excellency Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, and pursues its activities under his inspiration and patronage. In the opening address to the conference, which also appears first in this volume, he set out the purpose and ideals of the Foundation, from which can be understood the ambitious nature of the enterprise he has launched. In their various ways the papers presented here are an initial contribution to the work of the Foundation, whose aims are the cataloguing, preservation, and archiving of the vast body of manuscripts of the Islamic sciences, languages, and literatures which are today spread over almost the entire world. In line with the first series of publications of the Foundation, which are handbooks on collections of such manuscript materials country by country, many of the contributors presented papers reflecting their considerable first-hand experience of manuscript collections, while others concentrated on particular areas of their research interests. Almost all of the papers presented appear here both in Arabic and in English, the two languages of the conference.

In editing the English section of this volume, the aim has been to impose a minimal amount of uniformity in both style and content, without affecting to any great degree the information given in the papers. This has not been an easy task, given the wide diversity of subjects, and the enormous geographical and historical range of material considered, but it is hoped that in the editorial process, nothing of substance has been omitted. However, it is necessary to point out that nearly always the Arabic text of a paper represents a more complete version than does the English: it was decided to leave the Arabic more or less as it was submitted by the authors, or as it was translated from their initial submissions.

The papers have been divided up into three sections: on general topics concerning the Islamic manuscript tradition as a whole, on area studies dealing with collections in particular geographical locations (countries, etc.), and on subject studies in one or other of the Islamic sciences.
The first section starts with a paper by Wilfrid Madelung, which although it takes as an example one text by the seventh/thirteenth-century philosopher and scholar Nasir al-Din al-Tusi on which Professor Madelung has been working for some years, presents the kinds of problems faced by the text editor in establishing, in so far as it is possible, a definitive version of any text. Establishing the manuscript tradition of the text, hunting down particular manuscripts — often located in libraries difficult of access —, and trying to eliminate the layers of confusion introduced by scribes’ errors, are some of the difficulties to which Professor Madelung refers. These are problems faced by any text editor whatever the language, but they are particularly acute for the scholar of Islamic manuscripts.

The second paper in the first section starts with the conference’s introductory paper given by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, The Significance of Islamic Manuscripts. Professor Nasr’s overview of the entire spectrum of the Islamic manuscript heritage stresses the importance of cataloguing, conserving, archiving, and editing, which define the principles on which Al-Furqan Foundation has been established. In comparison with other great manuscript traditions, that of Western Europe, for example, the vast and exceedingly rich Islamic tradition has up to now been relatively neglected. This leaves scholars of the Islamic world, and world culture in general, in a precarious position: as Professor Nasr points out, were all the manuscripts of Kant to be lost, we should still have his works preserved in printed editions, but this is by no means the case with even a seminal philosopher from the Islamic world such as Ibn Sinâ. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that not only are a great number of collections, not to mention parts of collections, still uncatalogued, and therefore the existence of many works is even unsuspected, but the majority of collections are seriously at risk from natural predations, human neglect, and the lack of funds to catalogue and preserve them.

A presentation by George Makdisi, not included in this volume, referred back to suggestions for a large-scale project to catalogue and conserve Islamic manuscripts which he had made some years previously, but none of which, he was sad to observe, had been acted upon. He therefore pointed out the urgency of the work in which Al-Furqan Foundation is engaged. Mahmud Shakir also presented a paper allowing a glimpse of the traditional scholar’s reverence for manuscripts and the book.

In the second section, concentrating on different geographic areas of the production and collection of Islamic manuscripts, the first paper concerns Persian manuscripts in particular, but discusses in general the problems of training specialists in the cataloguing of Islamic manuscripts. Taj Afshâr points out that most of the catalogues prepared in this field have been compiled by persons who have built up their expertise over long and distinguished careers, and this expertise may be passed on to students or may simply be lost with the death of the scholar. The author makes several suggestions for ways in which a curriculum for a graduate course in manuscript cataloguing might be put together.

Anas Khalidov’s paper gives a thorough overview of the Islamic manuscript collections in the former Soviet Union, which serves as an excellent foreword to the Al-Furqan Foundation volume on these collections in their first series of publications in the World Survey of Islamic Manuscripts. Angelo Michele Piemontese presented a paper on Islamic manuscripts in the West, more specifically in Italy, and drew particular attention to manuscripts outside the main library collections of the Ambrosiana and the Vatican. He also stressed the importance of conserving manuscripts as material artifacts capable of yielding far more than just a text. Finally, Ramazan Şeşen gives a survey of Islamic manuscripts in Turkish and Turkic languages, with particular reference to the history of their cataloguing. In a paper given at the conference, but not included here, M. S. Khan gave references to several important Islamic manuscripts in libraries in India, and made some comments on the religious importance of calligraphy.

Salahuddin al-Munajjid gave a paper, which is to be published at a later date, summarizing his vast experience of manuscript collections covering almost the whole world. This was testimony from an expert witness who has visited the majority of the libraries, both public and private, where such material is known to be held.

The final section of this volume contains those papers presented at the conference which dealt with particular areas of Islamic learning in which the study of manuscripts plays an important role. Muhammad al-Habib al-Hilli gave a detailed paper on manuscripts in a specific area of Islamic law, the nawzal, from Andalusia and Northwest Africa, from the fifth to the ninth century AH, which demonstrated the importance of this relatively neglected material both for Islamic legal studies and also for an understanding of the circumstances and material conditions of the inhabitants of the region at the time. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu reported in his paper on the work being done by the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture in Istanbul. He presented the latest findings of the Centre on the places of origin, the present locations, and the languages, of translations of the Holy Book still surviving in manuscript form. Hamad al-Hisir’s paper, which is concerned with the history of the two Holy Cities of the Hijaz, not only communicates his profound love of Makkah and Madinah, but gives the benefit of his long study of the libraries of the Hijaz and the manuscript treasures they contain, particularly for the historian of these two cities.
David King gave a very thorough survey of the present state of scholarship in the area of Islamic scientific instruments as well as scientific manuscripts, and suggested some important areas for future research and work on manuscripts in this field. Mehdi Mohagheghi’s paper refers to some important philosophical texts which have recently been edited and mentions the important work which has been and continues to be done by the Tehran branch of the McGill University Institute of Islamic Studies. Abdul Aziz Ahmed al-Rifai’s paper dealt with an individual private library, that of ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Baghdadi (1030/1621–1093/1682), whose reconstitution, he demonstrated, throws an interesting light not only on the library interests of a particular Muslim scholar, but on the literary tastes and preoccupations of his time.

It is hoped that the presentations in this volume will give some idea of the wide scope of Al-Furqan Foundation’s projects, and this volume will be itself a contribution to the important task of preserving the Islamic scientific and cultural heritage.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

May all Praise be to God, “who taught with the pen, taught man what he did not know”. And may God’s blessings and peace be upon the unlettered Prophet whose Message brought about a universal civilization for humanity.

From that message, with its twin pillars of faith and knowledge, shone the light that illuminated the farthest corners of the earth, revived the human soul and its values and elevated man to exalted heights in mind, spirit and knowledge.

Of that light however, only a faint glimmer now remains, preserved in the books and other written works of our forebears, handed down to us over the years. The invaluable legacy and reservoir of knowledge, from which contemporary Western civilization has benefited, has suffered the ravaging effects of neglect and the elements, and threatens to perish altogether.

As a descendant of these noble ancestors, I often felt sorrow and bitterness at the deterioration of our written heritage. My pain was only assuaged by the gallant efforts expended by certain charitable institutions that took upon themselves to attempt to arrest or reverse the deterioration. I aspired to the honour of partaking in this vital duty.

The opportunity for me to do so came when I was freed of the burdens of a government post. I felt that I could now perhaps fulfil a dream that I had had for decades. But it was not easy. My quest for the assistance and expertise that I needed led me to my brother and friend, Professor Seyyed Hossein Nasr, who gave me generously of his time and effort. I thus laid the cornerstone of this Foundation, and we drew up its charter with certain clear and specific objectives, namely:

- to conduct a comprehensive survey of all the libraries with Islamic manuscripts in the world
- to study and catalogue the collections that have not been catalogued
- to record as much as we can using the best available technological means
- to edit and publish whatever we can of the important manuscripts.

We decided to attempt to reach these objectives alone or with the cooperation of other institutions that share our vision and aspirations.
What we have achieved so far, and it is only a modest part of the huge task that awaits us, is due to the dedicated work of a team of experts and specialists. We see it as a sign of God's bounty that an elite group of scholars have accepted to be part of the International Advisory Council of this Foundation and of its Board of Experts. It is also indeed a sign of this bounty that you have accepted to participate in this conference in which we announce the official birth of Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation.
May God bless you and reward you for your kindness.

AHMED ZAKI YAMANI

MANUSCRIPTS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH
AND TEXT EDITION

WILFRED F. MADELING

Human history, according to a common definition, begins with the written word. Before the age of writing, there was only prehistory. Archaeologists and experts dealing with prehistory have, to be sure, made great strides in uncovering major aspects in the collective development of early mankind. Yet there remains an impenetrable veil over the inside of prehistoric man. Only through the written word can the historian hope to discover the inside, the thoughts and feelings, of past human beings, be they anonymous or known by name, only thus can he fully relate to them as individuals, just as we primarily relate to our contemporaries through the word, spoken or written. Whatever additional sources may be of help to the historian in assessing the material circumstances of earlier generations of mankind, his most important source will inevitably be the recorded words of past life.

Islamic civilization became highly literate at an early stage. As the early Muslims developed a keen sense of their own history as the chosen religious community and a lively interest in it, they began to record it on a broad scale comprising its spiritual and material aspects. Their interests and curiosity extended to some extent beyond the confines of their own past, and they also recorded in writing some of the literary tradition of the pre-Islamic Arabs so far transmitted only orally, such as pre-Islamic poetry and the tales of the Arab battle-days (Ayyām al-ʿArab). Soon they also took a selective interest in the intellectual and cultural heritage of the subject peoples conquered by them and preserved some of it in Arabic translations. As various scholarly
disciplines and numerous rival schools sprang up among them, each one came to develop and maintain its own literary tradition.

The extraordinary growth and range of Arabic literature in the first centuries of Islam is reflected in the well-known book catalogue (tibrists) which Ibn al-Nadim, a book dealer in Baghdad flourishing in the second half of the fourteenth century, has left behind. Much of the literary wealth listed there is lost to us owing to the ravages of time, and to the fact that many of the early works came to be neglected as later generations of scholars often preferred more recent works for their teaching and reference requirements. On the other hand, there are also numerous works dating from this early period, either still available to us or known to have existed through quotations or mention of their titles elsewhere, which are not mentioned by Ibn al-Nadim. They were presumably either unimportant in the contemporary book trade in Baghdad, or not even known there as they belonged to a different local tradition.

In the later ages, writing activity did not diminish in general in the Muslim world, even though in some fields of learning a certain scholastic ossification, loss of originality, and an inclination to encyclopaedic redisplay of past achievement have often been noted. Aside from Arabic, other languages developed into major instruments of literary communication. Most notably first Persian and later Ottoman Turkish. In some disciplines, however, especially in the religious sciences, Arabic tended to keep its predominance throughout the Islamic world.

The age of the manuscript book lasted in the Muslim world much later than in Europe. The printing of books did not become significant until the nineteenth century. In some parts of the Muslim world, and in small communities, manuscript transmission of books has prevailed until recently. Manuscript holdings in private teaching institutions are thus still widespread throughout the Muslim world, apart from the more readily accessible collections in public libraries and museums.

The historian of any aspect of Islamic civilization must often view his situation with a sense of deep frustration. While he is aware of the great wealth of potential sources stored in manuscript, these sources are widely dispersed and often inaccessible to him. All too frequently he has to confess the inadequacy and preliminary character of the results of his research, which may be substantially modified as sources known to exist become available.

The need for concerted and sustained efforts to preserve and sift the scattered wealth of Islamic manuscripts, to make them accessible in some form to qualified scholars and editors, to publish the more important texts in critical editions is thus keenly felt among historians of Islam. It is this latter activity, the critical edition of texts, from which the greatest long-term benefits derive for historical research, and to which philologically inclined historians can also make the most substantial contribution. Yet critical edition is in turn dependent on the broadest possible accessibility, as well as the examination of all extant manuscripts of the text. Many early editions, which, at the time of their publication could be considered adequate, deserve to be re-done because more and better manuscripts have become known.

The primary aim of an edition should obviously be to restore, as far as possible, the original text of the author in easily readable form so as to convey most faithfully his thought to the modern reader. In this basic purpose critical scholarly editions and other editions serving the interests of a wider reading public meet. The aim is most easily achieved if an autograph manuscript of the author is extant, a relatively rare case for early texts. A critical edition is expected to do more, to provide variant readings, additions, glosses, and descriptions of the extant manuscripts, so as to enable the reader to judge the degree of reliability of the editor’s textual choices, to benefit from extraneous additions, and to form an idea of the transmission of the text. Ideally it should comprise an exact edition of all extant manuscripts in addition to the establishment of a preferred text. In practice, of course, this is often an unrealistic aim, especially if there are dozens and perhaps hundreds of manuscripts available, many of them simply copied from extant ones. Yet in order to make an intelligent decision on what should be included in a critical edition, it remains imperative that the editor should be able to consult all extant manuscripts.

For the mere establishment of the text itself the need to consult all or most extant manuscripts is obviously most pressing if no autograph of the author is preserved. Only by analysing the relationship of the manuscripts to each other and by reconstructing the history of the transmission of the text can the editor hope to fulfill his task to restore the original of the author as closely as possible. In the end certainly more will be required than a mechanical preference of the reading of one manuscript over others on the basis of a stemma. Sound empathy with the author’s thought and style may lead the editor to amend the text against all manuscript variants. But this is justifiable only as a last step.

It is through a combination of careful reconstruction of the textual tradition and a patient attempt to penetrate into the author’s thought patterns and style that we may at times recover some works which at first sight appear to have come down to us in a hopelessly corrupted form. As an illustration, I may be permitted here briefly to recount the story of two works with whose edition I have been occupied for some time. They are treatises by two illustrious authors, Al-Shahrastani, the twelfth-century theologian and historian of religious beliefs, and Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūsī, the thirteenth-century philosopher and astronomer. In his treatise, entitled The Wrestling
Match with the Philosophers (muṣāra’at al-falāṣifah), Shahrasānī undertakes to refute the ontological and metaphysical views of the philosopher Ibn Sinā (Avicenna) on the basis of what he describes as the prophetic theology. Shahrasānī’s work was in turn refuted by Naṣir al-Dīn al-Tūṣī in a treatise entitled The Downfalls of the Wrestler (musāra’at al-muṣāra’at) in which he defends Ibn Sinā’s philosophical views. The controversy thus parallels the famous controversy of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Rushd (Averroes), in which al-Ghazālī first wrote a refutation of the theological views of the Muslim philosophers and Ibn Rushd later defended them. The controversy between Shahrasānī and Tūṣī has, however, remained largely unknown since the treatises are preserved in a state of thorough corruption in the manuscripts.

Both books fell victim to war conditions even while they were initially written. Shahrasānī tells his readers that he was unable to complete his work, projected as a discussion of seven controversial points, because of ‘calamities and tribulations’ happening at the time, and that he was forced to combine the last two chapters into a brief outline of the problems without offering his solutions. Dedicated to a dignitary of the town of Tirmidh near the boundary of Khurasān and Transoxania, the book was evidently written there. The ‘calamities and tribulations’, it has been plausibly suggested, refer to the severe defeat of the Seljuk Sultan Sanjar by the Qa’qa Khitay Turks in 536/1141, which forced Shahrasānī to leave precipitately and to remain in western Iran where he did not find the leisure to finish the book as originally planned.

Completing his draft copy in evident haste, Shahrasānī most likely did not produce a clean copy in careful and clearly legible writing for use of the copyists. This may account for some of the corruptions common to the manuscripts which are easily explained as simple misreadings of a copyist. The earlier of the two known extant manuscripts, written less than fifty years after the author’s death, already shows numerous misreadings. Unfortunately a number of folios of this manuscript were also lost leaving two extensive gaps in the text. Some of the remaining folios are in disorder. An edition of Shahrasānī’s book based on this manuscript, which is preserved in Gotta in Germany, was published in Egypt in 1976. The editor was able to restore the correct sequence of folios and to fill the gaps by recourse to a manuscript of Tūṣī’s refutation, since the latter quotes the text almost in extenso. She failed, however, to compare the text of Shahrasānī with the text of the Gotta manuscript quoted by Tūṣī on a regular basis with the readings of the Gotta manuscript and thus missed an easy opportunity to establish a substantially improved text. The manuscript at the disposal of Tūṣī was evidently a much better one than the Gotta copy, yet it also contained some faulty readings which occasionally puzzled Tūṣī.

Another manuscript of Shahrasānī’s treatise, written several centuries later, is extant in Kazar in the Tatar Republic. It has the advantage of being complete, but manifests numerous corruptions characteristic of a text transmitted by a chain of copyists largely ignorant of the subject-matter. Several folios were evidently misplaced at some stage in the transmission, yet the abrupt breaks in the continuity of the text were either not noticed or ignored by later copyists. However, in conjunction with the Gotta manuscript and Tūṣī’s quotations it offers valuable aid in recovering the original text of the work, especially since it represents a further independent transmission.

Tūṣī’s refutation of Shahrasānī’s book was evidently also written in unsettled war conditions. He states in one place that he would have liked to back up his argument with quotations from the books of the philosophers but could not do so because the books were not available to him. He promises to add the quotations whenever he can get hold of the books. This was, no doubt, at the time when, after the fall of the fortress of Alamut, he was involuntarily accompanying the Mongol army on its campaign of conquest in Iran and Iraq. He was later, after the completion of the draft, able to add the quotations, and they are included in the manuscripts of his book extant in Iran.

On the basis of these Iranian manuscripts, an edition of Tūṣī’s work was published in Iran in 1985. The edition fully reflects the deplorable state in which the text has been preserved in this manuscript tradition which is evidently based on a single highly faulty copy. Two large selections are dislocated, presumably as a result of a displacement of folios in that manuscript. Elsewhere a folio dropped out whose loss was concealed by the secondary addition of quotations from Shahrasānī’s book. Throughout the text there is ample evidence of clumsy attempts to make sense of Tūṣī’s statements corrupted at an earlier stage, and to ‘improve’ the text by additions and alterations. In effect, Tūṣī’s arguments are in many instances incomprehensible. A sound text can hardly be derived from this manuscript tradition.

The situation has, however, been transformed by the discovery of a manuscript in Istanbul belonging to a different tradition. The author, Tūṣī, it should be noted, is not mentioned in this manuscript, and can only now be definitely identified by the basic identity of the text with that of the Iranian tradition. The quotations from the books of the philosophers, added by Tūṣī some time after the completion of his first draft, are also missing. It may thus be inferred that Tūṣī published his book, or allowed it to be copied, at two stages and that, at the earlier stage, he perhaps deliberately concealed his authorship.
The Istanbul manuscript does not show the dislocations of the Iranian manuscript tradition and fills in the gap left there by the loss of a folio. On further examination, it seems in general to preserve a much superior text. The readings of the quotations from Shahristānī’s book correspond more closely to the better readings of the manuscripts of that work. The Iranian text tradition contains a few modifications in substance most likely made by Tūstī himself, perhaps at the time when he added the quotations from the books of the philosophers. However, he did not revise the whole draft thoroughly or produce a final clean copy. Both traditions thus contain the same few slips in the argumentation, which seem to be the result of the haste in which the work was written, and some of the same errors, presumably caused by difficulties in reading his draft. Most of the variants of the Iranian text tradition in relation to the Istanbul version are clearly later alterations and additions by a second hand.

The Istanbul manuscript is not free of faults and problems. It would certainly be helpful if at least one other manuscript of this earlier text version were found. Yet on the basis of the full range of manuscript tradition now available, it may be expected that it will do justice to the original thought and style of Shahristānī and Tūstī.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS

SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR

‘Nūn. By the Pen, and that which they write.’
(Qur’ān, LXVIII:1)

‘Say: Though the sea became ink for the Words of my Lord, verily the sea would be used up before the Words of my Lord were exhausted, even though We brought the like thereof to help.’
(Qur’ān, XVIII:10)

The people (al-ummah) who were destined to receive the revelation in which the above verses are contained, could not remain unaffected on the human level by either the central significance of the Pen which God takes to witness in the verse cited above, nor by the inexhaustibleness of the treasury of the Words of God. The ummah which created Islamic civilization could not but live by the pen and its fruit in the form of the written word. Nor could it cease to produce a great number of works written primarily in Arabic, secondarily in Persian, and then in nearly all the vernacular languages of the Islamic world ranging from Turkish to Malay and Bengali to Berber. The civilization which received the imprint of the Qur’ānic revelation produced a vast corpus of writings which has probably not been matched in quantity by
the literature of any other civilization before the discovery of printing. It also produced a body of writings which contains not only the thought, art, and sentiments of that notable segment of humanity which comprises the Islamic people, but also many of the intellectual and scholarly treasures of the civilizations of antiquity to which Islam became heir and much of whose heritage it preserved in accordance with its function as the last unifying religion of this humanity. Moreover, manuscripts were written by Muslims or minorities living within the Islamic world which contain knowledge of other civilizations and peoples.

As far as the Islamic heritage is concerned, the manuscripts written over the ages and surviving to this day cover nearly every aspect of Islamic thought and culture, although the significance of the oral tradition which complements the written text must not be forgotten in many fields. Despite the fact that nearly everything asserted about Islamic manuscripts in general must remain provisional because of our present state of knowledge, it is still safe to say that the largest part of these manuscripts belong to the ‘field’ of the religious sciences ranging from Qur’anic commentaries to manuals of prayer. Although many manuscripts have been studied and printed during the past century and a half, ranging from the major commentaries and collections of hadith, to works of jurisprudence, the principles of jurisprudence (usul al-fiqh), Islamic economics and political thought, kalām, and works concerning everyday piety, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the majority of extant works, even in this central field, remain still in manuscript form and have never been edited as can be seen so clearly in the field of later kalām, both Sunnī and Shi‘ī. Moreover, many of the works which have appeared in printed form, including a number of well-known commentaries, are not available in critical editions, and reference to manuscripts of them remains necessary for a serious study of their content. It is hardly an exaggeration to state that such manuscripts are crucial for present and future generations of Muslims to have a correct understanding of not only their religious heritage but also themselves as Muslims, for every generation defines and sees itself in the light of its understanding of the traditions which, like the trunk of a tree, connect each branch to the root which is the revelation itself.

A second major category of manuscripts, and perhaps the second most numerous after works on the religious sciences, concerns language and literature. Here again, despite the great effort of a number of scholars during the past century and a half since modern printing began in the Islamic world and the publication of the diwāns of many outstanding poets as well as prose works, much remains still in manuscript form. While the works of many secondary writers remain unedited, even the writings of major figures have often been printed defectively and there is the greatest need to consult manuscript copies to establish a definitive text for them. Just to draw an example from my own mother tongue, even the diwān of perhaps the greatest poet of the Persian language, Ḥāfez, has been revised during the past generation as a result of the discovery of new manuscripts, while the more definitive edition of the Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī is finally seeing the light of day this year. There are even those who still hope to discover the manuscript of the diwān of Rūdakī, the father of Persian poetry, in some far away library in India.

The role of manuscripts is even more central in some of the vernacular languages such as Malay where very few of the works which are landmarks of Malay literature as an Islamic literature have been edited critically to this day. And then there are the African languages with a rich Islamic literature, such languages as Somali and Fulani, where most of the literature has remained oral but some is preserved in manuscript form. The written documents in such cases are especially significant for the preservation of the record of the literary life of a whole people often in danger of losing their literary heritage. Islamic manuscripts as yet not fully studied or unknown to the world at large comprise one of the richest literary treasures of the world, reflecting the deepest ethos and the profoundest thoughts of people as far apart as Andalusians and Filipinos, and languages as different as Berber and Chinese, which possesses an important but as yet rarely studied Islamic literature, not to speak of Arabic and Persian which are two of the world’s richest languages from a literary and especially poetic point of view.

Throughout their history, Muslims have based themselves on the Qur’anic model in which ethical injunctions are intertwined with episodes of sacred history, and have paid a great deal of attention to historical writing. Islam must in fact be considered, along with China, as the most historically aware of the classical civilizations, by which is not meant a theological interpretation of history wherein truth becomes incarnated in history resulting ultimately in historicism, but an awareness of, and interest in, the writing of history and its significance in the life of the community. Of course, many of the histories written by Muslims were chronicles of events, but there were also histories with a vision concerning the meaning of history in terms of trans-historical realities. In any case, Muslims wrote a large number of works on history, mostly in Arabic and Persian, but also in Turkish and other languages, and produced a body of works which are our only source of knowledge for not only the lives of Muslim nations in the past, but also the activities of many other peoples ranging from Mongols to Africans. Again in this field most of the major classical histories such as those of al-Ṭabarī and al-Masūdī have been printed, but many local histories remain in manuscript form. Moreover, even some of the most renowned historical works are still in need of a critical edition based on the
most trustworthy of the existing manuscripts. Such works include even the 
Magaddimah of Ibn Khaldun which, despite all its fame, suffers from the 
lack of a critically edited Arabic text.

Muslims wrote fewer works in the fields of philosophy and the natural 
and mathematical sciences than in the religious sciences and literature, but 
they nevertheless produced a large number of treatises many of which 
remain still in manuscript form. One might say that there are still whole 
continents to discover in these fields. It is remarkable that in the field of 
philosophy there is not a single major Islamic philosopher all of whose 
works have been critically edited and printed. If, for some reason, all the 
manuscripts of the works of Kant or Hegel were to be lost, the definitive 
texts of their writings would nevertheless survive in the many printed 
editions of their works. But what would happen if, God forbid, all the 
manuscripts of the works of the most famous of Islamic philosophers, Ibn 
Sīnā, were to be lost? One can surmise the answer by remembering that his 
most famous and voluminous work, the Kāfīb al-shīrāzī, printed over a thirty 
year period in Cairo, contains so many errors in certain volumes that there is 
still the need to consult a manuscript to make sense of some of the passages.

If this is the situation with Ibn Sīnā, one can imagine the case of lesser 
known philosophers such as Ghiyāḥī al-Dīn Mānsūr Daḥṣalkī, nearly all of 
whose works remain in manuscript form, of figures belonging to the history 
of medieval centuries of Islamic philosophy in the Ottoman world, or India, in 
both of which numerous manuscripts await to be studied in order to make 
known the intellectual history of these lands. This later history, often 
combined with that of kāfīb, remains almost totally hidden within the pages 
of all those manuscripts, many greatly endangered, which still survive in 
public and private collections.

As for science, it hardly needs to be mentioned here that most of the 
study of the history of Islamic science has been carried out by western 
historians of science, who, for that very reason, have been mostly interested 
in earlier periods of Islamic science where they have concentrated almost all 
of their efforts until fairly recently. As a result, a greater number of earlier 
works have been edited, printed, and studied. But despite the notable 
amount of scholarly work already accomplished, vast areas remain to be 
explored. During the last few decades alone, E. S. Kennedy discovered a 
completely new chapter in the history of Islamic astronomy associated with 
the school of Maragha, beginning by simply examining one manuscript of 
Qūb al-Dīn Shīrāzī in the British Library, while D. King has added whole 
new fields in the study of Islamic astronomy by discovering hitherto 
unknown manuscripts of Mamluk and Yemeni astronomy, as well as of what 
might be called folk astronomy associated with finding the direction of the 
qībīlah, the times of prayer, etc.

A great deal remains to be discovered in the domain of Islamic science 
through the examination of the many manuscripts which have not as yet been 
studied, and the unveiling of works of which scholars remain presently 
unaware. This is especially true of science during the past seven or eight 
centuries, particularly medicine, which had a major late flowering in Persia 
and India from the tenth/sixteenth century onward. One must also remember 
the field of Ottoman science which is finally beginning to attract 
the attention of scholars, thanks mostly to the efforts of Turkish scholars, 
foremost among them Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu. Furthermore, one must 
emphasize here again the importance of the manuscript heritage for the 
establishment of even the well known and definitive texts of Islamic science, 
many of which exist in printed form but have not been critically edited, 
including some of the masterpieces of al-Bīrūnī, while other important 
works are well known but have never been edited and printed, a prime 
example being al-Tūfībah al-shāhīsyyah of Qūb al-Dīn Shīrāzī.

Another important category of manuscripts, in both Arabic and Persian as 
well as other Islamic languages, involves Islamic spirituality and Sufism. 
Besides Sufi poetry, which some might consider under the category of 
‘literature’, there are numerous works of prose which remain to be edited and 
printed. The existing manuscript collections are very rich in unedited 
material, and there is also every reason to expect unforeseen discoveries in 
collections which have not yet been studied. In even earlier centuries of 
Islamic history, where much of the scholarly endeavour has concentrated 
itself, new discoveries are constantly being made, such as the recent studies 
of the works of Abī Mānsūr Isfahānī which have revealed for the first time a 
whole branch of early Ḥanbalī Sufism unknown even to scholars of the field 
until today. As for later centuries, only a small number of manuscripts 
pertaining to Sufism have ever been scientifically described much less 
edited and printed. The libraries of India are a perfect example of this fact. Any 
even cursory study of one of the major manuscript collections, whether it be 
in Rampur, Patna, or Hyderabad, reveals important Sufi treatises which have 
remained unnoticed or little studied to this day. Even the works of the 
greatest masters such as Ibn ‘Arabī remain to a large extent in manuscript 
form, and his major opus, al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah, is being critically edited 
only now thanks to the life-long effort of O. Yahya.

In the field of Sufism, as in most other fields of Islamic scholarship, even 
works available in printed editions often need to be re-edited critically on the 
basis of existing manuscripts. Many Sufi works which have been printed in 
the Islamic world are based on only one or two manuscripts and rarely on an 
appraisal of all the existing manuscripts. This includes even the ever popular 
works of al-Ghazālī many of whose books, including the famous Ṣaḥābī ‘alām 
al-Dīn, available so widely in the well-printed Bulaq edition, need to be
critically edited in the light of all the important manuscripts available. The tradition of Islamic spirituality and Sufism is of course written to a large extent upon the tablets of the souls of men and women who follow the Path to God. But also much of it is written in manuscripts scattered all over the Islamic world and still unavailable to the scholars of the Islamic community as a whole. The manuscript treasury of Islamic civilization also contains in its as yet unstudied pages the doctrines, practices, and history of Sufism, and all of its ramifications in Islamic history, a treasury of knowledge much of which remains unknown to the scholarly public given the present day knowledge of manuscripts pertaining to this field.

And then there is the subject of art, ranging from calligraphy to music. Much of Islamic art has been transmitted orally and practically from master to disciple, and we might never discover a text describing how the cobalt blue tiles of the Timurid period of geometric designs of a Cairene mosque were made. But there still exists the hope and possibility of finding texts which will reveal the secrets of such marvels and also finally unveil the methods by which Muslim architects created the buildings which stand among the greatest achievements of Islamic civilization. There are, of course, fields of Islamic art such as calligraphy in which many treatises have been written, but even here only some have been printed and much remains in manuscript form. But even in areas in which few or no treatises are available, the treasury of Islamic manuscripts remains an extremely precious source which is indispensable for a better understanding of not only the history of various Islamic arts, but also the techniques, symbolism, language, and meaning of these arts. This is a field in which little research has been done until fairly recently and much remains to be accomplished.

It is interesting to note that one kind of manuscript related to an early attention from the thirteenth/nineteenth century onward, and much of it was in fact removed from the Islamic world to be preserved in Western collections. This category is that of illuminated texts, especially of the later centuries when the art of the miniature developed fully in Persia and later in Turkey and India. It is of interest to note that there are more Islamic manuscripts with fine Persian miniatures in an area within a fifty mile radius around London than in all of Persia. And yet, even in this domain, investigated so avidly over a hundred years, there are still important manuscript collections which remain unstudied and which contain in their pages many chapters of the history of the pictorial arts in Islam.

A word must also be said about the crafts, certain so-called ‘occult sciences’ (al-‘ulam al-gharibah), and technology, all or which are related in certain aspects, although the ‘occult sciences’ also possess branches related to other disciplines. Islamic manuscripts pertaining to the building of mechanical devices (‘ilm al-biyah) have been studied to some extent, as have a number of treatises on alchemy and the ‘science of materials’ (khawâjis al-ashyâb). But in this, as in other fields, most of the material is still in manuscript form and there are many works still unstudied or possibly even undiscovered which may answer questions concerning irrigation, metallurgy, dyes, and many other technologies and techniques of dealing with various materials, whose fruits adorn our museums although the knowledge underlying their production remains veiled from us.

One could continue with other fields of Islamic thought and culture for the knowledge of which the existing manuscript collections in the Islamic world play a central role, but these major fields suffice to indicate the significance of Islamic manuscripts in nearly all that can be called Islamic. The self-knowledge of the Islamic people as a living community as well as the preservation and resuscitation of fourteen centuries of Islamic religious, intellectual, and artistic history depend upon this vast treasury of handwritten documents which lie scattered throughout the Islamic world and much of the rest of the globe.

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As indicated at the beginning of this essay, the significance of Islamic manuscripts, as great as it is for Muslims themselves, is not confined to the Islamic world; rather, Islamic manuscripts are also of much value in the understanding of several other cultures and are pertinent to many fields of scholarship outside the domain of Islamic studies. First of all, manuscripts, especially in Arabic, contain valuable knowledge of ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Byzantine civilizations, as well as of the pre-Islamic societies of the eastern Mediterranean world, such as the so-called Sabaean of Harran. Arabic is not only important for a knowledge of Semitic philology, but is also the language in which a great deal of information concerning eastern Christian churches, Gnostic sects, and eastern forms of Judaism as well as certain elements of Mesopotamian and Egyptian science and religious thought is to be found.

The Arabic language, of course, also became a major repository for both Hellenic and Hellenistic thought, ranging from the natural sciences to metaphysics. One need hardly mention the significance of Arabic works, many still in manuscript form, for a better understanding of eastern Neoplatonism, Neoplatonic Aristotelianism, Hermeticism, Neopythagoreanism, later Greek medical thought associated with the name of Galen, and much of Alexandrian science. Many a western scholar in fact became attracted to Islamic and especially Arabic manuscripts while he was in search of the works of late Greek antiquity. In a sense, because of the basic role of Islamic thought, both in itself and in its preservation of Graeco-Alexandrian thought, in the genesis of medieval and to some extent Renaissance European philosophy, science, literature, and even theology,
Islamic manuscripts may be said to be also of importance for Western intellectual history. This is especially so since, despite the century-old efforts of Western scholars, many Arabic works pertaining to the heritage of Greek antiquity remain in manuscript form, and again some of the already printed texts need to be re-edited critically on the basis of manuscript material.

Islamic manuscripts, primarily in Arabic, but also in Persian, are also important sources for a better understanding of the religions and cultures of pre-Islamic Persia ranging from Zoroastrianism to Manicheism. Many Sasanian works were translated into Arabic while their original Pahlavi version was lost, especially treatises pertaining to statecraft. Islamic manuscripts are in fact indispensable for a better understanding of many aspects of late Zoroastrian thought as well as the beliefs and practices of certain Manichaean communities. Likewise, these manuscripts are important for a better understanding of ancient Persian history reflected later not only in Persian works of the Islamic period such as the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdawsi but also in many Arabic works of universal history. Islamic manuscripts have still much to reveal about Sasanian history as well as Iranian religions, especially Zoroastrianism and Manicheism, which played important roles in the religious life of many communities beyond the confines of Persia itself.

