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CONTENTS

Front cover:

"One-eyed people fighting with their swan-enemies", *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 111b, 6.7 × 6.3 cm.

Back cover:

"Muslim *mappa mundi*", *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 2b—3a, diameter: 21.3 cm.

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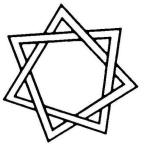

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

O. F. Akimushkin

THE *ṬŪṬĪ-NĀMA* AND THE PREDECESSOR OF NAKHSHABĪ: ON THE QUESTION OF INDO-IRANIAN CULTURAL LINKS

It is known that Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī, the author of extremely popular *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, who was born in Nakhshab, as his *nisba* tells, moved in his youth to the city of Badāwūn in India. There, in 730/1329—30, he completed a work which he called the *Ḥikāyat al-dirāyat* ("Tale of Acumen"). As it happened, the author's title did not take hold, and the work was fated to gain fame and spread across the Muslim East under the popular, if less elegant, title *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, the "Book of the Parrot" [1].

Interest in this work, which tells of the tricks and intrigues of women, their craftiness and cunning was great and remained unchanged as the centuries passed [2]. Nakhshabī himself explains the reasons which spurred him to take up the *qalam* and create his work as follows:

"I was once telling a story of love from the time of my youth, a tale of grief which captivates [my] heart from the time of early youth, when one grandee said to me: 'Not long ago, a book which contains 52 stories was translated from one language to another, from the Indian language to the Persian language. In this [translation], the steed of speech was let loose in the field of prolixity and the exposition was granted excessive length. The basic demands of good taste and elegance were not observed in full. The beginnings and endings of the stories were moved about and omitted. The compiler treated all rules of elegance with utter disregard; thus, the reader cannot attain his aim in reading — that is, pleasure. And from the listener escapes that delight for which he strives. If you took this work, which is from among the Indian books, and laid it out in an abbreviated edition, in a coherent re-working, if you gave it worthy form and put it in fitting order, then the readers and listeners of this work would have to consider themselves immeasurably indebted to you ...' I quickly obeyed the order of this grandee, who commanded my heart, and submitted to his will, which my soul accepts. And although it was said on the matter of eloquence that excessively long speech should be abbreviated while too short speech should be extended, the words of this servant are not so artless and prolix that the grandee should refuse to read them, or so artful and terse that the simple people should not wish to hear them out. No, I have followed the command to choose the middle road, for the Prophet — may peace be upon Him — uttered: 'The middle is the best of all matters'.

I drew up 52 stories in a new version; I composed new parables and tales. If the stories lacked coherence, I gave them coherence. I adorned and varied the introductions and conclusions of each one. Certain tasteless tales I replaced with others, thus embellishing by my hand this paradisiacal bride of elegance, this matron on the throne of wit, in order to gladden the lords of the art of speech" [3].

The following moments draw our special attention in the passage from Nakhshabī cited above: (i) before Nakhshabī, a translation into Persian was made of a certain book "from among the Indian books"; (ii) this translation contained 52 *dāstāns*; (iii) Nakhshabī did not indicate the name of the author-translator in his foreword; (iv) Nakhshabī altered the work of his predecessor, retaining the number of *dāstāns*, but abbreviating them substantially (writing new ones to replace those he had excluded and changing the inroductions and conclusions of the tales which frame each night). We do not, however, find in Nakhshabī's text anything to indicate that he "reworked it in accordance with the Indian sources" [4].

It is surprising that only W. Pertsch took seriously the remarks of Nakhshabī cited above, where the latter notes that he "drew up 52 stories in a new version", adding significant authorial revisions to a translation made by an unknown individual not long before him [5]. Nearly all other specialists, with the exception of A. Alimardonov, who were examining Nakhshabī's work before and after W. Pertsch's research, considered Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma* to be a direct Persian translation from Sanskrit or Hindi of an extant Indian collection of stories, the *Śukasaptati*, for example. They regarded Nakhshabī to be the first translator to undertake this work [6].

One can explain this fact by supposing that they evidently viewed Nakhshabī's remarks simply as a literary device intended to intrigue the reader and excite in him interest in the text. But the matter is that Nakhshabī had no need to resort to such a device, as such a translation already existed, in fact. It may be said that all subsequent versions [7] and translations [8] of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* can be traced to this original translation. It suffered a difficult fate: it seems that, not long after [9], Nakhshabī's masterfully reworked version, the famed *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, a work which met the literary tastes and standards of its time, displaced the basic translation and the latter was in fact forgotten by succeeding generations. But the first translation

did survive, and, contrary to established opinion [10], has been preserved up to the present.

In 1973, Shams al-Dīn Āl-i Aḥmad published in Tehran the text of the "Book of the Parrot. Gems of Nocturnal Conversations" [11] on the base of the only currently known fourteenth-century manuscript of the work. The work was compiled in India by a certain 'Imād b. Muḥammad al-Na'rī [12] and was dedicated and presented to the Delhi Sultan, 'Ala al-Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān (695—715/1296—1316), of the Khaljī dynasty. Although the exact date of its composition is unknown, according to 'Imād b. Muḥammad, when his friends began to berate him for his leaving court service, "which is [his] legacy, passed on from the fathers and the grandfathers", the Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad had been ruling for 17—18 years [13]. This outlines the period in which the *Jawāhir al-asmār* was composed with a good degree of precision: 713—715/1313—1316 [14].

The scant information we possess about the author is found only in his own work [15]; the publisher has scrupulously gathered all of it and summed it up in his Foreword [16]. Referring those interested to this section of the Foreword, we note that we do not know when and where 'Imād b. Muḥammad was born in India. We can only suggest that, in all likelihood, he was born into a family of *dabīr*s of middle means, hereditary state officials, as were his grandfather, father, and brother [17]. To take possession of this family occupation, he would have studied a number of disciplines, which were necessary for each professionally educated *dabīr*. No doubt, to become a master in the craft, he would have constantly sought contact with the best-known specialists and experts of the secretarial arts. As his friends remarked, he was frequently contenting himself "with a dry flat cake and a sip of hot water" [18]. Anyway, he received an excellent education which *Jawāhir al-asmār* testifies. The work demonstrates a profound knowledge of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*s, as well as the complex of Qur'ānic disciplines connected with them, a fluent command of Persian poetry (Anwarī, Khāqānī, Niẓāmī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Sa'dī, and others). Nor was he a newcomer to Arabic literature, and moved with assured ease through questions of rhetoric and style, ethics, poetics, history, literature, music and astrology. Finally, he was undoubtedly familiar with the languages of India. In a word, when it came time to show his worth, he wrote, at the urging of his friends, "this sewn-together book, which is a translation, as a gift for the book collection of His Majesty, [who is] worthy of [the title of] caliph" [19].

'Imād b. Muḥammad describes as follows how the idea of writing *Jawāhir al-asmār* came to him:

"As attention to stories, legends, tales, and narrations is the full striving and true desire of listeners of refined nature and subtle intellect, ever have the caliphs and sultans, the wise men and advisers of the epoch — be they in their elite circles or in larger society — practised widely the reading of tales and followed the custom of telling stories. This regards especially listening to those tales clothed in clear expressions and expressive similes, adorned with purest jewels of citations from the Qur'ān and sayings of the Prophet, interspersed with Arabic and Persian verses, edifying parables and examples which awaken thought. Of these there should unquestionably be more. This is especially attractive when the tales are conveyed by wild beasts and birds, representatives of the animal world and world of gems, for the retaining of these in [our] memory is not a difficult [task] and listening to them is no boredom. In this case, the hidden meaning of allusion, contained in the story, is understood and its [real] aim is revealed. It is precisely for this reason that in every age each of the acknowledged sages of [his] time translated from the Indian language some book, dedicating [it] to his ruler and benefactor, in order to rise above his equals and those who stand beneath him and gain glory among his colleagues and friends. This scroll he would surrender to the collection of his ruler or the *amīr* of that time and [in doing this] he preserved his name until the end of time and intersection of the days. [This happened] with the books *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, *Sindbād*, *Nafḥat al-Rayḥān* [20] and others like them. In the happy time of such a ruler and during the reign and rule of such a sovereign, when the fine arts enjoy demand as [does] the philosopher's stone, and when people strive for knowledge as though it were a lovers' rendezvous, [this] humble one thought to translate from the Indian language some book (*daftar*) and to elevate its beginning and end, its foreword and heading, its contents and sections with the name and titles of His Most August Majesty, to glorify and to bedeck it in [the words of] his deeds and actions. As this book is for the reason ... [21], the name and title of His Majesty — may he be ever happy and may greatness and glory accompany him — shall remain forever. It is then possible that the name of this servant, like the names of Rūdakī and Ḥassan [22], will be preserved and that its trace on the scrolls of time will not vanish at once and be lost.

In short, with this intention I looked through the books of the Hindus and surveyed their tales and stories. But none of them awakened interest in the heart of this humble one, and his imperfect soul recognised nothing as worthy. If I found the beginning of one firm and well-founded, then [unfortunately] its end turned out to weak and ill-founded. If the end of another was attractive and interesting, then its beginning brought no joy. Now [finally], after much searching and seeking and countless investigations and efforts, I have found a book, the beginning of which is the envy of [all] collections of stories. It was constructed in the necessary fashion, contained 72 stories, was composed from the words of a parrot. And its contents are as follows: A parrot and *sharak* [23] lived in the home of a certain merchant. Before departing on commercial and trade journeys, he would usually order the woman of the house not to do or undertake anything without the advice and consent of these birds, be it something righteous or unpure. He strictly observed this rule with his young wife.

Once, the merchant was forced to tarry in his travels, and [his] wife was overcome by love for a certain youth. She promised this friend of her heart [a meeting] at night, that is, when the celestial barber lets dark curls flow across the cheeks of the world and [then] the beauty, like the moon, will ascend to the youth's dwelling. In a word, when night came, the beauty at first sought approval in this from the *sharak*. The unfortunate *sharak* unwisely began to give honest advice and took to admonishing her. These efforts were not to the liking of the young woman, seized by amorous ardour. She threw the *sharak* to the ground and turned to the parrot. The parrot, witness to what had just occurred, realised that if he were to give honest advice, what had befallen the *sharak* would surely befall him. But if he refrained, the master's wife would sink into dishonour. With delicate device and refined words he made [as though] to encourage and convince [her] to commit this deed, showing himself to be her well-wisher. In doing so, he thus constructed each tale throughout the night so that the captivating young woman, carried away by the story, [involuntarily] was restrained from sin.

Thus, every night the attraction to the youth arose [in her] and the fire of that temptation blazed up. The merchant's wife would approach the parrot for advice and permission and be so carried away by stories and tales and thus follow along the path of advice and instruction that the night would end in mutual conversation, and the beauty would return to her chambers when it was [already] morning.

[And thus did it continue], until 72 nights later the merchant returned, learned of the secret, praised the wisdom of the parrot, gave due recognition to his abilities, grieved for the dead *sharak* and shed hot tears over it.

In short, when this miserable servant carefully measured the vivacity of temperament and elevation of conception in those 72 tales and examined their beginnings and endings, [their] form at first seemed to him lovely. He wished to garb this very collection in the clothes of the Persian language, and adorn [its] neck and ears with gems of similes. But when I gazed more attentively and with the eye of experience espied the figure and contours of that which I had not understood, I discovered [it] to be devoid of the jewels of wise utterances and the better part of useful advice. I also saw that the gems of moral teaching and precious stones of edification were absent in it. As concerns those refined and original tales in it, they were all [included] in the Persian *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and *Sindbād*. These [works] are themselves in circulation and are widely known. Other tales were exclusively indecent and vile and are not meet and fitting for [the reading of] rulers. How could I present [them], especially to His Majesty the ruler? Only a few of the stories were somewhat better than the rest. They were copied. The remaining stories, unusual and surprising, were gathered from Indian books and other sources, and for the most part copied from the Indian *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, which has not been translated into Persian [24]. As a result, the form of the fables and frame of the tales became firm; most likely, firmer than it had been. And the gold of the phrases was poured [once again] into the same crucible from which it been earlier extracted that it might become purer and free from all admixtures. The charms of the parrot were recorded, as were the engaging tales with which he, employing all possible cunning and trickery, restrained the merchant's young wife and did not allow [her] to depart for her beloved. These stories, both prolix and brief, both long and short, are 52 in number. The translation was titled "Gems of Nocturnal Conversation". The table of contents was written with the praise and glorification of Iskandar of [this] time. Just as [we] refrained from using crude expressions and unintelligible words, so did we avoid [writing in] purest Persian, having chosen as [our] guide the wise saying of the Prophet: 'The best of things is their middle'.

By the will of Allah the Highest and His easing mercy!" [25].

Summing up the preceding passage from 'Imād b. Muḥammad, we note: (i) the author discovered a collection, the name of which he does not cite, which consisted of 72 tales (nights) told by a parrot; (ii) the collection was written in "Indian" (Sanskrit?); (iii) having translated this collection in full, the author chose from it only a part of the stories and added translations from other Indian books, mainly from the Indian *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (the work at that time was unknown in Persian translation), which makes us conclude that this collection was not a translation of any single work, but was composed of fragments from several Indian books; (iv) the book compiled by the author as a result contained 52 *dāstān*s (nights) and was called by him *Jawāhir al-asmār*; (v) in the Muslim states of Northern India, translation from Indian (Sanskrit?) into Persian was rather common.

In comparing 'Imād b. Muḥammad's information with that provided by Nakhshabī, the question arises whether his work is the same as that which was compiled by Nakhshabī? To answer this question, it would be useful to present a translation of tales' titles in the two texts in the order in which they appear in the copy of *Ṭūṭī-nāma* by Nakhshabī (MS C 121 in the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) and in the 1973 Tehran edition of *Jawāhir al-asmār*.

Jawāhir al-asmār	***Ṭūṭī-nāma***
1. Tale of the usurer, his wife, and of how his wife plucked the parrot (the first night, p. 37).	1. Tale of Maymūn and Khujasta and of how the parrot told a story of a merchant's parrot and wife (the first night, fol. 5b).
2. Tale of the ruler of Khūzistān and a warrior whom they called Jānbāz (the second night, p. 47).	2. Tale of the ruler of Ṭabaristān and the body-guard and of how he sacrificed his son to a specter of the life of the ruler (the second night, fol. 12b).
3. Tale of the goldsmith and the carpenter, of how they got into the temple and stole the golden idols, how the goldsmith hid them, and how the carpenter hid the goldsmith's children and how he returned them to the goldsmith (the third night, p. 59).	3. Tale of the goldsmith and the carpenter, of how they carried off the golden idols, how the goldsmith stole them and of the carpenter's cunning (the third night, fol. 17a).
4. Tale of the warrior, his virtuous wife and of how she gave a bouquet of flowers to her husband (the fourth night, p. 69).	4. Tale of the warrior, his virtuous wife and of how she gave a bouquet of flowers to her husband, how the bouquet remained fresh, and the son of the *amīr* [was] shamed (the fourth night, fol. 25b).
5. Tale of the king Kāmrū, the parrot-healer and of how he treated the body of the king Kāmrū (the fifth night, p. 81).	5. Tale of the king Kāmrū, of how a parrot treated him and how the treatment was half-completed (the fifth night, fol. 31b).
6. Tale of the carpenter, the goldsmith, the hermit and the tailor, of the wooden sculpture, and of their quarrel on its account (the sixth night, p. 95).	6. Tale of the hermit, the carpenter, the goldsmith, and the tailor and of how they fell in love with a wooden figurine and sought justice beneath a tree (the sixth night, fol. 36b).
7. Tale of the ruler Bhoj-Rāja, the daughter of the king of the *jinn*s, the well and a man in love (the seventh night, p. 107).	7. Tale of the king of kings, of the elder in love and of how the ruler wanted to sacrifice his life for the sake of the *darwīsh* who was in love with the daughter of the king of *jinn*s (the seventh night, fol. 41a).
8. Tale of the ruler of Syria and the parrot, of how he set the parrot free and how it brought him the fruit of life from the country of Darkness (the eighth night, p. 119).	8. Tale of the ruler's son, the seven viziers, and the misfortune which befell him on account of the servant-girl (the eighth night, fol. 46b).

9. Tale of the vizier's son, the merchant and of how a wooden parrot spoke with people (the ninth night, p. 131).

10. Tale of the ruler Bhoj-Rāja, of the hospitality of his sons and of how the sea came to [their] feast (the tenth night, p. 137).

11. Tale of the sweeper and of how he found a valuable jewel in the dust and how his companions stole it (the eleventh night, p. 151).

12. Tale of how 80 scholars gathered and how they recognized the natural qualities of the son of the *amīr* of Iṣfahān on the threshold of childhood (the twelfth night, p. 167).

13. [Tale of] how the parrot explained the fundamentals of music and the qualities of musical instruments (the thirteenth night, p. 173).

14. Tale of the ferocious lion, of the sentry-cat, and of how bravely the mice conducted themselves with the lion, of how the kitten killed the mice and of his repentance (the fourteenth night, p. 181).

15. Tale of the ugliness of Banāris, the ruler's son, of the beauty of his young wife and how she fell in love with a young scoundrel and took up with him, how the young scoundrel stole her expensive garments on the bank of the river and her conversation with the jackal (the fifteenth night, p. 193).

16. Tale of the merchant Manṣūr, his journey and how someone in his guise came to his wife and of the virtue of Manṣūr's wife (the sixteenth night, p. 211).

17. Tale of the son of the Zābulistān *amīr* and of how he bought a lucky augury from the Brahmin, how the woman, snake and frog appeared, and the *amīr*'s son saved the frog from the snake and how they rewarded him with a good turn (the seventeenth night, p. 223).

18. Tale of the ruler's peacock and of how the Brahmin's wife killed that peacock (the eighteenth night, p. 237).

19. Tale of the hermit's daughter and of how three men wooed her and how she died on her wedding night (the nineteenth night, p. 247).

20. Tale of the lion and his four viziers: the peacock, the partridge, the raven and the jackal (the twentieth night, p. 257).

21. Tale of how [the wife of the *amīr*] saw a narcissus, how the roasted bird laughed because of this and how Gulkhandān, the table-companion of the *amīr*, laughed mightily in prison (the twenty-first night, p. 267).

22. Tale of Bakrmaghār's ruler, his wife Kāmjūy, and of how the fish laughed in her presence, how the child Māshālla, born without a father, explained the fish's laughter, and of the murder of 84 men (the twenty-second night, p. 281).

23. Tale of the ruler Jāmāsb, his wife Māhnūsh and of how the parrot and the jackal discussed in their presence the virtues and flaws of men and women (the twenty-third night, p. 295).

24. Tale of the two demons of the desert and of how each of them praised to the other his own wife and how the thief resolved their quarrel (the twenty-fourth night, p. 309).

25. Tale of Shāpūr, *amīr* of the frogs, his sworn brotherhood with the snake, of the victory won by Shāpūr's kin over him, and of his vengeance with the aid of the snake (the twenty-fifth night, p. 317).

9. Tale of the son of the Zāvul *amīr* and of how he bought a good augury, how he saved the frog from the snake and how the frog and the snake proved their loyalty to him (the ninth night, fol. 59a).

10. Tale of the vizier's son, the merchant, the monk and their wives and of how the wooden parrot spoke (the tenth night, fol. 64b).

11. Tale of the sweeper who took oil from the pot and gold from the dust and of how he found a valuable jewel, how his companions stole it, and how the daughter of Bhoj-Rāja returned [it] (the eleventh night, fol. 70a).

12. Tale of the merchant and his wife, Shahr-Ārāy, and how fear of her husband caused her to speak out in the presence of her beloved (the twelfth night, fol. 76a).

13. Tale of the ruler's peacock and of how the Brahmin's wife was accused by her adopted sister of killing the peacock and of the ruse which the Brahmin's wife employed (the thirteenth night, fol. 80a).

14. Tale of the hermit's daughter and of her three husbands, of how she was buried and how [her] husbands took her from the grave and how she came back to life (the fourteenth night, fol. 84a).

15. Tale of the false husband, the chastity of the wife of the merchant Manṣūr and of the dishonour which befell the false husband (the fifteenth night, fol. 88a).

16. Tale of the ruler of Syria and of how he released the parrot and how the parrot brought him the fruit of life from the source of Darkness (the sixteenth night, fol. 93a).

17. Tale of the ruler's good deed and how the sea came to his feast and brought gifts and how the ruler gave them to the Brahmin (the seventeenth night, fol. 98a).

18. Tale of the gathering of 80 scholars and of how they studied the natural qualities of the ruler's son by playing on musical instruments (the eighteenth night, fol. 104a).

19. Tale of the origin of music, the qualities of musical instruments and of how they were invented and used (the nineteenth night, fol. 108a).

20. Tale of the lion and the cat and of how the kitten killed the mice and later repented of this (the twentieth night, fol. 112a).

21. Tale of the ugliness of Banāris, the ruler's son, of the beauty of his wife and of how she fell in love with a young scoundrel (the twenty-first night, fol. 116b).

22. Tale of the lion, his four viziers and the Brahmin whom two of the viziers praised and two defamed (the twenty-second night, fol. 120b).

23. Tale of the *amīr*'s wife, of how she saw a narcissus, how the roasted bird laughed and how the table-companion smiled (the twenty-third night, fol. 125a).

24. Tale of Bashīr and of how he fell in love with Jānda, how an Arab was beaten and how he achieved his aim with the help of Jānda's sister (the twenty-fourth night, fol. 129a).

25. Tale of Kāmjūy and of how the fish laughed, of the perspicacity of the child who did not have a father and of the murder of 80 people (the twenty-fifth night, fol. 133b).

26. Tale of Zarīr the weaver and of how he set out for Nīshāpūr to earn money and how he returned to his native city empty-handed (the twenty-sixth night, p. 327).

27. (Lacuna in the text).

28. [Tale of the lynx and the lion] (the twenty-eighth night, p. 337).

29. Tale of the woman and her children and of how they were attacked by a tiger and she saved herself and her children (the twenty-ninth night, p. 347).

30. Tale of the blue jackal (the thirtieth night, p. 355).

31. Tale of Khūrshīd, the wife of the merchant Ṣā'ed, whose great beauty brought her difficulties in life (the thirty-first night, p. 365).

32. Tale of the three viziers of the ruler Māhlār, of Hamīdūn — the son of the senior vizier, Sayāra — daughter of the second vizier, and of their love (the thirty-second night, p. 375).

33. Tale of the daughter of the Kābul merchant, her three suitors and of how the *jinn* stole her from them (the thirty-third night, p. 381).

34. Tale of the love of the Brahmin and the daughter of the ruler of Babylon and of how they achieved their aim with the help of a magician (the thirty-fourth night, p. 391).

35. Tale of the ruler of Kāshghar and a merchant from there and of how he gave his daughter in marriage to the governor of the city, how the ruler fell in love with her and how he displayed modesty in this (the thirty-fifth night, p. 399).

36. Tale of the son of the Sīstān *amīr*, the white elephant, the blunt-nosed viper and how the *amīr*'s son served the serpent (the thirty-sixth night, p. 405).

37. Tale of the woodpecker, the princeling, the frog, the bee and the elephant and of how the elephant ruined the descendants of the princeling and how the latter wrought vengeance upon the elephant with the aid of his friends (the thirty-seventh night, p. 411).

38. Tale of the merchant from Nīshāpūr, his wife by the name of Shahr-Ārāy and of how the merchant found her with her beloved (the thirty-eighth night, p. 417).

39. Tale of the ruler of China and of how he thought to take the Rūmī queen for a wife and how the vizier painted his portrait in her palace (the thirty-ninth night, p. 423).

40. Tale of how the ass sang and the brushwood merchant danced (the fortieth night, p. 430).

41. Tale of the son of the merchant from Termez and of how his infatuation with his wife led him to neglect his trade (the forty-first night, p. 439).

42. Tale of the friendship of the duck and the crow and of how the crow tried to become a duck and how they resolved a quarrel between four peasants (the forty-second night, p. 453).

43. Tale of how the ruler of Tarhūṭ held a feast, of his daughter and son and the old musician (the forty-third night, p. 461).

26. Tale of the ruler Jāmāsb and his wife Ma'ṣūma and of the conversation between the parrot and the *sharak* on the virtues and flaws of women and men (the twenty-sixth night, fol. 138a).

27. Tale of Shāpūr, *amīr* of the frogs, of his victory over [his] foes, the vengeance of the serpent, the repentance of Shāpūr and his separation from his kinfolk (the twenty-seventh night, fol. 143a).

28. Tale of Zarīr the weaver and of how he set out seeking wealth, returned home empty-handed and listened to the story of the horse and the jackal (the twenty-eighth night, fol. 147a).

29. Tale of the potter and of how his origins were revealed and how the ruler chose not to deprive him of his protection (the twenty-ninth night, fol. 151b).

30. Tale of the lion, the lynx and the monkey and of how the lynx seized the lion's lair and how its ruses and cunning saved it from the lion (the thirtieth night, fol. 155a).

31. Tale of the woman and her children and of how she was attacked by a tiger and saved herself and her children from it (the thirty-first night, fol. 159b).

32. Tale of the blue jackal and of how he came to rule the wild beasts and how the jackal's deeds brought him misfortune (the thirty-second night, fol. 163b).

33. Tale of Khūrshīd, the wife of 'Uṭārid, of the three youths and of the misfortune which befell Khūrshīd as a result of her beauty and perfection (the thirty-third night, fol. 167b).

34. Tale of the ruler and the three viziers, of the son of one of them and of the two daughters of two others and of the love and friendship between them (the thirty-fourth night, fol. 173a).

35. Tale of the daughter of the Kābul merchant and her three suitors, of how the peri abducted the girl and how she was returned to the suitors (the thirty-fifth night, fol. 177b).

36. Tale of the love of the Brahmin and the Babylonian queen and of how they achieved their aim thanks to the efforts of a sorcerer (the thirty-sixth night, fol. 181b).

37. Tale of the son of the Zāvul ruler, the merchant's daughter, the governor of the city and of how the ruler and the vizier both fell in love (the thirty-seventh night, fol. 185b).

38. Tale of the son of the Sīstān *amīr*, the white elephant, the black serpent and how the *amīr*'s son served the serpent and what was the result (the thirty-eighth night, fol. 190a).

39. Tale of the princeling, the woodpecker, the frog, the elephant, and the bee and of how the princeling wrought vengeance on the elephant with the aid of his friends (the thirty-ninth night, fol. 194a).

40. Tale of the ruler of China and of how the vizier painted his portrait in the palace of the queen of Rūm and how the queen agreed to become the ruler's wife (the fortieth night, fol. 197a).

41. Tale of how the ass sang and how the brushwood merchant danced (the forty-first night, fol. 202a).

42. Tale of the merchant's son from Termez and of how he grew infatuated with his wife and gave up his trade, of how the parrot and the jackal advised him and how he returned to his trade (the forty-second night, fol. 206a).

43. Tale of the serpent, his wife and how the ruler cut off her tail with a sword when he saw that she was harsh with her young (the forty-third night, fol. 213a).

44. Tale of the elephant bitten by a scorpion, the old, experienced jackal and of how the lion, snow leopard, jackal and monkey came (the forty-fourth night, p. 471).

45. Tale of the four youths from Balkh and of how the sea gave them as a gift eight sparkling jewels (the forty-fifth night, p. 479).

46. Tale of the ruler of Marw, of the dīw, the sheep and the monkey and the jewel necklace (the forty-sixth night, p. 487).

47. Tale of the Khwārazm merchant and the barber and of how he saw in a dream his success in the form of a monk, how he met that monk in actual life and how the monk turned to gold (the forty-seventh night, p. 499).

48. Tale of the four men from Balkh and of how they each received a shell from a monk and how they found four different loads of ore (the forty-eighth night, p. 507).

49. Tale of Bakrmajār's ruler and the vizier's son; of how the ruler set off for the underground city, how he returned to his city and brought the daughter of Fīsāgūr (the forty-ninth night, p. 517).

50. (Lacuna in the text).

51. (Lacuna in the text).

52. (Lacuna in the text).

44. Tale of the Indian ruler who had one son and one daughter and of how the children planned to kill their father (the forty-fourth night, fol. 218a).

45. Tale of the *amīr* and the serpent which wound itself around his belt, about the serpent's ingratitude and death (the forty-fifth night, fol. 222a).

46. Tale of how Khujasta had a dream and how the parrot interpreted it; tale of how the ruler Ujāyyīnī set out for the underground city (the forty-sixth night, fol. 226b).

47. Tale of how four faithful friends went to a scholar, how he gave them four magical beads, how three found treasure and how the fourth returned empty-handed (the forty-seventh night, fol. 235a).

48. Tale of the youth from Baghdad and of how he fell in love with a slave-girl musician and then sold her to a young Hashimite, repented of this and in the end achieved his goal (the forty-eighth night, fol. 238a).

49. Tale of the ruler and of how he saw ears of wheat, and of the three brothers (the forty-ninth night, fol. 244a).

50. Tale of the ruler who did not know grief and of how he sent matchmakers to the daughter of Caesar, how the latter refused him and how the matter led to war (the fiftieth night, fol. 248a).

51. Tale of the Bahrām and his two viziers, Khāṣṣ and Khulāṣa, and of how the daughter of Khulāṣa obtained justice (the fifty-first night, fol. 254a).

52. Tale of the hermit and his wife, story of the seven-coloured bird, of how the seven-coloured bird was killed for the sake of love, how the hermit returned and how his wife was shamed (the fifty-second night, fol. 18a).

A comparison of the 48 *dāstāns*-nights [26] which have reached us in the *Jawāhir al-asmār* with the 52 stories in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* reveals that 43 of them (in the *Jawāhir al-asmār*: 1—23, 25—26, 28—41, 47—49) were borrowed by Nakhshabī and included in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* after a significant re-working one can term editorial-authorial. He retained their subject and plot nearly in full. We note that only five of the *dāstāns* of the *Jawāhir al-asmār* (24, 42, 44—46) were replaced by others, either composed by Nakhshabī himself or borrowed from other sources. As concerns the remaining four *dāstāns* (27, 50—52), we can only guess at how Nakhshabī dealt with them, for, as was noted above, the copy published by Shams al-Dīn Āl-i Aḥmad was defective and gives us no opportunity to judge the contents of the last stories. In this fashion, only nine *dāstāns* (in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 8, 24, 29, 43, 48—52) are not represented in our edition of the *Jawāhir al-asmār*; five of them were undoubtedly penned by Nakhshabī, we cannot speak of four others with the same surety at the present.

It seems entirely possible that Nakhshabī arranged as he saw fit the *dāstāns* he selected from his predecessor's work. According to copy C 121 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the *dāstāns* of the *Jawāhir al-asmār* are found in the following order in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 1—7, 17, 9, 11, 38, 18, 19, 16, 8, 10, 12—15, 20—23, 25—26, 28—37, 39—41, 43, 47, 49, 48. On the other hand, the *dāstāns* in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* correlate to the tales in the *Jawāhir al-asmār* as follows: 1—7, 16, 10, 17, 11, 18—21, 15, 9, 13—14, 22, 23, 25—26, 27—28, 30—39, 12, 40—42, 44—45, 47, 46.

We list below in table form the relevance of the *dāstāns* in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* and *Jawāhir al-asmār*.

Table

Ṭūṭī-nāma	*Jawāhir al-asmār*	*Ṭūṭī-nāma*	*Jawāhir al-asmār*	*Ṭūṭī-nāma*	*Jawāhir al-asmār*	*Ṭūṭī-nāma*	*Jawāhir al-asmār*
1	1	14	19	27	25	40	39
2	2	15	16	28	26	41	40
3	3	16	8	29	lacuna	42	41
4	4	17	10	30	28	43	no equivalent
5	5	18	12	31	29	44	43

Continuation of the Table

Ṭūṭī-nāma	*Jawāhir al-asmār*	*Ṭūṭī-nāma*	*Jawāhir al-asmār*	*Ṭūṭī-nāma*	*Jawāhir al-asmār*	*Ṭūṭī-nāma*	*Jawāhir al-asmār*
6	6	19	13	32	30	45	47
7	7	20	14	33	31	46	49
8	no equivalent	21	15	34	32	47	48
9	17	22	20	35	33	48	no equivalent
10	9	23	21	36	34	49	no equivalent
11	11	24	no equivalent	37	35	50	lacuna
12	38	25	22	38	36	51	lacuna
13	18	26	23	39	37	52	lacuna

It is possible that the order of the *dāstān*s borrowed by Nakhshabī from the *Jawāhir al-asmār* may have been somewhat different than that cited above, as it was based on a certain copy rather than a critical edition. Moreover, we note that the eight copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (B 258, B 2345, B 2438, B 3959, C 118, C 119, C 120, and C 121) present significant discrepancies in the order of the 52 *dāstān*s [27].

So what was Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī's task after he had agreed to the proposition of "a certain grandee" and began reworking his predecessor's work, striving to "gladden the lords of the art of speech"? He retained the context-establishing plot device of the first *dāstān*: the purchase by the merchant's son of a talking parrot for 1,000 dinars (3,000 in Nakhshabī's version); the parrot can see ten days into the future; the parrot foretells the arrival in three days of a caravan for fragrant grasses and advises that they buy up all of them in the city, as a result of which the merchant's son grows rich; their conversations on the virtues of overseas trade and the departure of the owner, ablaze with this idea. He changed the names of the characters, so that Ṣā'id (صاعد), the merchant's son, became Maymūn, and his young wife, Māhshakar, became Khujasta. Nakhshabī significantly shortened all of the borrowed *dāstān*s (no less than 43), eliminating the excessive repetitions and weighty prolixities which apparently reflected the influence of the language of the original, thus rendering both the work's form and content compact and elegant. This process improved the work's language as well, making it lighter and more elegant. One should underscore, however, that he did not change either the basic plot lines of the *dāstān*s, nor the specific plot of any. A number of *dāstān*s which were not, in his opinion, suitable, he omitted and replaced with new ones (no fewer than five). Moreover, in the re-working process, he omitted 17 introductory tales and parables from 14 *dāstān*s (cf. the following *dāstān*s from the *Jawāhir al-asmār*: 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 15 (two), 17, 21, 22 (two), 26, 32, 33, 47 (two), 48) and added no fewer than three newly written tales (cf. in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 13, 31, 37) [28].