One can see a similar situation in India as far as history is concerned. It is true that in contrast to Persia, where very few Pahlavi texts have survived, numerous Sanskrit and Pali works remain as containing the treasury of Hindu and Buddhist wisdom. But strangely enough most of the history of India is in the Persian language, and Islamic manuscripts, this time mostly Persian, are indispensable for the understanding of Indian history during the past millennium. The widespread attempt made during the past four decades to translate the sources of Indian history into Hindi attests to this fact. But even with such attempts, Islamic manuscripts remain an important source for historians of both Hindu and Muslim India as well as for those interested in the various reactions which took place on the spiritual and religious planes between Islam and Hinduism. Even for medieval Hinduism itself, Islamic sources, remaining to this day to a large extent in manuscript form, constitute an indispensable source without which many currents of even Hindu religious thought and practice cannot be fully understood. Here, other languages used by Muslims, such as Urdu, Bengali, and Panjabi, also play an important role.

There is less known about Chinese Islamic manuscripts than practically any other major area, but enough is known to be able to assert that there are valuable manuscripts both in Chinese, but written by Muslims, and in various Turkic tongues used especially in what the Muslim geographers called Eastern Turkestan and which today is contained in the province of Sing-kiang in western China. Here again Islamic manuscripts contain valuable knowledge not only of the practices, beliefs, culture, and history of the Muslims of China, but also of the relations of the Islamic world with China going back to the very beginning of the Islamic era. Only a fuller study of this precious but little known manuscript area can reveal all of its contents, but its very presence and age reaching back to the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries attest to its significance as a source for study of certain aspects of Chinese history and culture.

As for Southeast Asia, Islamic manuscripts are the most important source of knowledge for the history of that vast region as it was transformed from Buddhist and Hindu kingdoms to one of the most densely populated regions of the Islamic world. It was Arabic and Persian works translated into Malay which set the background for the rise of Malay as an Islamic language and as the dominant literary and cultural force in what is today, Indonesia Malaysia, the southern Philippines, Brunei, and certain regions of Thailand. Many of these works remain in manuscript form, including some of the most famous, and constitute the most important written source for knowledge of not only the Islamic Malay world but the whole of that region prior to the rise and spread of Islam and the processes as a result of which that region became part of dār al-islām.

Islamic manuscripts are also the most important existing written sources for the history of Sub-Saharan Africa. The libraries of such cities as Timbuktu are rich in works pertaining not only to Islam in Africa but also to non-Islamic Africa, with which the Muslims had so much interaction both before and during the period of European colonization. These manuscripts include not only Arabic ones dealing with history and religion, as well as those containing travel accounts, but also manuscripts in local languages, some with several centuries of written history. In a continent where so much has remained oral and so much has been destroyed as a result of turncoats and disasters both natural and man-made, the knowledge contained in manuscripts associated with various Islamic languages is of the greatest value. Without preservation and study of these manuscripts, the history and culture, and much of the folk practices, including medicine, of Africa will never be known.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that Islamic manuscripts are of great significance for knowledge of many aspects of European history. Whether it be the history and culture of both the Jews and Christians of Spain, or of the Russians of the Upper Volga, Islamic sources contain material of great value, much of which has not as yet been studied and remains solely in manuscript form. Moreover, Islamic manuscripts play a special role in relation to the history and culture of Byzantium and Eastern Europe, some parts of which were part and parcel of the Ottoman world for half a millennium. Much of
the information concerning the history of these countries must be sought in Turkish archives and in works written not only in Turkish but also in Arabic and Persian. To these archives one must add those of Bosnia and Albania, with their own long Islamic traditions. Here the role of Bosnian Islam must be especially mentioned since this five-century-old Islamic community of Slavic ethnic origin lies at the heart of the Balkans and has had a long history of relations with both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches and European and Ottoman worlds. Its manuscript collections, preserved relatively better than in many other areas, are bound to contribute a great deal to the knowledge of not only the history of Islam in Europe but also five hundred years of Balkan history in general.

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Besides their great import for both Islamic and several non-Islamic civilizations, Islamic manuscripts also have a great significance for Islamic art, not only in what they contain upon their pages but also in themselves as works of art. They contain most of the masterpieces of that supreme sacred art of Islam which is calligraphy, and some of the great works of Islamic art, such as Mamluk Qur’āns, are in the form of manuscripts. Moreover, as already stated, they contain nearly the whole pictorial creation of Islamic civilization in the form of illuminations, illustrations, and fully developed miniatures. And then there is the art of bookbinding with its magnificent achievements which adorn so many manuscripts in libraries throughout the world. From the technical point of view, there is the art of paper-making reflected in the various manuscripts written over the centuries, and even the question of the technology of ink and the growing of reeds which are directly related to the history of technology, agriculture, and art. Altogether, it can be said that perhaps no other major civilization has so much of its artistic creation tied to the art of the book. To understand the significance of Islamic manuscripts for the whole of Islamic art, one needs only ask what would remain of Islamic art if, through some catastrophe, Islamic manuscripts were to be wholly destroyed. Certainly much less would remain than in the case of Western, Indian, or Far Eastern civilizations, were such a tragedy to befall them. When one ponders over the significance of Islamic manuscripts one must remember not only their intellectual and literary content, but also their artistic significance and the role they played over the centuries in the artistic life of a civilization which never forgot the hadith: ‘God is beautiful and He loves beauty.’

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As a result of complex factors which cannot be outlined here, this vast treasury of Islamic manuscripts is scattered today not only in various areas of the Islamic world itself, but also in libraries throughout the Western world, and also in certain other countries which are neither Islamic nor Western. Some of these collections are kept in safety while others are in danger of gradual or imminent destruction. Internal and external causes are threatening many of these collections, both within the Islamic world and where Islam is a minority, such as in India and China, yet paradoxically at the present moment of history less so in the West. While in some countries such as India, the political and socio-economic factors of the past four decades have caused certain notable collections to fall into ruin or be kept under completely inappropriate conditions, in other places manuscripts have been threatened and in fact partly destroyed by internal rebellion or external wars as events in China and Iraq have demonstrated during the past year alone.

Almost wherever there is a civil war, revolution, or other type of upheaval, whether it be in Ethiopia, Yemen, or Nigeria, during the past few decades, or a falling apart as in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia today, there is the fear of the destruction of some part of that invaluable heritage contained in Islamic manuscripts. Even in this age of cultural destruction, few treasures of this magnitude are threatened as much as Islamic manuscripts. And even where they are well-preserved, as at Oxford or the Vatican, catalogues remain at best incomplete and the identity of many works remains unknown.

It is in the light of this situation that the significance of the efforts of Al-Furqān Foundation to survey existing collections, to help to catalogue those manuscripts which have remained uncatalogued to this day, to aid in the preservation of endangered manuscripts whenever possible, and finally to help in reproducing the content of this vast collection spread over the four directions of the compass becomes evident. The Prophet has said that the ink from the pen of the true scholar is more precious than the blood of martyrs. Islamic manuscripts may therefore be said to contain in a sense something more precious than the blood of those who are promised paradise. Likewise, those who preserve and disseminate the knowledge contained in these works must share something of the exalted reward promised to those whose ink the Prophet considered precious. In thanking on my behalf all who have made the establishment of Al-Furqān Foundation possible, I pray that this Foundation will take its place as a major centre of Islamic culture and that with the help of God the further stages of activity envisaged by Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani will be realized, for those activities cannot but be of the greatest value to the Islamic world, to scholars interested in Islamic studies, and in fact to the whole of humanity in need more than ever before of that traditional knowledge of which the Islamic intellectual and literary heritage is one of the main repositories in the present-day world.
Before considering the work being done on Persian manuscripts and the places where they are kept, attention should first be focused upon two related topics. First, the place where the manuscripts were written. By looking at colophons where the place of origin is indicated, and in some cases, by assessing the style of the calligraphy, we discover that over a period of six or seven centuries, Persian manuscripts were written in all the lands where people either spoke Persian or were familiar with Persian literature. There are numerous Persian manuscripts which have been written in Arabic-speaking lands such as Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, and the European dominions of the Ottoman Empire, a number of which still remain in these countries. Moreover, the existence of Persian manuscripts in public libraries and private collections in India, Pakistan, and Turkey is an indication of the prevalence of the Persian language at the courts and at literary gatherings in those lands. The style of the calligraphy and illumination of these manuscripts was specific to these various regions, and one can distinguish them at a glance.

The other aspect of Persian manuscripts which should be considered is their present location. Today, they are to be found beyond the borders of Persian-speaking countries, Iran, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan, as well as beyond those of their neighbours, Turkey, India, and Pakistan, so that many Persian manuscripts are now to be found in the libraries, museums, and private collections of other countries. They are dispersed all over the world, although sadly we do not have any accurate statistics. Many of them have...
not even been catalogued. Islamic manuscripts, whether in Persian or other languages, have been displaced over eleven centuries by way of trade and plunder, and as gifts and souvenirs. They have been dispersed over the four corners of the world.

A significant number of Persian manuscripts still remain in those places where they were written. In fact, these are manuscripts with a regional identity, like many compilations which were written by the Persian-speaking writers and scholars of India and Pakistan in the various cities of that vast sub-continent, especially between the eleventh to thirteenth centuries AH. Many of them are still accessible in India and Pakistan, and it is natural that scholars and text-specialists interested in the history of India and that part of Indian culture which is recorded in Persian, particularly in the biographies and speeches (mawāli) of the Sufis of the sub-continent from tarāqqāts such as the Chishtiyya, Qadiriyya, Nurbakshshiyah and Suhrawardiyyah, should pay special attention to the treasures of the libraries in India and Pakistan. For those interested in the Sulfi culture of Central Asia, and such orders as the Khwāji, the Naqshbandi, the collections of the republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are of the greatest importance. In order to gain access to manuscripts from the towns between the Axartes and the Oxus, the collections of the libraries of Tashkent, Dushanbe, Samarkand, and Bukhara are of the greatest interest. Of course, in the last two hundred years, a number of these manuscripts have found their way to European countries, and a small number have fortuitously reached Iran.

Fortunately, the majority of the Persian manuscripts dating from the last two hundred years are still in the libraries and private collections within the country, and for those dating from the Qajar period, the National Library, as well as the libraries of the Qulistan Palace, Tehran University, and the Parliament, the Malik Library and those in Mashhad, Tabriz, Shiraz, and Isfahan are the main centres.

**Manuscript description**

There is no doubt that in the field of Eastern historical manuscripts description the most important need is for individuals who have mastered the basic essentials and methods of cataloguing, and who have acquired the relevant experience under the appropriate supervision. This applies equally to the field of manuscript illumination.

Up to now, the specialist in this field has been trained by his experience, following his own personal predilections, and the results of contact with numerous and varied manuscripts. This knowledge is transferred orally from one generation of specialists to another, and librarians and cataloguers have no access to any specific books of instruction or equipment. Although the number of such individuals is limited, their knowledge is reliable. He or she used to be known among Iranian literati as a kiābshīnā, meaning 'knower of the contents of books', and not a 'bibliographer', as is the terminology today. Such a person would know the author/compiler, the subject of the book, the kind of paper, calligraphy, and the different kinds of illumination used in the book, and he would be able to assess these different aspects. If the manuscript lacked any details or was missing folios, by looking at the other chapters the kiābshīnā could determine the identity of the book and specify the date of its writing and compilation.

In the last sixty to seventy years, several individuals who learned kiābshīnāsī from the previous generation and taught them to contemporary scholars deserve to be mentioned: Muhammad Qazvīnī, Muhammad ʿAfī Tariqīyat, Muhammad Nakhjavānī, Husayn Nakhjavānī, Muhammad Mishkāt, Muḥtabī Miṇūvī, M. T. Muṣṭarī Rāgāvī, Jāʿar Sulām al-Qurraʾī and Mahdī Bayānī.

The first stage in the history of Persian manuscript cataloguing was accomplished thanks to the efforts of Qaʾīn Mīrāz Iqālī (the Mashhad catalogue), Abū al-Qāsim ʿIrāqī al-Muṭī (the Majlis catalogue), Hāvāʾī Shīrāzī (the Sipahsālār catalogue), and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jawāḥir-Kalām (the Maʿārif catalogue). They tried to bring together their own personal knowledge, combining traditional methods with the new procedures followed in the catalogues compiled by Orientalists. In this way, the first Iranian catalogues were printed and became the guide for future generations.

In the second stage of cataloguing in Iran, the learned, hard-working, committed and untiring leader was, and still is, Muhammad Taqī Dānishpāzhūḥ, followed by ʿAbd al-Naqī Munzavī, Ahmad Munzavī, Mahdī Vālī, Ahmad Gulchīn-Maʿānī, ʿAbd al-Husayn Hāʾrī, and ʿAbd Allāh Anwār. It was in fact these few specialists who expanded this subject.

In the third stage, which takes in the last twenty years, not only catalogues, but also a number of library figures played a part, as a result both of the scattered nature of the manuscripts and the enthusiasm which had become fashionable in the field of the cataloguing of manuscripts, especially following Dānishpāzhūh's works.

Now the future of manuscript cataloguing in Iran requires that clear rules and regulations be coordinated and compiled in the form of a book which can be made available to every cataloguer. If such an endeavour were successful, then it could also be used by cataloguers in other countries.

This skill of compilation needs to be taught academically and as a specialization, perhaps at the level of a masters degree. In the short courses of modern librarianship and even in librarianship courses at the level of a university masters degree, there are alternative classes on manuscripts, but because there has always been a tendency to learn the new techniques of
librarianship in order to be able to find a job in a library, students have never had an adequate interest in classes on manuscripts and have never felt a need to revive the traditional knowledge.

The role of cataloging

In the catalogues that have been compiled for the Persian manuscripts of Iran, there is no standard for the rules and expressions used. In fact there are often distinct differences between them, since each cataloguer has written according to his own specific knowledge, according to his personal enthusiasm and effort, and, in some cases, based on written particulars noted in registers of manuscripts.

The absence of any standard rules as well as the variety in terminology, have led to problems in bibliography. As for European cataloguers, they have often followed their own rules and have not necessarily shown any sensitive awareness of the specific characteristics of Islamic bibliography. It is especially in translating the terminology and adapting it to present circumstances that they have been unsuccessful.

Mahdi Bayani’s published work, Kitâbshinasi-yi kitâb-hâ-yi khaqani, (Tehran, 1552/1973), which comprised the text of his lessons, and which was published posthumously, as well as Zigâ Mâyiil Iltraví’s book, Lughât va iślâhlâh-i funn-i kitâbshinâ, ham-râh bâ iślâhlâh-i jídâkâz, taqâbîl, naqâshî, do not solve the problems of cataloguing, and are not thorough enough to include all the information and terminology that is essential for teaching purposes.

The preparation of a book comprising all the rules and terminology peculiar to traditional Persian librarianship (quite apart from the terms used in other Islamic countries) is necessary. These terms should also be published with their English equivalents.

Such a compilation should exclude similar terms and expressions used in other Islamic countries, because the varied and parallel terminology current in Arab countries, as well as in India, Afghanistan, and Turkey, will lead to a new kind of confusion. On the other hand, their separation will lead to cataloguers in each language using local and traditional expressions current among themselves. The problem is not only that the rules and terminology concerning copying, calligraphy, illumination, and binding are not standardized, but that today we no longer know the significance of many of the old expressions. For example, I have extracted thirty-one names of different papers from the old registers of manuscripts and classical Persian texts, but I have no idea how one could correlate these different names with the actual paper of manuscripts, and say accurately that the paper of such and such a manuscript is of this or that kind.

In order to overcome these obstacles the most important task is to publish the Persian literature concerning calligraphy, paper, illumination, and binding of such authors as Sayyari, Râfi’î, Sabzvârî, Mîr’-‘Allî, and Shâdiqî-yi Asfârî in a series. Although a few of these have been published, and translated, for example the Gulistan-i hunar by Vladimir Minorowsky, and Rang-i kâhîg-i simi Nishâbûrí by Louise Marlow, and notes to it by Yves Porter, it is still essential that a corpus should be available from which the old terminology and probable rules and definitions can be extrapolated; and the history of the development of the different styles of writing should be made accessible to the bibliographer. Although the translation of Gulistan-i hunar useful, it is only since the edition of the text published by Shâh Yûsuf al-Khâvûsî that a more accurate use of the contents of the book has been made possible.

Another suggestion for achieving an authentic record of the terminology and finding a way of extrapolating accurate rules for rediscovering the artistic subtleties of manuscripts is to compile the Persian registers (‘arz) indicated at the end of manuscripts.

From the same manuscripts one can compile a list of monographs and books which may otherwise only exist either separately or at the back of other books. An example of such a monograph is the valuable index which was prepared in 1172/1759 from the manuscripts of Asâni-‘Saftî in Ardabil and which was published under the name of Ganînabîl-‘Saftî by M. V. Sayyid Yûnisî (Tabriz, 1348/1969). This is a very good reference for the old terminology that was current among the ‘treasure-holders of manuscripts’.

Estimation of the Persian manuscript heritage

Obviously it is impossible to determine the true number of manuscripts in Iran, let alone the total number of Persian manuscripts. The major problem in reaching an accurate and realistic figure is the way these manuscripts are scattered in public and university libraries, as well as in government institutions, mosques, and shrines; in addition, the paucity of information about many of them, the fact that not all manuscripts have been catalogued, and the many that are hidden away in private collections are all aggravating factors.

An approximate guess is that the number of manuscripts in Iran is more than 200,000, half of which are probably in Arabic. About 60,000 of these manuscripts are mentioned in published catalogues and periodicals, as well as in the prefaces to published classical texts. Thus there remain about 140,000 uncatalogued manuscripts in Iran; of these 7,000 are in the National Library, and about the same or more in other important libraries. The
important point is that manuscripts in private collections constitute about half of the uncatalogued manuscripts. At present, some of the Iranian libraries such as the Central Library at Tehran University, the Ḥarāsh Library in Qum, the National Library, and the Foundation of the Great Persian Encyclopaedia of Islam are adding to their collections, and are buying manuscripts that become available on the market. Sometimes manuscripts are donated to these libraries, and these, too, have to be catalogued. The collection of Šūṭān-yi Bībāhānā, which was recently donated to the Library of the Great Persian Encyclopaedia of Islam, is a case in point.

**Selective and critical cataloguing**

Considering the great number of uncatalogued and even unknown manuscripts, and the need for making available manuscripts which are vital for research, one must proceed in accordance with clear priorities. Each library should publish a list of all its manuscripts, but, in view of the fact that such a task would take years and would require efficient personnel as well as adequate financial resources, the only way of creating awareness of important manuscripts would be through a selective and critical hand-listing according to the needs of scholars. To this end, a list of the most important manuscripts could be provided as an assessment had been made by text-specialists and bibliographers. In order to elaborate on this point, I will mention a few historical works. By way of introduction, it should be said that I will concentrate only on the Persian manuscripts of those historical texts that are relevant for general history.

Among important general histories in Persian are a few of which the total number of manuscript copies is as yet unknown. Those which have been published either in part or in full are not entirely reliable. In order to edit a more accurate text it is necessary to study all the texts. Among these texts which require more reliable editions are the Jāmī’-al-tavārīkh by Rashīd al-Dīn Ḥarāsh Allāh Hamadānī, the Zubdat-al-tavārīkh by Hāfīz Abrū, the Ḥabīb al-siyār, by Khvāndamīr, the Rawżat-al-Safā, by Mirkhvānd, and the Khudā-ī barīn, by Muhammad Ṣafī Qazvīnī. Among the dynamic histories, of which reliable versions would lead to a better understanding of world events and regional history, one can mention the Zafarnāmah by Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī, and the ‘Alam ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī by Iskandar Beg Munshī. In the domain of histories relevant to neighbouring countries, the Tāj al-mu‘āṣir by Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan Niẓāmī Nishabūrī, a good reference for the history of India, and the Ḥasht bihshīht, for the history of the Ottoman Empire, should be mentioned; many more books fall into this category.

Regarding the biographies of the great men of history, the best example that comes to mind is Rashīd al-Dīn Ḥarāsh Allāh Hamadānī; most of his writings remain unpublished, and the manuscripts of his works have yet to be assessed. These include the Ṭaqīqāt, the As‘īlah va ajvībah and the Majmū’-al-Rashidiyāh, of which excellent copies in Turkey and Iran could be made into facsimile editions.

In the field of religious biography, although there are many manuscripts of a book like the Abshān al-kibār fi ma‘rifat al-ʿumūmah al-ṣāḥib, written by Muhammad b. Ṣāḥib Zayd b. Ṭarāsh, ‘Alavī Vāraminī (eighth century), it has not yet been published. As for the Majālis al-mu‘āṣir by Qāzī ‘Nūr Allāh Shīhshārī, which is the best biography of Shī‘ī ‘ulamā’ of the eleventh century Ḥijrī, no critical edition based on reliable manuscripts has been published. Even the Rawżat-al-shuhādā by Mullā Husayn Kāshfī is still being reprinted without any reference to the manuscripts.

Library research must be based on reliable manuscripts, — those closest to the time of the author. In order to achieve progress in this field, a chronological catalogue of the manuscripts of important works should be compiled, and in this way many of the problems bedevilling the editing of such central texts as the Dīwān of Hāfīz, Ferdowsī’s Shāh-nāmah, and Sa‘dī’s collected works could be circumvented. A further requirement in the domain of literary texts is to make known such texts on traditional sciences as the Jāmī’-al-ma‘ānī (sixth century) on precious stones (itself the basis for Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī’s Tanzāshikh-nāmah) and the Sa‘dāt-nāmah by ‘Allī Tabārī (seventh century) on dīwān and sīyāq.

**Bibliography of Persian manuscripts catalogues**

From 1305/1927, when the first catalogues of the manuscripts of the libraries in Mashhad (Āʿād-i Quds) and Tehran (Ma‘ālīs-i Shī‘ī-yi Mīḥīt) were published, until today, cataloguing has been continuous, but progress is intermittent as a result of political events or the financial situation of the libraries. At present, there is no general plan to determine the exact number of extant manuscripts in the many small and scattered libraries, or any of the details which are needed for proper cataloguing. However, in major libraries such as the National Library, the Ma‘ālīs Library, an Ḥarāsh Library (Qum), the Central Library of Tehran University, and the Library of the Foundation of the Great Persian Encyclopaedia of Islam, cataloguing is progressing well. With the publication of the ninth volume, due to appear this year, the cataloguing of the Ma‘ālīs Library will have been completed.

The number of published catalogues of manuscripts has now reached about 1,000 (including those in article form). Accordingly, Kitābshīhā-yi fīhrīs-hā-yi naskhāt-hā-yi khāfs-yi īrāst dar kitābshīhānāt-hā-yi dūnā
which I compiled at the suggestion of UNESCO and which was published in 1337/1958 is now out of date, and the bibliography must now be begun afresh taking into account all recent efforts in this field.

Two Iranian periodicals deserve mention, although, unfortunately, they have not been published continuously. These are Nasbriyyah-yi nuskah-hā-yi khatṭī published by Tehran University Central Library starting in 1339/1950 (12 issues), and Ashna-yi bā chand nuskah-hā-yi khatṭī published by Husayn Muḍarrî Tabāshāt and Risāl Ustādî, both of the Islamic University in Qum, in 1339/1976, but now stopped.

The future of cataloguing

Collective attempts to index manuscripts have been made on several occasions in Iran, and it may be useful to recall them here. The Sipahsâîr library indexed its manuscripts with the help of Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhāhī and ‘Alī Naqī Mūnâzvī. The Anjumān-i Aghār-i Muḥâkka[1] accepted the plan suggested by myself and Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhāhī that the manuscripts of each city be indexed by specialists in that city. Catalogues were compiled and published in three volumes for six libraries in Mashhâd by Kâzîm Mudirshāhî-nâchi, ’Abd Allâh Nūrâni, and Taqī Bînish, as well as the public library in Ra’sht, where Muḥammad Rawshân was the principal contributor. The Majlis Library was catalogued in six volumes, (nos. 11–16) as a result of the collective effort of several indexers. The Malik Library was catalogued in nine volumes through the collective work of ten scholars.

Secondly, although the work of Bâsiq Gray, B. W. Robinson, and Ernst Grube, as well as the index of the illustrated Persian manuscripts of Dir al-Kutub al-Muṣliyyah compiled by Naṣr Allâh Muḥâshshîr al-Tarîqî, have made important contributions to the understanding of the material characteristics of manuscripts, the art of Persian folkloric, religious, and kingly book-making has not been sufficiently emphasized. In the field of bookbinding, especially Persian binding, new research is needed.

Thirdly, the vocabulary and grammar of early (pre-eighth-century) manuscripts should receive more attention. This would in itself contribute to a greater understanding of linguistic change and Persian dialects, as well as of stylistics. Manuscripts that can be of help in clarifying either of these two aspects should be made known, and those which deserve to be facsimiled should be specified.

A union catalogue

After the important and original compilation of C. A. Storey, Ahmad Munavâ, who had a great deal of practical experience in the cataloguing of manuscripts, and had helped his father in the preparation and publication of a few volumes of the latter’s work, Al-Dhârī’ah, decided to compile a combined index of Persian manuscripts extant in Iran. He published the results in six volumes. Not only did he utilize all the published indexes in Iran, but he also mentioned the names of those manuscripts which he had seen personally in various libraries and whose titles had not been recorded. Occasionally, he cited the titles of manuscripts available in other countries on the basis of sources that had been translated into Persian, or those mentioned in other catalogues he consulted.

The publisher (CENCO) stopped working after the sixth volume was finished, so Munavâ left for Pakistan where he was able to persuade the Iran-Pakistan Centre of Persian Studies in Rawalpindi to adopt a proposal to publish a new combined index, that is, a combined index of manuscripts in Pakistan, twelve volumes of which have now been published (1983–1990). His originality in the last volumes of this catalogue consists of the addition of the fīrūtsvarâh, i.e. index sections, arranged according to subject-matter. These include the particulars of Persian manuscripts and published works, in the order of the titles of the books, with reference to the sources. This section is not limited to manuscripts from Pakistan. At present, Ahmad Munazvî is in Tehran and has started discussing another project in the same field of combined indexing with the Foundation of the Great Persian Encyclopaedia of Islam. This project consists of the continuation of the index work which he started in Pakistan.

Apart from this major work in the field of combined bibliography one should take note of three other projects. The first of these is the index of Arabic manuscripts in Iran which Muḥammad Bâqir Hujjatî, the cataloguer of manuscripts of the Theology Faculty at Tehran University, started a few years ago. He has compiled this according to the published catalogues of public libraries (not private collections); he has arranged the information according to subject-matter, the date of compilation, and the title of the book, and the Centre of Documents affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance has begun the publication of the first volume. Secondly, there is a union list of works on jurisprudence (fīq), and tradition (hadîth), in both Persian and Arabic, which was compiled at the behest of the Islamic Revolution Foundation. Finally, there is the idea which Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhāhî suggested to the Faculty of Theology and Islamic Sciences at Tehran University. His view was that in order to encourage the furtherance of Iranian studies, the information contained in the books of Broekelmann,
Sergin, Storey, and Hofman, as well as in the catalogues published in Iran, be brought together in a union list which would bring together information about, for example, Ibn Sīnā, in Persian, Turkish, and Arabic in one single place. This project, however, was not realized.

The compilation of a union catalogue of the Persian collections of even one country is an important and valuable task. In this connection the index which Prof. A. M. Piemontese has made of the 436 Persian manuscripts available in the libraries of the different towns of Italy deserves mention. It should serve as a model and inspiration for similar works.

Copying and microfilms

The first steps towards the photographing of manuscripts was suggested to the Iranian government by Muhammad Qazvīnī in 1925. He was himself commissioned to photograph authentic and important manuscripts which would contribute to progress in research in Persian history and literature. His microfilms are now kept in the National Library.

When Henry Corbin was the director of the French Institute of Iranology, he made microfilms of a number of philosophical, mystical, and historical manuscripts, several of which belonged to private collections. Subsequently, Muhammad Mīnūrī was commissioned by Tehran University and the Ministry of Culture to undertake investigations in the libraries of Turkey and to make microfilms of those manuscripts which seemed useful. He fulfilled this task with pleasure and admirable commitment for about six years, returning with those microfilms which were to form the basis of the section of microfilms in the Central Library at Tehran University.

Dr. Zāhīb Allāh Šafi made microfilms of the major manuscripts in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, all of which were to be kept at the Central Library of Tehran University. In addition to this, the library itself has regularly applied for microfilms from private and public collections both inside and outside Iran, so that now it has amassed a considerable collection, numbering some 7,500, with three volumes of indexes published by Muhammad Taqi Dānishpazhūh. A major significance of the microfilm collection of the Central Library of Tehran University is that a great number are taken from manuscripts belonging to private collections.

The Anār-i Quds Library in Mashhad, as well as the Mar'ashī Library in Qum and the National Library also hold microfilms. The Malik Library has only taken microfilms from its own collection, so that readers can use the microfilms instead of referring to the original manuscripts. The Mar'ashī Library in Qum has recently published the first volume of the catalogue of its microfilms, which mentions 500 out of a total of 2,000 manuscripts.

Facsimile edition of manuscripts

In the endeavour to revive ancient Persian texts, two steps are, fortunately, being taken: the critical editing of texts (in the last half-century about 2,000 classical texts have been published in Iran) and facsimile publications, which date form about twenty years ago (Tehran University, and the Anjuman-i Aqār-i Mift being the pioneers in this undertaking).

Recently, the Centre for the Publication of Manuscripts, affiliated to the Foundation of the Great Persian Encyclopaedia of Islam, has been founded with the purpose of publishing facsimiles of unique and ancient manuscripts, whether they be of artistic or paleographic value. During the two years since its inauguration it has published five texts including the Ma'ārif al-‘asrār wa-maṣāḥīb al-a‘brār written in Arabic by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shahristānī, the manuscript of which is dated 667 AH.

Fifty-five years ago, at the request of the Iranian government, Muhammad Qazvīnī specified nineteen major Persian texts for publication. From among these the Ḥafi‘īgīn by Ahmad Rāzī, the Tārīkh-i Jahanār by Muḥammad Faṣīḥ Khvāfī, the Zubdat al-tavārīkh by Abū al-Qāsim Khashānī, the Zubdat al-tavārīkh by Ḥafi‘ū Abū, the Tārīkh-i rāqīn by Mīr Sharīf Samargandī, and the Kayhan-i shimālkhār by Hasan Qaṭā‘ī Marvāzī, have not yet been printed, or even critically edited. Further efforts in this direction are urgently needed.

Conclusions

I would like to make the following suggestions for improving the situation of manuscript cataloguing. Firstly, as regards manuscripts in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish, in general, a programme for a graduate course in manuscript cataloguing should be proposed to a major university, in which special attention is given to local traditions of manuscript composition. This programme should be supplemented by textbooks on the description of manuscripts, and these should be made available in these three languages as well as in English.

Secondly, with specific regard to Persian manuscripts, a union catalogue based on existing published material should be compiled. In addition, a list of unique and lost manuscripts should be compiled from citations in books and articles, and, consequent to this, a list of manuscripts which are so far uncatalogued. Work should also be done on very early manuscripts which can provide a basis for the study of the early Persian language, and the registers and indexes of manuscripts which themselves appear in manuscript form should be gathered together in one publication. Finally, a priority list of texts to be critically edited should be compiled.
Vast regions of the former Soviet Union have had a long Islamic past, in which a rich, diverse literature has played its part; thousands of texts have been repeatedly copied. The earliest inscriptions and documents in Arabic to appear in Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus date from the beginning of the second/eighth centuries, and it was not much later that the first books were written. From the 160s/760s, Samarkand became a centre for paper production and supplied it to the whole Islamic world for almost two hundred years. In the fourth–fifth/tenth–twelfth centuries there were libraries with many hundreds of manuscript volumes in Arabic in Bukhara, Merv and other towns, to which books in Persian and Turkic languages were added, and libraries came to be established in every place where Muslims lived. Unfortunately political history and natural degradation have shown little mercy to the Islamic literary monuments of this vast area, and are among the factors which have contributed to their present poor condition: much of the manuscript heritage has been lost.

Collections of Islamic manuscripts are preserved in many cities in the former Soviet Union, mainly in state institutions, libraries, and museums. Most of these collections were founded recently in the orientalist centres of Imperial Russia mainly during the nineteenth century, first of all in St Petersburg, then in Kazan, Kiev, Moscow, Tashkent, and elsewhere.

The largest collection of Islamic manuscripts is that of the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Republic at the Academy of
Sciences in Tashkent. Following it in size are the collections in St Petersburg, Baku, Kazan, Dushanbe, Makhachkala, and Samarkand. Quantitative data concerning many manuscript collections is usually neither precise nor complete, because manuscripts are counted both by volumes, which vary widely in size and the number of folios, and by works, which may occupy many volumes or just a single page; while short texts (often fragmentary and sometimes in two or three languages) which are written in margins, on loose leaves, or perhaps in a single volume are either counted in different ways or ignored. A large number of depositories of Islamic manuscripts have not yet published exact and detailed information concerning their holdings as they have no reliable inventories or card indexes.

It is necessary to keep in mind that in the libraries of the former Soviet Union, alongside manuscripts and other documents from the older Islamic period works from the more recent period of transition from traditional to modern culture are well represented. These latter date from the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, a period of cultural revival and literary renaissance, and include records of oral tradition as well as autographs or copies of works by contemporary writers, journalists, scholars, and other writers who used modernized languages or local dialects, which were then becoming literary mediums. During the period of cultural revolution in the 1920-30s, when everything written in the Arabic script and found in the possession of Muslims was supposed to have been destroyed or appropriated indiscriminately, these materials of great variety were placed in manuscript depositories and archives. The alphabet was changed twice, from Arabic to Latin (after 1926) and later (after 1938) to Cyrillic, and everything written in Arabic seemed to librarians and archivists of the new generation to be an indispensable part of the Islamic legacy. Now it is often studied within the limits of the local cultural history of republics and peoples, but in isolation from the wider context of Islamic culture. An unknown quantity of manuscripts still remains in private collections, while the deposits of state institutions continue to grow.

Turning first to Central Asia, information about manuscript collections in this vast region can be found in travellers’ reports and articles from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but since then the great majority of manuscripts and libraries have been moved or have disappeared. The largest number of Islamic manuscripts are to be found in the Uzbek Republic with its ancient centres of Islamic scholarship such as Bukhara, Samarkand, Urgench, Khiva, Shakhrisabz, and Kokand. However, manuscripts are now concentrated chiefly in its present capital Tashkent. The first and most important collection is in the Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies, in which Arabic script manuscripts form, as almost everywhere, a common holding, increasing in stock continuously as a result of purchases and archeographical discoveries. There are 18,594 volumes, half of which contain works in Arabic, some 10-15 per cent in Turkic languages and the rest in Tajik and other languages. In addition, it holds more than 3,000 documents, and more than 30,800 lithographs and early printed books.

At first this holding was based in the Turkestan Public Library (founded in 1870). In 1943 it was transferred to the Institute for the Study of Manuscripts, which was reorganized in 1950 into the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. According to the catalogue published in 1889, 87 manuscripts were kept in the Public Library, containing 126 titles. It was augmented in 1898 by the confiscation of the library of Muhammad Ali Khalifa Sabirov, an Iskandar of Mintubeh (194 manuscripts), and later on by manuscripts from the collections of General Jurabek, Qudt Muhayyid and N. F. Petrovsky. In 1912 the recorded number of manuscripts was 318. After his visit in 1925, V. V. Bartol’d published an account of some of the manuscripts from this library. According to the inventory of the years 1930-31, there were already 1,025 manuscripts, and in 1932 the collection of V. L. Vyatkin (190 volumes) was added.

The manuscript holdings of the Public Library in Tashkent increased most markedly after 1933, when manuscripts from many other libraries of the Republic were added to its order of the local authorities. Among these were the private collections of persons who suffered from the political persecutions of the 1930s, such as those of Rahmanov, A. Fitrat and H. Zarifov, acquired in 1934 (148, 150, and 40 volumes respectively), that of Sharifjan Makhdum Ziya in 1936 (about 300 volumes), and a great number of books and manuscripts transferred from Samarkand in 1938. They, in their turn, had previously been part of the Bukhara Central Library. In the same year the private collection of a physician from Samarkand, G. M. Semyonov, was added (some 130 units). Altogether in the years 1933-1938 about 3,300 manuscripts were added to the holdings of this library. Later, regular work on searching out and acquiring manuscripts from private citizens was arranged, and also the holdings of various institutions were centralized.

The cataloguing of manuscripts was begun by a group of specialists who had been working at first in the Public Library, then in the Institutes named above, under the guidance of A. A. Semyonov, and was appreciably advanced in 1944-1945 by the participation of orientalists from St Petersburg (V. Belyaev, N. Mikhule-Maklay, A. Konov et al.) who enjoyed the hospitality of Tashkent to which they had been evacuated during the war. Subsequently the work was continued by research fellows of the Institute of Oriental Studies headed by the same scholar, and at last in 1952...
the first volume of the catalogue was published. Since then ten more volumes have appeared and this catalogue has become one of the most fundamental in Soviet oriental studies. The compilers and editors of this catalogue, as well as the principles on which it was based, changed during its many years of preparation and publishing, but from the first volume it was organized by subject-matter and included manuscripts in Arabic, Tajik, and Turkic languages. Within subject headings the descriptions were arranged in chronological order according to the dates of the works and manuscripts. Classification of the manuscripts (of both older and new acquisitions) was according to languages and subjects as well as the identification and dating of the manuscripts. Volume VII of the catalogue is dedicated to the Turkic language manuscripts exclusively and contains also indices to the Turkic manuscripts described in volumes I–VII; the structure of volume VIII, dedicated to Tajik manuscripts, is analogous. Volumes IX–X comprise only Tajik manuscripts; as does the larger part of volume XI; an Arabic volume is ready for publication.

Several surveys were dedicated to the collection of manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent, and articles were devoted to its constituent parts or to important texts.

A separate collection of manuscripts is kept at the University of Tashkent (formerly of Middle Asia), which includes, *inter alia*, collections of the former Turkestan Oriental Institute and part of the collection of Juraev. The total number of manuscripts is about 900. In two fascicles of the catalogue by A. A. Semyonov 100 Arabic, 177 Persian, and 62 Turkic manuscripts are described.

Recently, a manuscript collection has been formed at the Alisher Navai State Literary Museum. At first it contained only copies of Navai's works, but gradually an interest was shown in the works of all Uzbek or Turk authors and afterwards in any Islamic manuscript on every possible subject. This Museum was reorganized in the seventies into the Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences, Uzbek Republic, and named after its first director, Professor Hamid Suleymanov. The number of manuscripts in it exceeds 7,000. A catalogue of the manuscripts of Navai's works was published and the appearance of the first two volumes of the catalogue of Turkish manuscripts was announced.

The Library of Middle Asia and the Quazaktshi Dini Idaret contains some 3,000 manuscripts, mostly Arabic, but only scanty information concerning them has been published. A copy of the Holy Qur'an on parchment may date from the second/eighth or third/ninth century, is kept here; popular tradition makes it older, asserting that it belonged to the Caliph Uthman, and that it was in his hands when he was killed in Medina in 6536. Formerly it had been kept in Samarkand; it was seized and taken away to the Imperial Public Library in St Petersburg, where it was thoroughly investigated by A. F. Shebalin and printed in facsimile. After the Revolution in October 1917 it was given back to the Muslims and was kept at various places until it entered this library.

In the Central State Archives of Uzbekistan thousands of documents in Turkish and Tajik from the offices of the former states of the Emirate of Bukhara, and the Khanates of Khiva and Kokand are kept. Most of these documents were kept in Leningrad till 1962 and were partly described by orientalists. In the State Library of Uzbekistan named after Alisher Navai there are more than 90 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Turkic languages are held. The State Museum of Arts of Uzbekistan has 2 codices, 4 scrolls, and 246 folios in Arabic and Persian. There are also private collections in Tashkent, one of which, containing over 100 manuscripts and about 200 documents, was recently described by its owner, H. N. Babakov, in a catalogue.

Despite the fact that Tashkent became a centre which attained Islamic manuscripts from both inside and outside Uzbekistan (acquisitions were made even in the Volgaside regions), manuscript collections grew also in other towns of the republic. Samarkand University has more than 4,000 Islamic manuscripts, some of which have been described. In the Bukhara State Historico-Architectural Museum Reserve there are some 500 manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish as well as 2,580 documents, and more than 500 lithographs. A small collection of Islamic manuscripts exists in the Ibn Sīnā Bukhara Regional Library and a survey of the part of the collection dealing with mathematics has been published.

There is information about the existence of 14 Islamic manuscripts in the Surkhandarya Regional Museum; and of 16 codexes, 8 writing-books, 64 scrolls, and 139 separate folios in Arabic and Turkish in the Khiva Museum, Reserve Ichor-kala; as well as of Turkish manuscripts without precise figures in the Bābir Andijan Regional Library and in the Library of the Karakalpak filial branch of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan.

Approximately 2,500 manuscripts are kept in the Literary Museum in Fergana, 862 manuscripts and lithographs in the Museum of Literature and Art in Andijan, and further manuscripts in the Andijan Pedagogical Institute. The collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan in Dushanbe was founded in 1953 as part of the Institute of Languages and Literature, and manuscripts from other institutions were transferred to it. In 1957 it held 2,314 volumes and about 200 documents. From 1958 this collection has been attached to the Institute of Oriental Studies of the same Academy, and the number of manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, Tajik, Pashto, and Turkish has now reached 5,300. The cataloguing of these manuscripts was begun by a group of researchers under the guidance of A. N. Boldirev of St Petersburg University and A. M. Mirzoyev, and
during recent years it has been continued under the supervision of A. Alimardonov. Six volumes of the work have been published.

The compilers and editors of this catalogue have changed from volume to volume. It is planned according to subject-matter and covers manuscripts in Persian, Tajik, Uzbek, and other Turkic languages. Volumes VII–XI are ready for publication, as well as a concise catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts. The illuminated manuscripts were described in a separate catalogue. Photocopies and microfilms of more than 300 Isma'ili manuscripts are also in this collection. The originals are kept by their owners in the Badakhshan Autonomous Region; an abridged (and incomplete) catalogue of these manuscripts was published in Moscow in 1967 by A. Bertels and M. Bakoyev. In the Firdawsī Republican Library, 2,207 manuscripts are kept, uncatalogued, and these have only been surveyed in an article. Small collections of manuscripts also exist in other state libraries.

In Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenistan, Islamic manuscripts are held in the Mahumkuli Institute of Language and Literature in the Academy of Sciences of the Turkmen Republic. At first (from 1928) they were kept in the former Institute of Turkmenian Culture. To it have been added the collections of various Turkmen 'ulamā' and recently a catalogue of the Arabic part of this collection was published. Some 400 manuscripts are kept in the Karl Marx State Library of the Turkmen Republic and 34 in the Central State Archives of the Turkmen Republic.

Islamic manuscripts are scarce in the Kirghiz Republic, although the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz Republic in Bishkek (formerly Frunze) has a collection of a couple of dozen handwritten items.

In the capital of the Kazakh Republic, Alma-Ata, the Pushkin State Library holds 310 Islamic manuscripts (139 Arabic, 60 Persian, 111 Turkic languages), the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences about 50, and the Republican Museum of Books about 10. The Valikhanov Institute of History, Archaeology, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan has a collection of several hundred documents dating from the sixteenth–twentieth centuries in Persian and Turkic languages (gathered mainly from the shrine of Āḥmad Yasa'vi). There is much literary material (folklore records, writings of men of letters), mostly in Kazakh and other Turkic languages, in the Mukhtar Auezov Institute of Literature and Arts of the Academy of Sciences of Kazakhstan. About 6 manuscripts in Arabic script are kept in the Historical Museum of Local Lore in Pavlodar.

The Caucasian republic with the greatest number of Islamic manuscripts is, naturally, Azerbeydzhan, whose main centre is the Institute of Manuscripts at the Academy of Sciences of Azerbeydzhan in Baku. From 1950–1987 it existed as the Republican Fund of Manuscripts, although the collection of these manuscripts was begun in 1928 by the State Historical Museum of Azerbeydzhan. The number of manuscripts in this Institute is estimated to be more than 7,000 in Arabic (12,000 is mentioned in one place), 5,000 in Persian, and about 3,000 in Turkish, as well as many documents, among which are autographs of nineteenth and twentieth-century Azerbeydzhan authors. Three volumes of the manuscript catalogue have been published as well as a guide to the documents of one of the letters. Held here are two volumes of Ibn Sīnā’s Al-Qānūn fi al-ṭibb, dating from the sixth/seventh century, a chapter on surgical instruments from the work on medicine by Abī al-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī (d. 1036) of Andalusia, and two volumes of the Siḥāb of al-Jawhari copied and corrected in Baghdad in 510/1117. There are autographs of several Azerbeydzhan, Persian, and Turkish poets from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, such as Zayn al-Ābbādī, ‘Abbādī, ‘Alī al-Dīn Sīhī, ‘Abbādī, Bāmī ‘Abbādī, Ahmad Nadīm, Hayrān Khāsīm, Khurshid Bīnāt Nastāwī, and others.

The present circumstances of a small collection of Islamic manuscripts in the Azerbeydzhan State University Library are unknown (transferred to the Republican Fund of Manuscripts?). There are 126 Arabic and Persian (and, almost certainly, Turkish) manuscripts in the Nizami State Museum of Azerbeydzhan Literature, some 650, mostly Arabic, manuscripts at Zakatala, and 10 Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Nakhichevan Literary Museum.

There are Islamic manuscripts in the Armenian Republic in Yerevan, but no detailed clear information concerning them has ever been published. In Georgia, all the Islamic material in the Institute of Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Georgia in Tbilisi is divided into three collections. There is a published catalogue. In the whole Caucasian region to the north of the main mountain range, the Islamization of which began with Derbent (Bāb-i-Abwāb) as early as the seventh century, considerable collections of manuscripts can be found, but only in Dagestan. 27 Arabic manuscripts are held in the Chechen-Ingush Republic Museum of Local Lore, while in the Chechen-Ingush Research Institution of History, Language, Literature, and Economics there are 70 manuscripts, mostly Arabic.

Much work on the collecting, preservation, and study of manuscripts is being conducted by the Institute of History, Language, and Literature of the Dagestan Branch of the Academy of Sciences in Makhachkala. In its holdings there are 2,678 manuscripts: 2,637 Arabic, 16 Turkic, 3 Persian, and the rest in the languages of the Dagestani peoples; 6,374 documents of local origin, almost all in Arabic, and 1,241 lithographs, of which 274 are in the languages of the Dagestani people. Many of the early manuscripts in this collection were from different parts of the Near East and Middle Asia; some
manuscripts were copied in Baghdad. There are also manuscripts of works by local authors of the twelfth/eighteenth to fourteenth/twentieth centuries, which are not known outside Dagestan.

A copy of the Maṣūṣi al-Ḥarīrī from 568/1173, and various parts of the Şībā in al-Jawhari from the sixth/seventh century should be mentioned.

In the Scientific Library of the Dagestan University about 1,400 manuscripts and more than 3,000 documents are kept. In the Historical Museum of Dagestan and in the Makhachkala mosque there is a small number, and in the collection of G. M. Nurmogmedov there are about 500 manuscripts and documents. Outside Makhachkala there are 624 manuscripts in 13 private collections and 206 manuscripts in 7 mosques.

A small number of Arabic manuscripts and documents from Dagestan are represented in the collections of St Petersburg, Baku, Zakatala, Tbilisi, and Yerevan. A few of the literary productions of the Muslim population of the historical Dashi-i Kipchak and territories adjoining the Azov Sea and the Black Sea have survived, also outside these regions. Hardly any manuscripts are preserved in the Crimea. Until recently several dozen Arabic and Turkish manuscripts were kept in the Museum of Bakhchisaray, where they were almost entirely neglected. They were eventually transferred to St Petersburg, Kiev, and Lvov.

The regions of the Lower and Middle Volga (ancient Atılı or Inli) were peacefully Islamicized over eleven centuries ago. Arab-Islamic education was maintained, it seems, after the incorporation of this region into the Russian Empire, mainly within the borders of the former Bulghar State/Kazan Khanate and in Astrakhan (Haji-Tarkan) and its surroundings. Intensive literary activities are abundantly documented only for the period from the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Earlier manuscripts and documents are rare. Manuscripts were collected at Kazan University, where a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts was prepared and published, but these manuscripts were transferred to the newly founded Oriental Department (or Faculty) of St Petersburg University in 1855, as were the oriental manuscripts of the Kazan Gymnasium Library. The author of this catalogue, I. Gottwald, collected manuscripts in Kazan and donated 135 oriental manuscripts to the University Library in 1895, and his work was continued by others. In the years 1920–1930 a collection of Islamic manuscripts was formed in the Central Oriental Museum Library of the Tatar Republic, the main bulk of which consisted of manuscripts gathered by G. Galeev-Barudi and S. Wahidov. A survey of the Arabic section was published in the mid-twenties. In 1934 this collection was transferred to the Library of Kazan University, which again became the main depository of oriental manuscripts in the town. In the thirties many manuscripts were

acquired in the Middle Volga regions for the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad, but a great part of these have been destroyed or have perished.

Active work on the collecting of manuscripts and documents has been conducted in recent decades and is still proceeding at the University and in the Institute of Language, Literature, and History of the Kazan Branch of the Academy of Sciences some 6,000 manuscripts are held at the Manuscript Department of the University Library, and about 4,000 at the Manuscript Department of the Institute. Though they are mainly of local origin and represent everyday Islamic practice and teaching, their arrangement (according to languages for instance) and preliminary card-cataloguing has been prepared, but no catalogue has been published.

In Ufa the collecting of manuscripts and documents started much later, and the scope of the material is less wide; in the Institute of Language, Literature, and History of the Bashkir Branch Department of the Academy of Sciences there are 2,000–3,000 Islamic manuscripts. A small number of manuscripts exist in the Archives of the Bashkir Branch (about 200 works) and in the Library of the Religious Administration of the Muslims of Russia. The cataloguing of the manuscripts has recently been started.

In the cities and towns of the Ukraine there are several manuscript collections which are not very large, but are interesting from the point of view of the contents. The Central University Library of Kharkov holds 22 Islamic manuscripts: 11 Arabic, 1 Arabic-Turkish, 9 Turkish, 1 Persian. They were brought from Turkey in 1877. The oldest Arabic manuscript is that of Kitāb al-Askāf wa-al-nazāʿir by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Ibrāhīm al-Mīrānī on Ḥanāfī fiqh dated 1079/1669; the other writings go back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are copies of the Qurʾān, commentaries on it, and works on Arabic grammar.

The State Scientific Library in Odessa has a collection of oriental manuscripts, of which 36 are in Arabic. This collection is not catalogued, but the Library has a list of Arabic manuscripts prepared in 1947 by an amateur.

The Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine in Kiev possesses a collection of Islamic manuscripts and documents (64 Arabic, 5 Persian, 35 Turkic). The Arabic manuscripts have been catalogued by A. Savchenko. In this collection a group of manuscripts from the former collection of the Polish historian of the eighteenth century, Prince Y. Yablonsky, (acquired in 1926) should be indicated, as well as 5 Christian-Arabic manuscripts presented in 1868, and the holdings of the 'Kabinet' of Arabic and Persian Philology (in 1934–1936), which contained in its turn the collection of A. Krimsy (acquired in Lebanon 1896–1898 and Trabzon 1917), and the collection of A. Goryachkin and others. The contents are various and the catalogue gives fifteen thematic headings.
The oldest manuscripts are the Kanz al-waṣīl by ʿAlī b Muḥammad al-
Pazdāwī of Samarkand (d. 482/1089) copied in Nakhichevan in 732/1331 by
Muḥammad b. Kāfī b. Muḥammad al-Khurāsānī, Tuhfī al-Mulūbī by al-
Qazwīnī copied in 742/1341–748/1347, copies of a Qurʾān of the eighth/14th century, Durr al-buḫkām fl šarḥ gharār al-akhām by Muḥammad b. Fārānūr b. ʿAlī Mullā Khusrāw in his autograph of
877/1473–883/1478. A collection of about ten Arabic illuminated
manuscripts exists also in Kiev in the museum of Western and Eastern Art.

In Lvov, Islamic manuscripts are deposited in the Library of Lvov
University (24 Arabic and 9 Persian), the V. Stefani Lvov Scientific Library
(7 Arabic), the Central State Historical Archives (1 Arabic), the Historical
Museum of Lvov (1 Arabic), the Lvov Museum of History of Religion and
Adheism (several Arabic and Turkish manuscripts from Bakhchisaray).

There is a collection of Islamic manuscripts, of which 27 are Arabic (a
catalogue is in the course of being compiled) in the Department of
Manuscripts and Documents of the University of Tartu in the Estonian
Republic. The oldest among these is Fatīwā Qādīṭkān dated 970/1562–63.
The number of Turkish manuscripts is 12, and of Persian 10.

According to information published some time ago, six institutions in
Moscow possess collections of Islamic manuscripts, though this has not
since been checked. The Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages had some
70 Islamic manuscripts (14 Arabic, 44 Persian, 12 Turkish) in the year 1888
and acquired 3 or 4 more later, but the Moscow State Institute of
International Relations, which inherited its possessions, has not published
any information of the holdings. The existence of 11 Islamic manuscripts (3
Arabic, 5 Persian, 3 Turkish) at Moscow University was confirmed in a
publication dated 1837; some time ago the number was 24 (6 Arabic, 10
Persian, 8 Turkish).

The collection of the orientalist V. Velyaminov-
Zemov, which later became part of the holdings of the Museum of Eastern
Peoples’ Art, consists of 40 Islamic manuscripts (1 Arabic, 25 Persian, 14
Turkish).

The State Historical Museum has in its holdings the collection of General
Skobelev, which includes 197 Islamic manuscripts originating from
Turkestan. It was briefly surveyed by M. Hartmann, who noted that it
mostly consists of scholastic literature on fiqh, grammar, and logic in Arabic.

The Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts has in its holdings a collection of
Arabic papyri (190 units), the largest in the Russian Federation, which was
gathered by the Egyptologist V. Golenishchev.

The most considerable collection of Islamic manuscripts in Moscow is
that of the Lenin State Library, but only an approximate number is known
for the Arabic manuscripts: about 250. Some of these were already in the
holdings of the former Rumyantsev Museum and were mentioned in the first
half of the nineteenth century by C. D. Fraenck and later by B. Dorn. Lists of
the Arabic manuscripts of this library were compiled before 1960.

The main depositories of oriental manuscripts in Russia and the former
Soviet Union were and remain the institutions of St Petersburg. To them
came the majority of manuscripts in the possession of Russian orientalists,
travellers, amateur collectors, and officials of the military or civil service.
These institutions increased their holdings by haphazardly acquiring
manuscripts in book markets of the East and West, at auctions, etc. The
amassed materials, as well as new additions, were regularly reviewed or
described in articles, annotations, handlists, or catalogues. These Islamic
manuscripts served as a source and base for much of the research by Russian
Islamologists, Arabists, Iranologists, Turkologists, and were also used by
foreign scholars.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the following were founded in
St Petersburg:
1 The Imperial Public Library in 1814; a year before its official opening it
already had several dozen Islamic manuscripts chiefly from the former
collection of P. Dubrovsky who had been buying manuscripts in Paris,
Madrid and Rome during his career as a diplomat.
2 The Asiatic Museum of the Imperial (later: Russian) Academy of
Sciences of St Petersburg (later: of the former Soviet Union) in 1818; in
it were deposited at that time about 100 Islamic manuscripts which had
previously been kept in various departments of the Academy.
3 The Library of the Education Department, the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs in 1823. A manuscript depository was founded in it seemingly a
little later, along with the incorporation of collections from the diplomat
A. Y. Ilninsky (d. 1827) and General P. K. Sukhotein (d. 1836).
4 The manuscript depository of the University (1855), see below.

The most important and largest among the collections added to the Public
Library in the first half of the nineteenth century were those which came
from the Sufi mosque in Ardabil in 1828 (166 manuscripts: 1 Arabic, 161
Persian, 4 Turkish), the Ahmadiyya mosque in Ahlatskie in 1829 (148
manuscripts), and a collection from Edirne in 1830 (166 manuscripts: Arabic
and Turkish). However, the majority of Islamic manuscripts were directed
to the Asiatic Museum, substantial augmentation of which came with the
acquisition (in 2 stages: 1819 and 1825) of the collection of J. L. Rouxsan,
who had been French consul in the Levant. It consisted of 700 Islamic
manuscripts, which can be divided from a linguistic point of view into 400
Arabic, 150 Persian, and 150 Turkish. Collections donated by C. D. Fraenck
and his son Rudolph, A. D. Jaba (11 manuscripts acquired in Izmir and
Tabriz), A. Chot-Bey (1839, Druz books) may also be mentioned.
Information about the addition of Islamic manuscripts to the St Petersburg's institutions was regularly reported in Russian or German by the first director of the Asiatic Museum, C. D. Fraenck. Almost all his published reports were gathered by his successor B. Dorn in a volume on the history and archives of this museum; he himself continued the same practice, with more attention to Persian manuscripts, and prepared a catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the Public Library. About this time, several most interesting Turkei language manuscripts kept in the city were described in detail by Professor I. N. Berezin of Kazan University.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, along with the foundation of an Oriental Department (1855) in the Library of St Petersburg University (in which there was already an old holding of oriental manuscripts comprising 35 volumes), the collections of Kazan University (380 volumes), the Richelieu Lyceum in Odessa (61 volumes), and others were transferred. Up till the end of the nineteenth century, the manuscripts collected by the University's Professors A. K. Kazenbek (179 volumes), M. A. Tantawi (156 volumes), A. O. Makhmudskii (36 volumes), V. F. Girtos (5 volumes), and N. I. Veselovskii (22 volumes) were added to this depository. An alphabetical list of all Islamic manuscripts, introduced with details of the years of acquisition and donors, was compiled and published.

The holdings of Islamic manuscripts of the Public Library were considerably increased by the acquisition of the collections of J. J. Marcel (Qur'anic fragments on parchment written in Kufi script, mostly of Egyptian origin, from the mosque of 'Amr ibn al-As' mentioned in Iran, N. B. Khanikov (in Tauris and Khorasan), A. D. Jaba (1868, 56 works many of which are in Kurdish), the first Russian governor of Turkestan, K. P. Kaufmann (1876), the Karaim writer A. V. Karpovich (1876, his second collection, and V. D. Staden's collection), and in Istanbul and Bursa several times). In 1854 the archives from the Military Ministry of Turkish Troops captured during the Crimean campaign were transferred to this library and among the material, sent by K. P. Kaufmann in 1871-1877, were archives of the Khanates of Khiva and Kokand (returned in 1902 to Uzbekistan, see above p. 35).

During the second half of the nineteenth century the Asiatic Museum acquired about 920 volumes of Islamic manuscripts from various sources; the most substantial contributions came along with the collections of N. V. Khamkov, B. Dorn, V. Velyaminov-Zernov, K. P. Kaufmann, A. L. Kuhn, V. V. Radlov, K. G. Salzmann. Cataloguing of the Islamic manuscripts was begun by V. R. Rosen, but he completed only the first fascicle of the Arabic part. In the twentieth century the University's collection was supplemented chiefly by the manuscripts given to it by Professors V. A. Zhukovsky (12 volumes), I. Y. Krakhkovskii (9 volumes), and A. A. Romaskevich (212 volumes). The latest entry of oriental manuscripts was in 1929, comprising 230 volumes, among which Islamic manuscripts formed the major part. The total of these is estimated at 1,451 volumes: about 880 Arabic works, 780 Persian, 281 Turkish.

Two sequels of the aforementioned alphabetical list were published. A systematic catalogue of Persian manuscripts was compiled by Professor A. T. Tagirjanov, but only the first volume was finished.

The holdings of Islamic manuscripts and documents in the Salihov-Shchedrin Public Library in St Petersburg increased in the twentieth century as follows. The total in this Public Library is: 1,312 manuscripts, 866 fragments and 241 documents in Arabic; more than 546 manuscripts in Persian and Tajik; 56 manuscripts in Kuridsh; 405 manuscripts and 337 documents in Turkic languages.

In the twentieth century, too, the majority of Islamic manuscripts coming to St Petersburg continued to enter the Asiatic Museum. One of the main sources remained Middle Asia, and the Russians who settled there in official service or business contributed much to the acquisition of manuscripts. Collections were brought by such orientalists as V. V. Bartol'd, S. F. Oldenburg, A. N. Samoylovitch, but especially successful was V. A. Ivanov's trip to Bukhara in 1915, when he collected 1,057 volumes. In 1916-1917 another lot of manuscripts (1,279 volumes) arrived from Eastern Turkey which was at that time a theatre of war.

After the two revolutions of 1917 the repositories of the Asiatic Museum continued to increase in number due to collections from other institutions being transferred to it (the Library of the Educational Department of the former Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Library of the Winter Palace), as well as donations from, and acquisitions of, private collections. In 1929 the holdings of the Asiatic Museum were rearranged on shelves and the press-mark system changed; this circumstance at once made it difficult to use all the previous publications concerning the Islamic manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum, and the compilation of new catalogues became urgent. In 1930 the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was founded, and it inherited all the manuscripts kept in the Asiatic Museum and continued to gather more. By 1941 the Asiatic holdings had increased by approximately 2,000 volumes, which were collected mainly in the Volgaside regions due to the efforts of S. G. Wakhidov (Kazan), S. A. Alimov (Astrakhan) and V. A. Zabirov (St Petersburg). The total of Islamic manuscripts is 9,821 volumes, but by enumerating copies of the works according to the languages different figures are arrived at: 10,822 in the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, of which some 2,800 are fragments; 36 Persian manuscripts including 8 fragments; 15 Kuridsh manuscripts; 2,897

Persian and Tajik manuscripts; 3,500 Turkic manuscripts. This institute also
keeps a small collection of Arabic documents and papyri. Another papyrus collection in St Petersburg is in the Hermitage Museum (former collection of V. Bock, 75 units).

Thus, the total number of Islamic manuscripts in the former Soviet Union may be estimated to be somewhere between 50,000 and 60,000. The vagueness is due to the difficulty of assessing what the unit might be (prayer, poem, fatwa, dictionary, history: from a single folio to many-volumed works), and to the inadequate cataloguing (although the overall number of works dealing with manuscripts is relatively large). Arabists, Iranologists, Turkologists, and other orientalists do not, as a rule, work in manuscript institutions, or even study traditional literature. A programme of cataloguing is urgently needed.

ISLAMIC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE WEST

ANGELO MICHELE PIEMONTESE

A manuscript is both a text, that is, a written document of a certain literary genre, and a handwritten work, be it a codex or a scroll. A manuscript as a whole is endowed with an everlasting value, and as a result is kept in libraries and archives as well as museums. The relevance of a manuscript is proportionally dependent on its main features: origin, contents, structure, history, ownership, and state of preservation. Its importance is partially related to the fact that the manuscript is described as such in a list or catalogue. How to define and record a manuscript is still a difficult methodological question.

These two constituent aspects of a manuscript, its being a text and a handwritten work, are co-existent and equally worth considering. They are indeed so relevant that they need to be studied by the sister disciplines of paleography and codicology. Codicology deals with the exterior form of a manuscript: context, collection, and cataloguing. In fact, the history of literary production can be best studied only by using data resulting from both paleography and codicology.

For a deeper understanding of a text it is necessary to study the process which leads to its physical production, transmission, conservation, and cataloguing. This process can be called ‘the specific and individual history of the text’, or ‘its cultural individuality’. However, because of the number of factors involved in such a process, its study is a complicated one. The
methodologies related to the study of this process are the result of long experience involving knowledge from several branches of study. The scientific effort required is nevertheless rewarding. After all, knowledge was able to progress, throughout history, mainly thanks to the acquisition of books, through which sources could be examined and eventually manuscripts deciphered.

With regard to Islamic studies, the stress has been mainly put on the comprehension of the text, rather than on the cataloguing of the handwritten work. Scholars seem to have been interested, above all, in the meaning of the text, rather than in examining the importance of its editorial apparatus, or even in appreciating the beauty of its decoration. It took them a long time before they came across quotations from Arab, Persian, or Turkish scribes about the dignity and high esteem assigned to books and calligraphy throughout the Islamic world. To quote but one example by the well-known scribe al-Marzubân: ‘The art of writing is a difficult geometry as well as an exact technique.’ The vibrancy of Persian miniatures, for instance, was appreciated in Europe rather late: around the beginning of the twentieth century. This was due to a more mature aesthetic taste at that time. It is only towards the end of the twentieth century that scholars would agree that calligraphy and illumination, together with binding and paper, are the constituent factors of a book, and that a book is a document of a literary civilization.

During the Middle Ages, when Europe began to discover Arabic literature, scholars translated several scientific and philosophical works into Latin, without describing the original manuscripts they were using.

Generally speaking we can state that, both in the translation of a text from one language into another, and also in the transposition within the same language from a traditional way of writing into a new one, little or no importance was given to the original form of the manuscript used as a source. For example a typical transition of writing in the Islamic world was that from kufî script to naskh. This transition involved the transcription of old texts. Apparently, once used for translation or for transcription, the old book was dismissed and thrown away.

The appreciation of original Arabic texts, together with the first collections, were a result of the Renaissance: a time when interest in the activities and techniques of writing changed and when classical sciences were the object of a profound, renewed interest.

Just before the invention of printing, in 1441 a considerable number of Arabic manuscripts, of Egyptian origin, which included Christian, medical, philosophical, and hermetic texts, was presented to Pope Eugenio IV, and became a part of what was to become the Vatican Library (founded c. 1450). Giovanni Pico, in a letter (1486) to Marsilio Ficino, wrote that the study of Arab philosophers through Latin translations was nothing other than a repetition of medieval knowledge. And that therefore the time had come to read the original works, something which he had just started to do. Shortly afterwards some Italian calligraphers, editors, and scholars began to devote attention to the study of Arabic calligraphy, including its Maghribî variant.

It is worth remembering that this change in attitude was also due to the intention of the Humanists to rediscover classic Latin and Greek texts whose originals were apparently missing in the West through the Arabic versions of these texts, which were kept in the East. The scholar and traveller G. B. Vecchietti and his brother Gerolamo, following the instructions of the sponsors of the Oriental Medicinae Printing House (Stamparia Orientale Medicea, founded in Rome in 1584), brought some Arabic manuscripts from the East containing the translation of Greek texts.

The French cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556–1618) wrote with admiration: ‘Vecchietti, recently back from the Indies [1608], has brought back with him several authors of Greek mathematics, but translated into Arabic, which we have never seen before. In the Vatican [Library] there are twenty Greek authors translated into Arabic, whose originals have been lost ... We owe a great deal to the Arabs for the large amount of old Greek texts which they have preserved for us.’

Access to the new material was made possible by progress in linguistics. The study of Arabic, and, to a certain extent, of Turkish and Persian, was one cultural achievement of the European Renaissance during the sixteenth century and up to the beginning of the seventeenth century and, as a consequence of this, priority was given to the search for textbooks of Arabic grammar and lexicography, such as Şanîhîji’s al-Ajrûrûmîyâh and Frîzûbîâdî’s al-Qâmûs. The publication of the still valuable Arabic Grammar by Thomas Erpenius (Leiden, 1613), as well as the massive Arabic-Latin Lexicon by Antonius Giglius (Milan, 1632) provided scholars with the first tools for their studies. Meanwhile several Arabic linguistic and scientific works were being published, translated, and commented upon.

The seventeenth century also marked an essential step forward in the scientific study of the Turkish and Persian languages. Thus the way was opened for advanced research on the collegium trilingue of the three great Islamic literatures. The collection of manuscripts, which were the foundation of knowledge, became an increasingly important activity. Some scholars went to Eastern countries with the purpose of seeking out manuscripts. Further collections of manuscripts were established by travellers, diplomats, and scholars such as Golius (Holland), N. Hobart (1655, Great Britain), B. Niederstäten (1672, Germany), J. B. Wansleben (1671–5, France), and L. F. Marsili (1679–86, Italy).
However, the study of manuscripts was a difficult task, and the detailed and effective examination of manuscripts evolved over several centuries. In particular, the identification and the cataloguing of manuscripts was a complex process, involving several generations of cataloguers, while the manuscript collections continued to expand rapidly.

The Register of Oriental Books belonging to His Highness the Grand Duke (of Tuscany), including a brief explanation of the manuscripts and compiled by M. Barthélémy d'Herbelot, eminent French scholar, in Florence, year 1660, can be considered one of the first scientific catalogues of manuscripts, but the 'explanation', even though adequate in terms of the identification of the texts, was in no way related to the description of the manuscripts.

The massive in-folio catalogues published during the eighteenth century did not generally devote many words to the description of manuscripts. On the other hand, not all catalogues had by then mastered the description of the subject-matter of these texts. For example, a copy of the Persian divān of Shawkat of Buhārā (d. c.1107/1695), in the Venetian collection, was described as 'The history of Shawket, city in Mesopotamia, 99°20" longitude, 47° latitude north, situated in the fifth region, according to Abu I-Fidā'.

A solid basis for the classification of manuscripts was the epoch-making edition of Hiljī Khalífīn's Lexicon Bibliographicum et encyclopedicum, edited by G. Flügel (Leipzig 1825/London 1858). From this time onwards, catalogues took more care, and were more attentive to the paleographic elements in a manuscript. As a result, the majority of the greatest collections came to be systematically described; see for example the descriptions of the collections of the Academy of Sciences in Leiden (1851–1877, P. de Jong et al.), of the British Museum (1846–1895, W. Curteon and C. Rieu), of the Imperial Library in Vienna (1865–1867, G. Flügel), of the Royal Library in Berlin (1887–1899, W. Alwardt), and of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (1883, deSlane; and 1905–1934, E. Blochet). The same applies to other national, provincial, and university collections all over Europe. As for the older and more recent collections in the Vatican Library, it took much longer to compile a description of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, as is shown by the 'Lists' of G. Levi Della Vida (1935–65) and E. Rossi (1948–53). Meanwhile the collections were now to be found as far away as the United States of America.

To catalogue manuscripts requires a great deal of perseverance and skill, as well as constant revision of methods and continuous up-dating of resources. All this has to be added to the necessity of up-dating and revising the catalogues to accommodate new accessions. In modern times, the sphere of action has considerably expanded, as a result of the cataloguing of libraries in Islamic countries, where scholars like P. Horn and H. Ritter had already explored some of the collections. The inclusion of indigenous collections has enriched the field of study and has increased information, as well as reference and collation data.

During the second half of the twentieth century research has opened up new perspectives. Among the projects which attest to modern trends are: the publication of Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, the publication of the Arabic manuscript catalogue of the Leiden University Library and other collections in Holland by J. J. Wiikam (1983–89), and the new catalogues of Kufic Qur'āns by F. Deroche (1982) and of the Persian manuscript collections by F. Richard (1989), both pertaining to the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the formation of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation in London (1991).

Several collections, however, have not been catalogued as well as one would have hoped. In Italy there is still a great amount of work to be done, in particular on Arabic and Turkish manuscripts. For instance, the researcher enquiring into the important Medici collection in Florence, which contains several Qur'ānic manuscripts as well as texts on linguistics, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and mechanics, along with Christian texts, must still rely on the defective 1742 catalogue by S. E. Assermanus, and, similarly, the Marsili collection of Bologna University, which is rich in devotional, historical, geographical, and botanical texts, is still described only by the good but short list compiled by V. Rosen (1885).

The reason for this situation in Italy can be traced back to the enormous number of catalogues that would be required to cover the huge number of ancient collections, both great and small, which are scattered across a bewildering assortment of libraries. Moreover, despite the awareness of this cultural heritage in every part of Italy, a heritage which is one of the country's great assets, Italian scholars have not been attracted to it, nor encouraged to study it.