Furthermore, he replaced with his own verses all poetic citations from the *dīwān*s of Persian poets, which his predecessor had used widely with the aim of adorning and varying the narrative [29]. Arabic verses suffered the same fate, except that they were not replaced, but simply removed in the overwhelming majority of cases [30]. Similarly, the 90 quotes from the Qur'ān, 174 *ḥadīth*s and other Arabic utterances cited by 'Imād b. Muḥammad were abridged by more than half.

Nakhshabī is honest when he reports in the foreword to his work that he "adorned and varied the introduction and conclusion of each tale". In fact, the introductions and conclusions of all of the *dāstān*s he retained were practically re-written, and only in a few cases did he limit himself to insignificant corrections (cf. the *dāstān*s in the *Jawāhir*: 30, 49, and 33 (only the conclusions) and correspondingly in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: 32, 46, 35 [31]). In this regard, it is curious to note that in the majority of cases, he picks up on the idea of the introduction or conclusion and so artfully reworks it that it acquires an entirely different coloration and resonance. For example, in the introductions and conclusions which precede and follow every *dāstān*, Nakhshabī everywhere performs variations (as does 'Imād b. Muḥammad, incidentally) on the theme of the sun, the appearance of the moon in the heavens, the advent of twilight and night, the dawn, the first rays of the rising sun, the uncertain sounds of the awakening city, etc. but does this more assuredly, with greater variety and elegance than the latter.

The main characters did not escape alteration in Nakhshabī's version. In some cases the names of characters were changed: aside from the heroes of the context-establishing *dāstān*, we note in *Jawāhir* (22) a boy by the name of Māshālla who bears the name Ibn al-Ghayb in Nakhshabī's version (25). In the 23rd *dāstān* of the *Jawāhir*, the daughter of a Syrian ruler is called Māhnūsh, and in the first inserted story we find Manūchihr and Farangīs, in the second — Hazārnāz, the merchant's wife; in the corresponding *dāstān* of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (26) we encounter Ma'ṣūma, Mumtāz and Maymūn, Hamnāz (cf. also *dāstān*s 8 and 16, 21 and 23, 31 and 33, 32 and 34, 33 and 35, 36 and 38, and others). In other cases he not only gave different names to characters but replaced some characters with others (cf. 10 and 17, where the counselors of the sea are a sea serpent, a whale, a turtle, a crab, a crocodile and a frog; 20 and 22, where in the role of the lion's viziers we find a gazelle, a wild goat, a wolf and a jackal). Nakhshabī very frequently changed the scene of action both of an entire *dāstān* and of the minor inserted tales included in it (cf. 2 and 2, where the action takes place not in Khūzistān but in Ṭabaristān; 7 and 7, were we find the ruler of Bihilzān, and not Pīlistān; in the context-establishing story the caravan arrives not from Bābul, but

from Kābul; see also 21 and 23, 23 and 26, 34 and 36, and others).

One should note that, in an attempt to make the stories more engaging, Nakhshabī permitted himself compositional rearrangements and changed the order of the narrative and plot development in the *dāstān* itself, as well as the order of the inserted stories (cf. 13 and 19, where the order of the inserted stories on the origins of music and musical instruments is altered; 18 and 13, where a new story told by a monk is introduced, changing the composition of the entire *dāstān*; cf. also 23 and 26, 26 and 28, 41 and 42, 47 and 45).

We pause on a curious feature which is to a certain degree typical of the reworking undertaken by Nakhshabī. We have in mind here the chronological and quantitative categories which he left unchanged to a significant degree: days, months and years; number of characters; costs of items, etc. (cf. the context-establishing *dāstān*: the parrot can foretell ten days into the future, predicts the caravan's arrival on the third day; 18 and 13: the award for the murdered peacock is set at 10,000 dinars; 34 and 36: the *lāk* rupees gift for the "daughter-in-law"; 36 and 38: the ruler's son serves the serpent for six months, the ruler has 1,000 elephants, the white elephant is rabid for seven days; see also 40 and 41, 48 and 47, and others).

Thus, to sum up our brief analysis of the reworking Nakhshabī performed on his predecessor's work, one can say that Nakhshabī completed the assignment of "a certain grandee" with such mastery, so little cliché, and such professionalism, that one can hardly term his contribution a "reworking". We are, rather, within our rights and will be closer to the truth if we view and classify two specific aspects of his work: firstly, as an editor, who in outstanding fashion reworked a previously written work; secondly, as an author of the original stories and *dāstān*s with which he replaced the stories and *dāstān*s he removed from 'Imād b. Muḥammad al-Na'rī's *Jawāhir al-asmār*. This resulted in the creation of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, which brought its author world-wide fame, but which represented a second, mediated reworking of the Indian "Tales of the Parrot" in Persian.

In conclusion, we present some remarks on the Turkish translation [32]. According to W. Pertsch and A. Alimardonov, it was completed by a certain Sarı Abdallah efendi (d. 1661) at the order of one of the Ottoman Sultans [33]. It is held to contain 30 *dāstān*s-nights ("approximately 75 large and small tales" [34]), translated from Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*. In principle, the Turkish translator [35] added nothing new in his method of abbreviation and translation, a translating method familiar to us from many similar translations from one Eastern language into another. The translation contains 40 *dāstān*s-nights, which include 73 inserted small and large tales (among them, the full version of the 43rd *dāstān* of the Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, subordinated compositionally to the 42nd *dāstān* as the third inserted tale — the parrot's response to 'Ubayd, the merchant's son from Termez). All of these *dāstān*s are not delineated in any special fashion, but are marked by an introductory device — the parrots answer's to Māhshakar's questions. The translator significantly reduced the quantity of inserted stories, altered the composition of the nights in a number of instances, and altered many characters' names and the place of action in comparison to the original. All of the *dāstān*s he translated, including the 41st, can be found, with certain modifications, in Nakhshabī's *Ṭūṭī-nāma*. Their order in accordance with the copy C 121 is as follows: 1—7, 16, 10, 17, 11, 18, 19, 21, 15, 9, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25—26, 28, 30—32, 34—37, 12, 40—43, 45—49, 52.

Moreover, a comparison of the Turkish translation with the *Jawāhir al-asmār* and the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* gives all reason to suppose that in the course of his work the translator had recourse not only to the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* but to its predecessor. Though he preferred the former, he undoubtedly checked himself against the latter. Only this can explain the fact that in the context-establishing *dāstān*, he preserved the names of the heroes which we find in *Jawāhir al-asmār*, for they were changed in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*: a merchant by the name of Sa'īd, his son Sā'id (in *Jawāhir* — Ṣā'id), and Māhshakar, the latter's wife. Later, a number of character names and places of actions are preserved in the translation in accordance with the *Jawāhir al-asmār* (cf. *dāstān*s 1, 2, 3 (the first inserted story), 7, 8, and others). Finally, in the concluding *dāstān*, where the merchant returns and learns the truth, he forgives Māhshakar anyway, as apparently took place in the *Jawāhir al-asmār*, rather than killing her, as occurs in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* [36].

The order of *dāstān*s in the Turkish translation, when compared to the *Jawāhir al-asmār*, provides some food for thought on the actual order of the *dāstān*s adopted by the author of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*. 34 *dāstān*s from the *Jawāhir al-asmār* (1—13, 15—23, 26, 28—30, 32—35, 38—41) correspond to *dāstān*s 1—34 of the translation. This order in the translation gives rise to the thought that Nakhshabī left the order of *dāstān*s found in *Jawāhir al-asmār* practically unchanged. He apparently placed the *dāstān*s which he composed where omitted *dāstān*s had stood. The order of *dāstān*s found in the Turkish translations cannot, in our view, be accidental, as the translator had at his disposal, in all likelihood, some fairly old and reliable copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma*.

Notes

1. This text of fourteenth-century Persian entertaining literature was first analysed in detail by W. Pertsch in a thorough article in 1867. The conclusions reached by the German Orientalist retain their scholarly significance to this day, see W. Pertsch, "Ueber Nachschabi's Papagaienbuch", Bd. XXI, *ZDMG* (1867), pp. 505—51. In recent times, A. Alimardonov has dedicated a special study to Nakhshabī and his work; it is the most complete of all studies on this question, see A. Alimardonov, *Ziiauddin Nakhshabi i ego "Tuti-name"* (Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī and his *Ṭūṭī-nāma*), Abstract of PhD thesis (Dushanbe, 1970.) The Abstract has no mention of Pertsch's work.

2. According to Alimordonov (see Abstract of his thesis, p. 15), various repositories in the world hold 85 copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* (37 in the USSR). In our view, however, this number should be increased by 15—20 manuscripts held in state and private collections in India, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey and the USA, which only became known to specialists through catalogues published after 1970. Cf. also

the information cited by Ahmad Monzavi on copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* in his *A Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* (Tehran, 1973), v, pp. 3729—31. We note in this regard that the oldest of the currently extant copies of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* is held in the library of Istanbul University (Halet effendi No. 90) and was copied on 13 Muḥarram 955/23 February 1548. As for A. Alimordonov's mention of two copies dated 994/1586 (Abstract, p. 15), this is an obvious misunderstanding: this is the same manuscript. It was first mentioned in the auction catalogue of the A. Sprenger collection — A. Sprenger, *A Catalogue of the Bibliotheca orientalis Sprengeriana* (Giessen, 1857), No. 1617 — and later described by W. Pertsch in his *Verzeichniss der Persischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1888), p. 986, No. 1027, after which it was purchased by the Royal Library in Berlin in 1857 as one of the 1,972 manuscripts which made up the Sprenger collection.

3. *Ziia ad-din Nakhshabi, Kniga popugaia* (Ḍiyā al-Dīn Nakhshabī, "Book of the Parrot"), trans. from Persian into Russian by E. E. Bertels (Moscow, 1979), pp. 18—9. Cf. also manuscript C 118 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2a—b; see also Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

4. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

5. See Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, p. 506.

6. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 16, where an incomplete bibliography on the question is listed; it is, naturally, limited by the scope of the Abstract of his thesis.

7. All known reworkings in Persian (with the exception of Abū l-Faḍl b. Mubārak in the sixteenth century), including poetry, are noted in Pertsch's *Verzeichniss*, pp. 506—7; see also, Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 32.

8. On translations into Eastern languages, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, pp. 507—8 (incomplete information); also Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 30—3 (exhaustive summary). On translations into Western languages, see Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, pp. 508—11 (with detailed analysis); also, Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

9. The only copy which has reached us is, unfortunately, defective; it can safely be dated to the mid-fourteenth century.

10. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—8.

11. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār* (Book of the Parrot. Gems of Nocturnal Conversations), az 'Imād b. Muḥammad al-Na'rī. Ba ihtimām-i Shams al-Dīn Āl-i Aḥmad. Intishārāt-i Buniyād-i farhang-i Īrān (Tihrān, 1352/1973). The publisher's Foreword occupies pages 19—60 (separate pagination). This unique copy, undoubtedly made in the mid-fourteenth century, is stored at present in the Majlis library (No. 6680) in Tehran. Unfortunately, the copy is defective: a lacuna in the middle stretches from the end of the 26th night to the beginning of the 28th night; the text breaks off before the end of the 49th night. Thus, entirely missing are nights 27, 50—52; partially missing are nights 26, 28, 49 (Foreword, p. 31, n. 1). In the text, the work is termed *Jawāhir al-asmār*; *Ṭūṭī-nāma* is a conjecture of the publisher.

12. In the text — النعرى (Foreword, Table 1). The publisher (Foreword, p. 52), noting the indicated spelling of the *nisba*, "with complete certainty" reads الثغرى, surmising that it originated from the city of الثغر, which is "not far from the province of Kirmān on the shore". We are inclined to read "al-Na'rī", deriving it from the name of the Arab tribe which settled in Iran not long after the Arab conquest of that land.

13. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār*, the Tehran publication, Foreword, p. 32, text, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 33. Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn died on 5 January 1316. For this reason, 'Imād b. Muḥammad's work could have been completed during the period we indicate.

15. We were unable to discover any information about our author in the historical chronicles written in India in the fourteenth—fifteenth centuries, including the *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī* drawn up by Ḍiyā al-Dīn Baranī in 758/1357. This work contains a special section on various figures of the age of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān Khaljī (1296—1316). See *The Tárikh-i Feroz-Sháhi of Ziaa al-Dín Barní*, ed. by S. Ahmad Khan (Calcutta, 1862), text, pp. 342—67. — Bibliotheca Indica.

16. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār*, the Tehran publication, Foreword, pp. 33—4.

17. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 33, text, p. 11.

18. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 33, text, p. 12.

19. *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. 34, text, p. 13.

20. In all likelihood, our author speaks of (i) a prose translation of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* from Arabic into Farsi completed by Abū-l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh Munshī in 1144 for the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh, see *Tarjama-yi Kalīla wa-Dimna, inshā-yi Abū-l-Ma'ālī Naṣrallāh Munshī*, taṣḥīḥ wa tawẓīḥ-i Mujtabā Mīnuwī Tihrānī, chāp-i duwwum (Tihran, 1343/1964); (ii) the *Sindbād-nāma*, created in the twelfth century by Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ẓahīrī al-Samarqandī, who likely reworked a translation of the *Sindbād-nāma* completed already in 951 at the order of Abū Muḥammad Nūḥ b. Naṣr Sāmānī from Arabic into Farsi by Khwāja 'Amīd Fanārūzī, see Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ẓahīrī al-Samarqandī, *Sindbād-nāma*, ba ihtimām wa taṣḥīḥ wa ḥawāshī-yi Aḥmad Atesh (Istanbul, 1948). On the Nafḥat al-Rayḥān we have no accurate information.

21. Defect in the manuscript.

22. The first is the "patriarch of Persian poetry", Abū 'Abdullāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm Rūdākī Samarqandī (d. 329/941), see A. T. Tagirdzhanov, *Rudaki. Zhizn' i tvorchestvo. Istoriia izucheniia* (Rūdākī. His Life and Writings. The History of Examination) (Leningrad, 1968). This is the most complete study of its type, with an exhaustive bibliography and critical analysis of the Eastern sources, as well as numerous works on the poet. The second is Ḥassān b. Thābit b. Muqẓir, originally from Yathrib (Medina), who died about 659. He was widely known as a poet even before the advent of Islam and is usually considered Muḥammad's "poet-laureate", as he glorified the latter in his verses and was the founder of religious poetry in Islam. For more detail, see W. Arafat, "Ḥassān b. Thābit", *EI*^{2}, vol. III, fasc. 45—46, pp. 271—3.

23. A bird of the starling family.

24. An interesting remark by our author, once again confirming that Indian literature knew several such collections.

25. *Ṭūṭī-nāma. Jawāhir al-asmār*, the Tehran publication, pp. 15—8.

26. The edition contains a total of 48 *dāstāns*. The last is numbered 49, since No. 27 was naturally included in the numbering, although it has not reached us because of a lacuna in the text.

27. See *Persidskie i tadzhikskie rukopisi Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR. Kratkiĭ alfavitnyĭ katalog* (Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences. Concise Alphabetical Catalogue), pt. I (Moscow, 1964), pp. 376—7, Nos. 2883, 2885—2891. As an example, we cite the correlation between the *dāstān*s in manuscript C 121 first with the copy C 118 (undated, but fol. 1a contains a note about its entering the library of the Great Moghūls dated Jumādā II 1105/February 1694), and then copy C 120 (dated to 1273/1856—57, Central Asia): 1—7, 10—15, 8, 16—21, 9, 25, 22, 24, 27—35, 37—39, 26, 40—48, 23, 49—52 (C 118 contains 51 *dāstān*s, the 36th is missing); 1—8, 16, 10, 17, 11, 18, 21, 15, 19—20, 9, 13—14, 22—23, 25, 24, 26—27, 29—36, 37—39, 28, 12, 40—52 (all 52 *dāstān*s are contained in C 120).

28. In the edition of the *Jawāhir al-asmār*, all introductory stories are numbered straight through, in total, 86 of them are indicated. According to Alimardonov (*op. cit.*, p. 22), the "52 *dāstān*s of the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* contain more than 119 large and small stories".

29. The Tehran edition of *Jawāhir al-asmār* (pp. 690—709, 711—4) indicates 531 (taking into account four repititions on pages 40 and 201, 57 and 116, 114 and 198, 149 and 508) separate *bayt*, *rubā'ī*, *qiṭ'a* and *mathnawī*, as well as 88 separate *miṣrā'*s. Alimardonov notes in the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* "308 *qiṭ'a*s, 11 *bayt*s, 3 *mathnawī*s, and a number of *miṣrā'*s" (Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 28).

30. The edition indicates (pp. 685—7) 84 Arabic poems: 15 *qiṭ'a*s and 69 *bayt*s. Alimardonov (*op. cit.*, p. 28) reports that the *Ṭūṭī-nāma* contains 1 *qiṭ'a* and 6 *bayt*s in Arabic.