The gap has recently been reduced by the catalogue of O. Löffgen and R. Traini (1975–81) of the Arabic manuscript collection in the Ambrosiana Library of Milan (established by Cardinal F. Borromeo in 1609), a collection which includes texts on theology, lexicography, poetry, and the sciences; the catalogue by A. M. Piemontese (1989) describing the Persian manuscripts in Italian public libraries; and the catalogue of Turkish manuscripts which is being compiled by A. Gullotta. However, what needs to be done in order to explore and take note of the enormous number of collections, mostly of medium and small size, which are distributed across eighty public libraries in fifty different cities, is to embark on an iter italicus. Such a journey for scientific research was partially undertaken by J. van Hamer between 1826 and 1831. In fact
travelling throughout a country, library after library, can lead to some surprises and even interesting discoveries. As for private collections, they remain a totally unexplored field of study.

In order to meet the standards of good cataloguing, especially with regard to Arabic manuscripts, such an itinerary requires: firstly, the direct examination in each library of those collections so far unexplored, or only partially catalogued — in practice, this means examining all the collections, except those in the Vatican and Ambrosiana Library; then, in the light of the data acquired from this survey, a revision of the current reliable catalogues — this step is a subsidiary task so that a general catalogue comprising all monographic information and indexes can be compiled.

Particularly important in Italian and European collections are the Syriac-Arabic and Copto-Arabic manuscripts, as well as Christian texts in Arabic. Catalogues of Persian manuscripts usually include Christian texts. In fact, works written by missionaries are the expression of a particular literary genre in Persian literature, used, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by several European scholars, not all of whom were missionaries. Also many of these Christian manuscripts were written by indigenous copyists in Persia and in India. A distinctive feature of ‘traditional’ Persian literature is that manuscripts were written over an incredibly wide territory, stretching from India to the Balkans. The inclusion of Persian Christian literature can therefore help us to gain a more complete picture of Persian codicology.

As for Arabic manuscripts, it is usually a matter of defining what to include in the catalogues; for example, mixed and purely Christian works are generally included in a non-Islamic section. However, even with such a distinction, it is not clear why in a library as important as the Vatican Library there is no specific catalogue available on the several hundred Arabic-Christian manuscripts. On the other hand, it seems that Arabic texts written by Christian or Jewish authors dealing with mathematics, medicine, grammar, lexicography, and, to a certain extent, poetry were composed according to the same scientific methods and modes of expression as those followed in Islamic Arabic manuscripts. In this regard, the importance of comparative codicology ought to be considered. It is worth remembering, for example, that there is some evidence of influence, since the Middle Ages, between Greek-Byzantine and Arabo-Islamic manuscript composition.

Thanks to progress in Islamic studies, knowledge of Islamic texts has become more and more detailed. However, the same cannot be said about the paleography and codicology related to the same texts. This can be seen in C. Brockelmann’s Geschicht der arabischen Litteratur, in F. Sezgin’s Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, in C. A. Storey’s survey of Persian literature and in H. F. Hofman’s survey of Turkish literature, where the stress is laid on the classification of texts according to their literary genre, on chronology, and on bibliography. In these massive encyclopaedic works, no introductory or monograph chapters on the physical nature of the manuscripts concerned, or on materials and writing tools, calligraphy, illumination, histories of libraries, or some of the main features of the great collections are to be found. These are the very subjects which shaped from within all Islamic literature. An example is seen in the traditional structure of old Qur’ānic codices, the so-called vertical and oriental (Asian) paper structure, and, on the other hand, the horizontal Afro-Andalusian vellum. This distinction reflects not merely a decorative preference, but is, rather, a distinctive factor which proves the existence of territorial distribution, Eastern versus Western, of writing modes in the Islamic world. This distinction is a constant and fundamental difference that involves not only materials but also cultural concepts about the making of books. Despite this, not one line of the long article on the Qur’ān in the new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam is devoted to paleographic issues.

If calligraphy is the Islamic art par excellence, it ought to hold a relevant place not only in exhibitions but also in the history of literature and literary trends. Studies such as those by J. Pedersen on the art of the Arabic book and by G. Vajda on the transmission of Islamic works and on the communication of knowledge demonstrate that these issues deserve greater attention if better understanding is to be obtained of a civilization that is centred on books and on the art of writing. European scholars dealing with Islamic manuscripts were, and indeed still are, faced with a particular difficulty and a daunting objective. The particular difficulty is due to the lack in early Islamic sources of consistent and constant paleographic data about the materials and about the terminology proper to paleography and codicology. This means that the paleography of Islamic manuscripts and their techniques draws information from the established classic European tradition of paleographic studies. As a result, the progress of paleography as applied to such manuscripts is very slow.

The daunting objective, on the other hand, is made up of the mass of Islamic manuscripts which abound in the large European libraries. Their number contrasts with the limited number of librarians and scholars who are capable of competent enough to catalogue the material and to carry out pertinent research. The number of these manuscripts is in the thousands: 2,500 in the Chester Beatty Library, 12,000 in the Bibliothèque Nationale (7,000 in Arabic, 3,000 in Persian, and 2,000 in Turkish); and there are more than 10,000 Arabic manuscripts in Germany. As for Italy, there are about 4,700 Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, 2,000 in the Ambrosiana Library, and more than 2,400 distributed throughout other libraries. The number of these manuscripts is inferior only to that of Latin and Italian
manuscripts. As a comparison, there are no more that 2,800 Hebrew manuscripts in all Italian libraries.

The reason why Islamic manuscripts are so abundant lies above all in the fact that in Islamic countries books were produced in manuscript form for almost four centuries longer than in Europe. During a recent congress, hailed as the first to be devoted to the paleography and codicology of Islamic texts, the number of Arabic manuscripts scattered all over the world was estimated to be several million.6

In conclusion, the cataloguing of Islamic manuscript collections, which began in Europe in the seventeenth century and continued during the following centuries up until the last fifty years, concentrated particularly on listing the texts. The cataloguing process contributed greatly to the development of Islamic studies, and in particular to the critical edition of texts, as well as the elaboration of research trends. These issues, however, cannot be described here as they require a monograph of their own.

As mentioned above, most catalogues contain not only few references to the physical structure of manuscripts, but surprisingly enough, even fewer, or even none at all, to the history and peculiarities of the collections themselves. Such references are not merely a requirement of excessive zeal, but are the specific factors which help in identifying the structure of the process due to which a manuscript or a group of manuscripts has survived.

Very few collections are properly described according to their historical genesis, patrons, specific consistencies, and cultural links. Unfortunately, the history of Islamic manuscript collections in Europe remains a scientific aim postponed to an indefinite future. The general information and statistical tables included in what is otherwise a very useful survey of the collections and libraries all over the world provides nothing more than a vague idea of the basic historical data necessary for such a discipline.7

However, we are able to cite the example of a catalogue which does meet the general requirements mentioned above. This catalogue describes both the texts and the paleographic elements of manuscripts, including the full quotation of the original form of colophons (which is a kind of identity card for a manuscript). It includes an introductory survey of the history of the collection, as well as a comprehensive evaluation according to the following criteria: textual content, characteristics of the most important copies, quality of calligraphy, illumination and illustration, and even a summary of "type of paper, provenance, kind of fibre and its condition."8

Specific data on the paper and related matters are indeed very rarely found in catalogues. This is due to limitations in the knowledge and technical analysis of the paleography related to Islamic manuscripts.

As to future tasks, the picture drawn from all the data provided by paleography and related cataloguing will be revealing. The data should include: full statistics, methodological handbooks, a series of editions of a manuscript reproduced in facsimile, samples of types of paper used, albums of writing and calligraphic genres, collections of representative colophon formulae, resumes of the typology of writing and bookbinding materials, descriptions of regional productions, decorative patterns, iconology of miniatures, and essays on comparative codicology, the histories of collections, and biographies of collectors.

The reconstruction of the long historical and geographical chain linking authors and copyists to collectors and readers will attain the dimensions of a history of culture. All this requires paleographic information and documentary research analysis of memoirs and correspondence. This also includes the gathering of old inventories and the detailed analysis of catalogues, especially for early collecting between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries.

Moreover, collectors, as well as sponsors, institutions, informants, travellers, scholars, editors, and booksellers, all played a part in the transmission of the book and played a role in the circulation of manuscripts.

In France, and elsewhere in Europe, cultural enterprises related to research into oriental manuscripts have, since the seventeenth century, given rise to a vast network of contacts and interests that stretch from North Africa to the Middle East and India. Both editors and printers have performed a role in such a network since the beginning of the sixteenth century as a result of the fact that, at the turning point of the modern age, printing gave an enormous stimulus to the gathering of Islamic manuscripts in Europe.

This is why both monographs on, and a comprehensive history of, European orientalism can only remain in an embryonic phase as long as we are not properly informed about all the data mentioned here.

2 Opera Omni Ioannis Pici, Mirandulae, Basileae, by Heinricum Petri, 1557, Epistola, p. 367.


TURKISH MANUSCRIPTS AND THE PUBLICATION OF THEIR CATALOGUES

RAMAZAN ŞEŞEN

Turks contributed to the literature of Islamic science not only works written in Arabic and Persian, but also from the middle of the fifth/eleventh century, thousands of works in Turkish, written in the Arabic script. Their contribution is to be found in almost all branches of science in the Islamic world. Today, Turkish is one of the three most important languages of culture in the Islamic world. More than 150 million Muslims use various dialects of Turkish.

At present, there are approximately 60,000 Turkish manuscripts in the libraries of Turkey, not including manuscripts containing more than one work. There are 28,106 Turkish language, 129,121 Arabic language, and 8,776 Persian language manuscripts in the libraries of Turkey under the General Directorate of Libraries; these figures exclude manuscripts containing more than one work and Turkish manuscripts in libraries under other administrations. There are 9,941 Turkish language, 6,963 Arabic language, and 1,615 Persian language manuscripts in the Library of Istanbul University. In the Topkapı Palace Museum Library there are 3,088 Turkish language, 9,043 Arabic language, and 939 Persian language manuscripts. This amounts to a total of 41,135 Turkish language manuscripts, including the Turkish manuscripts in the two above-mentioned libraries. There are approximately 5,000 Turkish manuscripts in Dār al-Kutub in Cairo. The figure is about the same for the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. There are numerous Turkish manuscripts in the British Library, the Chester Beatty
Besides this work, Kâshgärî wrote another book entitled Jawâbir al-nâhî fî lughât al-Turk, but no copy of it has been found yet.

Ahmâd b. ‘All al-Yûğmâkü (Yüknači) is another author who wrote in Turkish in this period. He wrote a nasbât-nâmah in Turkish in the Uighur alphabet, entitled ‘Aybat al-baqâ’îq, which was published by Reşid Rahmet ‘Arat. The Sufi poet Ahmâd al-Yaswî (d. 1660) also had a great influence on the Turks’ acceptance of Islam during the era of the Kara Khânîds. Ahmâd al-Yaswî was the founder of the Sufi order of Yasawiyah. His poems have been collected and published under the title Diwan-i biknet.

During the time of the Seljuks, Khwârzâm was considerably Turkified, and the Turkish dynasty of the Khwârzâmshâhs was established. In this period, the great scholar Mahmûd b. ‘Umar al-Zamâkshârî (d. 538/1144) flourished in Khwârzâm. He wrote his Maqâmât ad-dâhî for the purpose of teaching Arabic to the people of Khwârzâm and the Turks and he supplied interlinear Turkish translations of Arabic words in his book. Nûrî Yûce has published this work, various copies of which have survived to the present day. Some works are attributed to Hâkim Salûyânmân ‘Allî (d. 582/1186), the greatest follower of Ahmâd al-Yaswî, among them Bakîrîn kitâbî, Ahîr râmân kitâbî, and Meryem kitâbî. These works, extant today, exist in various manuscripts and have been published several times. The most important work written about the Turkish language is Tîbîn al-lugâtât al-turkî ‘lîlî isînî Qanghî by Shams al-Dîn Muhammad b. Qays.

Turks settled in Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During this period, Turkish was spoken in the Seljuq palaces of Anatolia, Iran, Syria, and Iraq, in military camps, and among the Turkish people, but Arabic and Persian were used in official state correspondence. However, sharî‘iyah (kâtîb) sîjîh must have been kept in Turkish as well. The fact that Arabic and Persian were accepted as the official languages prevented the writing of books in Turkish. In these centuries, as a result of the long wars between the Turks, Byzantines, Armenians, Georgians, and the Crusaders, anonymous legends were composed in Turkish among the people of Anatolia. These are Dânîshînîd gaţî destanî, Bâtal gaţî destanî and Dede Korkut destanî. Various copies of these works are extant today and have been published.

The oldest book with a known author from this period is a medical work entitled Tuftât-i mubârâzî, by Hâkim Bereket, a physician originally from Khwârzâm. Hâkim Bereket first wrote a medical book in Arabic, entitled Lûbûb al-nûkhâb. He later translated this work into Turkish upon the order of Mubârîz al-Dîn Khâfîfâh Alp Gûlzî (d. 622/1225), the ruler of Amasya. Hâkim Bereket also wrote a medical book in Turkish entitled Khulûbîh der ‘îlâm-i jîbîh.

The Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century had a profound influence on the development of Turkish in Anatolia. The Mongols had Uighur scribes...
in their service, and these scribes used Turkish instead of Persian in their communication with the people of Anatolia. Moreover, when the Anatolian Seljuk State weakened and local rulers declared their independence, most of them did not know any language other than Turkish, and so they encouraged the use of Turkish in state affairs. Qarâmân-oghlu Mehmed Beg, one of these rulers, who took Konya in 676/1277, ordered that Turkish be used in the affairs of the imperial council and the state bureaucracy. The other principalities in Anatolia followed the same practice. Shortly afterwards, Turkish became the language of bureaucracy in Anatolia, and continued to develop after the establishment of the Ottoman principality in 1299. In the fifteenth century Turkish became a language of bureaucracy and science thanks to the Ottomans in the west and Timurids in the east. Works on various subjects were written in Turkish and many books were translated from Arabic and Persian into Turkish.

Turkish poetry also developed in Anatolia in the thirteenth century. Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Râmî wrote some of his poems in Turkish. Sheyâyîd Hamzâ’s Sâlsâh-nâmah, which relates the combat between ’Alî b. Abî Tâlib and the giant by the name of Šâbal, was written in 643/1245. Mawlânâ’s son Sulṭân Valad (d. 1312) wrote Turkish poems in various works. These poems were collected and published under the title of Divân-i Türkî-ye Sulṭân Valad. Al-Maqâlât, by Hajjî Bekâsh Valî (d. 1271), is another important work in Turkish written in this period. It has also been critically edited.

It appears that in the thirteenth century, mystics who aimed to educate people made a great contribution to the development of the Turkish in Anatolia. Among these mystics, it was Yûnis Enне (d. c. 1325) who used Turkish most clearly and eloquently. The divân of this famous poet has survived until the present day and has been reprinted time and again. He is considered to be one of the most eloquent users of Turkish even today. His divân indicates that Turkish was a very productive language in the thirteenth century. Shaykh Ahmad Faqîh of Konya was another important Turkish poet of that century. He settled in Konya after the year 629/1231. His poem entitled Šârkanânah has survived to the present day and has been published.

Turkish continued to develop in the fourteenth century during the period of the Ottomans. Both the Ottomans and the Anatolian rulers protected the Turkish language. Orhan Gûlûz had his waqifiyâh dated 761/1360 prepared in Turkish. Commentaries were written on the suras al-Fîtihah (1) and Tabdraka (67) for Inanc Oghullari in Denizli. Qisiyy-i asbâyâ, Tağkirat al-aštâyâ and Kâlitâh wa Dinmâh were translated for Mehmed Beg (707-734) of Aydın Oghullari. Mazmûd b. Mahmûd translated a work from Persian entitled Buq-nâmah, dedicating it to Mehmed Beg of Menteshe Oghullari (1300-1244). Mehmed b. Mahmûd al-Shirvânî translated a work entitled Ilîsêye, dedicating it to Mehmed Beg’s son Ilîsî Beg. The Qâlîbîs-nâmah and the Marzubân-nâmah were translated for Gemiyyân Oghullari (1300-1423). Sheyöhghû wrote his matnâvî entitled Khursâhâ-nâmah. The number of books written in Turkish or translated into Turkish and dedicated to the Ottomans in the fourteenth century was more than fifty. In this period, among the well-known figures who wrote works in Turkish were GûlûhÎrî, Sheyâyghû, ‘Asîq Pasha, Kemağlûhû, Şüleymân Çelebi, İbrâhîm b. Mûrûd, Qâlî Burhân al-Dîn, Ahmedî, Ahmedî Dîrî, and Nezîmî. In the fifteenth century the number of works written in Turkish and translated into Turkish in Anatolia was more than a hundred. In the fifteenth century Ùmûr Beg b. Timûrîsh, who lived during the period of Mûrûd II, donated a collection of thirty-three volumes of Turkish books to the mosque that was built in Bursa on his orders.

Numerous works were written in Turkish relating to the Turkish language in Syria and Egypt under the rule of the Ayyubids and Mamûlûks between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Turkish was one of the languages spoken in the palaces of the Ayyubids and the Mamûlûks. The majority of Mamûlûks did not know Arabic well; a record by al-Maqîrî shows that Sulṭân Qalâwûn (1279-1290) was of this group. Consequently, greater importance was attached to Turkish. Houtsma published a book written in Turkish and Arabic in Egypt during the thirteenth century. Also in this century a Turkish scholar, Bilûk al-Qâshâkî wrote a book called Al-Anwâr al-mudîfî on language and etymology. Around the same time, ‘Imâd al-Dîn Dâwûd b. ‘Alî b. Muhammad al-Warraq al-Miṣrî wrote a book in Turkish entitled Al-Sâhîb min al-durâh al-mudîfî. These two works are mentioned in the book entitled Bulgât al-mustûlî fi lughât al-Turk wa al-Qifchak which was discovered by Jean Dani in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The most important work written in the field of Turkish language in Egypt in the first half of the eighteenth century was Al-Idrâk li-lîsân al-Idrâk by Abû Hayyân al-Andaluşî (d. 744/1343). This book contains the grammar and syntax of the Turkish language has been published. Abû Hayyân wrote three other books: Al-Afâl fi al-lîsân al-Turkî, Zahr al-mulk fi nâyîw al-Turk and Al-Durrah al-mudîfî fi al-lughât al-Turkîyâh. These works, however, have not survived to the present day. Abû Hayyân’s teacher Fakhir al-Dîn al-Dîvrigî (d. 713/1313) wrote another important work entitled Qâwûd li-lîsân al-Turk. Muhammad al-Bârî (d. 702/1302) who lived in the same period, wrote another valuable work entitled Ummat al-qawiyîyyâh fi al-lughât al-Turkîyâh. The author Ibn al-Muhammâd of the same period wrote a Turkish dictionary, Hîlîyat al-insân wa-balbat al-lîsîn in which he mentions three Turkish dictionaries which no longer exist. Al-Iqânî (d. 758/1357) from Turkistan taught courses in the madrasah which was established by the Amîr Sûyûrgahmish in Cairo in the fourteenth century. Upon al-Iqânî’s
deaths, there arose the need for a mudarris who knew Turkish, and as a result Mahmut b. Quftishah began to teach courses.

Turkish also developed in the areas under Mamluk rule under the patronage of the Circassian Mamluks. When the first Mamluk sultan Barquq (784/1382–801/1399) came to Aleppo, he asked for a scholar who would read Turkish books to him. During this period, books were translated into Turkish in the areas under Mamluk rule. Darir al-Erzurumî completed Manzum sîyer-i Nebî tercümesi in the Mamluk region between the years 779–791/1377–1388. He also translated the work entitled Futûh al-Shâmi, which is attributed to al-Wâqidi, in 795/1393 in Aleppo. Around the beginning of the fifteenth century, a Turk by the name of Muhammad b. Baydur translated an important work on mysticism by Abû Naşr b. Tâhir b. Muhammad al-Sarakhî into Qipchak Turkish. Another important work which was translated into this dialect was Al-Bayânt al-wadîth fi mar'îfât sîfât al-khayl. The composition and translation of Turkish works in Egypt and Syria continued at an increasing rate until the First World War. Today there are rich collections of manuscripts and printed works in Dîr al-Kutub in Cairo.

Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the composition of works in Turkish also continued in the area of the Golden Horde and Transoxiana. The great Turkish poet 'Alî Şîr Nâsîrî, who lived at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, defended the supremacy of Turkish over Persian in his work entitled Muhyakamat al-lughatayn. In the sixteenth century, the great Ottoman chronicles were written in Turkish, and classical poets of Turkish literature such as Fuzûlî and Bâqî flourished, and the Bâkâr-nîmah was written in India.

It was in the fifteenth century that Turkish developed into an independent language of bureaucracy and science. It became the third important language of culture in the Islamic world beside Arabic and Persian. Turkish developed as a language of bureaucracy and science thanks to the Ottomans in the west and the Timurids in the east. A study of works (apart from the Qur'an) translated into Turkish in the fifteenth century, some of them translated into Turkish three or four times, found thirteen on medicine, thirteen on history and geography, twenty-two on literature and mysticism, seventeen on religious sciences, three on astronomy, two on zoology, two on the art of warfare, and one each on geometry, music, mineralogy, and the interpretation of dreams. With the exception of one or two books, copies of all of these have survived to the present day. Most of these books were translated for the Ottoman sultans and the princes in the sultans' circle. In this period, some great translators flourished such as Darîr al-Erzurumî, Sheykhi, Ahmed-i Dîrî, Ibn 'Arabshâh, Mustâ b. Hüfûzîn al-Izniqî, Mahmûd b. Muhammad b. Dilshûd al-Shirwânî, and Sharaf al-Dîn Sâhinjuâgha. They were not mere translators, but were, at the same time, the most distinguished scholars in their fields. From the fifteenth century onwards, the writing of Turkish compositions and translations continued more rapidly. Dating from the thirteenth century, the number of the books written in Turkish was in no way inferior to the number of books written in Arabic and Persian. Kasth al-funun and its supplements, Osmanî Mi'âllîfetî and Eski hâftelâce basîlinûn türkçe eserler katalogu, which was published by Seyyedîn Örge, are three good arguments for the above observation.

Studies conducted on Turkish manuscripts

Muslims established several libraries during the Umayyad period. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz (d. 101/720) took a book of medicine translated during the reign of Marwân I from the treasury of books (khâzîn al-kutub) of the Umayyads. Copies of this book were made on his orders. Later on, well-known libraries such as the Bayt al-Hikmah at the beginning of the Abbasid period, and the Siwân al-Hikmah and the Dîr al-'Imrân in the cities of the Samanids and the Fatimids were established. However, we do not know whether or not there were Turkish manuscripts in these libraries. As stated above, Turkish manuscripts written in the Arabic alphabet appeared in the eleventh century. It appears that there were Turkish manuscripts in the libraries of the Seljuks and the Mamluks. There were Turkish manuscripts in the libraries built during the period of the Anatolian Seljuks, the Ilkhanids, and the Timurids. However, none of these libraries have survived to the present day. As stated previously, Umur Beg endowed a small collection of thirty-three volumes of Turkish books to the mosque, which was built on his orders in Bursa, in the first half of the fifteenth century. Some Turkish manuscripts, dating from the same period, which bear the records of possession of Yıldırım Bayâzîd, Chelbi Mehtems, and Murad II have survived until now. There were certainly Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts in the library founded by Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror (d. 886/1481) in the Topkapi Palace. Since Muslims considered Islamic culture as a whole, they did not classify the manuscripts in the libraries which they established as Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, but followed a miscellaneous classification of the books in the three languages according to their subjects. Kasth al-funun and its supplements do not classify the works according to languages. It was only in the nineteenth century that the classification of sources according to languages began in European libraries, and in some libraries founded in Turkey during the twentieth century the practice has also been adopted. The library which was established by 'Ali Emîrî in 1916 is the first example of this.
The practice of cataloguing Turkish manuscripts dates back to considerably older times. In the Ottoman Empire during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian books were catalogued in the waqfiyâhs in a mixed way according to their subjects; the waqfiyâhs of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne best illustrate this practice. At first, the same idea was dominant in Europe. Turkish manuscripts were regarded as an integral part of Islamic culture and were catalogued together with Arabic and Persian manuscripts. The first separate catalogue of Turkish manuscripts was the Goth catalogue prepared by W. Perssch and published in 1864. This was followed by al-Daghbouti’s catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the Kutubkhâna of Khiidiwiyah, and Rieu’s catalogue of the Turkish manuscripts in the British Museum. Similar catalogues then started to be published in Turkey, but in many countries Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts are still catalogued together. Kut has published an article on the catalogues of Turkish manuscripts, in which he mentions 334 catalogues and articles. In this paper some of the important catalogues and articles will be cited together with some new additions. These studies will be listed in two groups: publications outside Turkey, and publications within Turkey.

1. Studies on the preparation of catalogues of Turkish manuscripts outside Turkey

W. Perssch, *Die türkischen Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Gotha* Vienna, 1864.
C. Lindsay, *Handlist of oriental manuscripts* Arabic, Persian, Turkish, 1898.
A. A. Semenov, *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian, Arabic and Turkish manuscripts preserved in the Library of Middle Asiatic State University, Tashkent* 3 vols, Tashkent, 1935–1956.
M. Graves, *Collections of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the United States and Canada* American Council of Learned Societies, XV, August 1950.
Apart from these, several articles have been published about Turkish manuscripts in the libraries of Italy and various other locations in Europe. One of them is Taşyüb Gökbilgin’s article entitled “İlçeyi kitapbanelerindeki bazı İslamlı ve türkçe yazmalar” 3. The miscellaneous catalogues of the libraries of Shaykh al-Islām ’Arif Hükmət and the Məmmüdiyyah in the city of Madinah have been prepared by duplication. A list of Turkish manuscripts in the libraries of Jordan and Qatar has been made, and catalogues of the manuscripts in the libraries of Iran are numerous. We know of some documents in Turkish in North African countries. Some catalogues of Turkish manuscripts in the Soviet Union have been mentioned, but there will certainly be a large number of uncatalogued Turkish manuscripts.

2. The studies carried out in Turkey for the purpose of cataloguing Turkish manuscripts

It appears that the number of Turkish manuscripts in Turkey is about one third of the Arab manuscripts. The Turkish manuscripts constitute more than 60,000 volumes. Persian manuscripts are approximately one fifth of the number of Turkish manuscripts. All libraries in Turkey were established during the Ottoman period and the period of the Turkish Republic. Waqfiyyahs of endowed libraries dating from the sixteenth century provide information on the title of the book, its author, the style of calligraphy, and whether the book is complete or not. The books are not numbered in these waqfiyyahs, book numbering began after the year 1242/1826 when the Ministry of Waqfs was charged with the administration of libraries. It is possible to follow this development in the waqfiyyahs and catalogues of the Köprüli Library. 5 The catalogues which were prepared after the transfer of the libraries to the Ministry of Waqfs provided some information about the books following the call numbers. This information is nearly identical with the records in the waqfiyyahs.

The Of Yılmaz Paşa Library was the first manuscript collection in Turkey to have its catalogue published. The concise catalogue of this library, which was called a ‘defter’, was published in Istanbul in 1279/1862. This was followed by the publication of the defter of the Rağıp Paşa Library in 1289/1872. Later on, during the period of Abdulhamid II, the catalogues of some other collections in Istanbul were published. 1303–1312/1885–1894 witnessed the publication of defters of about fifty collections. These concise catalogues only give brief information about the title and call number of the book, name of the author, language, and style of calligraphy. If they are printed works in the collection, the defter provides information about them as well. In these defters no differentiation has been made as regards language, following the same practice as in the waqfiyyahs and the earlier catalogues of manuscripts.

Many of the Turkish manuscripts in collections in Turkey dating from the end of the Ottoman period have been published. Researchers such as Ziya Gökçalp, Salih Zeki, and Fuad Köprüli gathered information on a great many Turkish manuscripts; this work was continued, in the period of the Republic, by scholars and turcologists who assembled under the leadership of F. Köprüli, and numerous manuscripts were introduced and summarized in Tarh-i Osmanlı Enamiye Mezmuarı and Türk Tarh Enamiye Mezmur. Owing to an upsurge of research on history and language during the period of the Republic, many Turkish manuscripts were examined and even published. At the same time, thousands of manuscripts were dealt with in graduation and masters theses, PhD dissertations, and inaugural lectures, and
some of these theses have been published. Süheyl Ünver and Ahmed Ateş also published a book as a result of research in the libraries of Istanbul and Anatolia. On the occasion of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists, which was convened in Istanbul in 1951, a group of scholars conducted research in numerous libraries of Anatolia. Their findings were published under the title Une liste des manuscrits choisis parmi les bibliothèques de Bursa, Akşehir, Bor Gölü, Neşehir, Niğde, Urgup, Konya, Manisa, Akhisar. In 1940, studies began towards the publication of catalogues of Turkish manuscripts in the libraries in Turkey; a committee under the direction of the Ministry of Education prepared card indexes. Three catalogues were published: Türkçe tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogu (Istanbul, 1943–1962), Türkçe yazma divanlar kataloğu (Istanbul, 1947–1969) and Türkçe hamseler kataloğu (Istanbul, 1961). Although these catalogues do not contain all of the manuscripts on the above mentioned subjects in Turkey, they are works of considerable scholarly value. As a result of the cataloguing work of Fahmi Karatay, Topkapı Sarayi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu (2 vols, Istanbul, 1961) was published.

Since 1982, the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture (IRCICA) has been conducting studies on manuscripts. Up till now the IRCICA has published a Catalogue of Islamic Medical Manuscripts in the Libraries of Turkey (Istanbul, 1984) and a Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library (Istanbul, 1986). The Catalogue of Islamic manuscripts in Cyprus is in press.

Besides the stated works, the following studies on Turkish manuscripts in Turkey are also important:

Bursalı Mehmed Tahir, Osmanlı Müelliflieri, İstanbul, 1333–1342.
A. Adivar, Osmanlı Türklerinde İlim, İstanbul, 1941, 1982.
Tibor Halasi Kun, Die Mameluk Kipstschakischen Sprachstudien und Handschriften in Istanbul, KCSA, II/2, 79 ff.
S. Tekindal, İzet Koyanoğlu Kütüphanesi’nde bulunan Türkçe yazmalar I, TM XVI, 133–142.
Muharrem Ergin, Bursa kitaplıklarında türkçe yazmalar arasında, TDED, II/1–2, 110–120.

İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Manisa Genel Kütüphanesi tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogu, İstanbul, pp. 47.

Since 1978, a commission under the direction of the Ministry of Culture of the Turkish Republic has been conducting a study entitled The Union Catalogue of Manuscripts in Turkey. Between 1980 and 1991, the catalogues of the collections of Adıyaman, Giresun, Ordu, Ali Nihat Tarlan, Antalya Tekeli Sitesi, Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa, Adana İlahi Kütüphanesi ve Müzesi, Amca-zade Hüseyin Paşa, and Amasya Beyazit have been prepared and published in this series. However, the series does not reflect the same quality of scholarship as the previously published Türkçe Tarih coğrafya yazmaları katalogu, Türkçe yazma divanlar katalogu, and Türkçe hamseler katalogu, a result of the lack of qualified personnel. Turkish, Arabic, and Persian manuscripts are classified in a miscellaneous way according to subjects in each collection, not according to language.
The method which should be followed in preparing the catalogues

Books are described in three manners in the catalogues:

1. Catalogues which describe the books very briefly. These only provide information on the title of the book, the name of the author, the call number, the number of folios, and the date it was copied.

2. Catalogues which are made in a very detailed way. These sources present very detailed information about the author and the books as well as the introduction and chapters of the book. In the last century when books were not widely known, such catalogues were useful. Today, however, when information about numerous books has been made available through publication, such detailed catalogues are no longer necessary.

3. Catalogues of medium size which contain the necessary information for researchers. These catalogues present information on the title of the book, the name of the author, important sentences from the beginning and end of the book, the name of the library where the book is located, its call number, the number of the folios, style of calligraphy, the size of the book, the number of lines per page, the dates of copying and composition, as well as important notes and references in the book. Detailed information is presented only about unique manuscripts. This method has been followed in the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Kıpârî Library.

The following method should be followed in preparing catalogues of Turkish manuscripts. Catalogues should be arranged according to subjects of the sciences, and the works related to each science should be put in chronological order. The order which was followed in the subject index of Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Kıpârî Library can be observed in the classification of sciences. In this classification, religious sciences are listed first, followed by the social sciences, and lastly philosophy and its branches. Each volume should be described separately. However, it is inconvenient to describe the volumes according to subjects. The description of manuscripts with mixed contents leads to problems. The exterior description of the manuscript is repeated for each book, and therefore manuscripts with mixed contents should be contained in a separate section. In this case, the classification according to sciences would be incomplete, but this deficiency can be compensated for by a subject index.

Since there are also books with anonymous authors, descriptions of manuscripts should be based on the titles of books rather than the names of the authors.
j) The description of each book should be contained under a registration number.

In the case of manuscripts with mixed contents, the exterior descriptions and records should be mentioned first, then the works should be described one by one. The records related to the texts of the books should also be mentioned here.

The introduction of the catalogue of each collection should present some information about the history of that particular collection.

Indexes should be placed at the end of the catalogue. The indices which have been included at the end of the Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library may serve as an example. In this catalogue, eleven kinds of indexes have been cited concerning the authors, books, sciences, subjects, copyists, the rāwīs, the sāmi’s, the qārīs, places, institutions, the persons mentioned in the records, and the dates of the manuscripts.

NOTES

3 In ITED, IV/3–4, pp. 34–53.
6 The introduction of Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library, 1, 26–32, gives detailed information on these records.

CLASSIFICATION OF ANDALUSIAN AND MAGHRIBI BOOKS OF NAWĀZĪL FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTH TO THE END OF THE NINTH CENTURY AH

MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤABĪB AL-HĪLAH

While the chief concern of Muslim jurists (fuqāhā) has always been to establish principles for dealing with every event necessitating the administration of justice in society within the circumstances of the age, they perform at the same time a number of other functions. The most important of these are: (a) the application and interpretation of the axioms of law in order to provide independent rulings (ijtihād) and legal precepts (āhkām) which may serve to guide later generations in legal matters arising in their times; (b) the accurate and factual representation of day-to-day life in such a way as to provide later scholars of history and civilization with unimpeachable historical data, thereby enabling them to undertake their research in a manner at once diligent, scientific, and scrupulous. In this way, Islamic jurisprudence remains one of the disciplines most in tune with human development, and most responsive to the needs of natural social change; it offers later generations the best of the legislative practices formulated by their predecessors.

The records of formal legal opinions (fatāwā) are perhaps amongst those legal works most representative of the data of human social development inasmuch as they provide us with a factual image of society. They are in effect court archives, listing the most important nawāzīl and the thorniest legal cases of their age.

If the juristic records show us precepts conceived by the jurist, or group of jurists, and characterized according to their particular experiences —
experiences which are necessarily limited — the fatāwā collections present us with the realities of life for every class in society. They throw light on the true nature of transactions undertaken between people, whether as individuals or groups, and they provide us with a factual record of how society reacted to various problems that arose, both political and non-political. They reveal for us, furthermore, the consequences of development within society.

Each of the many thousands of fatāwā which have come down to us represents realistically, and without distortion, a factual incident as submitted by the individual. The mufti is then brought in to offer a legal ruling on the basis of his individual interpretation (ijtihād), a ruling which was often subsequently subject to much analysis and comment from jurists and religious scholars. For this reason, contemporary researchers have come to regard the fatāwā collections as being among the most useful sources for the study both of judicial legislation and of history and civilization.

Muslim jurists in both the East and the West have collected and recorded fatāwā and have attached great importance to them. Jurists in the East, however, were wont to entitle their records kutub al-fatāwā, while those in the Maghrib and Andalusia were not content to leave the matter at that: they termed their records also kutub al-nawāzīl, for they demonstrated the rulings for cases that had happened (nazaṣarār); kutub aṣīlah, because that questions had been resolved through them; kutub aṣīlab, because they were compiled as a result of questions raised; and kutub abkām, because they demonstrated particular rulings relating to particular cases. For this reason, later generations in the Maghrib have taken to referring to the mufti as the nawāzīli, on account of his being a specialist in responding to nawāzīl which occur.