31. In future juxtapositions, we indicate only the numbers of the *dāstān*s; *dāstān*s from the *Jawāhir al-asmār* are always listed first.

32. We used two editions of the translation: *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, maṭba'at Dār al-Salṭanat al-thanīa (1256/1840); *Kitāb-i Ṭūṭī-nāma* (Kazan, 1851).

33. See Pertsch, *Verzeichniss*, p. 507, also Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 30. The editions of the translation indicated contain neither the translator's nor the patron's names. The name of the translator is Sarı Abdullah efendi, indicated in the Bulak edition (Cairo, 1253/1838), see *Journal asiatique*, vol. 2 (1843), p. 48, No. 138.

34. Alimardonov, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

35. See the 1840 edition, p. 285.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 3—8, 284—5; *Ṭūṭī-nāma*, manuscript C 188 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 137b.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VI. EMERGENCE OF THE CANON: THE STRUGGLE FOR UNIFORMITY*

In previous papers in this series we have attempted to show that the Qur'ān, born in inner Arabia, was not only the natural result of the religious and social development of Arabian society, but also reflected the deep-laid links which tied the culture and religious and social ideas of the Arabians to the culture and historical experience of the peoples of Anterior Asia.

It was, after all, only superficially that Arabia was part of the "barbaric periphery" of the civilised world. Over a period of centuries, it was not only surrounded by highly developed states, but formed a part of them to a certain degree. One can recall in this regard Nabatea, Hatra, Palmyra, the states of ancient Southern Arabia, the chain of semi-nomadic kingdoms which stretched along the caravan route from Yemen to Iraq (Kinda, al-Azd, Ghassān, Nizār and Ma'add, Tanūkh), the Ḥimyarite state and the "new" Kindian kingdom, the attempt in the 560—570s to create a new Bedouin Hath'amite or Khuzā'ite kingdom, dependent on Ṣan'ā', "in the manner of Kinda" [1], the vassal principalities of the Ghassanids and Lakhmids. The latter, as we know, moved actively toward the South. In the sixth century, somewhere in the Ḥulubān region lay the border between the Lakhmid and Southern Arabian zones of influence. Finally, in the sixth and early seventh centuries, Southern Arabia was administered at first by an Ethiopian and latter by a Persian governor. Central Arabia then covered by savannah plant growth, over a period of nearly two millennia ensured trade connections between the most developed countries of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Commercial colonies were created and thrived in the ports of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. One should not forget that in the Northeast, linguistically and culturally Arab tribes inhabited the area between the rivers in Mesopotamia, penetrated to the plains of Khūzistān, and in the Northwest roamed the plains of Syria and the Transjordan. It is no accident that Ptolemy, following the ancient scholarly tradition, included in Arabia Felix all of Central Arabia and a part of Northern Arabia.

This Arabians' historical memory preserved legends about the "ancient peoples", tracing lines of cultural continuity. Social practice and ideas of power were rooted in a layer of historical experience common to many peoples of Anterior Asia. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the content structure of the Qur'ān coincides in its basic outlines with the structure of Phoenician sacred literature and Old Testament. We see, on the whole, records of myths, historical narratives, and prophetic texts.

The Arabian "prophetic movement" was a natural stage in a pattern of social and ideological development typical of the Near East. One can easily find Old Testament parallels (for example, Psalms 15 [14]; Amos 8, 5—6; Parables 23:10—11) for certain accusations of those who "trangress in the balance" (55:8), "devour usuary" (2:275) or "approach the property of the orphan" (6:152) typical of Qur'ānic utterances.

Over thousands of years, the belief took shape in the Syrian-Palestinian region that all work for the ruler, all activity for his benefit, including service at court or as a high-ranking military leader, was unacceptable from the point of view of society's basic values. All work for the ruler was viewed as slavery (see Judges 9:8—5, 1 Sam [1 Kings] 8:11—18). In accordance with beliefs based on clan-tribal democracy (recorded, as we have seen, in the Qur'ān), only the most worthless and useless person could hunger for ruling power and strive to oppress and trample others beneath him [2].

I. Sh. Shifman has shown how the Qur'ānic mythologem of Allah, which summed up the extended preceding development not only of Arabian but also of Anterior Asian Semitic mythology, was rooted in deep Near Eastern antiquity [3]. Such basic Qur'ānic mythologems as *garden—paradise—dwelling of God* had clear parallels in the ancient Near East ("And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden" (Genesis 2:8), in the gardens of Adonis of Phoenicia, in the veneration of local gods in the gardens of Palmyra).

* Tables for the current article were prepared by Maria E. Rezvan.

As we have seen, many of the concepts connected with the *hājj* go back to the most ancient layers of Semitic mythology. We recall the basis for the Israelites' demand to be released from Egypt — the necessity of performing a pilgrimage to the desert (*hag*) to venerate the supreme divinity — the similarity, if not identity, of the role and sacred status of the spring of Zamzam and the spring of Efka in Palmyra. The emergence of the cult of the Ka'ba displays numerous parallels with Hananic-Amoritic materials connected with the cult of the stars [4].

The Qur'ānic ban on the consumption of wine (a habit which, according to ideas current in Near Eastern antiquity, was characteristic of city-dwellers) goes back to ancient beliefs common to the entire Near East, where nomadic life was idealised. The ban on eating pork — general throughout the ancient Anterior Asian Mediterranean — was violated only when pigs were sacrificed. The Qur'ānic ban goes back to a set of beliefs inherited from deep antiquity and common to the northwestern and Southern Semites [5].

Numerous studies have shown that it is, in principle, impossible to reveal the direct sources of borrowing for Qur'ānic tales and parables [6]. Those echoes of canonical and apocryphal Biblical texts as well as the parallels with post-Biblical Judaic and Christian traditions which made their way into the Qur'ān were an inalienable part of Arabian culture. The latter, in turn, represented part of a unified cultural world. The Qur'ān was a part of that whole; furthermore, it is Qur'ānic evidence which allows us to attain an understanding of many important features of the whole.

The Qur'ān was the manifesto of an internal religious-political movement which grew out of the centuries-long historical experience of Arabia. History has shown, however, that both the pathos of the Qur'ānic message and its concrete component parts were a response to the spiritual needs of all of Anterior Asia, as the ancient world-view collapsed and medieval society emerged. Thanks to the military and political victories of Islam and the latter's ability to absorb the foreign and the new, the Qur'ān was fated to take a position at the center of one of the leading forms of ideologically conceiving reality in the medieval age.

In the course of the socio-ideological processes which accompanied Arab-Muslim expansion, the Qur'ān assumed a prominent place in all spheres of social life. It became the main source of religious injunctions and social institutions, ethical and cultural norms and standards of social interaction. The Qur'ān heralded the emergence of a qualitatively new, shared system of signification; members of the Muslim community conceived of themselves and of the world in its terms. The sacralisation of Qur'ānic language played an important role in the formation of a new socio-communicative system on the territory of the caliphate. The study of the Qur'ān by Muslim theologians and linguists, occasioned primarily by the need for a uniform reading and understanding of the Sacred text, led to the emergence of an entire spectrum of scholarly disciplines.

Muslim civilisation began with the denial of what was termed the *jāhiliyya*. However, as we have seen, the Islam of Muḥammad and the first four caliphs — Qur'ānic Islam — was connected by thousands of threads to the culture, world-outlook and traditions of the preceding age, ally. All the same, scholarly attention long ignored the profound and genuine gulf which separated "classical Islam," which was created in Iraq and Syria in the eighth—tenth centuries and accumulated many cultural achievements of the peoples who inhabited states conquered by the Arabs, from "Arabian" Islam. A new age began with the success of the Arab conquest, when Islam became the ideology of a society, which found itself at a different level of cultural development; Islam had to answer to new needs and requirements. It is, however, important to note that the impressive successes of Islam as an ideology would not have been possible without a deep-laid link tying the culture and religious and social beliefs of the peoples of Anterior Asia and the Middle East to the culture and historical experience of the Arabians. The synthesis, which then took shape, rested not only on common, basic values, but also on an all-encompassing group of personal beliefs shared both by conquerors and conquered.

Among the newly converted were people who had received a profound and multi-faceted education within the framework of the former religious and cultural tradition. Those Arabs who settled on the conquered territories very quickly adapted to new cultural horizons and took part in collective cultural work. To the *aqlām* of these people belong hundreds of works which made up the golden library of Islamic religious thought and which formed not only the "face" of "classical" Islam but also the ideological code which was taken up by the peoples of the Near and Middle East during this key period in the region's history.

Muslim authorities, who oriented themselves with impressive speed in the sea of religious and political teachings which roiled in the Eastern Mediterranean, took active part in the ideological conflicts of their time. The basic assertions of Islamic dogmatics took shape both as a result of intra-Islamic conflicts and in the course of polemics with representatives of other religious teachings.

Thus, the Islamic renunciation of figurative art was a consequence of a general tendency which arose in the sixth century and which concluded in the heightened disapproval with which Judaism and Christianity viewed the veneration of divinity with the aid of images wrought by hand. The latter came to be seen as concessions to heathen beliefs. The identification of God with Logos — the Word — framed the question of His necessary symbolic representation. Discussions within Judaism, the iconoclastic movement in Christianity and, finally, the ban toward the end of the eighth century on figurative depictions first in mosques and later in Islamic art in general reflected, in sum, the struggle between two tendencies, which had long coexisted in the religious thought and social consciousness not only of the Mediterranean peoples, but also in a significantly broader chronological and geographical perspective [7].

The analysis of a broad range of early epigraphic materials (in particular from: Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock; Cairo, the nilometer and the *madrasa* of Sulṭān Ḥasan; Damascus, Maristān Nūrī) convincingly shows that depictions of Qur'ānic fragments — "pictures of the Word of God" — performed in mosques the same function as did the murals of Christian churches [8]. They were an original sign system, which described, in particular, a religious-mythical view of the world.

The advancing thrust of Muslim armies went so far that the conquests soon spread far beyond the borders of Anterior Asia. In the vast expanse from the Pyrennes to the Pamirs, the states of the Muslim Middle Ages arose on the ruins of the state formations of late antiquity. For millions of people, this signified a fairly rapid shift (in the course of two to three generations) in basic cultural orientation.

The uniqueness of the process was that a new ideology, in essence, was being created on the basis of an incontrovertible law — the Qur'ān — which reflected the internal characteristics and problems of Arabian society. It was in the course of this process that the enormous adaptational potential of the teaching, which rested on the cornerstone of Muḥammad's message, manifested itself.

In conditions of a predominant non-Arab element in the territories which had entered the Muslim empire, conditions of an encounter with states endowed with "Scriptural religions", one of the most important tasks undertaken by the bearers of the new ideology was the codification of the Sacred text. We recall that the very existence or absence of a Holy scripture in the national language was one of the key ethno-consolidating and ethno-differentiating factors for inhabitants of Arabia [9]. The creation of a "competitive" Book was thus directly connected with the formation and affirmation of an Arab nation as such.

1

According to Muslim tradition, when Muḥammad died he left no collection of his revelations in any official form. There is some evidence that during his last years he began assembling the revelations to produce a Scripture (*al-kitāb*) like that of the Christians and Jews. He died before he was able to complete this task, but *vita durante* portions of the revelation were written down by various persons in the community. The tradition has recorded the names of those who gathered the revelations of the Prophet during his lifetime and independently of him. Among them are ʿAlī, Sālim, and Abū Mūsā. Muḥammad's followers memorised both entire revelations and parts of them, and used some portions of the text for liturgical purposes.

The history of the Qur'ānic text after Muḥammad's death is inextricably bound up with the most important events which affected the Muslim community and the caliphate. Naturally, after the Prophet's death, several of his followers immediately undertook an effort to gather all known revelations. Various sources indicate that in the twenty years following Muḥammad's death at least five versions of such a text appeared.

The decision to draw up a composite text of the Qur'ān was taken at a critical time for Islam, when many tribes had taken a stand against the power of the caliph and a struggle was underway to affirm Meccan preeminence in Arabia. It was then that the Muslim community first grasped the need to gather and preserve the divine wisdom and leadership, which Muḥammad provided in the revelation and which guaranteed the victory of the cause during the Prophet's lifetime. The so-called *al-ṣuḥuf al-bakriyya* appeared then; they were, according to tradition, gathered by the Prophet's secretary, Zayd b. Thābit at the order of Abū Bakr, Muḥammad's successor.

The second stage of work on the text is connected with the needs of a different period when victorious Muslim armies had swept over Iraq, Syria and Egypt. The spread of Islam over vast territories and the emergence of regional centres to administer the provinces of a far-flung state all demonstrated in rapid fashion the need for an "edition" of a text of the Qur'ān which would be the same for all readers. According to Muslim sources, it was in such centres as Mecca, Medina, and Damascus, al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra that local traditions of transmitting the text arose. These traditions are linked to the names of those of Muḥammad's companions and the first collectors of his revelations whom fate had scattered among the cities enumerated above. Thus, the tradition holds that Ḥumṣ and Damascus followed the variant of Muʿadh b. Jabal, al-Kūfa followed Ibn Masʿūd, al-Baṣra Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī (d. 662), Syria as a whole Ubayy b. Kaʿb [10]. The various versions of the text differed from each other in the number and order of the revelations, in certain words or expressions, in the omission or addition of certain words or phrases, and in a few orthographic features, etc.

Variant readings of the Sacred text threatened to ignite schisms within the Muslim community, especially since disagreements about the right to supreme power had already set off a bitter internal struggle. This danger was exacerbated by the fact that Muslims on the conquered territories had already come into contact with a veritable sea of religious doctrines and teachings. Against this backdrop, the third "rightly guided" caliph, ʿUthmān, undertook in Medina, where for obvious reasons the tradition was most fully represented, to produce the collection uniform for the entire community. This text (*imām*) was gathered between 650 and 656 by a special board headed by Zayd b. Thābit and was based on one of the versions preserved in Medina, though it took into account other records, the correctness of which was confirmed by two witnesses. Carefully checked copies of this text were distributed to the most important political and administrative centres of the caliphate [11].

The tradition holds that the caliph ʿUthmān, in an attempt to guarantee complete uniformity, ordered that all copies which differed from the version distributed be burnt. Although ʿUthmān's initiative was supported by the community as a whole and the version created under Zayd b. Thābit's direction encountered approval, other texts did not vanish at once. Not all were prepared to obey the caliph's order unconditionally, surrendering for destruction their most precious possession. Ibn Masʿūd refused to carry out the order, announcing, according to tradition, that he had been gathering the Qur'ānic text when Zayd was still in the womb of a heathen mother. Moreover, many still carried in their memory texts of the Qur'ān which differed somewhat from the *rasm ʿUthmānī*. Memorisation remained the main method of preserving and transmitting the Sacred text. The sources have preserved traces of resolute opposition to the very idea of a written record of the text as doomed to reproduce mistakes.

The characteristic features of the period when the Qur'ān existed in *both written and oral form* determined the difficulties which Muslim authorities encountered as they developed rules for recording a uniform text of the Qur'ān [12].

And finally, the appearance and eventual confirmation of vowelling in the Qur'ān — the emergence of a uniform text in the full sense — was inextricably linked to the pointed ideological debates which took place in Muslim society in the eighth—tenth centuries.

In codifying the Sacred text, it was imperative for the Muslim community to complete several tasks:

— to develop a graphic form of the Qur'ānic text (*rasm* or *khaṭṭ, kitāb, kitāba, kataba*) acceptable to all authorities;

— to introduce a system of diacritics (*'ajm, i'jām, naqṭ*) and vocalization (*shakl, ishkāl, tashkīl, ḥarakāt*, sometimes also *naqṭ*) and to establish a single vocal form (*ḍabt* or *lafẓ, nuṭq*);

— to establish uniform rules for recitation (*qawā'id al-qirā'āt*), as even after the solution of the first two problems, the possibility of ambiguity remained (for example, marks were needed to indicate an obligatory full stop (*waqf tamm*) or an impermissible "revolting" pause (*waqf aqbaḥ*) in reading, in order to avoid distorting the text).

Work on the grammatical basis of the Arabic language became especially timely with the precipitous growth in the number of non-Arabs among Muslims. The real danger of distortions in the Arabic language arose; this was necessarily reflected in believers' understanding of the Sacred text and led to mistakes in its recitation.

In order to create a unified redact of the Qur'ānic text, it was imperative not only to investigate the basic grammar of Arabic and to develop an apparatus for the written representation of the text; political will and authority were needed as well. At first, this need was answered by the will and authority of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Alī. Later, it was the initiative of two outstanding Iraqi governors — Ziyād b. Abīhi (d. 675) and al-Hajjāj (d. 714) — and the protection of two influential *wazīrs* in the caliphate — Ibn Muqla (d. 940) and Ibn 'Īsā (d. 946).

Muslim sources tell us that variants of the text (*al-qirā'āt*) based on discrepancies in the indication of a word's consonantal roots or of entire phrases existed among Muslim scholars up until the tenth century. Clearly, only those variants, which had a certain philological or theological significance, remained. It is also evident that such variants could and did serve as vitally important arguments in ideological polemics. This, in turn, stimulated the "fabrication" of variants, which arose from attempts at "necessary" interpretations of the Sacred text [13]. It should, however, be recognised that, on the whole, the distribution of the *rasm 'Uthmānī* reduced variants in the Qur'ānic text to a minimum and that the first of the above-noted tasks was completed.

Arabic writing at that time represented only the consonantal basis of a text, and even then retained a certain degree of variability: the same sign could be used to indicate several letters. Dots above and below the letters were apparently used even before Islam to differentiate letters with the same form. They have been established on two papyri dated to 643 [14], but were not used regularly [15].

Moreover, the consonantal root could be vowelled in the most varied fashion. Various systems developed in centres of Muslim scholarship, primarily the Iraqi cities of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, arose and disappeared [16]. Grammatical systems (*madhāhib*) developed in competition with one another; they arose within the framework of an initially unfactionalised group of religious and legal disciplines which shared general approaches and terminology [17]. At that time, famed "readers" (*al-qurrā'*) were also famed grammarians, for example, Ibn Abī Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 735—36) or Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 770). The generation of the Prophet's grandchildren and great-grandchildren gradually succeeded in creating an elegant system of signs above and below the line which permitted a shift from a *scriptio defectiva* to a *scriptio plena*. A tradition which possibly goes back to one of the Baṣran philologists insistently connects the first stage of this process with the name of Abū 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī (Dīlī) (d. 688). A secretary, *qāḍī*, military commander and poet, this man from the circle around 'Alī is known as the founder of *'ilm al-naḥw*. Tradition connects Abū 'l-Aswad's work first with an initiative of 'Alī and later with instructions from the noted Umayyad governor and sworn brother of Mu'āwiya, Ziyād b. Abīhi, who ruled the entire Eastern section of the caliphate. Important for us is not so much the name of the concrete individual who carried out the initiative — in the current case, Abū 'l-Aswad — as the way the tradition treats the roles of 'Alī and Ziyād b. Abīhi. The former must have understood the importance of further work on the unification of the Qur'ānic text, both for the cause of Islam and for his own reputation. As for Ziyād, a faithful servant of the Ummayyads who was famed for his intelligence and decisiveness, he was precisely the man to grasp, on the basis of state and dynastic interests, the imperative of continuing work on the text of the Scripture [18]. It is possible that at this stage the heart of the matter was the necessity of using already existing diacritical marks in copying the Qur'ān.

At the second stage, the tradition no less insistently foregrounds the role of another equally powerful, decisive and intelligent Ummayyad governor, al-Hajjāj (d. 714). With an iron hand he quelled the dissent which tore at the fabric of the caliphate and also wrote to the caliph messages in verse which became models of the genre. Al-Hajjāj instructed his clerks, Naṣr b. 'Āṣim (d. 707) and Yaḥyā b. Ya'mūr (d. 746) to bring to completion the development of a system to designate long and short vowels as well as a number of additional elements in the writing system [19]. It is important to note that such work encountered opposition, especially in Medina, where it was felt that such texts were acceptable only for children learning to read. Progress toward a *scriptio plena* threatened to reduce the significance of Qur'ānic readers (*qurrā'*), who knew the text by heart and were recognised by society as the main bearers of the tradition. An initiative of al-Hajjāj is credited with leading to the division of the Qur'ānic text into 30 equal parts (sing. *juz'*) for liturgical purposes [20].

Curiously, this same time period (seventh—ninth centuries) was witness to the activities of the Mazorites, who developed a system for vowelling the Hebrew conso-

nantal alphabet in order to ensure a uniform understanding of the books of the Old Testament.

The development of a writing system and the establishment of a grammatical system were completed, for the most part, by the end of the ninth century. One of the manuscripts from this period which has reached us, the *Ḥadīth Dāwūd* by Wahb al-Munabbih, dated to 844, already contains a collection of vocalization signs [21].

At this time, Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 786—87 or 791) developed and introduced additional diacritical signs. His pupil, the noted "Baṣran" Sībawayhi (d. 796), the grammarians al-Aṣma'ī (d. 828), Abū 'Ubayda (728—824/25), Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 830/31), pupils of the above-noted Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 770), and the "Kūfan" al-Farrā' (d. 822) created works which marked the Arab grammarians' success in codifying the elements of language and the completion of an orderly grammatical system. Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* contains an innumerable quantity of Qur'ānic examples. The grammar was created for the sake of the Qur'ān, but relied on it as well.

In the ninth century, the centre of scholarly activity shifted from al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa to Baghdād, capital of the caliphate. The business of translation thrived there, famous philosophers, exegetes and lawyers worked there, a grammatical school which brought together elements of previous systems arose there, the eminent grammarians al-Mubarrad (d. 900) and his pupil al-Sarrāj (d. 928) created there their famous works. And there, the beginning of the tenth century was marked by several attempts to achieve a new level of unification in the Qur'ānic text. Three works entitled *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* were dedicated to the problem of *al-qirā'āt*. Their authors were Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 928) [22], Ibn Anbārī (d. 938/39) and Ibn Ashta al-Iṣfahānī (d. 970—71). The main role, however, would fall to Ibn Mujāhid (859—935), a pupil of Ibn Abī Dāwūd. A noted authority on the Qur'ānic sciences, who as the people believed, read the Qur'ān even in his grave, worked in Baghdād and enjoyed the successive protection of two extremely influential grand *wazīr*s, Ibn Muqla (famous reformer of the Arabic calligraphy) and Ibn 'Īsā, whose power and influence can be likened to the power of a regent to the caliph.

Ibn Mujāhid's work bore the title *Al-Qirā'āt al-sab'a* ("The Seven Readings"), pretended to near official status and established a system of permissible Qur'ānic "readings". The system proposed in the work relied on the consonantal basis of the "'Uthmānic version" and limited the number of systems of variant vowellings of the text to seven; these belonged, correspondingly, to seven authorities of the eighth century. All of them were acknowledged as equally lawful; the use of other variants (*al-ikhtiyār*), however, was forbidden.

It is important to note that after the appearance of Ibn Mujāhid's work, which rejected the use of variants from the copies of Ubayy b. Ka'b and Ibn Mas'ūd in interpretation, the implementation of this point of view began to take place with the aid of court decisions (the "cases" of Ibn Miqsam in 934 and Ibn Shannabūdh in 935). The latter (d. 939) was whipped at the order of *wazīr* Ibn Muqla and forced to renounce the six variants in the reading of the Qur'ān in the following words: " I had read texts differing from the text going back to 'Uthmān and approved by companions of the Prophet. I see clearly now that they were wrong. I atone my mistake and renounce my opinion, for the text of 'Uthmān is the right text which no one should reject or call into question" [23]. Such persistence in the struggle against "non-canonical" readings can be explained by the fact that the use or invention of textual or orthographic variants of the Qur'ānic text was inextricably linked with the development of Muslim exegesis and, finally, with ideological conflicts within Arab-Muslim society.

The seven groups of variants of the Qur'ānic text — readings (*al-qirā'āt*) — approved by Ibn Mujāhid, reproduced the predominant practice in various areas of the caliphate such as Medina, Mecca, al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa. The latter was represented by three "readings". For each tradition, two slightly different variants of its transmission (*al-riwāya*) were noted. Although this system gradually became very widespread, other views continued to exist. Some Muslim authorities spoke of traditions of the ten "readers", each of which was also passed down in two versions; others spoke of fourteen, noting, however, only one variant for the last four. These systems are known as "three after seven" and "four after ten". In practice, however, only two of the systems noted by Ibn Mujāhid became wide-spread: the Kūfan — *Ḥafṣ* (d. 805) *'an 'Āṣim* (d. 744), and, to a lesser degree, the Medinan — *Warsh* (d. 812) *'an Nafi'* (d. 685) [24]. The "Battle of the readings", which had hardly any effect on the understanding of the text, was accompanied by pointed polemics which, in sum, were a reflection of serious ideological and political disagreements within the Islamic community.

In 1007—08, an incident involving the *muṣḥaf* of Ibn Mas'ūd, which once again raised the question of the 'Uthmānic version of the Qur'ān, led to unrest in Baghdād and clashes between Sunnis and Shi'ites.

On the night of Sha'bān 14—15, 398/April 24—25, 1008, a certain Shi'ite in Kerbela publicly denounced the "person who burned the *muṣḥaf*," meaning by this, as is quite evident, the caliph 'Uthmān, whom the Shi'ites rebuke for supplanting the *imām* 'Alī, persecuting 'Abdallāh b. Mas'ūd, and ordering the destruction by fire of Qur'ānic texts which differed from his own. The caliph ordered the arrest and execution of the heretic. The ensuing unrest was halted only after the caliph and the Buwayhid *amīr* intervened at the request of prominent individuals in Baghdād. A special commission appointed by the caliph came to the conclusion that the version of Ibn Mas'ūd represents an unacceptable distortion of the Qur'ānic text [25].

Among the surviving manuscripts of the Qur'ān are copies which note several parallel variant "readings". They possibly go back to the attempt by Abū Mūsā al-Qazwīnī to copy the text with dots of various colours to indicate different readings [26]. One such copy is held in the Jewish National Library (Jerusalem) (see *Plate 1*, p. 49) [27].

This was a period of growing disappointment in the state and in official Islam. The uprisings of the ninth—tenth centuries challenged the power of the caliphate: "the truth has appeared to the world, the *mahdī* has risen, the power of the 'Abbāsids, the jurists, the readers of the Qur'ān and the preachers of the tradition is coming to an end ..." The empire seethed. In 930, the Qarmatians spirited away the black stone of the Ka'ba, in 939 the "concealment" (*ghayba*) of the Shi'ite *imām* began, the message of the Ismā'īlī *du'ā* attracted thousands of followers, Ismā'īlī exegetes interpreted the hidden (*bāṭin*)

meaning of the Qur'ān, and the dawn of the New Persian literary language, into which the Qur'ān was translated, began. Finally, in 945 the Shi'ite Buwayhids seized Baghdād. The power of the caliph was abruptly diminished.

The final stage of work by Muslim authorities on the unification of the Qur'ānic text took place under entirely different historical conditions and we will discuss it later.

Even after Ibn Mujāhid and the stabilisation of the system of readings, however, it remained possible to understand the Sacred text in more than one way. The system, which had been developed, did not provide for anything analogous to punctuation.

Within the then existing system, it became possible to solve the problem within the framework of the science of Qur'ānic recitation (*'ilm at-tajwīd*), the system "which codifies the divine language and accent of Qur'ānic recitation in terms of rhythm, timbre, sectioning of the text and phonetics" [28].

In the foreword to an edition of the journal of the American Academy of religion (Dec. 1980) entitled "Studies on the Qur'ān and Tafsīr", the editor, A. Welch, sets forth his conception of the three main forms of the Qur'ān's existence: as a theological conception, as a text read during everyday services and, finally, as Scripture. Welch indicates that the second aspect of the Qur'ān's existence, its oral form — extremely important to any Muslim and, consequently, Islam as a whole — has received entirely insufficient attention from Western scholars. Somewhat earlier, W. Graham noted the need to study the Qur'ān as the "'living word' among Muslims". R. Martin sees in the study of this aspect of the "Qur'ān's existence" a possibility to reduce to a minimum "cross-cultural conflict between Muslim and non-Muslim specialists" [29].

Graham, Welch and Martin were not the first to call attention to the importance of this problem. In 1970, G. von Grunebaum noted that it had evidently remained unclear that until a certain moment in the seventeenth century, Islamic culture, like Western culture, expressing a preference for hearing over sight, and had valued the spoken above the written word, at first for theoretical reasons, and later as a consequence of its psychological effect [30]. One of the most important differences between the Qur'ān and Old and New Testament texts is that the former is a medium of ritual contact with God to a degree which significantly exceeds the analogous functions of Scripture not only in Christianity, but even in Judaism [31]. Constance Padwick, the author of an interesting work on Muslim prayer compilations, has noted that in Muslim worship, the Qur'ān is both Psalter and lectionary; its style predominates in all acts of prayer said aloud [32].

The history of how the tradition of *'ilm at-tajwīd* took shape, which is linked both to the unmediated reading of the Qur'ān — *'ilm al-qirā'āt* — and with etiquette of reading, has not yet been written, although a large literature has emerged in recent years on this aspect of the Qur'ān's existence [33]. It was closely bound up with the mystical-ascetic movement in Islam later to be termed *al-taṣawwuf*, which emerged in the second half of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries, and with the practice of Islamic ascetics (*zuhhād*, sing. *zāhid*) and zealots (*'ubbād*, sing. *'abīd*), and Ṣūfīs (*ṣūfī, mutaṣawwif*).

In parallel with the codification of the Qur'ānic text, the rules of its recitation were transformed into a canon, the bases of ritual conduct connected with the reading of the Sacred text (external etiquette) were set [34], the requirements of internal etiquette, connected with achieving a specific state for recitation and with immersing oneself in the text, were established [35], questions connected with the rhythm of breathing during recitation and means of pronouncing the text in the context of that rhythm were worked out. The recitation of the Qur'ān was intended, in essence, as a ritual return to the act of its revelation. "Each who wishes to refresh the Qur'ān by reading it in the manner in which it was sent down must read it as [did] this son of the 'mother of a servant' (that is, the mother of Ibn Mas'ūd)" [36].

Tradition holds that the first to write a special work on *'ilm at-tajwīd* was a contemporary of Ibn Mujāhid, Mūsā b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Khaqān al-Baghdādī (d. 936) [37]. As the eighth book of al-Ghazālī's famed work *Kitāb adab tilāwat al-Qur'ān* ("The Resurrection of the Sciences of the Faith") indicates, by the twelfth century, this system had already been worked out in detail and accepted by the community [38]. At that time, numerous copies of the Qur'ān which contained a set of specially developed signs appeared [39]. The set of 15 pausal signs employed by Qur'ānic readers was going back to the detailed system developed and introduced by Khalīl b. Aḥmad.

The rules for reading the Qur'ān (*qawā'id al-qirā'āt*) described in detail questions of the assimilation and dissimilation of consonants, the influence of consonants on the pronunciation of the following vowel, and the placement of accents in phrases and in accordance with meaning, etc. Understandably, the placement of pauses (*waqf wa ibtidā'*) was especially important, for it was the pause indications which filled the role of punctuation, guaranteed the intelligibility of each *āya*'s semantic content and links between them as a whole, and regulated the reader's breathing [40]. For example, in 23:115, pausing after the verb "calls" completely distorts the meaning: "And whosoever calls upon another god with God, whereof he has no proof...". Alternately, the failure to come to an obligatory full stop at the boundary between the 19th and 20th *āyāt* of the ninth *sūra* also distorts the meaning: "God guides not the people of the evildoers // Those who believe, and have emigrated..."

Although the tradition has retained information on 10 or 17 pauses which were observed by the Prophet himself [41], the system which was later developed did not rest on an *isnād* and thus did not go back to the practice of the Prophet himself or that of his closest companions.

On the whole, the system, which resulted, was very detailed, but was "by no means a complete notation system for recitation. These presume a thorough knowledge of the rules and serve only as a reminder" [42]. As a result of a long process of selection, five styles of recitation emerged as the most popular and frequently employed *taḥqīq, ḥadr, tartīl, tadwīr,* and *mujawwad* [43]. The interests of the readers (*al-qurrā'*) did not suffer: the new system was sufficiently complex that it required extended, specialised training to master it, as had the initial, extremely simple system.

This, in short, is the history of the Qur'ān's textual establishment as reported to us by the Muslim tradition. The research and findings of recent years convincingly demonstrate that the works of medieval Muslim authorities as well as works based on them by European scholars of the late nineteenth century and first half of the

twentieth century reveal only a part of a significantly more diverse and contradictory history of the Sacred text's fixation.

A discussion of J. Wansbrough's "Qur'ānic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation" by such specialists as A. Rippin, J. van Ess, E. Ullendorf, R. Paret, L. Nemoy, W. A. Graham, R. Serjeant, G. H. A. Juynboll, I. J. Boulatta, E. Wagner, K. Rudolph, and others [44] showed that research based on the Muslim tradition is no longer capable at present of providing unambiguous answers to questions connected with the early history of the Qur'ānic text.

The main problem, in our view, is the fact that the study of the Muslim tradition took place in isolation from the description and study of actual Qur'ānic manuscripts. This gap led, in large part, to the methodological crisis which Qur'ānic studies experienced in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Moreover, a substantial number of the Qur'ānic fragments which have reached us contain unique information on the initial period of the Sacred text's existence. It is already clear today that this true history preserved by early copies will differ significantly from the history which rests on the Muslim tradition and which was summarised above.

2

The study of extant Qur'ānic manuscripts shows that the tenth century was marked by fundamental changes in the history of the Qur'ānic text. In addition to the appearance of Ibn Mujāhid's work, it was then that new forms of Qur'ānic script began to spread; they were distinguished by greater decorative embellishment in comparison to their predecessors. Primary among them were "Eastern *kūfī*" (the oldest dated copy is from A.D. 972) and cursive *naskhī* (the oldest dated copy is from A.D. 1001) [45].