My reason for devoting this paper to a discussion of Andalusian and Maghribi nawāzīl from the middle of the fifth, to the end of the nineteenth century of the hijrah is that this was a momentous stage in history, rich with significant events.

In Andalusia the internecine problems of the Mūlik al-Tawāṣīf were on the rise, while the Maghrib started to feel the consequences of the advance of the Banū Hilāl. The Christian offensive against Andalusia was launched. Toledo fell, followed by Cordoba, Seville, and, finally, Granada. At the same time, the Norman campaigns against the eastern shores of the Maghrib were stepped up. Great migratory human waves shifted and interlocked: the migration of the people of Andalusia, for example, when they fled from the north of their land to the centre, then to the south, and, finally, to Morocco and Algeria; and the internal migrations of the people of the Maghrib, occasioned by alternating swings of power between the various dynasties whose survival depended upon zealous tribal parsimony.

This period, therefore, was one in which there was considerable ebb and flow of the borders of the lands of Islam and Christendom, increased confrontation between the two sides, and a growth in the variety of transactions being negotiated, ranging from the military to the cultural. Accordingly, the muf-ti-jurists had to respond to the exigencies of life for Muslims existing in those volatile times. They formulated fatāwā and legal responses designed to assist in the sphere of formal transactions, particularly those undertaken between Muslims and non-Muslims. A portion of this material came to constitute a body of precedents and precepts which proved valuable to jurists through the ages, and remains especially so today.

Yet, despite the fact that we have come to regard the nawāzīl collections of Andalusia and the Maghrib as a corpus of material of similar nature, the circumstances and conditions in which they were collected and classified were in fact sometimes quite dissimilar. This gave rise to a diversification of method, and a variation in the means and techniques adopted for the purposes of their compilation, based on the various causative factors. Having traced these developments and scrutinized them thoroughly, we can distinguish four principal categories for the methodologies whereby the nawāzīl books were compiled. These I now set forth, accompanied by brief examples.

The first category of nawāzīl records may be described as a body of material, compiled by a muf-ti-jurist, wherein he collects his own legal responses (aṣīlah) alongside those of his contemporaries or predecessors from various lands. He then classifies them according to the categories of fiqh. The result is a large collection, containing numerous nawāzīl, and demonstrating a wealth of responses, the wide-ranging scope of the jurists' ijtihād, and providing us with an abundant information of both historical and cultural interest. Of the most famous collections of this type, we may single out two works of distinction; one, by the Tunisian al-Burzūlī, the other by al-Wānsāharī of the Maghrib.

The Jami' masā'il al-abkām li-mā nazala min al-qawā'id bi-al-muftīn wa-al-bukkām, otherwise known as the Fatāwā, or the Nawāzīl, or the Diwān of al-Burzūlī, his full title being Abru al-Qasim b. Ahmad al-Balawī al-Qaysawānī, famous as al-Burzūlī (d. 841/1438). This is a weighty text, drawn from numerous sources and extensive in its subject matter, and remains one of the most consulted references for writers on fiqh and fatāwā. It is organized according to the principles of fiqh books but contains extra chapters on invocation (al-ad'iyah), preaching (al-wa'iz), and medical science, in addition to other subjects not directly related to fiqh. It is a text
which is still to be found in manuscript, copies of which exist in the libraries of Tunis, Morocco, and Egypt, and elsewhere.  

There are three abridged versions of al-Burrūlī’s Nawāzīl. The first was written by his student Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Būsāmī al-Bījārī in 826/1423.  
The second is also by a student, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Yaṣṣāyānī (known as Ḥalīlī al-Qarawī, living in 895/1490).  
The third was written by the jurist Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsāshīrī al-Tīmīsīnī.  

The second example of this category of nawāzīl records is the work entitled Al-Mīʿār al-muṣūr, wa-al-lāmī ’al-mughrīb ‘an fāṭīwāí abū Iffīqīyāh wa-al-Andalus wa-al-Maghrib, written by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wāsāshīrī al-Tīmīsīnī (d. 914/1508). One of the many important features of this work is that it brings together a great deal of material drawn from the fāṭīwā records of Andalusia and the Maghrib, preserving thereof some of what has been lost. The compiler classified his material according to the system of fāṭīḥ, citing certain treatises which were written in response to questions on different matters. He completed the work in 901/1495.  

The second category of nawāzīl records is one in which the responses of jurists belonging to one region or city are brought together. Of those works comprising the fāṭīwā of the native scholars of one particular area, two outstanding examples may be mentioned.  

The collection entitled Abkām Ibn Sahlī, known as Al-Iʿlam bi-nawāzīl al-abkām, and written by ʿĪsā b. Saḥḥ al-Andalusī, was compiled with privilege from al-Ghanīnī in 865/1459. This is considered to be one of the oldest collections of Andalusian nawāzīl in its sphere, the author having devoted it almost exclusively to the fāṭīwā of Andalusia and included only a few instances of fāṭīwā from Qayrawān. It is rich in historic and cultural information on the Andalusia of the fifth century of the hijrah, and portrays rare types of relationships between the Muslim, Christian, and Jewish cohabitants of the land. Entries are classified according to the categories of fāṭīḥ. This work was critically edited in a doctoral thesis (1991) for Al-Imam University in Riyadh by the Saudi scholar ʿUmr al-Tuwayjī, and several contemporary scholars such as Abū al-Raḥmān al-Fāṣir and Muḥammad Abū al-Walīḥ Khallīf have profited from al-Ghanīnī in conducting their research on Andalusia. Numerous copies of this work are to be found, the most significant of them being three old and important transcripts. One is an Andalusian copy written in 501 AH.  
The second is also of Andalusian origin (although it is preserved in Tunis) and was written in 691 AH.  
The third is of Maghribī origin and is now in Saudi Arabia; it is written in the hand of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Wāsāshīrī, author of the Miʿār, referred to above.  

Al-Dur al-maknūnāt fī nawāzīl muṣūnāt written by the jurist Yaḥyā b. Muḥāfiz al-Maḥānī (d. 883/1478). This is a compilation which, as explained in the introduction, brings together the nawāzīl of the religious scholars of Tunis, Bījāh, Algeria, and Tlemcen. The orientalist Jacques Berque has studied limited aspects of this work, based only on the second section. I have been able to locate the complete text and profit from it.  

This collection too is classified according to the categories of fāṭīḥ.  

With regard to the nawāzīl collections comprising the responses of jurists from only one city, two examples may be cited here:  

Al-Hadīthq al-mustaqīlāt al-naqraḥ fī al-fāṭīwāí al-ṣādirāt ‘an al-Ḥadīth ‘ālī (i.e. Granada), by an anonymous author.  
The author says that in this work he collects together the nawāzīl emanating from the “alamāt” of Granada in all its eminence (Hadīthq Gharīnštā). A reading of the text indicates that the work was compiled after 848 AH, the year in which Ibn Sīrīj, the last muftī for whom the author uses the formula rabiʿahu Allāh, died, and before 865 AH, the year of the death of the jurist Muḥammad al-Saraqūṣī, to whom he refers often and to whom he wishes long life. The transcript is old and bears the writing of the muftī jurist, Aḥmad b. Zikri al-Tīmīsīnī, who died in the year 900/1494. Issues are presented without order or classification and comprise the fāṭīwā of nine Andalusian jurists, as well as a very limited number of those pertaining to Maghribī jurists. Remarkably, the author of this work never cites any of the fāṭīwā of Ibn Lubb.  

Magānā fī fāṭīwāí al-ʿalamāt Gharīnštā by written by Abū Qāsim Muḥammad b. Tarkākā al-Aḥkāmī, entrusted with presiding over justice in Almeria in 854/1451. Nothing is known of his date of death. This work contains nawāzīl from the jurists of Granada, including the aforementioned Ibn Lubb.  

The third category of nawāzīl records is one which collects the responses of only one jurist. These would have been collected, either by himself or by others, from rulings he had issued during his period in office as a muftī, or they would be responses to a group of questions put to him by a particular sect.  

Examples of the collected nawāzīl of an individual jurist include the fāṭīwā of Abū Wālīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Rūshd al-Jadd (d. 520/1126), compiled by his student, Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥasan b. al-Wazzān (d. 543/1148), who presented them without classification. There is also the collected fāṭīwā of the qādī ‘Iyād al-Sayyābī al-Sahlī (d. 544/1149) entitled Maḥāthāt al-hukmān fī nawāzīl al-ahkām; a work compiled by his son, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Iyād (d. 575/1179).  

The nawāzīl of the muftī of Andalusia, Abū Saʿīd aṭ-Ṭarāj b. Qāsim b. Lubb (d. 782/1381) were apparently collected on two separate occasions by two authors who remain anonymous. The first entitled his work Taqīb al-amāl al-baṭī fī nawāzīl al-ustādī Abū Saʿīd, the manuscripts of which reside in the Escorial, whilst the second entitled his work Nawāzīl Ibn
Lubb, and presented his material in an arrangement differing from that of his predecessor. A copy of this work of Tunisian origin is now in Madinah. 16

The second type of collection falling within this category is that which represents the responses of one jurist to specific questions. One of the most lucid examples of this type is the collection of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Raṣṣāṭ al-Tunīṣī (d. 894/1489), who entitled his work Al-Āwjihāh al-Tūnisīyyah 'ala al-arslāh al-Gharāmīyyah. 17 Al-Raṣṣāṭ was the most eminent shaykh of his day in Tunis; both its mufti and its 'ālim. He was sent twenty-five questions from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad al-Mawwāl, the shaykh and mufti of Granada (d. 897/1492). These fatāwā pertain, for the most part, to controversial questions of fiqh, seven questions relating to statutes concerning the plague and two to those concerning mosques. The one unique transcript known of this work was read aloud to its author, al-Raṣṣāṭ, and bears his own handwriting. It is extremely important despite its poor condition and the difficulties it presents to the would-be reader.

The fourth category of nawaẓīṣ is that which is written specifically in response to one legal issue. Such nawaẓīṣ abounded on issues of religious observances, transactions, and legal policy. Of this last, I have singled out two important types: the first concerns Muslim policy towards free non-Muslims (ahl al-dhimma) and towards non-Muslims in general; the second defines the position of certain jurists with regard to Muslims living under Christian jurisdiction in Andalusia.

The Shāykh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Maghiṭī al-Tūmiṣī (d. 909/1503) wrote a seminal treatise entitled Miṣḥāb al-arwāh fi ʿuṣūl al-falāḥ, which came to be known as Al-Risālah al-Maṣārīyyah. 18 It was written in response to a question seeking clarification from him as to what was the responsibility of Muslims in avoiding non-believers (kufrāt), and what rules to apply to the ahl al-dhimma, especially the Jews of the Tawwāt region in southern Algeria. Sources relate that a serious problem arose in that area, owing to the way in which the Jews were conducting themselves and the reactions of the 'ulamā‘. Al-Maghiṭī adopted a most rigorous and rigid stance on this matter which aroused considerable opposition among his peers. These included the qāḍī al-ʿAṣmī al-Tunīṣī, Ibn Zikrī, al-Raṣṣāṭ, Yāḥyā al-Ghāmūrī, and Ibn Sādīb as well as others who saw fit to commit their own responses to the case in writing. Also associated with al-Maghiṭī are seven responses to seven questions put to him by Ābū Allāh Muhammad b. Ābū Bakkār (known as 'Askīyāt), a king of the Western Sudan. 19 These responses relate, for the most part, to questions of legal policy, missionary methods, and ways of spreading Islam amongst neighbouring pagan tribes. They lay down the principal lines along which a new Islamic state might be administered.

With regard to the second type of document in this category, it may be illustrated by a treatise by Aḥmad b. Yāḥyā al-Wānsīrī al-Tīlīṣī (d. 914/1508), author of al-Miṣ'yarī, mentioned above. The treatise is entitled Asnā al-nāṣijīr fi bāyān ʿākibān min ghalla ṣāhī al-nāṣfār wa-lam yahājir, wa-mī yatarāṣabu 'alayh min al-ʿaqābūr wa al-zawājīr. 20 In it, the author displays a severity which moves him to prohibit that a Muslim should be the subject of a Christian, and to declare unlawful any coexistence with Christians or habitation near them. This ruling, issued directly after the fall of Granada, made life particularly difficult for the Moriscan people and had disastrous consequences for them; for it cut them off from the lands of Islam.

Such an extreme position as that adopted by al-Wānsīrī brings to mind a faṭwā by the most eminent scholar of Malikī fiqh of his time, al-Imām al-Māzīrī al-Madhāwi (d. 536/1141). It addressed the same subject in comparable historical circumstances, for it was issued after Sicily fell to the Normans in 484/1091. Al-Māzīrī’s clear vision and broad-mindedness made his response both practical and tolerant. As a result, he left intact the bond that existed between those Muslims residing in Sicily and those in the Islamic lands of Africa. As a result, the influence of Arab-Islamic civilization endured long in the land of Sicily.

This summary presentation has, perhaps, allowed us to show the importance of nawaẓīṣ and fatāwā collections, so that serious academic foundations may be induced to co-operate with specialist researchers in their study and cataloguing.

NOTES
1 The most important of these are the Tunis and al-Azhār transcriptions, ref. nos 4871, and 2992–3, respectively. A tenth-century version is also preserved in the Chester Beatty Library, ref. 4407 (4th section).
2 One copy of this abridgement is to be found in the Tunis National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Wajānīyyah), ref. 34.
3 One transcript is available in the Tunis National Library, ref. 18705.
4 Two transcripts of this selection are available at the Public Treasury (al-Khāṣṣāth al-ʿAmmah) in Rabat, ref. nos. 1447 dāl and 2198 dāl; also 2 copies in the Public Library there, nos. 266/qāf and 1207/qāf.
5 Printed, 12 parts, lithograph, Fez, 1315 AH: again, in Lebanon, 1401 AH, Dār al-Gharbī al-Islāmī, 12 parts, with indices, under the supervision of the examining magistriag Muhammad Hājījī.
6 The copy of al-Zāwiyah al-Nāṣirīyyah, Tamkārāt, Morocco. A duplicate is also available in the Public Treasury in Rabat.
7 The manuscript, which is held in the Tunis National Library, ref. 18394, is written in a fine, Andalusian hand of meticulous precision.
A STUDY ON THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY QUR'AN

EKMELEDDIN IHSANOĞLU

This paper deals with extant manuscript translations of the Holy Qur'an in various languages, and tries to analyse the data with regard to the characteristics and dates of translation of these manuscripts, as far as possible without any attempt to assess the translated texts. A good translation preserving as many of the characteristics of the text as possible is a demanding task, and depends on knowing both languages fluently and understanding the characteristics of the nations which speak both languages, while being aware of the subject and the requirements of style. Given the difficulties of translating any text, the difficulties in translating a divine text such as the Holy Qur'an, revealed in eloquent Arabic and in a beautiful style ornamented with literary arts, are obvious. Moreover, the moral responsibility involved in the translation of such a text is no light matter.

The translation of the Holy Qur'an into various languages has been going on since the early centuries of Islam. Considering the importance of the subject, we undertook, in 1980, an important project on 'Bibliographies of Translations of the Holy Qur'an' at the Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture. This project was planned in three stages: printed, manuscript, and oral translations. The bibliography of printed translations constitutes the first stage of the project. After six years of research, this bibliography was printed at the beginning of 1986 by the Centre under the title of World Bibliography of Translations of the Meanings of the Holy Qur'an: printed translations 1515–1980 (Istanbul, 1986).
This paper does not deal with the different views of the schools of **fiqh** concerning Qur'ān translations. A lengthy study on this subject was presented in the introduction to the *World Bibliography of Translations*. On the basis of this long-term study, the views of Muslim scholars on this subject may be summarized as follows: the Islamic religion permits the translation of the Holy Qur'ān into other languages so that people who do not know Arabic can understand it. However, it is generally admitted that the translations cannot equal, or be alternatives to, the original text in performing acts of worship and deducing judgements in Islamic jurisprudence.

The bibliographic search entitled ‘Manuscript Translations of the Holy Qur'ān in Languages all over the World,’ which constitutes the second stage of this project, started with a very limited number of collaborators at the beginning of 1986. From the beginning of our research up to the present time, despite the limited staff and various difficulties, more than 4,000 copies of manuscript translations of the Holy Qur'ān have been found in thirty different languages, spread over thirty-seven countries. Thus our studies have advanced to a certain degree. Naturally, the number of copies will increase by the time the bibliographic searches have been completed.

The present paper aims to briefly evaluate the above study on manuscript Qur'ān translations and to present our findings to the scholarly world for the first time. Without doubt, the information on this subject is not definitive. It will gain a more decisive character and will be improved by the contribution of constructive criticism and the assistance of scholars concerned with this subject.

An examination of the available documents showed that the greatest number of translations is in the Persian language, followed by Turkish and Urdu. There are also copies of manuscript translations of the Holy Qur'ān in various languages which are spoken in Asia, Europe, and Africa. Again, according to the findings of our research, these copies are mostly located in libraries in Turkey, Iran, India, and England (for the general enumeration of these copies and their distribution according to languages and countries, see Tables 1, 2, and 3, respectively). As stated above, these numbers are not definitive; they are subject to change in accordance with new information. Moreover, these numbers include various copies of the same translation and volumes of the same work and are an indication of the great interest in the Holy Qur'ān, an interest which no other work has enjoyed. Without doubt, this number is also a clear indication of the interest taken in Islam by the nations who speak these languages.
### Table 2

DISTRIBUTION OF MANUSCRIPT QUR'AN TRANSLATIONS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGES

<table>
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<tr>
<td>SPANISH</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWAHILI</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td>SYRIAC</td>
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<tr>
<td>TURKISH</td>
<td>1730</td>
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<tr>
<td>URDU</td>
<td>71</td>
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<tr>
<td>WOLOF</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>430</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table of distribution according to languages.

### Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF MANUSCRIPT QUR'AN TRANSLATIONS ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFGHANISTAN</td>
<td>61</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALGERIA</td>
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<tr>
<td>AUSTRIA</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>BELGIUM</td>
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<tr>
<td>BULGARIA</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>CZECHOSLOVAKIA</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>DENMARK</td>
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<td>EGYPT</td>
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<td>FRANCE</td>
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<td>GERMANY</td>
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<td>INDIA</td>
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<td>IRAN</td>
<td>104</td>
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<td>IRAQ</td>
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<td>IRELAND</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITALY</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAPAN</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>KUWAIT</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>LEBANON</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>LIBYA</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALAYSIA</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>NETHERLANDS</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIGERIA</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>N. CYPRUS TURKISH REP.</td>
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<td>SAUDI ARABIA</td>
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<td>SWEDEN</td>
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<tr>
<td>SYRIA</td>
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<tr>
<td>TANZANIA</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUNISIA</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>TURKEY</td>
<td>2020</td>
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<td>UNITED KINGDOM</td>
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<td>U.S.A.</td>
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<td>VATICAN</td>
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<td>YUGOSLAVIA</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRIVATE LIBRARIES</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>430</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table of distribution according to countries.
Different Categories of Translations

A general examination of copies of manuscript translations of the Holy Qur‘ān reveals two main categories of translation. Firstly, there are literal or verbal (harij or la’if) translations, i.e. word for word translations. This category gives the most appropriate equivalent of the Arabic words in the language into which they are translated. Translations are generally written interlinearly under the Arabic words (interlinear translations). In this category of translation, the translator does not attempt to form grammatically correct sentences: the task is to find and choose the best equivalent of a particular word in Arabic. These equivalents vary according to the natural evolution and change which occurs over time in the language of the translation. This matter is of particular interest to linguists since the Arabic text of the Holy Qur‘ān has remained exactly in its original form, without any change in even one word, down to the present day. However, the vocabulary from which are chosen the translation equivalents of the words in this form and enduring text does change with time. Translations of the Holy Qur‘ān therefore constitute a very important source and key to understanding the meaning which the Arabic words convey; they are also an important subject of study for linguists.

In literal translations it is left to the reader to construe an understanding of the meaning of the text. But the reader’s level of knowledge is not always sufficient to arrive at an understanding of the meaning of the text of the Holy Qur‘ān, and so the text requires more extensive explanation. A second category of translations, exegetical or tasrif translations, arose from this need. In this second category, the translator expresses the meaning of the text through well-constructed sentences. The responsibility of the translator is thus greater; he can use more words and add explanations from other sources, such as the Traditions of the Prophet, other tasrif, and other translations, in order to render his expression more comprehensible and powerful. In consequence, these translations come close to being commentaries.

In the case of interlinear word for word translations by anonymous translators, it is difficult to determine, at first sight, whether two texts are two copies of the same translation or separate translations. As for tasrif translations, they generally include an introduction or a table of contents, and have certain characteristics related to the style of writing. For this reason, it is somewhat easier to decide whether two texts are merely copies of a single translation or two different works. Besides the above mentioned two categories, there are also short translations written in complete sentences, which resemble the printed translations of today.

Manuscript Qur‘ān translations can again be divided into two different categories: complete translations and selected or part translations. In addition, there are translations which the translator was unable to complete, for whatever reasons. It is necessary to separate these incomplete translations from part translations, since, in the former case, the translator did not intend to make a selection. It is always possible that the missing parts of the seemingly incomplete copies may surface in another collection.

Complete translations include the entire text of the Holy Qur‘ān. However, there may be copies in which some parts are missing, and it is necessary to attend to such copies with great care. Some translations consist of more than one volume, and these volumes may differ in terms of external characteristics such as the kind of paper, the calligraphic style, and the ornamentation, as well as the language. There may even be inconsistencies in the dates of copying of some volumes, which may result from the fact that owners of particular collections often tried to complete a work with volumes obtained at different dates. Evidently, the volumes which are assembled in order to create a unity may subsequently be dispersed in different collections. Since there is no such practice as the exchange of manuscripts, it is impossible to realize a unity by assembling the pieces. It is only possible to establish a complete work from these dispersed copies by a scholarly and patient study based on a bibliography like the one which we have been compiling.

There are two varieties of selected translations. In the first case, one or a few selected divisions (juz‘), suras, or verses of the Holy Qur‘ān are translated. In the second case, the translator assembles the verses on a particular subject and translates them, or a copyist may select some sections of a translation. In this case, if it is possible to discover the original manuscript, these translations may be considered to be sections of this manuscript. However, if the original manuscript from which the translations are copied cannot be discovered, the most that can be done is to categorize such translations as selected translations. In the light of our information, selected translations most often choose the twenty-ninth and the thirtieth divisions, the suras al-Fātiḥah (1), Yūsuf (12), Yā-sīn (36), and al-Bārā‘ (112) as well as verse 255 of the sura al-Baqarah (2) which is known as the Throne Verse (Ayāt al-Kursī).

The majority of translations of the Holy Qur‘ān are in prose, but there are also translations which contain sections in verse, as well as translations written with rhyme and metre of a limited number of Qur‘ānic verses. There are also translated texts of the Holy Qur‘ān in dictionaries of the Holy Qur‘ān, as well as in scholarly, mystical, and literary works.

It is also necessary to briefly indicate the reasons for the differences in various copies of translations of the Holy Qur‘ān. With the exception of
differences resulting from orthographic errors, these variations essentially arise from natural changes which occurred in the language. In some cases, additional notes were written to the main text by readers, and these were subsequently included in the main text by the copyists. For example, the copyist may fill in missing sections in the main text by copying these sections from another manuscript, or with sections he has translated himself.

The Artistic Importance of Manuscript Translations of the Holy Qur'an

Manuscript translations of the Holy Qur'an have great artistic significance. This results primarily from the great reverence of Muslims for their Holy Book, as a result of which copies of the Holy Qur'an and copies of translations are written in decorated scripts, and great attention is paid to their binding. The Holy Qur'an and its translations played an important role in the rapid development and perfection of the arts of calligraphy, gilding, and binding. The artists undertook their copying of the Holy Qur'an and its translations as a divine duty and perceived the heavy moral and legal responsibility which fell on their shoulders. They displayed all their skills in copying, adorning, and binding these works, and were extremely careful to use the best materials that could be found. Manuscript translations of the Holy Qur'an also, therefore, constitute an important subject of study from the viewpoint of calligraphy and the arts of gilding and binding. The examination of the materials, tools, and techniques used in producing these masterpieces is an important study in its own right.

Manuscript Qur'an translations differ in regard to the arrangement of their material. In literal translations, as has been mentioned, the equivalents of the Arabic words are written between the lines. Generally, the calligraphy used for these equivalent words is different from that of the Qur'anic text; alternatively, they may be in the same style but inscribed in smaller and finer characters. This latter kind of translation is generally written in a different kind of ink, mostly red, and in a slanted script (see plate 1). Sometimes there is more than one interlinear translation in a copy, generally in different languages. There are also copies which contain both interlinear and tafsir translations (see plate 2). Manuscripts are also found which contain all three categories of translations, i.e., interlinear translations, short translations, and tafsir translations (see plate 3). Mention should also be made of manuscripts which contain more than one tafsir translation besides an interlinear translation (see plate 4).

Tafsir translations are generally written in a particular calligraphic style in a slanted and fine script in the margin of the text of the Holy Qur'an. Alternatively, different means of marking out the verses from the main text in tafsir translations may be used. For example, the Qur'anic text may be

Interlinear translations in Çagatay Turkish. 451 folios, 9 lines to a page, verses written in large Naskhi script and translation in Naskhi with vowel marking. Thought to be written in Turkestan approximately in 1000/1500-1600 (Topkapı Palace Museum, Hırka-i Sâdeddin Section, 56)
Abū al-Magfīr Tāhir ibn Muhammad Asfahānī’s Persian exegesis with interlinear translation entitled Tafsīr Tāhir al-Taqdīm and Persian interlinear translation. 1,102 folios, number of lines vary from one page to the other. Verses in large Naskhī, interlinear translations in Naskhī, and the taḥrir in broken Naskhī calligraphy. (Süleymaniye Library, Rüstem Paşa Section, 28)

Interlinear translation in Persian. There are also taḥrīrs in the margin. 667 folios, 9 lines to a page. Verses in Thuluth script, translation and exegesis in the Naskhī and Taḥrīr scripts. (Süleymaniye Library, Ayasofya Section, 2)
written in a differently coloured ink, or in a large and thick script. The verses may be given in tabular form and thus be separated from the text of the translation, or lines may be drawn above or below the verses, mostly using red ink. The names of the suras and headings may be written in different coloured ink, or may be decorated.

These characteristics of the ornamentation seen in complete translations also appear in some copies of selected translations. Although the bulk of the selected translations is smaller, they reflect the same attention and care which one observes in complete translations with respect to writing, gilding, and binding. The following copies in the Süleymaniye Library can be cited as examples: Ankaravi’s commentary on the sura al-Fātiha entitled Fatahāt al-A’yniyah (see plate 5) and Şeyhülislam Esad Efendi’s Taṣfīr Ayat al-Kursī (see plate 6). There are also the translations which consist of more than one sura. An example of this is the copy in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library, dating from the eight century AH and comprising suras 1, 6, 35, and 36.

An example of the verse translations of the Qur’ān is the copy of Okçuzade Muhammed b. Muhammed’s translation of the forty verses al-Naṣr al-Mubīn fi Ayāt al-‘Arba’īn found in the Süleymaniye Library (see plate 7). Most of the above copies have beautiful examples of binding.

The Distribution of Translations of the Holy Qur’ān according to Country and Language

As stated above, there are more than 4,000 copies of manuscript translations of the Holy Qur’ān written in thirty different languages and dispersed in thirty-seven countries. This number includes different copies and volumes of the same work. A significant number of these translations are located in libraries in Turkey, Iran, India, and England. Libraries in Germany, Russia, Pakistan, France, and Spain, the Vatican, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt contain totals of approximately twenty-five to a hundred copies of manuscript Qur’ān translations (see Table 3). However, it would not be appropriate to look merely at the number of copies; although some libraries may contain a limited number of Qur’ān translations, these copies have great linguistic importance, as well as other points of interest. The figures in these tables merely indicate the distribution of copies according to country and do not signify their value (see Table 3).

An important number of these translations are in Persian, Turkish, and Urdu (see Table 2). Persian and Turkish translations make up ninety per cent of the total number. One of the reasons for the existence of numerous translations in these languages was that Persians and Turks were among the first nations to embrace Islam, and early adopted the Arabic script, and had a

Taṣfīr of the sura al-Fātiḥah (1) in Turkish by Askaravi Ismail b. Ahmed entitled Fīṭḥatat al-
Ayn reopening. 20 folios, 22 lines to a page. Copied in Naskhi script in Rabī' 1030/May–June 1811.
(Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi Section, 27)

Turkish exegeis of the Thesaur Verse (sura al-Ḥajj, 25th verse). 10 folios, 19 lines to a page. Written in fine Ta'Tiq script in 1164/1750. (Süleymaniye Library, Hamidiye Section, 50)
A STUDY ON THE MANUSCRIPT TRANSLATIONS OF THE HOLY QUR'AN

firmly established history, culture, and art of their own. Persian translations are more numerous than those in Turkish. This was probably due to the fact that Persian was used by other nations besides the Persians, particularly Turkish dynasties in Central Asia and Anatolia, as well as Indians, as the written and literary language. Many Persian translations were in fact made by translators of Turkish origin. It must be stressed that it is impossible to present detailed information about the thousands of translations within the limited scope of this paper. However, once the present project is completed, the knowledge on this subject will expand. Moreover, this bibliography will hopefully lead to various scholarly researches and open new horizons.

The oldest known Persian translation is that of al-Tabari’s Taafsir, which was prepared by a group of scholars during the reign of the Samanid Amir Mansur b. Nuh (d. 350/956). However, in the course of our studies, we found an interlinear Persian translation which, according to its colophon, was made half a century before that of the above-mentioned tafsir. It comprises the section from the sura al-Hujurat (49) to the end of the Holy Qur’an. Although it was included in some catalogues and stated in the colophon that it was copied by the famous calligrapher ‘Ali b. Muhammad b. Muqlah in 308/939-40, our examination of the manuscript and the style of calligraphy shows that this work does not date from the time of Ibn Muqlah. Rather it was a work most probably dating from the ninth/tenth century to the extent that the calligraphic style indicates, and was attributed to him. This interlinear translation is now in the National Library of Egypt (No. 64, Maajhih). The earliest copy of the Persian translation of al-Tabari’s Taafsir is in Turkey in the Bursa Public Library. It is dated 562/1166-67, and has an exquisite gilding; it includes the section from the sura al-Ma’imin (23) to the sura Sahih (34).

From the fifth/eleventh-twelfth centuries onwards, the number of Persian interlinear and tafsir translations increases; both different copies of the same translation and separate translations. We have established that Husayn Vâ’iz al-Kâshî’s tafsir translation, known as the Mawâhib-i ‘Aliyyah or the Tafsir Husaynî, was among the most frequently copied Persian texts, and more than three hundred copies of this translation have been located, the oldest of which dates back to 871/1462. An incomplete copy of this translation is in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul.

The first examples of Turkish translations were composed in Eastern Turkish dialects. The sources indicate that, since there were Turkish scholars among the group which translated al-Tabari’s Tafsir into Persian, it was probably translated into Turkish as well, but there is no extant copy of this Turkish translation. Among the oldest copies of translations in Eastern Turkish dialects, we may mention one dating from the seventh/thirteenth century, written in a language resembling the Turkish current in
Transoxiana, comprising 343 folios. This manuscript is in the Astān-i Quds-i Razavi Library in Mashhad. The translation in Uzbek, dated 647/1249, by ‘Abd al-Qādir b. Tahir al-Baghdādi (d. 429/1038) comprises the first eight suras of the Holy Qurʾān. This copy is located in the Tashkent Uzbek Academy of Sciences (no. 3116). A manuscript with both interlinear and tafsīr translations, dated 733/1332–33, comprising the section from the sura Sād (38) to the end of the Qurʾān is in the Astān-i Quds-i Razavi Library (no. 293). We should also mention the Qurʾān in the Türk İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Museum of Turkish Islamic Works) which displays the characteristics of the Central Asian literary language, and which was copied in 737/1337, as well as a manuscript from the ninth/tenth century in the Asian Museum Library in Leningrad. Besides the interlinear word for word translation in the dialect of Karakhandī Turkish, this copy also contains tafsīr and legends which bear characteristics of the dialects of Kipchak, Oghuz and even Çagatay Turkish. Therefore, some sources state that it was probably written in Khwarazm Turkish. Copies of manuscript Qurʾān translations in the dialects of Karakhandī, Uighur, Çagatay, Tajik, and Azeri Turkish belong to a more recent period.

Translations of the Holy Qurʾān in Anatolian Turkish first appeared in the era of the principalities which followed the decline of the Anatolian Seljuqs. The first copies were tafsīr translations of short suras. Ṣure-i Mīllet Tefsīrī, the oldest of these translations, was copied in 826/1423. This copy is now in the Burdur Library in Turkey. Starting in the eighth/fourteenth century complete translations appeared in Anatolia for the first time. Tafsīr translations were mostly made on the basis of the tafsīr of Ebulleyeh-i Sencarkanlı, which was separately translated into Turkish by Ahmed-ı Dīrātı, Mūsā el-Iznīği and Ibn Arabījang. These translations, made from the same source by different scholars, are usually confused with each other. There are many extant manuscript copies of the tafsīr of Ebulleyeh dating from the eighth/fifteenth century. In many cases the translator’s name is not indicated.

We do not yet have definite, detailed information on all the seventy manuscript translations of the Holy Qurʾān in Urdu. In the light of our limited information, we believe the date of the oldest copy in Urdu to be 1000/1591–92. These copies are selected translations and the translators are anonymous. It is known that Muhammad Bāγır Fazl Allah Haydarībādī is the translator of the oldest manuscript dating back to 1115/1703–4. There are also manuscripts of anonymous translations dating from the thirteenth/eighteenth–nineteenth centuries, as well as manuscripts of translations by Shāh RaḤī al-Dīn Dilhāvalī and his brother Shāh ‘Abd al-Qādir Dilhāvalī.

It was Robertus Keteneensis who first translated the Holy Qurʾān into Latin in 1143 AD. Eight manuscript copies of this translation are located in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Subsequent translations of the Holy Qurʾān into Latin by Robert von Chester and Hermann von Carinthia, Guillelmus Raymondus Monceta, Marcus Concanicus Toletanus, Dominic Germanus Sillesi, Abraham Hinckelmann, Nicolais Wilhelm Schröder, Jean Henry Parau, and Devinus Warenus, as well as anonymous translations are extant in manuscript.

The only manuscript translation of the Holy Qurʾān in Chinese which we were able to locate dates from the thirteenth/eighteenth–nineteenth centuries. This translation, which consists of 61 folios, is in the India Office Library (Arabic MS.3340). We were able to confirm four manuscript translations in Armenian, two of which are in Germany and one in Iran. Another translation by Stephenos is located in Bhopal, India. The copies in Germany are located in Tübingen University Library (No. Ma.XIII 84) and in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Orientalabt (No. Or.Quart 605). This second manuscript in Germany was copied in Istanbul in 1803 AD and consists of 186 folios. We have not yet received detailed information about the copy which is in an Armenian church in Iran.

Three copies of manuscript translations of the Holy Qurʾān in the Pulaar dialect of Fulani are located in Dakar, Senegal. Two of these are found in the Institut Français de l’Afrique Noire (IFAN 57,58), and they both have the translation of each verse on a separate page. The third copy consists of 622 folios (IFAN 99). We do not yet know if it is a complete translation.

We were able to confirm two manuscript translations in Dutch (Flemish). The first copy, consisting of 281 folios, was translated by Salammon Swigg, and is presently in the Royal Albert Library in Brussels. The other copy by an anonymous translator is in Leiden University Library.