Writing itself, taking into account the phonetic structure of the Arabic language, arose in Northern Arabia around the fifth century A.D. on the basis of Syriac and Nabatean. Before then, Southern Arabian writing had been used in the South of the peninsula and varieties of Aramaic in the North [46]. The medieval historical tradition names Lakhmid al-Ḥīra as the birthplace of the new writing system. However, the earliest texts were discovered in parts of Syria historically linked to the Ghassanids [47], while examples of Mesopotamian Arabic writing from the pre-Islamic period have not yet been found. One can assume that two varieties (scripts) of Arabic writing arose at practically the same time. In areas near the Syrian border, a script, which would later be called *ḥijāzī*, came into use; the script, which received the name *kūfī*, arose in the Lakhmid capital, al-Ḥīra, al-Kūfa's predecessor [48].

All Qur'ānic manuscripts of the seventh—tenth centuries which have reached us can be divided into two unequal groups. The first group, the earliest and significantly smaller, consists of manuscripts in *ḥijāzī* style. These copies date from the seventh to the beginning of the ninth centuries. Manuscripts conditionally assigned to the second group continue to be called *kūfī*. Fr. Déroche has recently proposed a new term to designate this stylistic category: the 'Abbāsid tradition [49]. Taken as a whole, the manuscripts of *ḥijāzī* style and the 'Abbāsid tradition, which existed in its main manifestations until the beginning of the eleventh century, should reflect the true history of the fixation of the Qur'ānic text.

The cursive script of early Islamic business documents on papyrus is very close to *ḥijāzī*. It was evidently used in pre-Islamic Mecca for business correspondence. In time, this style gradually evolved, becoming more and more regularised, and by the end of the seventh century it could be used in the inscriptions which adorn the Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem. A new stimulus for the development of this type of Arabic cursive appeared after the decision of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik in 697 to use Arabic as the empire's official language [50].

The growing influence of Iraq in the caliphate, the initiatives of Iraqi governors in connection with the codification of the Qur'ānic text, the authority of Iraqi theologians and grammarians (three of the seven *qirā'āt*, accepted by al-Mujāhid, are linked to the *kūfī* tradition, one to the Baṣran) led to the gradual eclipse of *ḥijāzī* and the predominance of *kūfī* as a special style for copying the Scripture.

Early copies of the Qur'ān confirm that at the beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity, Arabia was already familiar with books and that Arabic writing was at that time sufficiently developed to convey texts of great volume and complexity. Comparisons of traces from the beloved's abandoned campground with pages covered in writing had become a commonplace in pre-Islamic poetry: "writing in a book of Yamani palm bark", "books whose pages are filled afresh by the reed pens", "lettering on parchment", "characters like those written by a Yamani slave", "like unto the lines dashed off by a Jewish scholar in Taimā' writing Hebrew with his right hand", etc. [51]. It is quite probable that Biblical texts written in Arabic existed. A legend holds that the Lakhmid Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir possessed a work which contained verses written in his honour [52].

According to the tradition, various materials were used to record the message of the Prophet at that time. Chief among them were parchment (*riqq, raqq*, see Qur'ān 52:3) and papyrus (*qirṭās*, from the Greek *chartēs*, see Qur'ān 6:7, 91). The basic term used in the Qur'ān to designate writing material is *ṣaḥīfa* (pl. *ṣuḥuf*). In pre-Islamic poetry, the term could mean "skin", "the surface of the face" [53]. In the Qur'ān, the terms *raqq* and *ṣuḥuf* could combine with derivatives of the root *nshr* ("unroll", "spread out") (52:3; 71:52) to mean scrolls.

Also used for writing were skins (*jild*), especially narrow strips akin to belts, and cuttings of palm leaves. Undoubtedly, these materials could have been used as the means at hand of recording individual revelations, especially at the beginning of Muḥammad's prophetic activity. The tradition also mentions flat rocks, wood tablets, and the shoulder blades and ribs of animals. It seems, however, that this tradition, intended to paint a vivid picture of Islam's "heroic youth" "oversimplifies" the residents of Mecca and Medina. It is possible that materials, which fell to hand were in fact used, but only because of the expense of parchment, which, according to observations based on early copies of the Qur'ān, must have been available in Arabia at the inception of Islam.

According to one of the traditions, *ṣuḥuf* ("leaves") of the first recorded Revelation formed a *muṣḥaf* ("book", "codex"). *Ṣuḥuf* were kept between wooden boards (*lawḥāni* or *daffatāni*).

By the seventh century, the main material for writing in the Near East was parchment. Goat, sheep, and gazelle hides were used in its production. The codex, which was vertical in format, had already replaced the scroll by the fourth century, a change occasioned by the spread of parchment. Even so, single-quire codices ceased to be produced after the fifth century [54]. Naturally, the first Arabic books, and these were copies of the Qur'ān [55], resembled in basic form their Coptic and Syriac predecessors, although they were possibly somewhat larger.

The absolute majority of Qur'ānic manuscripts dated to this period were copied on parchment. The parchment was sometimes dyed. This was how the orange-red or famed Blue Qur'ān, fragments of which are scattered in various collections [56], appeared. An insignificant number of fragments on papyrus has survived [57]. Parchment copies are offset by a large number of manuscripts copied from the first half of the tenth century onward in Eastern *kūfī* and later *naskhī* on Samarqand paper, which spread throughout the East of the Muslim world from the beginning of the tenth century on just as papyrus had spread in Egypt [58].

The absolute majority of these manuscripts are copied in codex form. Qur'āns copied in *ḥijāzī* are, as a rule, in vertical format, common for Near Eastern books in that period; *kūfī* copies are, in the majority, in horizontal format. The latter possibly betrays the influence of the horizontal format of Qur'ānic inscriptions in the interiors of mosques. But even leaving aside such considerations, the very script reveals a characteristic which to a certain degree demands the placement of text on material of a horizontal format — long, broad horizontal strokes, which lend the general character of the representation a certain amount of movement, despite the overall static nature which typifies *kūfī* script. Without horizontal format, these lines would be out of proportion. As long as this characteristic of the script was retained, the format was also retained. It is possible that the arrangement of worshippers in rows in the mosque also played a role; in churches, by way of contrast, with their extended spaces, worshippers filled the entire area of the structure. The horizontal arrangement may have been associated by Muslims with sacral functions [59].

Another possibility is more interesting. Despite the obvious validity of the observations introduced above, the appearance of the horizontal format, so typical of *kūfī* Qur'āns, coincides with the tendency to assert to the "specialness" of Islam. The holy writings of the Christians were codices in vertical format; the holy books of the Jews were scrolls. And while scroll copies of early Qur'āns have been recorded, they clearly stand apart from the basic tendency [60]. Codices of horizontal format would have underscored the distinction between the Sacred book of the Muslims and the Scriptures of both Christians and Jews during the period of successful initial conquests when the Muslim religious, legal, and dogmatic system was emerging in constant contact with the corresponding systems of the "peoples of the Book". Muslims were already distinguished by the *qibla*, the *adhān* as a call to prayer, the fast month of Ramaḍān, and Arabic as a sacred liturgical language... Evidently, it was necessary at a certain moment to emphasise the "independence" of Islam in the choice of a format for its Sacred book [61]. The stimulus for this may have emerged in Iraq during the period of al-Hajjāj's somewhat unclear initiatives. These circumstances may explain both the eclipse of "profane" *ḥijāzī* by monumental *kūfī*, which allowed one to identify the Sacred text, and the appearance of the horizontal format, which permitted the identification of one's own Sacred text. The large size, special script and horizontal format would have set apart the Sacred text from ordinary Arabic books, which were appearing in ever larger numbers at that time. The horizontal format was widely employed until at least the tenth century. New writing material (paper) gradually [62] brought new scripts into being [63] and occasioned the return of the vertical format. It is important to note that by the end of the tenth century, the need to stress constantly the "specialness" of Islam had disappeared. Islam was already fully formed as an independent religious and political system and was "recognised" as such by its neighbours. From the eleventh century onward, elements common to the copying of "profane" books were used more and more frequently in formatting Qur'āns.

The basic element in parchment copies of the Qur'ān of horizontal format (we know very little of vertical copies) was a quire, which consisted of five long strips of parchment folded in the middle. This produced a ten-page quire. As the horizontal, large format required long preparation and materials were expensive, "halves" came into use; these were sewn together on overlapping edges. A standard quire could be replaced either by two "halves" and four whole double folios or by eight halves and one whole double folio. The statistical material available to Fr. Déroche shows that 25% of manuscripts consisted of quires of the first type, 40% of the second type, and 35% of the third type [64].

Depending on their physical characteristics, different sides of a parchment folio were processed to various degrees. A specialist can easily distinguish the hair side from the flesh side; they differ, as a rule, in texture and colour. In order to avoid clashing textures in a quire opened to a centrefold, it was accepted practice in the European tradition to match hair sides to hair sides and flesh sides to flesh sides. In the overwhelming majority of instances, Muslim craftsmen did not follow this practice, and an open Qur'ān (with the exception of the central centrefold) usually presents the reader with a hair side matched to a flesh side. Naturally, this violated the sense of aesthetic unity. The apparent absence of attempts to deal with this problem contradicts the treatment of the centrefold as a unified and central element in the formatting of manuscripts which is so characteristic of the art of the Muslim book.

The preparation of a folio for writing usually included its preliminary ruling. The necessary lines were impressed on the parchment without ink, although ink or graphite could be used for this purpose. This practice can be observed already in the earliest examples, although traces of ruling can be discovered in far from all those fragments where the distribution of the text by definition required a preliminary ruling of the page. It is possible that scribes employed a method, which left no traces on the surface of the parchment.

Measurements of the field occupied by the text allow one to conclude that copyists were guided in their work not merely by feel, but by set parameters. Measurements of an entire group of manuscripts performed by Fr. Déroche reveal a stable ratio between the height and width of the textual field, such as 1:1.5 or 1:1.333 [65].

A fundamental problem is the dating of early copies of the Qur'ān, which has given rise to sharp discussions almost from the moment of its inception and continuing up to the present day. Typical are the exchanges between J. Karabachek and B. Moritz, as well as between M. Minovi and N. Abbot [66].

Dated copies of Qur'ānic manuscripts from the first two centuries of the Hijra are extremely rare. One such copy from the first century (98/712—13) has been established, as have two copies from the second century of the Hijra (102/720 and 107/725) [67]. A number of later copies have been dated thanks to *waqf* inscriptions. Unfortunately, such inscriptions are infrequent. In a number of cases, manuscripts may be older than extant inscriptions indicate. The oldest *waqf* inscriptions date to the second half of the third/ninth centuries (264/877—78 and 268/882) [68]. A number of manuscripts may contain on the first or last page notes about the death or birth of certain people [69]. Unfortunately, true colophons are extraordinarily rare in the type of manuscript, which interests us here.

The problem of localisation is just as difficult. The materials we possess indicate that manuscripts travelled great distances, and the place of their discovery can hardly be considered the place of their creation. Furthermore, representatives of the scholarly class were extremely mobile and might well have used their "native" *maghribī* script when working in Damascus [70].

Until recently, several methods have been used for dating early copies of the Qur'ān. Unfortunately, all have proved insufficient in answering the question of whether or not a "full" text of the Qur'ān existed in the first century of the Hijra.

Contemporary methods permit the dating of any writing materials with a window of error of 100—200 years. This is clearly insufficient for solving the problem at hand.

Most interesting in this regard is the unique experience of von Botmer, Puin and their colleagues in the group of German specialists who are studying, conserving and restoring the more than 40,000 manuscript fragments (between 12,000 and 15,000 on parchment) discovered in 1965 and 1971 during the renovation of the Great Mosque in Ṣan'ā', Yemen [71]. Moreover, of the 900 copies collected from these fragments, approximately 10% were copied in *ḥijāzī* [72].

No less significant are the results of work conducted by the French specialists J. Surdelle-Tomin, D. Surdell, S. Ori and Fr. Déroche [73], who, beginning in 1964, have published a series of works on manuscript treasures from the Great Mosque of Damascus. After a fire in 1893, these were transferred to the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art, where they awaited their hour until 1963. Among the manuscripts discovered are thousands of Qur'ānic fragments and entire copies.

Undoubtedly, the discovery of sites such as those unearthed in Ṣan'ā', Cairo, Damascus, Mashhad, al-Qayrawān and the intensive study of new materials can exert a profound influence on Qur'ānic studies, just as the findings from the Cairo *genizah* influenced Judaic studies in a most serious fashion [74]. Fr. Déroche, who has published a series of works on Qur'ānic manuscripts and has taken part in describing a number of the largest collections of such manuscripts, is today without doubt the most accomplished specialist in the field.

At the very beginning of their work, the German scholars who are studying the Qur'āns discovered in Ṣan'ā' ran up against the necessity of finding criteria for systematising and dating the fragments. By trial and error, they arrived quite rapidly at a fairly simple procedure. They counted the number of lines on each page, measured their length, established the frequency with which diacritics were employed, and analysed the characteristics of dividers between *sūra*s. As a result of this procedure, it was possible to distribute 90% of the 40,000 fragments into codices (the size varies from 5.0×8.0 cm. to 40.0×45.0 cm.). They succeeded in drawing up 750 parchment copies and around 350 copies on paper.

They also established that even when scripts displayed a high level of mutual resemblence, it was sufficient to examine the form of final *qāf* and *mīm*, which were written in a number of different fashions, in order to distinguish fragments. In one case, they were able to establish that the same fragment of the Qur'ān was copied twice by one of the copyists who lived in Ṣan'ā' [75].

Déroche further developed this approach, proposing several additions to create a typology and establish a relative chronology for the copies: to *qāf* and *mīm*, he added a set of representative letters useful in classification and comparative analysis [76] (see also *Tables 2—3*). One must bear in mind that within letters and in the ligatures, which connect various signs, the copyist may have used *mashq* techniques, which allow one to extend horizontal elements. For this reason, it is important in juxtapositions to analyse not only the sign(s), but the overall appearance of the manuscript page.

It was noted that a characteristic of handwriting in the early copies is, in particular, that the vertical elements of tall signs were written in such a way that the ends of the vertical lines almost touched the line above. Common in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts is a fairly large space between letters which cannot be connected by a ligature. In *ḥijāzī* and early *kūfī* manuscripts, *alif* is written separately not only at the beginning but in the middle of words. Moreover, an orthographic characteristic of early copies is the systematic omission of *alif*s and the replacement of *hamza* with *alif* [77]. In such form, the text served only as an aid in recitation from memory.

In the majority of early fragments, when there was insufficient space at the end of the line to finish writing a word, the scribe simply transferred the remaining part of the word to the beginning of the new line. Prof. Jeffery has noted that in papyrus documents contemporary to early Qur'āns — very important as comparative material — one finds a fairly clear tendency not to break up words. This tendency, however, hardened into established practice only toward the end of the fourth century of the Hijra [78].

The analysis of fragments found in Ṣan'ā' has convincingly shown that it is much easier to date *ḥijāzī* fragments than manuscripts written in *kūfī*. Copyists of the Qur'ān were very conservative: they continued to imitate

the handwriting of their predecessors even when those styles of handwriting had long fallen out of use. No less important are questions connected with the appearance of diacritical signs in copies of the Qur'ān. Contradictory reports from Muslim authors exist on this issue (see above). It is clear that the term *naqṭ* could designate signs of vocalisation, diacritics themselves, as well as an entire set of auxiliary signs [79].

The very possibility of using the presence or absence of diacritics to date a Qur'ān is very problematic. The Muslim tradition established a point of view which held that one should not copy a Qur'ān with vowellings or add them to existing copies. It is entirely clear that the earliest fragments were not vowelled, although instances have been established where vowelling was added to manuscripts, which had been copied earlier. Among the most conservative theologians, it was "fashionable" to copy the Qur'ān without any diacritics, and such instances have been noted in comparatively late copies [80].

One of the basic difficulties in proving an early dating for a Qur'ānic text is the rarity of textual fragments of substantial size copied in a single hand. Taking into account the comparatively small amount of text on certain pages copied in large *kūfī*, it is easy to conclude that enormous, possibly multi-volume manuscripts (up to 5,000 folios) were produced by several scribes working together, each copying part of the text.

Among the manuscripts found in Ṣan'ā', 12.5% are illuminated [81]. The main elements of decoration are various dividers which indicate the beginning and end of *sūra*s (these sometimes occupy an entire page), *āyāt*, and groups of five, ten, sometimes fifty, one and two hundred *āyāt*, as well as divisions into *ajzā'* (sing. *juz'* = $^1/_{30}$). Ornaments were based on geometric, plant and architectural motifs. Special "rosettes" sometimes marked the end of the final *āya* in a *sūra*. A border and decorations in the form of "rosettes" or "vignettes" orientated toward the edge of the page could sometimes appear in the margins. These were used as an additional means of highlighting information or doubled the "rosette" located within the textual field.

The signs, which divided *āyāt* and singled out groups of five or ten *āyāt* underwent a noticeable evolution. If in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts, these, as a rule, are groups of dots or short lines in the same ink as the main text and in the hand of the same copyist, they were later replaced by small circles and varied forms of "rosettes" which had earlier been used only for singling out large groups of *āyāt*. In setting out such "rosettes", various paints were used together with ink. A different person evidently, already carried out this work. One notes that if in *ḥijāzī* manuscripts dividers between *āyāt* were obligatory, then in *kūfī* manuscripts we find two groups: either "rich" colour dividers or none at all.