One of the two Hebrew translations of the Holy Qurʾān is by Jacob Ben Israel. It was copied in 1636 in Venice and carries the name Sefer Ha Al-Koran. Presently it is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (MS. Michael 113). There is another copy of the Holy Qurʾān in this library (Huntington 529), in Arabic with Hebrew translations by an anonymous translator within the text and in the margins; it is dated 1600 AD. A manuscript copy dated 1905–6 AD gives the only presently confirmed English translation of the Qurʾānic texts inscribed on the walls of the interior court of the Taj Mahal; it consists of 79 folios, and is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Arabe 4529).

We came across the only translation in Italian in the Tassy Catalogue. We were not able to obtain information about this manuscript, which is a translation of the second sura, al-Baqarah.
We confirmed eight manuscripts in Javanese. Of these, three are interlinear commentaries from the Tafsir al-Jalalayn: these are the copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. Arabe 654) and the Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden (Or. 1886 and 6890/2). There is another copy in Javanese, containing the translation of the sura al-Fatiha (1), and dating from the nineteenth century, in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Schoen.II.19). There are two other copies in the Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden (Nos. 207790 and Or. 5697)41. A manuscript in the Bibliotheca Brunensis Servanuri (No. 85a) comprises 264 folios. Lastly, in a manuscript with mixed contents (majmu‘ah) in the India Office (MS. Arabic Loh 2448), there is a translation of sura al-Baqarah (2).

The sole manuscript Qur‘an translation in the Kanembu language is found in the form of an interlinear commentary in a copy dated 1080/1669-70, written in Maghribi script.44 There is another commentary in the margin of this manuscript, entitled Jami‘ Aḥkām al-Qur‘an by ‘Abd Allāh Muhammad.

The only Kurdish translation which we were able to confirm is in the Library of Sulayh al-Din University in Irbil, Iraq. This manuscript, which dates from 1349/1930-31, was translated by ‘Abd al-Karim al-Qādiri, and is written in the author’s own hand and consists of eight parts (juz‘). Besides this translation, a complete Kurdish tafsir translation of the Qur‘an is located in the private collection of Musta‘ Maxud Muhammad Jalaloudah, Musta‘ Maxud Muhammad’s son. The translator is Jalaloudah Muhammad b. Jamil al-Din ‘Abd Allāh b. Diya‘ al-Din Muhammad Assad (Kajjali). Detailed information about this copy is not available yet.45

Information on manuscripts of Polish translations of the Holy Qur‘an is still scant.46

There are two manuscripts in Macassar located in Leiden University Library (Bugis Makasar 36 and 52).47

The majority of the ten Qur‘an translations in Malay which we were able to confirm are selected or incomplete translations. Some copies only contain notes in Malay. The most extensive among the extant copies is in the Dewan Bahasa Library, consisting of 687 folios, and written in Arabic and Javanese scripts. An interlinear translation of the Tafsir al-Jalalayn, dating from the nineteenth century AD, is in the Bibliothek Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden (Or. 3224).49 A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Arabes suppl. 129) consists of 290 folios, and contains interlinear commentaries.50 There are two translations in Malay consisting of 352,51 and 1952 folios in the Royal Asiatic Society Library (Arabic 4; callmark: Malay 79). There is also a translation of the sura al-Fatiha in the Universitätsbibliothek der Karl-Max University, Leipzig (MS. Or. 8969),52 and a translation of the sura al-Kahf (18) in Cambridge University Library (ii.6.45).54 A manuscript of the Tafsir al-Jalalayn dated 1450 belonging to Jalal al-Din b. Ahmad al-Muhiti is in the Dewan Bahasa Library (MS. 97). There are notes in Malay at the beginning of this copy and interlinear commentaries in Javanese.55 There is also a manuscript of al-Zamakhshārī’s commentary al-Kashf al-Qasīm in King’s College Library in Cambridge (No. 86) at the end of which there are notes, probably in Malay.56

We have confirmed the existence of a Panjabi translation of sura 88 entitled Tafṣīr wa-sirāt al-thalibiyyah in private possession, but we were not able to obtain any details about this manuscript.57

Of Panjabi translations, there is a manuscript entitled Shaṅī Mandur bar Ayāl-i Qur‘āniyyah va Aḥādi-ni Nabaviyyah, translated by Adīb Muhammad Samed[?] dated 1125/1713. This copy is in the Private Library of Zāhir Shah (No. 2390) in Afghanistan.58 Two other translations, the Tafsīr-i Badr-i Munir and the Tafsīr Dūhā, are in the Khābāhān-yi Vizārāt-i Maḥjūrāt va lekhād (Nos. 1855 and 1889). Another copy which contains the translations of the suras al-Fatiha and al-Ikhlas dates from the eighteenth century and is located in the India Office (Or. 6274).59

Among the five Russian translations of the Holy Qur‘an which have been located, the copy translated by D. N. Boguslavsky is dated 1871 AD. This Russian translation, which is based on the original of the tafsir entitled Mavāhid-ī Aḥyiyah by Husayn Vā‘iz-kashaфи and its Persian translation by Ismail Ferruh, is in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences (5pb section).60 A complete Qur‘an translation, consisting of 780 pages, by Piotr Vasiliyevich Postnikov is located in the Central State Archive of Ancient Acts, Moscow (f. 181, opis 1, N 148/217). It is based on the French translation by André du Ryer. Another copy of the same translation which comprises the first twenty suras is located in the Library of the Academy of Sciences USSR (MS. Department, call number 33.7.6) in Leningrad.61

There is no definite information yet about the copy of a translation attributed to Voldymyr Lezeye and located in the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.62 Besides the above copies, there is an interlinear translation dating from the nineteenth century, at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Catalogue N 168, No. D. 723) in Leningrad. Suras 113 and 114 are missing in this copy, which contains 480 pages.

We confirmed ten copies of Sindhi translations of the Qur‘an in the Institute of Sindology at the University of Sind, Pakistan. Among these copies, three manuscripts entitled Qissah Hazrat Yusuf were translated by a certain Ahmad. Qazi Sharaf al-Din Sihwāni translated a manuscript entitled Qur‘an-i ma’āz mutarjam Sindhi. Three other copies are sections of the Tafsir-i Hishmi which was translated by Maqṣūd Muhammad Hāshim Thāvī in 1170/1669. The other manuscripts are tafsir translations entitled Tarjuma ein Tafsīr ‘Ubayd al-Hāshimi by Maulānā ‘Ubayd Allāh Sindhi

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The only manuscript Qur'ān translation which we were able to establish in Wolof was translated by Muhammed Deme [7]. This translation in two volumes is described as an *Exégése coranique*, and is located in Dakar.

As a result of his studies on manuscript Qur'ān translations in Bosnian, Dr Enes Karigi found three translations. Among them an interlinear translation by Hafiz Said Zenunic and copy by Hitno Saric were destroyed during the Second World War and in the past thirty years, respectively. The copy translated by Fatih Kulenovic is the Bosnian translation of İzmirli Ibrahim Hakki’s *Meyni-i Kur'an-i Kerim*. According to recent information, this copy, which is located in Sarajevo, consists of two volumes and is written in Latin characters. However, detailed information on the copies stated above is not available yet.

Manuscript Qur'ān translations, which are very important sources in regard to language, art, history of culture and in their own right, deserve careful study from various sides. Certain aspects of the research on the above manuscripts can be separate subjects of study: the reasons for the interest in certain divisions, suras and verses of the Holy Qur'ān; the differences in various copies of translations of the Holy Qur'ān which resulted from different reasons; the comparison between the extant copies of a particular translation, eg, the *tafsîr* of Bullelithi-i Semerkandî, etc. The main objective of the research on this subject is to prepare a world-wide catalogue of manuscript translations of the Holy Qur'ān with the assistance of the scholars concerned.

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr Nejat Seferoğlu for his valuable assistance in preparing this paper and to Dr Semiramis Çavuşoğlu for examining the English translation of the text.

NOTES


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De Jong, Goeje, and Houtsma, vol. IV, no. 2837.

Voorhoeve, Handlist, p. 278.


46 Hamidullah, Le Coran, p. XLVIII.
47 Voorhoeve, Handlist, p. 227-78.
49 Voorhoeve, Handlist, p. 333.
54 Browne, Hand-list, p. 47, no. 255.
55 Dewan Bahasa . . ., p. 54.
56 E. G. Browne, A supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts, including all those written in the Arabic character, preserved in the libraries of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, Cambridge, 1922, p. 171, no. 1033.
57 Sayyarah Digest . . ., p. 503.
58 O. P. S. de Laugier de Beaureceuil, Manuscrits d'Afghanistan, Cairo 1904, p. 46, no. 9.
59 Ibid., p. 265, no. 8.
60 Ibid., p. 265, no. 9.
62 Hamidullah, Le Coran, p. XLIX.
63 Ibid., p. XLIX.
64 Ibid., p. L.
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE HISTORY OF
MAKKAH AND MADINAH

ḤAMAD AL-JĀSIR

God has favoured the Muslims by His promise to eternally preserve the Book of Islam. 'We have, without doubt, sent down the Message; and We will assuredly guard it (from corruption)' (15:9). And it was He who prepared learned men among the Muslims since the time of the Prophet, the blessing of God be upon him, who carried the message of His laws and His commandments and all the tenets of His religion, as they interpreted them from His Holy Book, and as they received them from the Prophet, and transmitted the message faithfully to those whom they deemed worthy of receiving it. And so the message was passed from one age to the next until today.

Men of learning have, since the early days of editing and publication, devoted their attention to the religious aspect of our Islamic heritage; they have worked on clarifying and elucidating all the important sources of tasākhī, hadīth, fiqh, and the shari‘ah, and published editions of these works. It can safely be said, therefore, that the part of our heritage which God has ordained to carry and transmit our religion has been preserved and is readily accessible to all.

Another type of manuscript closely related to the religious heritage is that which deals with the history of the Islamic nation in its religious aspects, for example, works which aim at specifying the exact geographical locations of the events of the Revelation, or of the Prophet’s military expeditions, some of which, like Badr and Hunayn, have been mentioned in the Qur’ān, or the
characteristics of the two holy cities, such as the locations for the rites of the pilgrimage, or the famous mosques of the Prophet. All these are places which have to be known if certain religious texts are to be understood, and these areas are covered in a large body of manuscripts of which very little has been published.

Some Arab countries who have an interest in this aspect of our heritage have made efforts in this direction. In Egypt, the most important works relating to Egyptian history have been published, together with various works of general historical and literary interest that cover the whole Islamic region. The Academy of Arab Sciences in Damascus and the Academy of Sciences in Iraq have declared in their charters that one of their aims is 'the revival of the Arab and Islamic heritage in sciences, letters and arts'. They have published the most important works which deal with Syria and Iraq, and they have not restricted themselves to these works but have published or sponsored the editing of various other works of the Arab heritage.

The Yemeni also, even though it is economically less strong, has lavished care upon this aspect of the heritage; care which has borne fruit in the tens of works that have lately been brought out, either edited or in facsimile.

We come now to that region which God has so blessed by making it the birthplace of His Prophet, and by placing with its people the responsibility of bearing the message of that noble Prophet — the message of knowledge and justice and reform — and conveying it to the world, that region of the two holy cities, unique in this world, cities which are dear to the heart, which are the coveted destination of those who seek mercy and forgiveness, and towards which all who pray turn their faces. It is no surprise that all which pertains to their history occupies a special place in the hearts of all Muslims.

The Saudi state has been active in the publication of the Islamic heritage in general since King 'Abd al-'Azīz unified the land in 1343/1924. In later times universities were established, and it is to be noted that King Fahd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz has always extended his care and patronage to these universities. We now have good graduates working in various fields, among them the field of the Islamic heritage.

The University of Umm al-Qurā, in particular, should be mentioned for having started the publication of a number of works dealing with the history of Makkah such as the works of Al Fahd b. 'Umar b. Muhammad b. Muhammad (912/1409-985/1480) including 'Idār al-Wāli bi-Akhbār Umm al-Qurā in four volumes and Ghiyāt al-Murām bi-Akhbār Sa'īdat al-Balad al-Harām by 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Umar b. Muhammad b. Fahd, of which two volumes have been published.

Some of the scholars and notables of Makkah have made valuable contributions in this regard. The senior scholar in our time is probably Shaykh 'Abd al-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Dahlawī (1286/1869-1355/1936) who collected what he could of works relating to the history of Makkah in a substantial private library which was given, upon his death, to the library of the Haram in Makkah.

Shaykh Muhammad Surūr al-Sabbān (1316/1898-1392/1972) made possible the publication of some works, notably Al-'Iṣlāl al-Thānīn fi Ṭārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn by Taqī al-Dīn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Fāsī (775/1373-821/1429) and the two volumes of Shi'ār al-Oḥrām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Harām by the same author. Earlier, he was behind the publication of Rushūd Mālīz's edition of al-Azaqī's Akhbār Makkah, a book which, along with al-Fākīhī's Akhbār Makkah, is regarded as the oldest and most important of the histories of the city. The authors, both men of the third century, chronicled the history of Makkah from the Jāhiliyyah until their own time. What still exists of al-Fākīhī's book (estimated at about half the original) was rigorously edited by Shaykh 'Abd al-Latīf b. 'Abd Alahīb, Duhaysh and was published.

It is to be noted that it was a western scholar who first published one of the most important works on Makkah: more than two hundred years ago, the German orientalist Ferdinand Wustenfeld published a compendium in a number of volumes containing histories of Makkah by al-Azaqī, al-Fākīhī, al-Fāsī, Ibn Zahīrah, and al-Qutbī.

And in the same vein, when a photocopy of al-Fākīhī's book came into my hands, before it was published in 1379/1960, I published a description of it in Al-'Arab.1 I then noticed that the author had reproduced the inscription on the tomb of Abraham, and had tried to decode it with the help of scholars of his time. Wishing to verify his findings, I published a picture of the inscription and a query in Al-'Arab.2 I sent copies of the magazine to a number of the authorities in charge of antiquities in our countries, but I had not a single reply. I was then surprised to receive a copy of an article, 'Maqām Isrāʾīl: A Stone with an Inscription', by the orientalist M. J. Kister dealing with this inscription and supporting part of al-Fākīhī's reading of it.3

To return however to our topic, Shaykh 'Abd al-Yūsuf Qāṭḥūn published works relating to Al-Hāfiẓ Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭabarī al-Makki's Al-Qūrā li-Qāsidat Umm al-Qūrā. A distinguishing feature of this book is that its author, being a hadīth scholar, collected in it what he could of the Prophet's traditions relating to Makkah: its ritual places, affairs of the pilgrimage, and so forth. Some notable works of Makkah published Al-Fāsī bi-Allām Baytī Allāh al-Harām in both the full version by Qaḥb al-Dīn Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Nahrawālī al-Makki (971/1511-993/1582) and the abridged version by his nephew 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥabīb Allāh al-Nahrawālī (961/1553-1014/1605). Other works too have been published. But, with the exception of al-Azaqī and al-Fākīhī, the manner in which works have been
published do not allow the scholar to make full use of them. They are for example mostly published without indices.

Because of her special status in the hearts of Muslims in general, and because many of her sons have been scholars interested in her history, Makkah has been the subject also of a good number of works of secular history. There have been families in Makkah devoted to scholarship and learning, who have passed what they learned down through the generations. The most famous of these families are the Āl al-Tabari, of which Muhibb al-Dīn, the author of al-Qādir (mentioned above), was one of the earliest. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Yahyā al-Tabari (976/1569–1033/1624) was the author of Nash'at al-Sulāfī fi Munsha'āt al-Khilāfah, of which he devoted the last part to the rulers of Makkah from the Sharīf Qaṭādah b. Idrīs in the year 596/1202 to Hasan b. Abū Nusayyī in 1009/1601. In an addendum he provided a biography of Abū Tālib b. Hasan b. Abū Nusayyī (d. 1012/1603–4). There was also 'Abd al-Qādir b. Yahyā al-Tabari (d. 1070/1659–60) who wrote al-Uraj al-Musīqī al-Tārīkh al-Makkī and Tuhfah al-Kirām bi-Akhbār Imārat al-Saqf wa-l-Bāb li-Bayt Allāh al-Harām, and Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Tabari (1100/1689–1173/1760), who surveyed the histories of the rulers of Makkah from the seventeenth/fifteenth century to 1141/1728 in his Ishhāf Fujālī al-Zamān bi-Tārīkh Wilāyāt Barī al-Husān, a work that remains in manuscript, along with other works of the Tabari family. The family of Āl Fadl has produced scholars of renown in the field of hadīth, who have followed in the footsteps of their great ancestor, the chronicler of Makkah, Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Fāsī al-Makkī, and turned their attention to the history of their city. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Fadl (787/1385–817/1416) Taqī al-Dīn, a famous scholar who wrote on hadīth and on the men who transmitted the traditions, wrote also Bushrāt al-Wārā fi-nn Haira, al-Ibnāh fi-mā wasara fī al-Jamāh, and Iqṣāf al-Nawm minnā wa-ṣara fī Thawr, which were all to do with Makkah. As for Umār b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Fadl (812/1409–885/1480) Najm al-Dīn, who wrote the previously mentioned Ishhāf al-Wārā bi-Akhbār Umm al-Qārī, he also wrote Al-Durr al-Kamīn bi-Dhāyil al-Iqṣāf al-Thamīn, Muṣammal Shuyukh (a collection of biographies of Makkani men and women of learning in the ninth century hijrī), Al-Iṣbāyīn fī Tārijim al-Tabariyyīn, Taḥdhirat al-Nāsī bi-Awldār 'Abd Allāh al-Fāsī, and Al-Sīr al-Zubayri bi-Awldār Ahmad al-Nawwārī— the last three of which are histories of distinguished Makkah families.


After the last of the Al Fadl in the tenth century hijrī, the links of the chain of history continue with the works of al-Qāserī, Ibn Zubārā, Āl al-Tabarī, al-Asadi, al-Imāmī, al-Sinjārī, Ibn ‘Abd al-Shakūr, al-Sabbagh, Dāhlan, al-Shibītī, al-Ghāzī and al-Sibbātī, and others whom I will not mention. These were all great men and their work was of value and importance; we should however take cognizance of the fact that all their work represents additions to, and completions of, the work of the greatest historian of Makkah, Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Fāsī al-Makkī (775/1373–832/1429). He expended great efforts in research and investigation and built up a treasury of learning which contained the essence of what he had read in the works of his predecessors across seven centuries, from al-Azraqī (the first known historian of Makkah) to the historians of the opening years of the ninth century hijrī. But he was not merely a compiler of information, for he edited and arranged all that he collected, and to it he added the results of his own research. He travelled and saw for himself the places, and the inscriptions. He compared what he saw for himself against what he found written in his sources. He paced and measured the distances in the holy places to learn in that manner the truth about the sacred rituals, and he wrote down what he learned in stages, the last of which were his two great works, Shi’bī al-Ghurairīn and al-Iqṣāf al-Thamīn. His other writings are still in manuscript form.⁵ We leave Makkah here and turn to Madīnā. Scholars have, of course, been interested in this city since the early days, and the first who wrote about it was Muḥammad b. al-Hassān al-Zubārī, who according to al-Sayyid al-Samhūdī in Wa’if al-Wa’if, wrote his book in the year 199/814–15. It was used as a source by two historians of Madīnā: al-Zubayr b. Bakkūr (172/778 or 779–256/870) and Yahyā b. al-Hassān al-Hūsainī al-Madānī (214/829 or 830–277/890 or 981). Al-Samhūdī had access to the books of Ibn Zubalāb and Yahyā, and he also made use of the writings of Al-Zubayr on the age of of Madīnā and other matters.

Probably the oldest book that we know of on the history of Madīnā is Akhbār al-Madīnah by Umār b. Shabbāh al-Nunayrī (173/789–262/876),
of which the surviving portion has been published by al-Sayyid Ḥabīb Mahmūd Ahmad in an unedited version. Ibn al-Najjār, al-Maṭārī, Ibn ‘Aṣākir, Ibn Farḥūn, al-Qaḍšíḥīrī, al-Muḥarrī, al-Fīrūzābādī, and al-Muḍājānī, and before them Ibn Zāhālah, al-Sayyid Yāḥyü b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī, and Ibn Shabbāh and others have all written on Makkah and some of their works have been published. But the greatest of all the historians of Makkah, al-Sayyid ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Samḥādī (844/1440–911/1506) summarized their works, and added to them from his vast knowledge in various fields, and set himself the task of writing down the history of this holy city - a task which occupied many years of his life. But despite the misfortunes that befell him, the most serious of which was the destruction by fire of his library and in it his earliest and most complete work, he persisted in his aim, and attained in it a degree of excellence unmatched by his predecessors, one which remains probably unmatched by those who came after him. For he saw things that are no longer there, and recorded facts from sources which have slipped into obscurity, and if he had not done so then students of the history of the city would have lost many of their sources.

Although the fire in al-Masjid al-Nabawī in 886/1481 destroyed all his books, and among them Ḥadīth al-Wafā’ bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā, which appears to have been his most complete work, still much has remained of his great learning in the two abridgements of that book: Wafā’ al-Wafā’ bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā and Khulāṣat al-Wafā’ bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafā. He also has a work entitled Al-Wafā’ bi-mā’ Yajibah li-Hadrat al-Muṣṭafā on a related topic.

NOTES

1. Al-‘Arāb, VIII, p. 801
2. Al-‘Arāb, IX, p. 209
3. Published in Louvain, 1971
4. Al-Qubī has been mentioned before. Ibn Zāhirah’s Al-‘Anī’s Al-Ṭāfīf fi Fadhl Makkah wa-Aḥli-hā wa-Binā’ al-Bayt al-Ṣarīf has been published. The works of Āl al-Ṭabārī, which are all still in manuscript, have been mentioned earlier. The manuscript of al-‘Aṣafī Muhammad b. Ahmad (d. 1070/1660) has been published by Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah and also in India. Sumīr al-Najjām al-‘Awālį b. al-‘Isāmī ‘Abd al-Malik b. Husayn (1049/1639–1111/1699) was published in four parts. The manuscript al-Sinjārī ‘Alī al-Sinjārī al-Makkī (d. 1125/1713) is in the collection of ‘Abd al-Sattār al-Dahlawī which was amalgamated into Maktabat al-‘Iṣra‘im and al-Maktabah al-Majídyyah. For ‘Abd al-Shakīr and his work see Al-‘Arāb, II, p. 802.

A draft of the book of al-Ṣabbāgh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 1311/1894) is in Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyyah, and a copy of it is in the collection of Sheikh ‘Abd al-Sattār. The work of Dāhlim al-Sayyid Ahmad Zayn al-Dāhilī (1231/1815–1304/1887) has been published. Al-Shaybī Muhammad Śāhī al-Shaybī’s Tilām al-Anām bi-Tarīkh Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām is also in the ‘Abd al-Sattār collection together with its addendum al-Istām b. Ḥasan al-Shaybī (d. 1343/1925). Ḥādat al-Anām bi-Akhbār Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām by ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāzī al-Hindī (later al-Makki) is in the Makkah Library. And finally Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Sabīrī is the well-known author of Tarīkh Makkah; he died a few years ago.

5. Among these, Taḥlīlat al-Kirām bi-Akhbār al-Ṭalād al-Ḥarām, in the collection of Shaykh al-Islām in Makkah. There is also a copy in Paris and a photocopy in Māḥad al-Makkiyyah in Cairo. Also Taḥlīlat al-Maṣām fi Tārīkh al-Ṭalād al-Ḥarām in the ‘Abd al-Sattār collection, and in libraries in Berlin, Paris, and Mosul, and Fāṣīlah al-Qirā’ al-Rāghibī bi-Tarīkh Umm al-Qurā in the Rampur Library in India.

6. For corrections to this version of the book see Al-‘Arāb, XX, pp. 372, 457 & 683.


8. The latter is published in my Rasā’il fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah.
SOME REMARKS ON ISLAMIC SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS AND INSTRUMENTS AND PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

DAVID A. KING

Introductory remarks

There are an estimated 10,000 scientific manuscripts in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish which, together with about 1,000 astronomical instruments, constitute the major sources for our knowledge of the exact sciences, astronomy and mathematics, in Islamic civilization. Most of these manuscripts and instruments date from after the most creative period of Islamic science, which spans the eighth to the fifteenth century. However, some late manuscripts also preserve for us earlier works which would otherwise be lost, and some late instruments bear features known to us only from early texts.

The ideal situation for documenting the history of Islamic science is the following. The manuscripts and instruments are first catalogued. When this has been done, the literary heritage and the instruments can be reviewed in a bio-bibliographical survey. Then detailed studies can be conducted of specific works or individual themes of singular importance. Thus our knowledge progresses from a reasonably sound foundation, or as sound as it can be, given the fact that many of the major works are lost without trace. Even given this optimum situation, what we could hope to recover of the Islamic scientific tradition is still very much a matter of chance.

The actual situation is, needless to say, quite different. First, the state of cataloguing of these Islamic scientific manuscripts leaves much to be
desired. While some of the major Western collections have been catalogued with thoroughness, these catalogues were often prepared by Islamists with little understanding of Islamic science. For the largest and richest collection in the Islamic world, the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, there is as yet no catalogue at all (though see below on the handlist of Max Krause). Neither is there a catalogue for the largest and richest collection of Islamic scientific instruments, namely the Museum of the History of Science in Oxford. Most of the major texts are inadequately published, some are not published at all — so our current activity is a rather haphazard operation. Also the most important individual Islamic instruments are still unpublished.

In the following brief survey of the history of publication of texts relating to Islamic science (mainly astronomy and mathematics) I shall mention only a few names, thereby inevitably overlooking many scholars deserving inclusion. However, even in the briefest survey certain names to whom we owe the greatest debt should not go unnoticed: Jacob Golius for gathering manuscripts, Wilhelm Ahlwardt and MacG. de Slane for cataloguing them, Franz Woepcke and Heinrich Suter for analysing them, and Lewis Evans for starting the world’s richest collection of Islamic (and other) scientific instruments at Oxford. In this survey I shall not deal systematically with Greek works in Arabic translation, nor Arabic works available only in Hebrew, Latin or Greek translations. Also I shall not deal systematically with astrology or geography. Colleagues will find that I have overlooked even various areas of astronomy and mathematics, let alone important medieval works on these subjects. In brief, the following remarks may tend to reflect my own interests and prejudices.

Folk science and mathematical science

We should begin by pointing out that Islamic science operated on two distinct levels. Seldom did these two traditions interact. The one was cultivated by the scholars of the sacred law (the 'uṣūḥ), who took as their authority the Qur’an and the Prophetic sayings and devised simple procedures for regulating the calendar, organizing the times of prayer, and finding the direction of the Ka‘bah, the physical focus of Islamic religious ritual. The other was cultivated by the Muslim scientists. They favoured mathematical procedures, often extremely complicated, for the same ends. Inevitably the results obtained were different. The present writer has published several articles on the two traditions, and on the implications of their different approaches for popular timekeeping and the orientation of Islamic religious architecture and city-planning. In the same way the religious scholars developed a sacred cosmology, recently studied by Anton Heinen, which was quite different from cosmology promoted by the scholars influenced by the Hellenistic tradition. Islamic scientific cosmology has been studied mainly by S. H. Nasr, and the tradition has also been surveyed by E. Jachimowicz.

Bio-bibliographical surveys

At the end of the last century Heinrich Suter made a translation of the part of the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadim dealing with scientists and their works. He also translated the sections of the then new catalogue of the Khedival Library in Cairo concerned with scientific manuscripts. This inspired him to compile a bio-bibliographical survey of 500 Muslim scientists and their works, which is still a major source for modern studies. Max Krause listed the early Islamic works on astronomy and mathematics in the libraries of Istanbul, providing a most useful supplement to Suter. H. P. J. Renaud did the same for the libraries of Rabat. Carl Brockelmann included the sciences in his monumental survey of Arabic literature but had only Krause’s incomplete overview at his disposal for the rich collections in Istanbul. Charles A. Storey did likewise for Persian literature. Fuat Sezgin has ‘redeemed Brockelmann’ for the period up to c. 430 AH and devoted three spectacular volumes to mathematics, astronomy, and folk astronomy, together with astrology and meteorology. For much of the new material Sezgin relied heavily on the catalogues in Turkey and Iran, which he was able to visit in person. This is the only way to collect reliable information, and Sezgin’s volumes reflect this personal input; Suter and Brockelmann had compiled their works in their own libraries. Sezgin’s volumes are now the starting-point for any serious study of Islamic scientific writings. The more recent survey of Galina Matveevskaya and Boris A. Rosenfeld, covering the period 700–1700, is based on all of these and contributes new information; over 1,000 Muslim astronomers and mathematicians are featured in their work. Especially for the later period of Islamic astronomy (the thirteenth century and thereafter) my catalogue of the 2,500 scientific manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library and my bio-bibliographical survey based on it provide much new information. Also I have documented over 100 Yemeni manuscripts dealing with astronomy and mathematics.

For astronomical instruments we have Robert T. Gunther’s monumental Early Science in Oxford (volume II) and Astrolabes of the World, both outdated and alas neither corrected nor updated for six decades. Gunther was no Arabist and was poorly advised by the Arabists at Oxford. On a sounder foundation is the bio-bibliographical survey of Muslim instrument-makers by L. A. Mayer, now updated and expanded in the Répertoire de l’Altain Brieux and Francis Maddison, long awaited and now shortly to appear. The Répertoire and my forthcoming catalogue of all historically
important Islamic instruments promise to arouse some interest in a much-neglected field. A catalogue of about 130 Islamic globes was published in 1985 by Emile Savage-Smith. Each instrument has something to contribute to the overall picture, and most previous studies of Islamic instruments have been hit-or-miss ventures. Authors have invariably felt obliged to explain what an astrolabe is before embarking on the description of a single instrument, inevitably overlooking some of what we now consider to be the basic features: dimensions, inscriptions, construction marks, accuracy of markings, star-names, and the like. There is no substitute for a catalogue in which all of these are included.

Critical editions of scientific texts

The optimum procedure for dealing with the texts is a critical edition using all available manuscripts or a facsimile in the case of a unique manuscript, a translation into a European language, and a commentary based on the current understanding of the subject. The names of scholars who have contributed to our subject in this way is small indeed, but the sum total of their achievements is impressive. The serious study of Islamic astronomy and mathematics by scholars who were capable of reading the original texts began appropriately enough with Jacob Golius in Holland in the seventeenth century. Golius’s edition of the Arabic text of the epitome of Ptolemaic astronomy by al-Farghani (Baghdad, c. 850), together with a Latin translation and partial commentary, was published in Amsterdam in 1669. Earlier, in fact already in 1594, an edition of the Arabic text of the recension of Euclid’s Elements attributed to Naṣr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (Maragha, c. 1260) had been printed in Rome.

In Paris in the nineteenth century a series of first-rate Orientalists had at their disposal the rich collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Royale. Caussin de Perceval published three chapters from the introduction of the astronomical handbook (al-Zīj al-Hākimī) of Ibn Yūnus (Cairo, c. 990) dealing with his own observation records and those of his predecessors. The Sédiqīs, father and son, chose to study the astronomical handbook of Ibn Yūnus, the treatise on astronomical instruments by al-Marrakushi (Cairo, c. 1280), and the introduction to the astronomical handbook (Zīj-i Sultānī) of Ulugh Beg (Samarkand, c. 1425). The father made an analysis of the entire introduction to the tables of Ibn Yūnus, which was never published and is not known to exist, but fortunately was extracted by J. B. Delambre in his Histoire de l’astronomie médiévale (1819). The father also made a translation of the first half of the treatise of al-Marrakushi, namely, the part dealing with spherical astronomy and sundials, while the son later summarized the second part dealing with other

A geometrical model for Mercury from a treatise on theoretical astronomy by Qub al-Dīn al-Shirāzī (Maragha, c. 1290). It was discovered in the 1920s that Muslim astronomers modified and improved Ptolemy’s geometrical models for the sun, moon and planets. Some of the changes were inspired by philosophical considerations, others were necessitated by new observations. The Muslim models remained geocentric, and the new heliocentric models of Copernicus, which are mathematically identical to some of those of his Muslim predecessors, were prompted by the same considerations. Evidence of any direct transmission is, however, lacking. (Taken from MS Cairo K3758, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
instruments. The son published in 1847–53 the Persian text and a translation of the introduction to the Zīj of Ulugh Beg. However, none of these scholars published any of the many tables in the two zijes.

In 1831 F. Rosen published the text and English translation of the Algebra of al-Khwārizmī (Baghdad, c. 825). Twenty years later Franz Woepcke published the Algebra of Ḥārūn al-Khwāyīn (N. Iran, c. 1080) with French translation, and in 1874 two treatises on the geometrical instrument called the ‘perfect compass’.

A French translation of the treatise on constellation figures by ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī (Shiraz, c. 965) was published by F. C. H. C. Schjellerup in St Petersburg in 1874. The Arabic text was published in Hyderabad 80 years later (see below).

E. Sachau published the text and translation of two monumental works by al-Bīrūnī (Ghaznawī, c. 1025): the work on chronology entitled Kitāb al-Āshār al-baṣīrīyā (1878, 1879), and the encyclopedia on India known as Kitāb fu tābāqāt mā hil-Hind (1888, 1910).


In 1891 A. Carahédy published the text in Constantinople on the text of the al-Dīn al-Tūsī’s treatise on the spherical quadrilateral. This was, I think, the first scholarly edition of an Arabic scientific text to be printed in the Islamic world.

In the early years of this century the main contributions to our subject were made by scholars writing in German, with the notable exception of the Italian Nallino. Heinrich Suter published in 1914 the Latin text of the astronomical handbook, introduction, and tables, of al-Khwārizmī (Baghdad, c. 825), lost in the original. Many decades later Otto Neugebauer produced an English translation with a masterful commentary on the text and tables. Suter and, after him, Carl Schor brought out German translations of numerous Arabic treatises. Carlo Nallino published the Arabic text and a Latin translation of the astronomical handbook of al-Battānī (Raqqah, c. 910). Max Krause prepared the edition of al-Qānūn al-Mās‘ūdī, the astronomical handbook of al-Bīrūnī, later published in Hyderabad. He himself published the text of the Arabic version of Menelaos’s Sphēres.

In 1934 R. Ramsey Wright published a facsimile edition of the Arabic text of the handbook on astronomy and astrology by al-Bīrūnī entitled al-Taḥāf al-sina‘āt al-tanjīm, but the translation that he published on the
with the text of a Byzantine Greek version of the lost astronomical handbook of al-Fahādī (Shirvan, c. 1175), a Byzantine version of the *Toledan Tables*, and the Arabic text of the corpus of pseudo-scientific material known as the *Picaatrix*. The same scholar has published all of the remaining fragments of the astronomical writings of some of the earliest Muslim astronomers, notably al-Fażārī, Ya‘qūb b. Ṭāriq and Abū Ma‘ṣhar. Marie-Thérèse Debarnot has made available text, translation, and commentary for al-Bīrūnī’s *Maqālātī ‘ilm al-hay‘ah*, a very important work on spherical trigonometry and spherical astronomy.

Gerald R. Tessems of London has produced a translation of the *Kitāb al-Fawā’id* by the fifteenth-century Indian Ocean navigator Ibn Mājid, the most substantial Arabic treatise on navigation. Earlier a French translation of this and other works by the same author had been published by G. Ferrand. More recently Ibrahim Khoury of Damascus has provided us with the Arabic texts of all surviving treatises by Ibn Mājid and the sixteenth-century navigator Sulaymān al-Mahri.

E. Millás Vendrell has published the Latin version of a commentary of Ibn al-Muthammā (Andalusia, probably tenth century) on the astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī. More recently B. R. Goldstein produced the text of two Hebrew translations thereof, again with translation and commentary. The same treatment he afforded to the treatise on planetary theory by al-Bīrūnī (Seville, c. 1190). His investigations of the interesting celestial spheres attributed to Ptolemy but not contained in his known works led him to discover that the relevant passage in Ptolemy’s *Planetary Hypotheses* had been omitted from the published text, and so he published a facsimile of the unique London manuscript, with translation of, and commentary on, that passage. Tunisian philologist al-Makhrawi, the ‘completion’ of the incomplete Corpus of Apollonius by Ibn al-Haytham (Cairo, c. 1025). Tsvi Langermann of Jerusalem has recently brought out a treatise on planetary astronomy by Ibn al-Haytham.

To four members of a graduate committee from the Millás-Vernet-Samso school in Barcelona, Roser Puig, M. V. Villuendas, Mercè Comes, and Emilia Calvo, we owe edited texts and commented translations of the treatise on trigonometry by Ibn Mu‘āth (Jáen, c. 1020); two treatises on the universal plate by al-Zarqāli (Toledo, c. 1070); a treatise on a universal plate of his own invention by Ibn Bāṣo (Cordova, c. 1295); and a study of various Andalusian treatises on the equatorium. From Joan Carandell we have an edition of the treatise on sundial construction by Ibn al-Raqīq (Tunis, c. 1325). Two new books reached me a month before this conference: from Maria Angeles Navarro of Granada the edition of an anonymous Andalusian
almanac, and from George Saliba of Princeton an edition of the non-Ptolemaic astronomy of al-ʿUrḍī (Maragha, c. 1260).

The following works of the same genre are not yet in print. Jamil Rageb has prepared a detailed study of the Tadhkira, a work on theoretical astronomy by Nasīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Maragha, c. 1260). George Saliba has prepared an edition, translation, and commentary for the treatise on planetary theory by Ibn al-Shārīr (Damascus, c. 1350), which will surely be on the same scholarly level as his new volume on al-ʿUrḍī. Forthcoming are also editions of the Arabic and Latin texts of the Spherics of Theodosiby Richard Lorch, incorporated in a study which will contribute substantially to our understanding of transmission from Greek to Arabic and to Hebrew and Latin. S. M. R. Ansari has promised an edition of the Zīj of Jābir ibn Haytham (Jaipur, c. 1725), the publication of which will be an important step for our knowledge of late Indian astronomy. My own analysis of the spherical astronomy in the Zīj of Ibn Yūnis, completed many years ago, and my more recent analysis of the corpus of tables for timekeeping that was used in Damascus from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, are still unpublished. Both would be more useful if the relevant manuscripts were available in facsimile editions (see below).

It would be amiss not to mention the monumental edition of the Optics of Ibn al-Haytham currently being published by A. I. Sabra. (This tribute to the scholar of Basra was being printed in Kuwait before the outages of 1990.) Likewise the texts and translations of various works on mechanical engineering and clocks by Sāmī Tekeli, Donald Hill, and Ahmed Y. al-Hasan have advanced our knowledge of this important aspect of Islamic science.

That the above list is incomplete will be obvious to anyone who looks at the entries for al-Bīrūnī and Ibn al-Haytham in Sezgin's bio-bibliographical surveys, let alone leaves through the entire volumes. My purpose is simply to convey an idea of the kind of international effort that has gone into building a firm foundation for our subject. Although so many works are already available in one form or another no one should think that our task is almost complete. On the contrary, the above-mentioned publications represent just a modest fraction of the prodigious output of the scientists of medieval Islam.

Surveys of individual topics

Critical surveys of various categories of Islamic scientific literature — dealing with, for example, theoretical astronomy, astronomical instruments, arithmetic, mensuration, theoretical geometry, and algebra — would be useful. Examples of publications of this kind are: a collection of the fragments of the works of the earliest Muslim astronomers, al-Fazārī and Yaʿqūb b. Tāriq, by David Pingree; and an overview of early Islamic algebra by Adel Anbob; a paper by Galina Matviyekskaya on the theory of quadratic irrationals; the numerous works of Paul Kunstzsch on Arabic star-names in the Islamic world and in Europe; the paper of Jan Hogendijk on treatises dealing with the construction of the heptagon; the writings of Wilbur Knorr on the construction of two mean proportionals and angle trisection; the various papers by J. Len Berggreen on the construction of azimuth curves on astrolabe plates; the study by Richard Lorch of a text on isoperimetry; the contributions of Jacques Sesiano on magic squares; the writings of Sonja Brentjes on the Nichomachean tradition in Islamic mathematics; the various studies by George Saliba on non-Ptolemaic planetary models; and my own studies of different categories of procedures — from folk astronomy, as advocated by the scholars of the religious law, and from mathematical astronomy, as proposed by Muslim scientists — for regulating the lunar calendar, timekeeping and determining the times of prayer, and finding the qīblah for any locality. Numerous volumes of studies have been published in Barcelona by the Millās-Vernet-Samso school, and the texts they have edited will be mentioned below.

There were regional schools of astronomy in the late medieval period which are so distinctive in their interests and tastes that they merit separate studies. Julio Samsó has prepared a splendid survey of Andalusian astronomy which will be published in 1992 on the occasion of an exhibition in Madrid on Andalusian science. Aspects of Toledan astronomy in the eleventh century are already treated in an elegant article by Lutz Richter-Bernburg. E. S. Kennedy has published general articles on astronomy in Seljuq and Timurid Iran and Central Asia. The present writer has surveyed the history of astronomy in Egypt and Syria, the Yemen, and the Maghrib, and Ahmed Djebbar has written several studies on the history of mathematics in the Maghrib. For Ottoman Turkey and Muslim India Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu and S. M. R. Ansari are respectively in control of the sources and have promised general surveys. For the influence of Ottoman astronomy in the Balkans we have the useful studies of Jasminko Mulamerovic of Sarajevo. The influence of the Islamic tradition on the Hebrew tradition and vice versa is dealt with in a series of masterful studies by Bernard R. Goldstein. This having been said, it must be pointed out that there are no reliable surveys of early Islamic astronomy, of the reception of Greek words in Arabic, of the transmission of Arabic works to Europe, or indeed of Islamic astronomy in general.

Articles on different aspects of Islamic astronomy and mathematics are to be found in the Festschrift volumes of A. Aaboe, W. Hartner, and especially that of E. S. Kennedy, to which 35 of the world's leading scholars in the
history of science contributed. Other such articles can be found in the major journals of the history of science, and in three journals specializing in the history of Islamic science, namely, the *Journal of the History of Arabic Science* (Aleppo), *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main), and *Arabic Science and Philosophy* (Cambridge, UK). Also important are the proceedings of various conferences, notably those held in Aleppo in 1976, in Istanbul in 1977 and 1986, and in Tunis in 1989.

**Astronomical handbooks with tables**

A large component of astronomical manuscripts is tables for one purpose or another — the standard tools of the medieval astronomers. E. S. Kennedy has documented the astronomical handbooks with tables and explanatory text. His survey of Islamic *zij*es published in 1956 listed 123 of such works, and we now know of close to 200. A *zij* deals with all the standard material of medieval astronomy and contains page after page of tables for calendrical conversion, computation of solar, lunar, and planetary positions, prediction of eclipses and visibility of the moon and planets, stellar coordinates and lists of localities with longitudes and latitudes. Families of *zij*es were popular in different regions, and often the parameters underlying the tables will have been updated. The parameters underlying a table and the computational errors it may contain facilitate relating one *zij* to another, especially now that we have the electronic computer at our disposal and can generate in minutes tables containing thousands of entries that would have taken a medieval astronomer weeks to compute. The importance of this vast corpus of material will be obvious to any historian. I have a survey of Islamic tables for timekeeping and regulating the times of prayer ready for publication; these tables were not generally included in *zij*es, and they are as important for the study of Islamic religious practice as for the study of Islamic science.

**Articles on Muslim scientists**

In addition to the various bio-bibliographical works cited above, we should mention the articles on individual Muslim scientists that have appeared in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. These are usually written by the person most qualified to write on the scholar in question and contain useful bibliographies. The articles on Abū Ma'shar, al-Birūnī, Ibn al-Haytham, al-Karajī, al-Uqlīdīsī, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Tūsī and al-Khayyāămī in the *DSB* by D. Pingree, E. S. Kennedy, A. I. Sabra, R. Rashed, A. Saidan, A. Anbouba, A. P. Youschkevitch, and

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*Tables for the sun and moon in a Yemeni manuscript of the astronomical handbook (*zij*) of Kitāb al-Labbās (Iram, c. 1900). The tables enable one to calculate the positions of the sun and moon for any time, and are based on the theories of Ptolemy of Alexandria with updated parameters (that is, astronomical constants). A typical *zij* contains over one hundred pages of tables and explanatory text; the corpus of known Islamic *zij*es, including some 200 examples, constitutes a major source for our knowledge of Islamic astronomy. (Taken from MS Cairo DM 400, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)*
B. A. Rosenfeld (scholars from the United States, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and the former Soviet Union) serve as outstanding examples.

Republishing medieval biographical and bibliographical works on Muslim scientists

A reprint of Gustav Flügel’s 1871–2 edition of the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadîm (Baghdad, c. 975) would be most useful. Unfortunately no reliable critical edition of the Tabaqat al-umam of Șī’id al-Andalusî (Toledo, c. 1065) is available yet (the Beiràt 1985 edition leaves much to be desired). It will be a long time before any scholar produces a new critical edition of the important biographical works by Ibn al-Qifî (Aleppo, c. 1230) and Ibn Abî Usâybi‘ah (Damascus, etc., c. 1250); the old Cairo editions are well worth reprinting (the former was reprinted by al-Muthannâ in Baghdad, undated). Fortunately we now have a reliable edition of the Ittihâd al-qâsid by Ibn al-Akûrî (Cairo, c. 1330), published by Jan Just Witsam in 1989.

Facsimile editions of important manuscripts

Whilst there is no substitute for critical editions of texts, there are so many important primary sources and so few workers that is very useful for our subject to have faithful facsimile editions. Facsimile editions have been published recently in Frankfurt of the following works:

1. the unique Escorial manuscript of a recension of the Muntahan Zîj of the astronomers of al-Ma‘mûn (Baghdad, c. 830);
2. the unique Munich and Damascus manuscripts of the two halves of the treatise on astrology by Ibn Hibînî (Baghdad, c. 850);
3. good manuscripts of the treatise on the use of the astrolabe and the book on the constellations by ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Sûfî (Shiraz, c. 950);
4. a manuscript of the Algebra of Abû Kâmil (Egypt, c. 875);
5. the Istanbul and Leiden manuscripts of the Kitâb fî Hall shakûk kitâb Uqîdis of Ibn al-Hayyân (Cairo, c. 1025);
6. good manuscripts of the Jâmi‘ al-mabâdi‘ wa-al-ghâyât of al-Marrûkshî (see above);
7. the unique Istanbul manuscript of the Kitâb al-Dalî‘îl, a work on folk astronomy by al-Ḥasan b. Bahlûl (Syria, c. 990).

However, these facsimiles are not always faithful to the manuscripts. It is to be hoped that the criticism of reviewers of this series will be taken into consideration and that the deplorable practice of removing original folio numbers, ‘fixing up’ text missing because of worm-holes, touching up illustrations to make them prettier, and merging fragments of a text from different manuscripts without indication will be abandoned henceforth.

It would be of great use to the field to have proper facsimile editions of the following works of major importance (by ‘best manuscript’ in the following list I mean the copy which is closest to the original):

1. the Istanbul and Berlin manuscripts of the astronomical handbook of Ḥâbîsh al-Ḥâfîz (M. Th. Debarnot has published a detailed survey of the former, which is closer to the original);
2. the Escorial manuscript of the astronomical handbook of al-Battânî (for comparison with the published edition);
3. one of the Berlin manuscripts of the treatise on the construction of the astrolabe by al-Farghânî, which manuscript also contains the only known copy of two treatises on the construction and use of the astrolabe by al-Khwârazmî;
4. the Leiden and Oxford and Paris fragments of the astronomical handbook of Ibn Yûnûs (see above);
5. the best manuscript (to be determined) of the astronomical handbook of Kâshîyâr b. Lâbbân (Iran, c. 1000);
6. the Leiden manuscript (which is probably the best available) of al-Bîrûnî’s treatise on the construction of the astrolabe;
7. the best manuscript (to be determined) of al-Bîrûnî’s astronomical handbook (for comparison with the published edition);
8. the unique Istanbul manuscript of al-Bîrûnî’s Tabûdî (for comparison with the published version);
9. the best (Cairo?) manuscript of the important treatise on astrology entitled Rawdat al-munajâjînîn by Shâhârdîn Râzî (Rayy? c. 1070);
10. all available manuscripts of the treatise on mathematics by Yûsuf al-Ma‘tî’man b. Hûd, King of Saragossa (c. 1060) (to Jan Hodgejijk and Ahmed Djebar goes the credit for bringing this important work to the attention of colleagues);
11. the unique Paris manuscript of the astronomical handbook known as Dastûr al-munajîjînîn, probably compiled in Alamut in the early twelfth century (a preliminary study of this important document has been conducted by F. Zimmermann);
12. the Vatican or the London manuscript of the Zîj by al-Khâzînî (Merv, c. 1120), a work of major importance which has yet to be properly investigated;
13. the unique Oxford manuscript of the introduction to a zîj by Ibn al-Hâ’îm (Andalusia, c. 1205), a key to the understanding of the zîj tradition of Andalusia;
the unique Hyderabad manuscript of the astronomical handbook of Ibn Ishaq (Tunis, c. 1195), the most important single astronomical work compiled in the Maghrib, discovered by chance during a visit to the Andhra Pradesh State Library in 1978 and currently under investigation in Barcelona;

15 the best available manuscript (to be determined — possibly Cairo) of the Zij-i Ḥikmat of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Maragha, c. 1260);

16 The Topkapı manuscript of the ‘middle works’, minor Greek works which were translated and edited by Muslim scholars;

17 the Cambridge manuscript of al-Zij al-Mużaffarī by Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī (Aden, c. 1260), a work which is based on the lost Arabic works of al-Fahhād, now available in the Greek version published by David Pingree (see above);

18 the Cairo manuscripts of two Rasulid annual almanacs (Ta’īz 726/1326 and 808/1403), discovered during the cataloguing project in the 1970s (no other complete ephemerides that are this early have survived);

19 the Cairo manuscript of the treatise by the Rasulid Sultan al-Ashraf (Ta’īz, c. 1295) on the construction of the astrolabe and sundial and on the magnetic compass;

20 the Leiden manuscript of a Mamluk work on timekeeping called Kanz al-yavāʾirūt, currently being studied by Margarita Castells of Barcelona;

21 the best manuscript (to be determined) of the astronomical handbook of Ibn al-Raqqā, of which only the introduction has been published (see above);

22 the best manuscript (to be determined) of the Shāmil Zij, the main astronomical handbook that was used for several centuries in what is now Iraq and the border regions of Southern Turkey;

23 the fine Dublin manuscript of the corpus of tables for timekeeping and regulating the times of prayer that was used in medieval Cairo;

24 the Paris manuscripts of two versions of al-Zij al-Muṣṭalāb, the most popular astronomical handbook in medieval Egypt;

25 the unique Dublin manuscript of the treatise on astronomical instruments by Ibn al-Sarrāj (Aleppo, c. 1325);

26 the Oxford manuscript of the astronomical handbook of Ibn al-Shāhir (Damascus, c. 1365);

27 the Paris manuscript of the corpus of tables for timekeeping and regulating the times of prayer by Shams al-Dīn al-Khalîlî (Damascus, c. 1365), used in Damascus until the nineteenth century.

The list goes on, and I have not even reached the Zij of Ulugh Beg. Also I am well aware of the need for an accessible version of the Arabic translations of the Almagest of Ptolemy and the Elements of Euclid. George
Tables for finding the qiblah for any locality in the Islamic commonwealth, computed in Damascus in the mid-fourteenth century by the muwashshi Shams al-Din al-Khalili. The tables display the qiblah as an angle to the meridian expressed in degrees and minutes for each degree of latitude (from 39° to 44°) and each degree of longitude difference (from 1° to 60°) from Makkah. His corpus of tables included a set for timekeeping by the sun and another for regulating the times of prayer, both specifically for the latitude of Damascus, and another for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude. Al-Khalili’s tables were used in Damascus until the sixteenth century and were first described in the modern literature in the 1970s. (Taken from MS Paris B.N. ar. 2554, courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale.)

Different kinds of astrolabe rules illustrated in the treatise on instruments by the thirteenth-century Cairo astronomer Abū ’Ali al-Marrakushi. It was originally thought that these modifications to the standard rate were purely hypothetical and not at all serious. However, we now know that al-Marrakushi took them from a treatise by the greatest scientist of medieval Islam, Abū al-Ra‘yḥān al-Birūnī, who in turn took them from an earlier treatise by al-Sijzi. The latter mention shows us who invented the different types and adds the names of the individuals to whom actual instruments were presented. (Taken from MS Cairo IC821, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
Saliba is contemplating editing the former, but in the case of the latter there is no hope for a properly edited text, so a facsimile edition would certainly be very useful. An indication of the difficulty of preparing critical editions of such works is provided by the complexity of Paul Kunitzsch’s recent edition of the Arabic version of Ptolemy’s star catalogue.

It would give our subject an enormous boost if various manuscripts of a number of short treatises (majāmī’ or Sammelbände) could be made available in facsimile editions. These are:

1. MS Banki pore 2468 (surveyed by Ahmed S. Saidan and Jan Hogendijk);
2. MS Istanbul Aya Sofia 4830 and 4832 (uncatalogued, some of the contents are listed by M. Krause);
3. MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub MR 40 and 41 (catalogued by the present writer), two Ottoman collections of Arabic recensions of Greek treatises (some not available elsewhere) and early Islamic treatises on astronomy and mathematics;
4. MS Paris B.N. ar. 2457 (catalogued by MacG. de Slane), supposedly in the hand of al-Sijzi (c. 970);
5. MS Oxford Bodleian Marsh 633 (catalogued);
6. MS Damascus 4871 (surveyed by Jamil Rageh and E. S. Kennedy);
7. MS Princeton Yahuda 373 (catalogued by Rudolf Mach), an Ottoman compendium of treatises on instruments.

All but the second are catalogued or described in brief in the secondary literature. All but the last contain early works on astronomy and mathematics which have not been properly studied. Each one is a goldmine for researchers, but it is often tiresome to acquire microfilms and a great trial to use them. To have these volumes available on one’s own bookshelf would be a dream. In each case the best-qualified scholar could be selected to write an introduction.

Illustrations in Islamic scientific manuscripts

At the conference on “The Islamic Book” organized in Washington, DC, in November 1990, by Dr George Adayeb, I addressed the topic of illustrations in Islamic scientific manuscripts. The study of these has barely begun. Suffice it to say that no more than twenty extracts from Arabic manuscripts were contained in John E. Murdoch’s Album of Science — Antiquity and the Middle Ages (1984), richly illustrated with over 500 plates. Credit must be given to S. H. Nasr for providing his book on Islamic science prepared for the Festival of Islam in London in 1976 with a superb set of illustrations from Islamic scientific manuscripts, many reproduced in colour. My own
survey of the Cairo manuscripts contains some 240 more mundane extracts, many illustrations of planetary models or instruments, and other examples of different kinds of tables, handwriting of individual astronomers, and various items of historical interest. There is an obvious need for a companion volume to the album mentioned above which would feature illustrations in Islamic manuscripts, let alone for art-historical investigations of different categories of illustration.

Some important astronomical instruments

Instruments are another important source for our knowledge of the development of Islamic science, and we are now in a much stronger position than we were recently to evaluate the astrolabes, quadrants, globes, and sundials of the various schools in the Muslim world, dating from the ninth to the nineteenth century. The majority are housed in museums, but a substantial minority are in private collections. Historical instruments already command very high prices at auctions.

I have recently published a lengthy and richly illustrated article on Islamic instrumentation; although only an Italian version is available in print, the English original will also be published soon. For the time being L. A. Mayer’s book on Islamic astrolabists and Emile Savage-Smith’s catalogue of Islamic globes serve to locate many of these items. The forthcoming Répertoire de Brieux and Maddison and my Catalogue (both mentioned above) are guaranteed to cause an upsurge of interest in Islamic instruments.

A collection of original instruments is outside the scope of most academic organizations, but for teaching and display purposes a collection of facsimiles can be worthwhile. Modern techniques enable facsimiles of historical instruments to be made at reasonable prices, and there are various commercial concerns which undertake this. The Institute of Arabic-Islamic Science in Frankfurt has had prepared some 200 facsimiles of Islamic instruments, but this private collection is not open to the general public.

The following are some of the most important Islamic astronomical instruments:

1. the astrolabe of Nastâlus dated 315/927 or 928 and representative of the earliest Islamic astrolabes (Kuwait, Dâr al-Áthâr al-Islâmiyyah);
2. the spectacular astrolabe of the well-known astronomer al-Khujandi dated 374/984 or 985 and representing the culmination of Abbasid instrument-making (private collection);
3. the spectacular astrolabes of ‘Abd al-Karîm al-Misrî dated 638/1240 or 1241? (London, British Museum), and of Jâlîl al-Kirmânî dated 830/1426 or 1427 and dedicated to Ulugh Beg (Copenhagen, David Collection);
4. the globe by Muhammads son of the astronomer Mu‘ayyad al-Dîn al-‘Urî, made in Maragha in the late thirteenth century (Dresden, Mathematish-Physikalischer Salon);
5. the large astronomical clock in the Mosque of the QarawiyyÎn in Fez, constructed in 717/1317 to replace an earlier one (only the clock-face remains; the driving mechanism has disappeared);
6. the remarkable astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrâj of Aleppo, dated 729/1328 or 1329, which can be used for any terrestrial latitude in five different ways and which is without doubt the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made (Athens, Benaki Museum);
7. the highly complex sundial of Ibn al-Shâhîr, made in 773/1371 or 1372 for the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (Damascus, Dâr al-Áthâr [fragments of the original] with a faithful nineteenth-century reconstruction still in situ in the mosque);
8. the remarkable cartographic qiblah indicator made in Isfahan c. 1700, with which the qiblah can be found for any locality between Spain and China directly from the map (private collection).

These are just a few of over one thousand Islamic instruments that survive, a small fraction of those that were actually made. Of particular historical interest are those which are mentioned in contemporary treatises. Examples of these are the universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarrâj, which in the fifteenth century came into the possession of the Egyptian astronomer ‘Îzz al-Dîn al-Wafî‘î. The latter complained that his illustrious predecessor had not written a treatise on the use of the instrument, so this he proceeded to undertake himself. Before the discovery of al-Wafî‘î’s treatise it was by no means obvious how some of the component parts functioned. Or the astrolabe signed by the Rasûlîd Sultân al-Áshraf in 690/1291: al-Áshraf authored a book on the construction of the astrolabe, and appended to this work are some remarks by his teachers on all of the astrolabes which he made. Amongst these we can recognize the sole surviving one, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. But many important instruments are described only in texts. Richard Lorch is currently editing all available texts on non-standard astrolabes. These were invented in the ninth and tenth centuries, and we have treatises on them by a series of Muslim scholars, notably al-Sîjî, al-Birûnî, al-Marrûkıshî and Ibn al-Sarrâj, but not one single instrument of this kind has survived the ravages of time. Al-Sîjî actually mentions the patrons for whom the different kinds of newly-invented astrolabes were made.
Astronomical markings on the universal astrolabe of Ibn al-Sarraj (Aleppo, 729 (1328-9)). This is the most sophisticated astrolabe ever made; it can be used universally, that is, for any terrestrial latitude, in five different ways. In 1982 a manuscript was discovered in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin of a treatise by Ibn al-Sarraj on all of the instruments known to him and/or invented by him. We also have a newly-discovered treatise by a fifteenth-century Egyptian astronomer who owned this very instrument; it describes how the instrument is to be used, which was previously by no means obvious. (Courtesy of the Benaki Museum, Athens.)

A sundial for Cairo, made by Khalil b. Ramdah in 726 (1325/6). The sundial displays curves for the (seasonal) hours of daylight as well as for the 'azr prayer, and there is also an indicator for the qiblah in Cairo. This is one of the very few surviving medieval Islamic sundials. Muslim astronomers cultivated the theory and construction of sundials from the ninth to the nineteenth century, and in the medieval period many mosques were embellished with splendid sundials. The most spectacular medieval sundial was made for the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in the fourteenth century, when Damascus was the leading centre of astronomical timekeeping in the world. (Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)
A qiblah-indicator from Isfahan, c. 1700. Unique of its genre, this instrument displays a cartographic grid with numerous cities marked on it from Andalusia to China and a diametral rule, so devised that one can read the qiblah and distance from Makkah directly for any locality. Muslim astronomers knew how to calculate the qiblah and distance from Makkah in the ninth century, and already then they calculated tables displaying the qiblah for all latitudes and longitudes. This instrument represents the culmination of practical Islamic cartography and applied mathematics. (Private collection, photograph courtesy of the owner.)

Collected works

The collected papers of several colleagues of past and present generations are now available in reprint volumes. C. A. Nalino’s widow brought out his unpublished papers on astronomy, astrology, and geography in 1944 (a reprint of these would be worthwhile.) The numerous papers of J. Millés Vallicrosa and Juan Vernet have also been reprinted. Georg Olms Verlag published some of the collected papers of Elizbar Wiedemann (2 vols.) and Willy Hartner (2 vols.). Thanks to the Frankfurt-based Institute of Arabic-Islamic Studies we have the collected papers of various scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth century: Franz Woepcke (2 vols.), Carl Schoy (2 vols.), Heinrich Suter (2 vols.), and Eilhard Wiedemann (3 vols. of papers not reprinted by Olms). The works of Paul Luckey, Max Knause, and H. P. J. Renaud merit the same treatment. The same Institute has recently published six volumes of early studies on Islamic astronomical instruments; whilst many of these are quite out-of-date and some have been superseded, the volumes are of great value and will save researchers many hours of work collecting photocopies of nineteenth-century journals. The American University of Beirut paid tribute to its professor emeritus E. S. Kennedy by reprinting some 75 papers either written or inspired by him (he published mainly books) in one large volume. Thanks to the British publisher Variorum we have reprints of the more recent papers of Bernard R. Goldstein (1 vol.), D. A. King (2 vols. and a third in press), Paul Kunitsch (1 vol.) and Franz Rosenthal (3 vols.). The works of David Pingree and Julio Samsó are planned for the same series.

There are several works on aspects of Islamic science which merit reissuing and a few which have been reprinted. One example is Aydin Sayili’s *The Observatory in Islam*: written over thirty years ago this work is still unsurpassed, but it is difficult to obtain, and despite the fact that it was reprinted once in 1981 it merits a much wider audience than it has enjoyed hitherto. Also Kennedy’s 1956 *zij* survey, long out of print, has recently been reprinted by the American Philosophical Society.

Concluding remarks

This is an exciting field in which to work. Not least does one soon learn a healthy respect for the scientists of medieval Islam, but there is also a succession of modern scholars of diverse backgrounds and nationalities who have laid a clear path for us to follow and set standards which we should constantly strive to uphold. Also one is not working alone but enjoys the privilege of working with a particularly collegial group of fellow-researchers in different parts of the world.
The most difficult task facing us is the editing of the texts, and it is also the most important in the long term. Some of us shy away from it. As a graduate student I had a professor with some understanding of the difficulties of editing texts who advised me: ‘It doesn’t matter what text you work on, just make sure there’s only one manuscript!’ Fortunately most of the scholars mentioned above have been more bold.

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A miniature of the Istanbul Observatory in the late sixteenth century. The Director, Taqī al-Din, is shown holding an astrolabe. He authored treatises on the construction of astrolabes and sundials, as well as a treatise on mechanical clocks, the latter under European influence. The terrestrial globe is also European. Some of the books on the shelf behind Taqī al-Din are now in the University Library at Leiden; they have his mark of ownership on the title-pages. Most have never been studied in modern times. Ottoman astronomy was a combination of the Egyptian, Syrian and Central Asian traditions, showing increasing influence from European astronomy. The modern Observatory at Kandilli outside Istanbul has a large collection of manuscripts and instruments, most post-dating the activities of Taqī al-Din and his staff. (Taken from MS Istanbul UL Y.Id.11 1494, courtesy of the Leiden University Library.)
ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHICAL MANUSCRIPTS

MEHDI MOHAGHGHEGH

It was the translation movement in Islamic civilization which made the works of Greek scholars available to the Muslims. But not only did translators put the various works of Aristotle, Plato, Galen, and other philosophers into Arabic; the works of the Greek philosophers were also classified and catalogued, in which context mention should be made of two works by Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, in one of which he presented the works of Plato, and in the other the works of Aristotle. Hunayn b. Ishaq in his letter to Alī b. Yāhiya mentioned individually 129 books that his co-workers had translated with him, and he gives a detailed description of how he obtained the manuscripts and how he compared the manuscripts with each other in order to arrive at correct and complete texts. Islamic scholars always took every opportunity and expended every effort to obtain manuscripts of the works of previous scholars. Abū Rayhān al-Bīrūnī wrote in one of his books that for some forty odd years he had been ‘raging with the fire of ardent desire’ to find the book Sīrī al-asrār of Mānī which Muhammad Zakariyyā al-Rāzī had been so affected by in writing his al-‘Ibn al-īlāhī, until a courier from Hamadān to Khwārazm brought him some books, among which was the one he sought, the Sīrī al-asrār. Abū Ḥanīfī b. Alī b. Ṣīnā wrote that he had read Aristotle’s Metaphysics forty times without understanding it, until, one day in a bookbinder’s shop, someone offered him a book for three dirhams. Since the owner was needy, Ibn Ṣīnā wrote, he bought it from him, and, without much hope, saw that it was Plato’s Aims of the metaphysics
which he could use to overcome the difficulties of the Metaphysics.\textsuperscript{5} Hunayn b. Ishaq wrote that he searched all over the Jazira, Sinai, Egypt, and Palestine for a copy of Galen's book on syllogistic proof (al-\textit{Burān}), not even being able to find it in Alexandria, till he found half of the book in Damascus.\textsuperscript{6} One Islamic scholar who above all others expended his efforts to the end of making known manuscripts of scientific and philosophical texts was Ibn Nadim (d. after 350/961), who described the manuscripts in various sciences extant in his time. Mention must then be made of persons subsequent to him such as Ibn al-Q̣ārî (d. 646/1248) in his \textit{Akhbār al-\textit{hukmārā}}, and Ibn Abī Uṣayṣ'ih (d. 668/1270) in his \textit{Uṣūl al-anbā}, and al-Shahrāzūrī (d. after 687/1288) in his \textit{Nuzhat al-arwāh}.

The Islamic intellectual sciences, especially philosophy, theology, logic, and their subdivisions, have, during a thousand-year period of transformation and development, contributed their share to raising the level of human thought and ideas, but of all the material that previous generations have left us we are not aware of even one fifth. Contemporary scholars of Islam have the obligation to make known all these works in their various locations, using all the effort and diligence that they can muster, and to produce a single, comprehensive catalogue of them so as to facilitate access to them for the purposes of editing, publication, analysis, research, and so as to derive as much as possible from their contents. In Iran, not only do there exist hundreds of books, treatises, and volumes of collected texts in the field of philosophy in the large libraries for which catalogues already exist, such as Tehran University Central Library, the Aslān-i Quds-i Razavi Library in Mashhad, and the National Libraries in Tehran, but there are also a great many precious and rare manuscripts in private libraries which have only recently become known, and many of which have been catalogued thanks to the efforts of scholars such as Muhammad Taqi Dānishpārdūh.

It is not possible here to discuss all the philosophy manuscripts in the collection of even one library, let alone all the works of one philosopher; there is only enough space for the writer to indicate in summary form a few of the manuscripts with which he is personally acquainted.

First of all it should be mentioned that Islamic philosophers, theologians, and logicians composed four different kinds of works. First, there are extensive and comprehensive works which cover various categories of science, or contain various chapters on a particular science, such as Ibn Sīnā's \textit{Al-Shifā'}, which contains sections on all the branches of philosophy, mathematics, the natural sciences, and logic,\textsuperscript{7} or the \textit{Epistles of the Brethren of Purity} (Rasta'ī \textit{Ikhwān al-\textit{Ṣafā}), which contains fifty-two treatises on contemporary sciences and arts, or Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's \textit{Al-Hāwī} in Arabic and the \textit{Dhakhtrāt-i Khwārazm-shāhī in} Persian, which cover all medical topics as well as all the diseases of the body from the head to the toe.

Secondly, there are monographs on some particular subject, and these can be subdivided into two groups: detailed and extensive, for teachers and experts; or summary and concise, for students and beginners; these were referred to as \textit{kabīr} and \textit{saghīr} respectively. In this category are Rāzī's books \textit{Al-Nafs al-kabīr} and \textit{Al-Hayyūlā al-saghīr}.\textsuperscript{8} Thirdly, there are the \textit{commentaries} (\textit{sharḥ}) which scholars have written on other scholars' works, and these have either been in a form separated from the text where the text is introduced by the words 'he said ...' and the commentary by the words 'I say ...', or in a form mixed with the text, in which case they are called 'compressed' (\textit{mazjan}) commentaries. One of the most celebrated series of commentaries in philosophy in Islam are the commentaries on \textit{Al-Ishārāt wa-al-tanbīḥāt} of Ibn Sīnā, written firstly by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), and secondly by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d. 672/1274). Others are the commentaries on the \textit{Hikmat al-\textit{ishrāq} of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawārdī (martyred 587/1191), the first being that of Qūṭ al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 776/1374), and the commentary on \textit{Al-Shawāhid al-nubūhiyya of} Shād al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1051/1641) by Hājī Mullā Hādī al-Suhrawārdī (d. 1289/1872). The scholar of the last century wrote commentaries on his own \textit{Manṣūmah}, the first on the section on logic which he called the \textit{Sharḥ al-La'ali' al-muntazamah}, and the second on the metaphysics which he called the \textit{Sharḥ Gharur al-farā'id}.\textsuperscript{9} Fourthly, there are the glosses (\textit{taْfṣīl}, or notes which scholars wrote on works by their predecessors, among which can be mentioned the glosses of Shād al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī on Ibn Sīnā's \textit{Al-Shifā'}.

In the contemporary period there are the glosses of Mirzā Mahdi Aṣḥābiyā (d. 1372/1953) on al-Sahāwī's \textit{Sharḥ Manāẓīmah-yi bikmāl}, i.e. on the above mentioned \textit{Sharḥ Gharur al-farā'id}.\textsuperscript{10} One point should also be added, which is that sometimes short monographs by a single scholar may be collected together in compendia, or short monographs by various scholars on one or several topics.

This paper will give details of several philosophical, theological, and logical works, some of which have been preserved in integral form and others in volumes of collected texts, some of which have been printed and published and others which are still in manuscript form. Among the volumes of collected texts in manuscript form there are two which deserve mention; one is in the British Library and the other in Tehran University Central Library.