The origin of the small circles can obviously be traced back to the use of the letter *hā'*, in accordance with the *abjad* system, to designate a group of five *āyāt*. One richly adorned codex from the second century of the Hijra was discovered among the manuscripts found in Ṣan'ā'. The end of every 10, 20, 30, 40 and 50 *āyāt* is marked by a number of signs from the Arabic alphabet in their numerical function [82]. Such groups of *āyāt* were evidently indicated for purposes of correct breathing during recitation.

The presence or absence of illuminated dividers between *sūra*s cannot serve as proof in dating a manuscript. Certainly, those copies which we consider the earliest do not contain ornamented dividers between *sūra*s, and their dividers between *āyāt* are extremely simple. The end of one and the beginning of the next *sūra* was marked only by a small blank space, which at that time was common practice for delineating various sections of a commercial document or letter. Very simple ornaments, usually a composition of interwoven or intersecting lines, appeared a little later. Grohmann proposes that such ornaments go back to the tradition established by Greek and Syriac manuscripts where similar decorative elements were used to designate the beginning of a chapter or part of the text. As concerns expanded decorative elements occupying up to half of the page and more, Grohmann considers such ornaments to be largely "in imitation of the *clavi* in late-Roman fabrics" [83].

There are, however, many examples in which such ornaments were added later to manuscripts or, alternately, when manuscripts copied at a comparatively later time would imitate the ancient tradition: the copyist left a blank space between *sūra*s. For this reason one cannot use the forms and elements of ornaments employed in dividers between *sūra*s for reliable dating.

It now seems evident that the headings of *sūra*s did not immediately appear in copies: it was considered impossible to mix the Word of God (the texts of the revelations) with profane speech (headings for *sūra*s, introduced by people). The headings of a preceding or following *sūra* were frequently written in later either in the blank space between *sūra*s or on the margins or above the ornament. Subsequently, the headings became a part of the ornamental illumination itself and could include information about the number of *āyāt* and the place of the revelation. In this connection, the absence or presence of a heading is not in and of itself cause to date a manuscript: following the conservative tradition and imitating the ancient tradition, the copyist, sometimes even at the end of the third/ninth century, would leave a blank space between *sūra*s and, naturally, omitted headings.

In a number of cases, both in *ḥijāzī* (very rare) and *kūfī* manuscripts, double frontispieces have been found which indicate the beginning or end of a manuscript. These are usually compositions close to the elements of classical mosaics, which consist of simple geometrical figures symmetrical both to the horizontal and vertical axes and mirroring each other. The principle of supplementarity in decorating such frontispieces appeared significantly later. Gold, green, red and, more rarely, blue paints were usually used [84].

In an attempt to derive an additional means of dating the fragments found in Ṣan'ā', M. Jenkins of the Metropolitan Museum conducted a comparative analysis of ornaments in manuscripts (mainly dividers between *sūra*s) and decorative elements in dated examples of Muslim architecture from the second and third centuries of the Hijra. For comparison, she examined murals on ceiling consoles of the main mosque in Ṣan'ā' (they belong to the period of the mosque's restoration under al-Walīd), fragments of mosaic and decorative elements from the bronze plate which covers the straight arch over the Northern entrance to the Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem (691—692), decorations on the facade of Qaṣr al-Khayr

al-Gharbī (724—727), elements of the floor mosaics in Ḥammām al-'Anjar (714—715), decorative fragments from the Great Mosque in Damascus (705—707) and Khirbat al-Mafjar (739—743), and a cup found during excavations in Fusṭāṭ and dated to the third quarter of the eighth century. Jenkins established a large number of solid parallels between the manuscript ornaments and architectural adornments. Her analysis allowed her to draw closer to the possibility of localising the place where manuscripts were copied. The majority of the parallels were with examples of architecture in historical Syria; a part of the manuscripts, however, were, in Jenkins' view, copied in Yemen [85].

The possibility of conflicting datings for the text itself and its ornamental illuminations casts doubt on the entire methodology of such dating. It is evident, however, that the data thus received can be seen as the highest level of dating.

We know that representatives of various schools of Qur'ānic "reading" did not agree on the number of *āyāt* in a given *sūra*. It would seem that this makes it possible for us to assign a manuscript to a certain school simply by calculating the number of *āyāt*. The problem is that even a preliminary analysis of *ḥijāzī* manuscripts showed that a substantial group of actual copies fall into none of the classifications. The same scenario results from attempts to assign a given manuscript to one of *al-qirā'āt* accepted by the Muslim tradition. Moreover, the manuscripts discovered in Ṣan'ā' revealed a large number of new readings not attested by the tradition [86]. These copies have allowed us to discover sequences of *sūra*s which coincide neither with the accepted sequence nor with the order of arranging *sūra*s in the copies of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy b. Ka'b preserved for us by the tradition. Attested, in particular, are the following sequences: 19 > 22, 36 > 38, 72 > 51, 67 > 83. The existence of various orders led G. R. Puin to ask the question of whether "their existence [indicates] that most of the *sūra*s were not written down and put into approximately their final form during Muḥammad's lifetime?" [87]

Thus, it is today evident that the real history of the fixation of the Qur'ānic text attested in early manuscripts differs in extremely serious fashion from the history preserved in the Muslim tradition. Only an analysis of manuscripts will allow us to reconstruct the true history of the canon's establishment.

Early Qur'ānic manuscripts are important not only from the standpoint of the text's history. They provide us with unique material, indispensable for reconstructing the history of cultural interaction between various areas of Arabia on the eve of Islam. Primarily, these were al-Ḥīra of Lakhmids, the region around the Syrian border controlled by the Ghassanids, and Southern Arabia. These manuscripts are among the most important elements for studying the history of how the early Arabic grammatical tradition and the aesthetic conceptions of the first generations of Muslims took shape. Without studying early manuscripts of the Qur'ān, it is impossible to recreate the history of the Near East's written culture as a whole. In this connection, the introduction of new manuscript materials into scholarly circulation is of immediate and pressing interest. The Qur'ānic fragment held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) under call number E 20, significant in its volume, is undoubtedly one of the most important early copies of the Qur'ān to have reached us.

3

Manuscript E 20 was bought by the Institute in 1936. Academician I. Iu. Krachkovsky describes the story of its acquisition in his book "Among Arabic Manuscripts". In the autumn of 1936, an elderly lady appeared at the Institute, hoping to sell some odd folios of the Qur'ān. Krachkovsky's attempts to find out the origin of the manuscript encountered an obvious unwillingness of the lady to discuss the issue. This was not at all surprising, as people who offered manuscripts for sale at that time often feared that they would be confiscated. People were afraid, as Krachkovsky writes, "to advertise their kin relations to the former owners of large libraries or to compromise themselves with a connection to once famous families". The woman soon returned with several more folios from the same copy and a few books. On one of the bindings Krachkovsky noticed the initials "I. N." which he knew well, but showed no sign of his acquaintance with the "ex-libris". He continued the conversation, saying (we follow the account of the scholar himself):

"So the Qur'ān is probably also from the library of Irinei Georgievich Nofal?" "How did you know?" she whispered, pale and somewhat alarmed. I explained honestly how I had guessed, but invited no revelations. She could hardly wait for the promised sum and quickly left, as though fearing that someone would give chase. I do not know whether she indeed left the city or whether my discovery continued to torment her, but she did not return to the Institute.

In any case, I had said nothing terrible. Iriney (in Arabic, Sālim) Nofal was for many years a professor of Arabic and Islamic law at the School of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during the second half of the nineteenth century. Like most of the faculty there, he considered himself more of an official and diplomat than a scholar, but he was a diplomat of some sparkle and nearly always represented the Ministry, and sometimes the entire government, at international congresses of Orientalists. Born into a very well-known Arab-Christian family in Tripoli, Syria, he had received a typical Levantine education and spoke French fluently. During his youth in his native land, like many Arabs of his upbringing, he divided his time between commerce, representing foreign powers, and literary endeavours. In the mid-nineteenth century, literature was undergoing a certain renaissance, and Nofal even wrote several works of fiction, which enjoyed a certain success. He came to the attention of the Ministry, and was invited to replace Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī when the latter, who had taught at the School, became terminally ill. He arrived in Russia around 1860 and integrated there so well that his children never returned to their father's homeland and even forgot Arabic ... He enjoyed a successful career in the Ministry, achieved high rank and held many decorations.

The fate of his library is, unfortunately, a sad one. Half-russified, half-gallicised, his sons were educated in elite schools and belonged to the famed "golden youth" of the time. Interested neither in scholarship nor literature, they did not make careers for themselves, preferring to live at their father's expense. The gradually reached the point where, taking advantage of his advanced years, they secretly sold off his library piecemeal to booksellers. After his death, the entire library was disposed of" [88].

The manuscript which Krachkovsky acquired consists of 81 folios of high-quality parchment which make up a fragment of a vertical codex (52.5 × 34.0 cm.). The margins are upper — 1 to 1.5 cm.; lower — around 2 cm.; left margins — 1 to 2 cm.; right — around 3 cm. In thickness, the folios fall into two groups: A (0.20—0.25 mm., sometimes 0.17—0.53 mm.) and B (0.30—0.35 mm., sometimes 0.21—0.68 mm.) [89]. At present, the folios, which after their acquisition were numbered in pencil without attention to the actual order of *āyāt* and *sūras*, are stored in a large cardboard folder together with two leather covers for binding. Certain folios have preserved notes pencilled in by specialists who worked with the manuscript. The notes indicate the numbers of *āyāt* and *sūras* (predominantly in accordance with Flügel).

On the whole, the folios are well preserved, although some are heavily damaged (especially fols. 1 and 2); some parts of fragments are lost, mainly corners. A number of pages bear traces of water damage, significant at times. Unfortunately, there are signs of incompetent old restoration (glued paper on fol. 28, for example). Follicle roots are not visible on the surface. The folios were arranged hair side to flesh side and flesh side (which is lighter) to hair side. Consequently, the folios were sewn into a quire individually and not formed by folding. Several folios have preserved traces of stitching.

The fragments of dark-brown leather binding (the outer parts of the front and back covers) show elements of imprinted design and decoration in black and white paint; they are smaller (50.0 × 32.0 cm.) than the manuscript itself. The binding dates to the fourteenth century and has preserved traces of Muslim restoration from the early to mid-seventeenth century. The binding was reinforced along its inner edge with glued-on paper. The paper contains texts in Arabic, written in non-calligraphic *naskhī* and *nasta'līq*. Among the texts are fragments of the Qur'ān (2:258—263; 274—277). There are flyleaf folios, glued earlier to the inner side of the binding; they have preserved fragments of the folios used to reinforce the binding. The flyleaf folios bear the round stamps of the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies and a small square stamp with the inscription "Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR AS. Inv[entory number] 1936 2780" [90].

The main text is in brown ink. The illuminated dividers between *sūras* are in red and green ink. The first stage of proofreading made use of the same red ink, which was used, for the dividers between *sūras*. Proof-reading at other stages was carried out in black ink. The lower left and upper right corners of the folios reveal custodes in *naskhī* and in the same black ink used in the last proofreading.

The surviving 81 folios contain 39.3% of the text (see *Table 1*). Simple calculations show that to copy the entire text in this fashion would require 412 folios. Consequently, at least 250 folios have been lost. The thickness of such a volume would be 18—20 cm. (the thickness of the extant folios is around 7 cm.).

The surviving fragment reveals the hands of two copyists (handwriting A and B) who shared the work evenly. The first copied the first half of the text; the other, the second (in our case, beginning with *sūra* 20; in actuality, it is possible that he began with *sūra* 17, the beginning of which corresponds to the beginning of *juz'* 15, the approximate middle of the Qur'ānic text).

In all, the surviving folios contain (in full or in part) the texts of 44 *sūras* (2—11; 20; 24—39; 43—58; 70—71). 22 of these are full (10; 25; 31—34; 36—38; 45—57) [91].

The sequence of *sūras* corresponds entirely to the *rasm 'Uthmānī*. Evidence for this is found on pages which preserve the end of one *sūra* and the beginning of another (6 > 7; 7 > 8; 9 > 10; 10 > 11; 24 > 25: 25 > 26; 27 > 28; 28 > 29; 30 > 31; 31 > 32; 32 > 33; 33 > 34; 34 > 35; 35 > 36; 36 > 37; 37 > 38; 38 > 39; 44 > 45; 45 > 46; 46 > 47; 47 > 48; 48 > 49; 49 > 50; 50 > 51; 51 > 52; 52 > 53; 53 > 54; 54 > 55; 55 > 56; 56 > 57; 57 > 58; 70 > 71).

The number of lines per page varies widely (handwriting A — 23 to 31 lines; handwriting B — 21 to 26 lines), as does the size of the letters. There is no indication of preliminary ruling.

Both of the hands established for the manuscript (see *Tables 2—3*) are paralleled in materials from Cairo, Damascus, Ṣan'ā', and in an inscription from al-Ṭā'if dated to A.D. 677—78 [92]. The standard designation of this style is "late *ḥijāzī*". In accordance with Fr. Déroch's classification, both hands correspond on the whole to styles B.I and B.II among "the early 'Abbāsid scripts". The style of medial *jīm/hā'/khā'*, however, largely corresponds to style A.I (see *Tables 2—3*). On the whole, the writing in our manuscript is indicative of a transition from *ḥijāzī* to later writing styles. As a rule, *alif* is perpendicular to the line, although it sometimes preserves a slight incline to the right, as does the vertical stroke in *tā'* and *lām*. Hand B, surer and more professional, is characterised by a rounded finish to final *jīm/hā'/khā'*, *'ayn* and *ghayn*, which serves as the main distinguishing characteristic from hand A [93]. The transfer of individual letters to a new line (see, for example *Table 11*, No. 2) or even page (see, for example, *Table 1*, 35a—35b) is attested, as is the extension of horizontal elements in order to fill out the line to the end (*mashq*) (see fol. 76b).

Diacritical marks to distinguish consonants are consistently provided in the manuscript. Dots above the *tā'* are set out vertical to the line; dots above the *thā'* are either vertical or in the shape of a triangle; dots above the *shīn* are in a single horizontal line at a slight angle to the line of the text. Initial and medial *qāf* are marked both by two dots above the letter and a dot below it (see *Tables 2—3*) [94]; here one cannot discount the possibility that the dots above the *qāf* were added later. Later, vowelling was added to a number of words in black ink (for example, fol. 6a, third line from the bottom) and certain damaged words were retraced (for example, fol. 11b, last line).

As was noted above, the manuscripts show several stages of work on the text. At the first stage, the end of one and the beginning of another *sūra* was marked by a blank space. The *āyāt* were set off from each other by extremely simple dividers, which differ somewhat in fragments copied in hand A (see *Table 4*, No. 1) and hand B (see *Table 4*, Nos. 2, 4). In three cases, the ends of *sūras* are followed by two (once — both) dividers (see *Table 6*).

In one case (fol. 52a), the end of a *sūra* is marked by eight ordinary *āyāt* dividers, filling out the space left after the text to the end of the line (see *Table 6*, No. 1).

The manuscript shows that the placement of markers at the end of *āyāt* caused difficulties at times. The copyist was compelled to add omitted dividers below or between letters (see *Tables 5*, *7*). It is possible that this circumstance led him to place the dots of the divider along the curved end of *khā'* and *jīm* rather than in a group (see fol. 66a).

Later [95], the blanks between *sūras* were filled in with ornamented illuminations (see *Plate 2*, p. 49) [96], each of them an original composition of triangles and semicircles made up of parallel, interwoven and intersecting red and green lines and, in a number of cases, added vignettes. As a whole, the compositions are reminiscent of the elements of traditional Bedouin female adornments (earrings, chest decorations). The names of *sūras* and the number of *āyāt* were written inside the compositions in archaic inverse writing (*Table 8*) [97].

Additional markers every ten *āyāt* (*ta'shīr*) (in the form of colour circles), every hundred and every two hundred (in the form of colour stars, see *Table 4*, Nos. 5—19) were then written into the text.

The *bismilla* is throughout treated as a separate *āya*. In the absolute majority of cases, the number of *āyāt* in the *sūras* of our copy corresponds to the Kūfic count (with the exception of *sūra* 32), although the division into *āyāt* within the *sūras* does not coincide with any system established by the tradition (see *Tables 8*, *9*). Moreover, the number of *āyāt* indicated in the ornamented illuminations together with the titles of the *sūras* differs from their actual quantity and as a whole corresponds to the Meccan count [98].

The first revision of the text's orthography was conducted at the same time that the illuminations and additional dividers between *āyāt* were written in. Corrections in red ink were added to the text in dozens of cases. For the most part, missing *alif*s in all positions were added. These changes were made when the text had already suffered water damage in a number of places. Washed out places were rewritten in red ink (for example, fol. 69b).