The first appears in the British Library catalogue as number Add.7475, under the rubric of 'Scientific Treatises', and it is a collection of some twenty monographs by various authors dated 1359/1241. The first monograph
in this collection is Al-Sirāh al-falsafiyah of Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Rāzī, which was printed with a French translation by Paul Kraus in Orientalia, IV, 300–34, and subsequently printed in 1939 by Cairo University Press under the title Opera Philosophica. The third monograph in this collection, the Kisar al-manṭiq, by an unknown author by the name of Abū Najāf al-Fārābī, which is a critique of Aristotelian logic, has also been published, edited by 'Abd al-Jawād Falātūrī of Cologne University. The importance of this manuscript lies in the fact that it pre-dates Ibn Taymiyya’s Al-Radd ‘alā al-manṭiqiyān and possibly marks one of the first steps in the movement against Aristotelian logic. Another monograph from this collection, the Qawī al-Ḥasan b. Saḥl b. al-Shamḥ b. Gāhādī fī al-aqḍāb al-aṣṣā bi-yukhribu bī-hā kathīrin, which concerns the criteria of evaluation and the validity in proof of mutawwīr traditions, was first published by M. Bernard Baladī, and then a second time by Muhammad Taqī Dānishpāvānī in Tehran in Ilḥāqīyya wa ma‘ārifī Iṣlāmī. Although most of the remaining manuscripts concern mathematics, astronomy, and even Arabic literature, there are several monographs on philosophical subjects which deserve the attention of scholars, which should be edited and published, among these are the Dalīl mūjāz ‘alā hadāth al-‘ālam by Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Abī b. Riḍwān, the Risālāt al Ra‘īs ‘Abī b. Shīrāzī fī-mā taqarrara ‘inda-hu fi bi-yuṣṣāf al-muthlabatayn ilā-illāt madhā’ zamānāyī wa-tabī‘īyyu bī-hā ilā-iṣlāmīyya by Ibn Sīnā, the Siyāsah al-nafus by Sīnān b. Thābit b. Qurrā al-Harrānī, and finally Al-Masā’il al-ma‘ālim ‘alā ‘an-hā Abū Mūsā ‘Iṣā b. Asad Abī al-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurrā al-Harrānī, in which, among philosophical topics, God’s knowledge of particulars, the number of categories, and the meaning of numbers are discussed. The second collection of texts, that in Tehran University Central Library, bears the catalogue number 5469, and it was compiled in the years 556–7 A.H. Like the previous collection it contains both philosophical and scientific texts. From this manuscript the present author published the monograph Fāṣī fī-mā-hiyya šī‘ār al-mantiq wa-fī-mā-dāh yuntafa’u bi-hā in Collected Texts and Papers on Logic and Linguistics, and the monograph Risālāt Ibn al-Samhī fī-ṣī‘at al-falsafah in the Henry Corbin Festschrift in 1977. Another of the monographs was published by Peter Bachman in 1966 in Göttingen with a German translation from a more defective manuscript under the title Kātib al-jannānī fī anna bi-yuṣṣāf an yakūna al-tabi‘ī fī-dīdī faylasūf. One of the distinctions of this collection is that it contains a number of manuscripts by al-Bīrūnī, below which appear the words: ‘I copied this from the writing of Abū Rayḥān’, and among these is the historical table of physicians which Iṣlām b. Hunayn copied from Yahyā al-Nabhānī. This table appears in al-Bīrūnī’s monograph in a defective form which is corrected by this manuscript. There are other important monographs in this collection which scholars should edit and investigate, and which have not been edited to date: the Risālāt Aristotēlīsī Išlām al-Iṣkandārī fī al-‘ālam, the Maqālat Qustā b. Luqā al-Bałabakī fī al-‘isqīsāt, the Fāṣī mūsār al-falsafīyya, and al-‘Ibānī ‘an al-‘ilāh al-qaribah al-fa‘ilah li-kawn wa-al-fasādī fī al-kānīn al-fāsādī.

A complete and integral philosophical text, an excellent manuscript of which has been preserved in Tehran University Central Library under catalogue number 257, is the Bayān al-baqi‘ bi-‘ādāt an-ṣīyq al-‘Abī b. ‘Abbās al-Lawkārī, a pupil of Bahmānīr b. Mazarbūnī, himself a pupil of Ibn Sīnā. He says at the beginning of the book that some philosophical texts were so detailed that students were incapable of understanding them, and some were so summary as to provide only general matters, and so he had written his book on the basis of Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, steering between the opposites of superfluity and insufficiency, so that searchers might easily find out what matters it dealt with. The importance and effect of al-Lawkārī’s book was such that the author of the Tāhimmat iṣwīn al-biḥkamāh said: ‘It was through the learned ‘Abī al-‘Abbās al-Lawkārī that the philosophical sciences spread throughout Khurāsān’, and a century and a half later Ḥasanūn Ťābī b. Rāhāwī (d. 629/1232) always carried a copy of it around with him, and Ibn al-Thārī said: ‘Most of his study was of al-Lawkārī’s book on philosophy.’ Fortunately the section of this book concerning logic was printed by Ibrahimīn Dībājī, and, having already published a commentary on al-Lawkārī’s philosophical poem Asrār al-biḥkamāh, he intends to publish the section on theological philosophy.

Among philosophical texts written on particular subjects, mention should be made of Farīd al-Dīn al-Ghayālī’s Iṣḥāb bi‘adāt al-‘ālam, which is catalogued under the number 1314 in Tehran University Central Library. He wrote his text as a critique of Ibn Sīnā, and reprinted his mono-graph mentioned in the British Museum Journal under the title Al-Hikmat fī buṣaj al-muthlabatayn lil-mā‘ālim madhā’ zamānīyya. Farīd al-Dīn al-Ghayālī is the same person whom Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī described as right-minded and of a pleasant disposition, but deficient in intellect and disinclined to speculative thought and debate, and with whom, he said, people in Samarkand read his Mulakkhāṣ, his Shārī al-‘Iṣlāhī, and his Al-Mabābīdī al-asnaqīṣiyayn. In the book mentioned above, he severely criticizes Ibn Sīnā, and at times shows the weakness of al-Fārābī’s thinking on the question of the creation of the universe. Also, when proving his own ideas, he cites the words of opponents such as al-Ghazzālī and Sharaf al-Dīn Muhammad al-Mas‘ūdī. In the same book he recalls how he began the study of the philosophical sciences in the year 523/1129 in the Niẓāmīyya Madrasah in Baghūdā, then how, in the following year, he came to Nishāpūr to teach logic, having previously studied arithmetic and algebra in Balkh.
This work is to be published soon by Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh and the present author.

In the realm of scientific and philosophical dispute, the book Al-’as’ilah wa-al-ajwībah is of considerable importance. This book consists of the questions which al-Bīrūnī sent from Khwārezm to Ibn Sīnā, in which he found fault with Aristotle in some of the philosophical and cosmological matters in the latter’s On the Heavens, and to which Ibn Sīnā replied.

Although this work was published in 1335/1917 in Cairo in a collection called Jānu’ al-badī’, and in 1953 in Istanbul as one of the Raṣā’il Ibn Sīnā, there exist two manuscripts in Kitābkhānah-yi Mājilis-i Shārī-yi Islāmī-yi Trān, under catalogue numbers 599 and 1968 which, while they were mentioned in the printed editions, also contain replies to Ibn Sīnā by al-Bīrūnī and defences of Ibn Sīnā by Abū Sa’īd Ahmad b. ‘Alī. This Abū Sa’īd Ahmad b. ‘Alī is apparently Abū Sa’īd al-Maṣūmī, the well-known pupil of Ibn Sīnā, who is mentioned in Ibn Sīnā’s own autobiography. In view of the importance of these two parts of the book, Seyyed Hossein Nasr and the present author edited the work on the basis of the two manuscripts in the Kitābkhānah-yi Mājilis-i Shārī-yi Islāmī-yi Trān and published it in 1352 sh/1973 in Tehran. In 1974, a second edition of Al-’as’ilah wa-al-ajwībah was printed in Istanbul in a collection called Armağān-i Bīrūnī, and our additional printed material was mentioned.

This book is to be reprinted soon by the Institute of Philosophical Studies of McGill University, Tehran Branch, with a new and extended introduction in Persian by the present author, and an English translation of the text has appeared as the doctoral thesis of Hasan Jamshīdīpur in the Department of History and Philosophy of Science of London University.

It should be mentioned here that while discussing philosophical manuscripts attention should also be paid to medical manuscripts, which contain discussions of philosophical and scientific matters by physicians in the habit of prefacing their medical works with philosophical introductions. This fact can be observed in a complete form in the first parts of the Firelaws al-bīkāmah of Abī’ b. Rahan al-Tabarī, a third-century scholar, and Al-Ma’ālīgāt al-Buqa’āyīyah of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tabarī, a fourth-century scholar, and the reason for it is that early physicians understood medicine and philosophy to be interconnected studies; it even being said that philosophy was the medicine of the spirit and medicine the philosophy of the body. The previous mentioned book by Galen, known under the title Kitāb Jāmnūs fi anna-hu yazība an yaktīna al-tābī fi-ridī faylāsuf, underlines this point, and perhaps the reason that Ibn Sīnā entitled his medical work the Qāmūn and his philosophical work the Shīfa’ was this very interconnection of the two sciences. Having said this, two manuscripts can now be mentioned. The first is Al-Shukūk ‘alā Jāmnūs al-bakīm by Muhammad b. Zakarīyā al-Rāzī. Two manuscripts of this work survive in Turkish libraries, but the best manuscript is that to be found in the Kitābkhānah-yi Mīll-i-閱 Mulk in Iran in a well-preserved collection, number 2124. Al-Rāzī criticizes and refutes a number of Galen’s medical works in this book, but the first book of which he scrutinizes is his al-Būrūhān, and the first question which he broaches is that of the genesis of the universe, where al-Rāzī says that what Galen has to say is self-contradicting because in this book he upholds the eternity of the universe while elsewhere in his writings he upholds the temporality of the universe. The interesting point here is that al-Ghazzālī mentions al-Rāzī’s criticism of Galen in the matter of the eternity of the universe in his Tahālūt al-fālāfīf, although he does not say from where he is narrating it. It should be mentioned that, despite the fact that many books were written against al-Rāzī’s Al-Shukūk by such scholars as Ibn Abī Śāiq al-Nishāṭīrī, a fifth-century scholar, Ibn Rūḍān al-Miṣrī (d. 453/1061), and Maimonides (d. 601/1205), only the refutation by Ibn Zuhār al-Andalusī, Avenzoar to the West, (d. 456/1064) survives, and that in a unique manuscript entitled al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn fi al-intīsār li-Jāmnūs kept in the Navāb Madrasah in Mashhad. The present writer has the intention of soon publishing an edition of al-Rāzī’s Al-Shukūk based on three manuscripts and containing selected parts of the refutation of Ibn al-Zuhār.

Another work in which philosophy and medicine come together is the Bustān al-aqlībī wa-rāwdat al-alībiya by Sa’d b. al-Yās b. al-Maṭrān (d. 587/1191), the physician of Sahl b. Dīn al-Ayyubī, which is preserved in the public library attached to the Aṣūnā-qi Qudṣu-qi Raṣūlī in Mashhad under catalogue number 4210. Circumstantial evidence points to the manuscript either being in the author’s own handwriting or having been approved by the author. In this book Ibn al-Maṭrān discusses a variety of matters connected with medicine and the history of medicine, and drugs and medicaments, and the majority of the philosophical topics in the book are to do with the natural realm: the elemental composition of man and the relation of this to the world, together with the various natural effects the world has on bodily and spiritual existence. This book was used and transmitted by scholars after Ibn al-Maṭrān such as ‘Abd al-Lāṭīf al-Bāḥdādī and Ibn Abī ʿUsāybrī. The present author published this book in the form of a photographic reproduction with an introduction and summary of the contents in Persian together with several indices in Tehran in 1367 AH.

Among philosophical manuscripts of later centuries, mention can be made of the Shaḥr al-Iḥlāḥīyāt min Kūth al-Shīfā (d. 1209/1794). He wrote this “compressed” commentary which reached the beginning of the second fāṣ of the second maqālīh. It was on the basis of a manuscript of this work in the handwriting of the author himself which was in the possession of Ḥasan Nakrātī, a descendant of the author, and which
was compared with a manuscript written by the author himself in 1203/1789. That the present writer published an edition of the text, together with the notes of Mirzâ Tahâr Tunakbûnî in 1986. In this manuscript is written: 'I saw this manuscript in Kishân, and the author has made extremely exact observations on the Shaykh’s [Ibn Sînâ’s] text.' Mirzâ Tahâr Tunakbûnî was himself much given to copying and editing manuscripts, as is testified by these words on the verso of the first page of a manuscript of the Shaykh al-Mufîd’s Awâ’il al-maqâllât: 'I was in the library of Muhammad Tahâr Tabriṣî in Jumâda’ al-Ukhrâ 1355, and while studying it compared it with a sound manuscript.'

Among surviving manuscripts nearer to our times in the author’s own hand, there are two books by Mirzâ Afdâl Allâh Shaykh al-Islâm al-Zanjâni (d. 1302/1885). These are the Târîkh al-Shi’ah and Al-Firaq al-Islâmîyâh, which the author composed in a compressed form and supported with editorial comments. One of the virtues of these two books is that the author used many of the sources which were at that time in manuscript from his comprehensive, large, and rich personal library, among which were the works of al-Ashârî, the Mu’tazilite Qâfî ‘Abd al-Jabbâr, and the Shi’ite Shârîf al-Murtada. Both these works are now being printed under the direction of the present writer.

As a result of his own enthusiasm for philosophical and theological manuscripts, Shaykh al-Islâm al-Zanjâni gave instructions for the copying of several texts. Accordingly, in the Kusâbâhânâ-ye Shâhî-ye Islâmî-ye Trân in Tehran there is a manuscript of the Shaykh al-Mufîd’s Awâ’il al-maqâllât together with his Al-Mas’ûlî al-mukabbariyah, catalogue number 1332, at the end of which are the words: ‘[Copied] at the blessed behest of his gracious eminence, the learned authority, the adept, the distinguished, Shaykh al-Islâm al-Zanjâni, long may his exalted shadow continue.’

Since up to now it is Arab manuscripts that have retained our attention, it is fitting that the rest of this paper should be devoted to manuscripts in the Persian language.

Among these is the Commentary on the Rubû’iyât of Jalâl al-Dîn Muhammad al-Dawwânî, the ninth-century philosopher and theologian. This slim volume was copied by Ghiyâb al-Dîn b. Mâhûnbud b. Muhammad Bâqîr in 938 AH, and the same scribe made a copy of Al-Hâwâbî al-jamâliyyâh in the same year in Herat in the Malik Bârgez Madrasah. 23

The author quotes a rubû’î, then proceeds to give a word-by-word commentary, and then explains its meaning and its mystical and philosophical connotations. For example under the following rubû’î concerning the Eternal Archetypes:

he says: 'The Eternal Archetypes, which, according to this group are the divine epistemic forms, are semipermanent in terms of the epistemic eternity of God, and in so far as their attributes are existentially manifest they are existents; but in so far as their essences remain in their own inexistence they are non-existent and nothing, both epistemically and in reality. They are thus the mirror of real existence, for the reason that has been explained.'

Another Persian language philosophical manuscript, no bigger than a monograph, is the Risâlah Sharb Maqâmât al’-srîfîn by al-Abharî (Sipahsâlîr Library, Tehran). At the beginning of the book the author draws the reader’s attention to the ninth namâ of Ibn Sînâ’s Kitâb al-Ishârât, which is quoted in the Maqâmât al’-srîfîn, and says: ‘Know that Salâmân is a metaphor for you, and that Abûl is a metaphor for your spiritual degree; if you are one of his people, then deciper the illusion, if you are able.’ Then, at the behest of his close and dear friend, he proceeds to set forth the interpretation and deciper the illusions of the elements of this story. By way of illustration, here is a quotation from the book: ‘When he says “Forty daily mansions”, he means that in man there are forty modes fixed through divine wisdom; however much the possessor travels, he seeks to master these forty stations, and to familiarize himself with those forty wisdoms which God had brought together in the modes.’

In conclusion, it should be said that the purpose of this paper was to demonstrate that more attention and care should be given to manuscripts of the Islamic intellectual sciences, which are of distinct kinds from the point of view of size and quality, and which contain much valuable material. Since a great many of these manuscripts have not been made known or researched, it is a requirement that a comprehensive catalogue be prepared of extant books and monographs in philosophy, theology, and logic throughout the world, with accompanying annotation concerning their scientific value, and that such a catalogue should then be distributed to universities and centres of learning around the world, that through conferences and seminars scholars should discuss these works and their value. As a result a great many matters would be recovered from the pages of the scientific heritage of the past which would then be at the disposal of human civilization for the advancement and improvement of man’s condition.
NOTES

1 For information on the translation movement and the efforts of Islamic scholars to obtain copies of scientific texts, refer to: 'Naqab-i tarjumah va nasir-i 'ulam-i bīğānaqān dar zamān-i Hasrāt-i Imām Rūghā, 'alayhi l-salām', in M. Mohaghegh, [Second] Twenty Treatises on Persian Literature, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and History of Science in Islam, Tehran, 1990.


4 Kraus, P., Risālat Abī Rayhān fī fihrīst kutub al-Rāzī, Paris, 1936. The Arabic text with a Persian translation was published together with Ghażanfar Taβrīzī's Al-Mashhātāt li-Risālat Al-Fīhrīst by M. Mohaghegh in 1366 at Tehran University under the title Fīhrīst-i kīāb-hā-yi Rāzī va nān-hā-yi kīāb-hā-yi Bīrūnī, refer to p. 3 and p. 47 of the translation of this volume.


7 The division-headings of the Shi'ī fālaqān are as follows: philosophical theology, 2 parts; mathematics, 4 books; natural sciences, 8 books; logic, 9 books. For details see the introduction to Shārī al-İhlābiyāt min Kitāb al-Shī'ī, Tehran, 1986, p. 10.

8 See M. Mohaghegh, Filisīf-i Rayy Muḥammad Zakariyā'-i Rāzī, Tehran, 1974, pp. 89 and 108.


RARE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE LIBRARY OF
‘ABD AL-QADIR AL-BAGHDADI

ABDUL AZIZ AHMED AL-RIFAI

This article deals with the literary manuscripts amassed in the library of al-Baghdadi, the owner of this library, ‘Abd al-Qadir b. ‘Umar al-Baghdadi (1030/1621–1093/1682), and his book Khizānāt al-adab wa-labbāb lusūb al-‘arab (The Literary Library and the Quintessence of the Arabic Language).

Al-Baghdadi is important because he is a relatively recent scholar, being a lawyer of the eleventh century of the hijrah. His library was packed with numerous manuscripts, including a vast number of literary works, which he listed in the introduction to his book, Al-Khizānāt. By the word literary I mean those works connected with literature as opposed to the sciences.

It is also natural that this article be restricted to unpublished manuscripts which are dispersed throughout the world’s public and private libraries, and omit those which have been lost, or are at least deemed irrecoverable.

Al-Baghdadi amassed an immense library. He tells us about several of its contents when he mentions some of his sources in the introduction to this precious book. He also wrote repeatedly, whenever the situation required, about his possession or reading of one book or another. For his unique book, Allāh provided a correspondingly distinguished editor, Professor ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn who has devoted great care to its edition. The book was also blessed with a tireless publisher, Muḥammad al-Khudari, who produced it immaculately in thirteen volumes and indices.

Professor Hārūn tells us in his introduction that in 1050/1640, at the age of twenty, al-Baghdadi emigrated to Egypt. There, he met Shihāb al-Dīn al-
Khafafī (d. 1069/1659), who, besides being the author of Rayhānat al-alibbāh, possessed a large library.

The library of Shihāb had an exceptionally beneficial influence on al-Baghdādī. Both by virtue of their association, and, following the death of Shihāb in 1069 H, by al-Baghdādī’s acquisition of the majority of its contents. This fact was mentioned by al-Muhibbi in Khulūsát al-at-hār (part II, p. 452): ‘When Shihāb died, al-Baghdādī inherited most of his books, and went on to acquire many more. Some of those I have met told me that he possessed a thousand books of collections of the poetry of ethnic Arabs.’ We can see from the above account that the inventory of al-Baghdādī’s library was astonishing and awe-inspiring, for its contents included rare categories and wonderful writings.

Despite the possibility of exaggeration in al-Muhibbi’s account, it nevertheless provides us with an idea of the large extent of this library, and of the rare books and poetry collections it contained. It is interesting to read in al-Baghdādī’s introduction, in the chapter entitled ‘The second matter in noting the material upon which we have relied, and from which we have selected, that are of many types and belong to many fields’, that he lists in about ten pages the most important sources, although not all, to which he referred.

What, then, was the fate of this huge library, of a portion of which al-Baghdādī has informed us? In his introductory prologue to Khizārāt al-adab, Professor ‘Abd al-Salām Hārūn counted 945 source references named by al-Baghdādī in his own introduction. He wrote: ‘If we add to these books commentaries on them, abridgements, and critiques, we would have over 4,000 books, many of which have been lost or perished.’

I hope I am correct in my assumption that the majority of those books are works of literature and linguistics (connected with the problems of grammar and their explication), and biographies of the poets who were the sources of these problems. That this is so is evident from the care al-Baghdādī paid to the literary section of his library, his detectable satisfaction whenever this field was discussed, and his apparent inclination to indulge his interest in it.

Although time has scattered this great library, researchers have managed to find a number of its lost books, which have travelled the four corners of the world. Professor Hārūn mentions some of these books from al-Baghdādī’s library. He found a copy of Farhat al-adib by Abū Muhammad al-‘Arabī al-Fundūbī, kept in the Egyptian National Library, which al-Baghdādī had copied for himself, although there was no mention of the owner of the original book from which the copy was made. In the same place he wrote that Professor ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Maymanī mentioned that a copy of Majmū‘ al-amthāl by al-Maydānī preserved in the Bankiure Library in India contains a note in al-Baghdādī’s own handwriting indicating that it had once belonged to him. A similar note was also found on al-Sijūrī’s Al-Mu‘ammārūn, which was later printed in Leiden from this original; and on the same author’s Al-Wasīs. There is a copy of Shahr Shawkāh Shahr al-Shaf‘ī’ah with a whole section in al-Baghdādī’s handwriting.

The following information can be derived from al-Baghdādī’s introduction. He collected in his library the writings of virtually every distinguished well-known scholar and man of letters. He acquired almost all their works, especially in the field of grammar. He amassed a large number of explanations of grammatical problems: the value of these works is well known to every specialist in literature and poetry for the valuable texts, biographies, and historical information they contain. Almost equal in comprehensiveness is the collection of explanations of verses with ambiguous etymologies, which possesses the same value for researchers in literary history. He also assembled a large number of complete collections of poetry, which he lists on three pages; it is natural for researchers to marvel at how such a large collection came into his hands after a period of more than a millennium, and to wonder about its fate. He possessed various collections of books on a number of rare Arabic linguistic matters and literary forms. The attention is especially drawn to his mention of the books of asghīl al-nāhāyīn (the errors of the grammarians), which is an important area of scholarship. Al-Baghdādī listed them in one sentence, as though he had assembled their volumes together on a separate shelf in his library.

Despite the dispersal suffered by al-Baghdādī’s library, as well as the libraries of many comparably famous scholars of the same period, we must not forget a positive and reassuring aspect. The libraries of Istanbul have preserved many precious books, including one which had belonged to the influential vāzir al-Kubrī (Abū ’Abd Allāh b. Muhammad Köprüüzâdah, d. 1086/1675). His effect on al-Baghdādī should not be overlooked. Following al-Baghdādī’s contact, the vāzir was generous and open towards him. Their mutual passion for science, literature, and books brought the two men together, and there is no doubt that al-Baghdādī benefited as much from his friend Köprüüzâdah’s library as he had done from the library of his mentor al-Khaflfī. Although I have no details of the extent of this
نقاط الثاني - بيانات
AFX.15.12

القسم الثاني - بيانات

أعماله (غابة السائل أو الوسائل - إلى معرفة الأرسل)

- يوجد منه نسخة في كمبردج برقم 7.1

قال بوركرمان: الله تطغرل بك الأرسلاني سنة 341 هـ من أوائل

البشرة، ومنهم الرباني من حيث هو أول شاعر فارسي.

بوركرمان (الترجمة العربية) 1269

- وذكر الدكتور عبد الله الجبوري أن في خزاناته نسخة مصورة من الكتاب

كتبت سنة 888 هـ من نسخة المؤلف. ولم يذكر مكان حفظ النسخة التي صور

عنها.

طبقات الشافعية للأستاذ: تنفيذ عبد الله الجبوري: 1287 (هـ)
التقريب في علم العربي (بروسيس."ف".:ن (محمود بن أحمد توفي في 282): هو ابن صاحب الصباح المكي)

الجزء الأول: أم 태لیقه في 18-17: ويكون من حمزة بن محمد بن عثمان المفتي، فرع من صنيفة نصف شوال سنة 1384، أوراقه (221 ورقية).

الجزاء الثاني: أم تأليفه في 12-14: وايض من حمزة بن محمد بن عثمان المفتي، أوراقه (222 ورقية).

فهرس الكتب العربية المطبعة

1947/1

- ينتمي الجزء الأول من نسخة أخرى في الكتب العربية بالإسكندرية برقم 717-718. كتبه سنة 1887 بخط حيدر جيميل. يتبعه من أصل الصفحة الأولى فقط. وينتهي إلى مادة (اوزار) (142 ورقية).

فهرس المخطوطات: 21/3

والمكتبة المختصر في غريب الحديث يتعلق بالمطعمة والصدح.

فهرس الحواضنة

قال الزركلي (في ترجمته): "ه كتب "تهذيب المطعمة لتزويق الطالب" - في ستة مجلدات، الموجودة منها نسخة، هذب بها مخطوطة أجواء، لا ينتمي في غريب الحديث، واختصره باسم "التقريب في علم العربي" - في.

شرح إبنا العصمي بالعباب

1911/1

صاحب العباب: جعفر بن شمس الظافر (توفي 272).

واصل العباب: شرف الدين، الصن مبالي على بيان الموصلي البيمني.

ذكر بروكلمان من نسخة النسخة التالية:

- "النحوية والمورفولوجيا" (دي 111)
- "النحوية والمورفولوجيا" (دي 131)
- "النحوية والمورفولوجيا" (دي 131)
- "النحوية والمورفولوجيا" (دي 131)

شرح إبنا إصلاح النطق لابن السكندلي (س. 133) (بروسيس."

نص ص 11 من النسخة

- يوجد منه النسخة التالية:

1 نسخة في مكتبة كريرلي بمدريد برقم 12178. بخط نسخ مشكوك. في
الآخر: أو يكون الموجود هناك (إصلاح المنطق في برآية ابن كيسان) وشرح أبياته
للمؤلف.

تُنسَب نسخة مكتبة كوريل برم 1999 (כים) إلى (ايراهيم) ابن المؤلف، وذلك
في بروس معهد المخطوطات: 2.782، وتكوين ذلك في معهد المخطوطات
بالنسبة إلى نسخة كوريل برم 1.200، وقد ذكر مؤلف مكتبة كوريل أن
إيراهيم هو الراوي.

شرح آيات الإيضاح والفتاوى في علم العماي
(س) (الزمان)

(1) ذكره دون اسم المؤلف، وكذلك ذكره بروس (النحات الأدنى، الذي: 17)
ولا يذكر اسم مؤلفه، ولم يذكر في برس المكتبات الموجود فيها الكتاب إلى ما
بين مؤلفه سوى الثاني عشرة من نسخة برس الذكورة، وما جاء فيها لا يدري
إذا لم أدرج توجيه في نسخة الدين القوامزم الذي ذكر فيها.

أما الإيضاح: فلهد بن مصعب بن عبد الرحمن بن قززة (وفقاً 739)
والله الفتاوى (فتاوى الكلم،) المكنكي (جبرين بن أبي بكر توفي 1236).
ويوجد من شرح آيات الشرح والمفتاح شماني نسخة:

1. نسخة في دار الكتب المصرية بالقاهرة برم 1.232، نسخة في مجله برمادي:
2. نسخة في دار الكتب المصرية بالقاهرة برم 1.231، نسخة في مجله ثقافي:
3. نسخة أخرى في دار الكتب المصرية برم 1.282، مكتوب في مهار العصر
الأول منشأ (شرح آيات الإيضاح لمدرسة في الدين القوامزم).
4. نسخة في مكتبة نور محنية بالسوريتان برس 1.242، خط نسخة
5. نسخة في مكتبة جامع الأيوسفي في إستانبول برم 1.242.

وفي نفس شيء من قول بروس (على طريقة ابن كيسان) يثير: يؤثث
أن ابن كيسان توفي سنة 92، وهو فإن صب أن نسخة برس برآية ابن
كيسان محتويه أحد أفضل: الأول: أن يكون الموجود في برس هو إصلاح المنطق ذاته (برآية ابن كيسان).
2.782
شرح آباد الكابط الزعاجي
(عبد الرحمن بن إسحاق توفي 340هـ)

كنا نذكره في مقدمته (الخزانة: 1/5):
قال عبد السلام هارون - رحمه الله - هذا غير شرحه نقلته...

وفد نقله من شرح خليفة آب الكابط (فلك) مرتين.

يوجد من شرح آب الكابط ثلاثة نسخ:
1) نسخة في مكتبة البايارات: أول 1441 ورق.
2) نسخة في مكتبة الشهيد علي باشا بإسطنبول: رقم 510 (7 ورق).
3) نسخة في مكتبة البحرية بالقاهرة: رقم 31 ش آب.


كان عبد السلام هارون - رحمه الله - وهو خط نقله الواقع.

وذكر الزعاجي في ترجمه، ضمن مؤلفاته: (شرح خليفة آب الكابط - ع).

رسالة، في خزانة الأنبياء بكماس.

شرح بابت سناء ابن الأتابي
(محمد بن القاسم توفي 328هـ)

من: من الخزانة

 vulnerables من نسخة في المكتبة الظاهرة بدمشق ورق 311، 420 ورق.

وفي بعض النسخ الأخرى، مسقتها 22 ورقاً. عليها تصويرات وشروط.

وиков لفترة في الإرشاد، وباندل عند مهمل فلما،

(الخزانة: 17/3)

(ع)
شرح المعاسة لأبي الفضل الطبري

الطيب بن أحمد توفي 1788

168 RARE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF ’ABD AL-QÂDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

الكبير

الطيب بن أحمد توفي 1788

169 RARE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF ’ABD AL-QÂDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

شرح المعاسة لأبي الفضل الطبري

الطيب بن أحمد توفي 1788

168 RARE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF ’ABD AL-QÂDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

شرح المعاسة لأبي الفضل الطبري

الطيب بن أحمد توفي 1788

169 RARE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF ’ABD AL-QÂDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

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الطيب بن أحمد توفي 1788

168 RARE LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF ’ABD AL-QÂDIR AL-BAGHDĀDĪ
шуح درا دار فلاغة لابن المهدي
(مصادر، محمد بن إبراهيم توفي 718هـ)
سماح من الفزانة

- يوجد في دار الكتب المصرية بالقاهرة مخطوطة بعنوان: "الآحاظ في هم الفزانة"، وورود في موضوع آخر من الفهرس بعنوان: "الآحاظ في عالم الفزانة"، ابن المهدي الحنفي المعروف باين الفزيائي.

قد ينظر بروكبان هذا النص إلى حدوثه من درة القواسم وما ألفه حولها. بعد ذلك، نشرت ابن أبي وليد شرف:

بروكبان: "نحو مقدمات العربية (1137/67)

- يوجد في مكتب النشر العربي بالقاهرة مخطوطة بعنوان: "مقدمات النشر العربي"، ابن المهدي الحنفي.

- يوجد في مكتب النشر العربي بالقاهرة مخطوطة بعنوان: "مقدمات النشر العربي"، ابن المهدي الحنفي.

وقد أدرج بروكبان هذا النص إلى حدوثه من درة القواسم وما ألفه حولها. بعد ذلك، نشرت ابن أبي وليد شرف:

بروكبان: "نحو مقدمات العربية (1137/67)"

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ويوجد في مكتب النشر العربي بالقاهرة مخطوطة بعنوان: "مقدمات النشر العربي"، ابن المهدي الحنفي.

- يوجد في مكتب النشر العربي بالقاهرة مخطوطة بعنوان: "مقدمات النشر العربي"، ابن المهدي الحنفي.

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بروكبان: "نحو مقدمات العربية (1137/67)"
شرح التصميم (الدبيسي)
(أحمد بن عبد الجليل توفي 350هـ)

(الدبيسي) في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

ذكر السيوطي أن الليلي من شرف الدين.

1- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

2- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

3- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

4- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

5- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

6- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

7- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).

8- يوجد منه نسخة في مكتبة عن عثمانية تستند إلى رقم 327 في (30 ورقة).
شرح الصريح لأبيب هاشم البغدادي
(محمد بن أحمد توفي 870) ص 22 من المكتبة

يوجد منها النسخ التالية:
1) نسخة في مكتبة البلدية (مكتبة البلدية) برقم 1942. (10 مريص). نسخة
2) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
3) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
4) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
5) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
6) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
7) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
8) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
9) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
10) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).

وقد نذكر أيضا النسخ التالية:

بئس ريمي العادليب للطبخ الفتريزي
(يعقوب بن علي توفي 550) ص 22 من المكتبة

يوجد منها النسخة التالية:
1) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (مكتبة البلدية) برقم 1942. (10 مريص). نسخة
2) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
3) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
4) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
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6) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
7) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
8) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
9) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
10) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية (المجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).

وقل بروكلمان: وقد بقيت ثلاثة من الكتابات لذللك المجموعة. وقال
sekkin: وصلت إليها ثلاث مجموعات من البلدان:
1) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) برقم 1942. (10 مريص). نسخة
2) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
3) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
4) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
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10) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).

وفي النصوصين:
1) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).
2) نسخة من مكتبة البلدية، (مجلة البلدية) الصادرة سنة 1388 هـ (1968 م).

استفاد منه بعض الباحثين العراقيين، ونشروا مجموعات من قصائد.
NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN COOPER - EDITOR

Lecturer in Persian Studies, Cambridge University. Published Translation and Annotation of Tabari, Commentary on the Qur’an, volume 1, Oxford University Press, 1986. Currently working and interested in the fields of Islamic legal philosophy (particularly linguistic and ethical discussions therein), Islamic philosophy between Ibn Sīnā and Mulla Sadr, and the application of new technology to the editing and publishing of Islamic manuscripts.

IRAJ AFSHAR


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Professor at the University of Umm al-Qura, Makkah. Published works include: Al-Ḥujūl al-Sundusiyyah fī al-akhbār al-Tūnisiyyah lil-Wazīr al-Sarrāj, a study in 3 parts, Lebanon, 1981; Barnāmāj al-Wādī Āshī, Tunis, 1982; Mu‘jam Shuyūk al-Dhahabī, a study in 2 parts, 1988. At the moment working on three projects: Al-Tārikh wa al-ma‘arrīkhūn bi-Makkah (from the third to the thirteenth century Hijri), Nayl al-mund fi dhu‘ayr ‘Ilbār al-wād, by Jār Allāh b. Fāhād al-Makkī, and A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Maktabat Makkah.
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HAMAD AL-JASIR

Well-known chronicler of the Arabian Peninsula. Has occupied posts in education and the judiciary. Currently he is the owner of Dār al-Yamāma for research, translation, and publishing, which issues the monthly periodical Al-'Arab, now in its 28th year. Among his published works are: Al-Mu'jam al-jughrā'ī lil-bīliḍā al-`Arabiyyah al-Sa`diyyah (3 volumes), and Riḥalāt (a description of manuscripts examined by the author in the most important libraries of the world). Editor of many publications and books including: Bīliḍ al-`Arab lil-Isfahānī, Al-Maghānī al-muṣṭalḥa fi ma`ālim al-tāhab; Al-Durar al-farā`īd al-muṣāʿaṣāmah fi ḍakhār al-hiǧr wa taṭrīq Makka al-mu`āqṣamah. Awaiting publication: Al-Ta`līqāt wa-al-nawādir li-Abī `Āli al-Hiǧrī, and Al-Buldān li-l-Haṣimī.

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DAVID A. KING

Professor of the History of Science and Director of the Institute for the History of Science, Frankfurt University. Previously Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Literatures and History of Science, New York University. Among his recent publications are: A Catalogue (Arabic, 2 vols.) and A Survey (English, 1 vol.) of the Scientific Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library, Winona Lake, Indiana, 1986; Islamic Mathematical Astronomy, London, Variorum Reprints, 1986 (to be reprinted in 1993); Islamic Astronomical Instruments, London, Variorum Reprints, 1987; Astronomy in the Service of Islam, Aldershot, Variorum Reprints, to appear in 1993. Interested in the continuation of earlier studies on the application of astronomy to the religious needs of the Muslim community (calendar, prayer-times and the qiblah). Currently working on a catalogue of all historically-significant Islamic astronomical instruments (and European instruments up to c. 1550), including detailed descriptions and analyses of each piece, based — where possible — on examination of the actual items. It is planned to publish the catalogue in fascicles, starting with the earliest Islamic astrolabes (up to c. 1500).

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