Although we plan to treat the orthography of our copy in a separate article, we note here its most important characteristics. They are, for the most part, connected with the writing of long vowels and the *hamza*. In the first place, one encounters the omission of *alif*s in various noun and verb forms (see, for example, *Table 11*, Nos. 1—7). As was noted above, in the majority of cases, though not in all (see, for example, *Table 11*, No. 15), missing *alif*s were added in red ink during the first stage of the text's revision. For this reason, such variants can be easily identified in the manuscript. In a number of cases, long vowels were later erased (see *Table 11*, No. 11).

The second large group of variations is connected with the writing of the *hamza*, which was conveyed where required by *alif*, *wāw* or *yā'* (see *Table 12*) or not conveyed at all (see *Table 12*, No. 4).

Finally, one should note the spelling of certain words, which can serve as original markers in comparison with other early manuscripts (see *Table 11*, Nos. 10—12, 16—17).

As a whole, the orthographic characteristics of our copy have much in common with the orthography of the earliest Qur'ānic manuscripts [99]. At the same time, there are a number of important differences (for example, the *alif al-wiqāya* in our manuscript or the writing of *shay'un* without *alif*, or *'alā* with *yā'*, rather than with *alif* at the end, as in many early copies) (see *Table 11*, Nos. 8, 17; *Table 12*, No. 7). In a number of cases, a long vowel in our text was originally set down in those cases where it is absent in other early copies (see *Table 11*, Nos. 13—14) [100]. As in the number of *āyāt* in *sūras*, the analysis of the orthography in our and other early manuscripts reveals a discrepancy between the spellings found there and the systems preserved for us by the Muslim tradition [101].

Both before correction and, to a significant degree, after correction, the text attested in our copy was indisputably only an aid for recitation from memory (see *Tables 11—12*).

As was noted above, the text was re-edited at least twice after the corrections in red ink were made. At one stage, a number of errors committed by the copyist were corrected, certain words were rendered more accurately (see *Table 13*), and, possibly, certain elements of *tajwīd* and indications of divisions into *ḥizb* and *juz'* were added (*Table 10*, Nos. 1, 3, 5, 10, 13, 15). At the second stage, number of damaged places were written anew, custodes, certain vowellings, elements of *tajwīd*, and indications of divisions into *ḥizb* and *juz'* (*Table 10*, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16) were added. Four non-canonical readings, which went back to the "reading" of Ibn Mas'ūd were corrected (*Table 13*, Nos. 1, 13, 16, 21). Thus, at the time of the first correction, in red ink, the variants, which went back to Ibn Mas' ud, were considered acceptable. Consequently, this correction was carried out at least before 934—35 (the Ibn Miqsam and Ibn Shannabūdh "affairs").

Folio 51b contains a typical error in *āya* 3:110 (*Table 13*, No. 17). After the word *al-kitāb*, the copyist, working from memory, continued with the text of *āya* 5:65, close in content and word use, finishing the phrase with *amanū*, which was later crossed out [102]. At one of the stages, signs we were unable to decipher were inserted between the lines (*Table 13*, Nos. 23, 29).

Even after all of these corrections, the text retained variants, which diverge from the tradition (for example, *Table 11*, No. 15).

Thus, both in terms of orthography and the division of the text into *āyāt*, we can verify the divergence of the "reading" found in our copy from any of the systems preserved by the Muslim tradition.

In the majority of its orthographic and paleographic features, our fragment corresponds to the *ḥijāzī* manuscripts discovered in Ṣan'ā' and belongs to the type of Qur'ān designated "type 2" by Estelle Whellan [103]. The manuscript dates to the eight or beginning of the ninth century. Furthermore, the corrections in red ink and the insertion of ornamented dividers between *sūras* could have taken place 50 to 100 years after the manuscript was copied.

The analysis of extant fragments, as well as the analysis of our copy, convincingly shows that a large number of mixed and transitional variants existed, whether one examines handwriting, orthography, the numeration of *āyāt*, or known systems of variant readings. Either all of these variants and systems were artificial from the start, or they arose after the time when the manuscripts which interest us were copied and reflect a higher level of uniformity and regularity in the copying of Qur'āns.

Our manuscript can serve as an excellent example of the level of textual unity which the community had succeeded in achieving by the end of the eighth century. Armed with knowledge of the problems, which had to be overcome, one must acknowledge that in the 150—170 years, which separate our manuscript from the death of the Prophet, an enormous amount of work was accomplished. In our view, such a level of textual unity could have been achieved only if the initial extent of variation was not terribly great.

The manuscript records the high point of development in one of the two early traditions of copying Qur'āns, namely, that closely linked to Northwest Arabia and the area around the Syrian border. The coincidence of the 'Abbāsid *dawla* in 750 with the subsequent loss of influence suffered by the Syro-Jaziran elite and the gradual supplanting of the type of Sacred book which went back to the Syrian tradition (vertical format, *ḥijāzī* script) is far from accidental.

At least one thing is clear at present: up to the mid- and possibly late eighth century, two ways of copying the text of the Qur'ān developed in parallel, each with its own internal evolution and each influencing the other. They were genetically connected to the two Arabian cultural and political centres, which gravitated, respectively, to Syria and to Mesopotamia (vertical format + *ḥijāzī* script and horizontal format + *kūfī* script). A combination of interconnected political events, cultural accomplishments and internal religious and social requirements connected with the community's self-identification led to the gradual supplanting of the "Syrian" tradition.

The revolutions of the nineteenth and twentieth century convincingly demonstrate the connection between political events and the questions of culture. One has only to recall the reform of Russian orthography undertaken by the Bolsheviks. Books of the new era had to look new, bearing obvious witness to the depth of change within society. Contemporaries to the events connected with the 'Abbāsid revolution undoubtedly understood the striving of the new Mesopotamia- and Khorasan-oriented elite to inscribe its victory on the form of the Sacred book. They did this by turning away from the tradition connected with their vanquished opponents and by affirming a variant close to the Mesopotamian cultural orbit. The victory of the 'Abbāsids coincided with new achievements in the unification of Arabic grammar and the growing mastery of calligraphers and ornamentalists. The Kūfic manuscripts created in the ninth century, copied in a monumental and significantly more regular script with the obligatory employment of diacritics and marks of vocalisation, adorned with carefully copied ornaments in gold and with intricate dividers between *āyāt* and *ajzā'*, formatted horizontally to set them apart instantly from other Scriptures and books, would undoubtedly best the outwardly unimpressive *ḥijāzī* copies. Everything about their appearance indicated that a new era had begun in the community.

4

As we have seen, manuscript E 20 from the collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies bears traces of several stages of work on the unification of the Qur'ānic text. In this sense, it is a rare piece of evidence and example of how this complex problem was solved in practice.

Although, as was noted above, by the eleventh—twelfth centuries the basic problems connected with the unification of the Sacred text had been solved, centuries would be required to bring the process to completion. Among the many events, which took place during that time, we note two which played a special role.

By decree of Catherine II in 1787, one of the presses in St. Petersburg printed for the first time in Russia the full Arabic text of the Qur'ān for free distribution among the "Kirghiz". At the same time, an order was issued to build mosques at state expense. In Catherine's own words, these measures were undertaken "not to introduce Mohammedism, but as bait to lure [the Kirghiz]." The Qur'ān was printed with a type-face cast especially for this purpose; it reproduced the hand of one of the best calligraphers and surpassed all Arabic type-faces then in use in European printing-presses. The edition differed in a basic fashion from European editions, primarily because it was Muslim in character: the text was prepared for printing by the *mullā* 'Uthmān Ismā'īl. Between 1789 and 1798, the Qur'ān went through five editions in Petersburg.

In 1801—1802, after the removal of limitations on the publication of Islamic religious literature in Russia, the Arabic typeface from St. Petersburg was transferred to Kazan, where the first Muslim printing-press was opened. From 1802 to 1859, this text of the Qur'ān was published many times in Kazan (as many as 150,000 copies of the full text were printed). The edition received high praise from European Orientalists and, in essence, supplanted previous editions of the Qur'ān in Europe. The so-called "Kazan Qur'āns", viewed as the first Muslim edition, spread widely in the East and were reproduced numerous times (manuscript imitations have been attested as well). In the opinion of R. Blachère, it is possible that this very edition played a deciding role in the centuries-long process of consolidating the uniformity of the Qur'ānic text [104]. One of the publishers' achievements was the inclusion of Qur'ānic variants (*al-qirā'āt*) which reproduced the tradition of the "seven readings" in the edition of 1857 alongside the basic text in the Ḥafṣ redact. This was a unique attempt to draw closer to a critical edition; the attempt was subsequently repeated in a number of Eastern reprints.

Catherine the Great's project, conceived as an openly colonial endeavour, was continued as the result of a special confluence of historical circumstances. By the mid-nineteenth century, Kazan, the main centre of Russian Muslim life, had become one of the major intellectual capitals of Islam, and in a number of areas could compete with such cities as Istanbul, Cairo, and Beirut. This process was aided by the high educational level of the indigenous population and the ideas of religious and political rebirth which had engulfed not only the upper levels of the Muslim intelligentsia but the broad masses as well. The expansion of Russia into Central Asia was accompanied by the active penetration of the region by Tatar merchants and commercial capital. The products of Kazan printing-presses were among the main goods on the book markets

of Bukhara, Samarkand, and Tashkent. One could find Qur'āns printed in Kazan in Iran, Afghanistan, and India. Russian pilgrims brought them along to the Ḥijāz and they were used in the houses built with Russian money in Mecca for Russian Muslims. Under the Soviets, this version of the text was published twice by official Muslim organizations (Ufa, 1923, 1956).

The final stage of work on the unification of the Qur'ānic text is connected with the appearance in Cairo in 1919, 1923 and 1928 of a new edition of the text, completed under the protection of the Egyptian king Fu'ād I (1868—1936). The edition, which represents at present the final step in canonising the orthography, structure of the text and rules of reading, was drawn up by a special collegium of Muslim scholars. Work on this edition was preceded by a complete loss of interest in Qur'ānic "variants" (*al-qirā'āt*) by Egyptian modernists. The edition was based on one of the "seven readings", the most popular in the Muslim world at that time, namely, the *Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim* "reading". The members of the collegium relied in their work not on an analysis of early manuscripts, but on contemporary Muslim works on the issue of "readings" (*al-qirā'āt*). This undoubtedly narrows the significance of the work. Nonetheless, the Egyptian edition today accepted throughout the Muslim world as well as by European scholars, represented a significant step forward in the study of the text [105]. The most widespread European edition of the Qur'ān at that time, G. Flügel's, was, on the whole, not very successful. The published text did not contain a critical apparatus and G. Flügel did not follow any one of the Muslim traditions of textual transmission. The principles to which he adhered in preparing his publication have remained unclear to the present day.

As had been the case earlier, the work of Muslim authorities on the Qur'ānic text was not isolated from processes and changes then taking place in the Islamic world. The activities of Muslim reformers, who strove to renew Islam by reviving the "great Islamic traditions", were then at a peak. In this connection, the creation of a canonical text of the Qur'ān seemed a pressing matter of primary importance in establishing the unity of the Muslim world. It was then that the liquidation of the Sultanate in Turkey (1922) first separated the office of the caliphate from secular power and later abolished it (1924), events seen by many Muslims as a catastrophe. In extending his patronage to the new edition of the Qur'ān, Fu'ād I, who had become the leader of the largest Muslim state, manifested ambitious designs. Furthermore, successful work on the Qur'ānic text was intended to have demonstrate the priority of Muslim scholars over Western Orientalists in this field of such overwhelming importance to the Islamic world.

Still, the appearance of the Egyptian edition, which has become the most widely distributed edition in the Muslim world, did not signify the complete disappearance of other traditions of textual transmission. In the West of the Muslim world and in Zaydite Yemen, traditions were preserved which go back to a different transmitter of the text — Warsh (d. 197/812). Today, publications of the Qur'ān in this transmission appear not only in North Africa, but in Cairo and Saudi Arabia. Meanwhile, the Qur'ān was published in Tunisia in a redact which goes back to Ḥafṣ [106].

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a final solution to the problems connected with the early history of the Qur'ān and the publication of a critical text appeared to be within reach. The pupils of T. Nöldeke laboured fruitfully, continuing the work of their teacher on the "Geschichte des Qorans" (significantly, Nöldeke himself chose not to continue this work). In 1927, G. Bergstresser and A. Jeffery jointly developed a plan for a critical edition of the Qur'ānic text [107], the necessity of which was noted by A. Dérenbourg, R. Geyer, and I. Goldziher. In his 1935 work, "Progress in the study of the Qur'ānic text", A. Jeffery noted the absence not only of a critical edition, but of an overview work on "Qur'ānic theology", of an expanded scholarly commentary to the text, and of a documented dictionary to the Qur'ān. He wrote of the need to study the Qur'ānic lexicon. The works of medieval Muslim authors on the problem of the "readings" were published; in Münich, a photo archive of early copies was collected. G. Bergstresser's tragic death in the Bavarian Alps, the destruction of the Münich photo archive by Allied bombs during the Second World War, and the deaths of key participants had a disastrous effect on the project. At the same time, the methodological problems connected with the very approach began to receive consideration.

The publication of a Qur'ānic text which differs from the *rasm 'Uthmānī* seems at present unproductive, in the first place because the entire complex of Muslim religious disciplines is based on that very edition. Such a text would become a "second Flügel Qur'ān"; it would never be recognised by the Muslim tradition. The reconstruction of some original form of the text is today of lesser interest; more important for our studies is the history of the text's consolidation and the evolution of its interpretation in various eras and areas of the Muslim world.

It is symbolic that the full publication of an Encyclopaedia of Qur'ānic readings, which in conjunction with the "Cairo edition" formed in essence a critical edition, coincided in time and place with the opening in Kuwait of an exhibition of Qur'ānic manuscripts from Ṣan'ā'. It was an analysis of these manuscripts which first demonstrated in all clarity the discrepancy between that history of the Qur'ānic text which is reconstructed on the basis of the Muslim tradition and the real history of the first stages of the text's consolidation. Still earlier, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, studies confirmed the contradictory nature of this tradition.

Only the joint efforts of paleographers, linguists and historians, the careful description and study of extant manuscripts (in the first place the Qur'āns from Ṣan'ā', Or. 2165 from the British Library, the Istanbul and Cairo collections, also from the St. Petersburg collections), and the creation of a data-base of early copies [108] can provide us with objective material for reconstructing the early history of the Qur'ān. In this connection, the facsimile publication of extant fragments and their introduction into scholarly circulation is of the utmost importance [109].

In the final analysis, it is only with such efforts that we will succeed in drawing closer to reconstructing the real history of the Sacred text, a history which manifested itself in the struggle and collision of various opinions and which ended with the affirmation of the Muslim canon. It is sad enough that at the close of the twentieth century, a solution to the problem appears to us almost as far off as at its inception.

Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
1r	79a	2:17(? — فى ظلمات)—29(?—فى الارض)	A	27
1v	79b	2:30(? — قال)—47(وانى فضلت[كم])	A	26
2r	1b	2:176(بعيد)—184(معدودات)	A	23
2v	1a	2:184(الذين)—190(و لا)	A	23
3r	51b	3:95(حنيفا)—112(و[ضربت] عليهم)	A	31
3v	51a	3:112(ا[لمسكنة])—131(اعدت)	A	31
4r	80b	3:163(هم درجات)—179([يب] من الط)	A	29
4v	80a	3:179(وماكان الله)—191(ويتفكرون فى)	A	29
5r	4a	4:25(من فتياتكم)—36(بالوالدين)	A	26
5v	4b	4:36(احسانا)—47(الذين او)	A	26
6r	5a	4:47(توا الكتاب)—58(الله)	A	26
6v	5b	4:58(كان)—71(الذين)	A	26
7r	6a	4:71(امنوا)—81(طايفة)	A	26
7v	6b	4:81(منهم)—91(واقتلوهم)	A	26
8r	7b	4:91(حيث)—102(منهم)	A	28
8v	7a	4:102(معك)—114(الناس))	A	28
9r	8b	4:114(ومن)—127((المستضعفين)	A	25
9v	8a	4:127(من الولدان)—136(انزل من)	A	25
10r	58b	6:82(ولم)—93(الملايكة)	A	25
10v	58a	6:93([با]سطوا)—102(ذالكم الله)	A	25
11r	17a	6:125(حرجا)—136([ن]كا)	A	24
11v	17b	6:136(لله)—144(فمن)	A	24
12r	18a	6:144(اظلم)—151(حرم)	A	23
12v	18b	6:151(الله)—159(ينبهم)	A	23
13r	19a	6:159(عا)—165 7:1—9(خفت)	A	21 + 2
13v	19b	7:9(موازينه)—22(منين)	A	23
14r	20a	7:23(قالا)—33(والبغى)	A	23
14v	20b	7:33(بغير)—42(الصالحات)	A	23
15r	21b	7:42(لانكلف)—53(الا)	A	24
15v	21a	7:53(تاويله)—62(واعلم)	A	24
16r	22b	7:62(من الله)—73(-[اء]قدج)	A	23
16v	22a	7:73(-تكم)—84(عاقبة ا-)	A	23
17r	23b	7:84(-لمجرمين)—93(فتولى)	A	23
17v	23a	7:93(عنهم)—104(رسول من)	A	23
18r	24b	7:104(رب)—125(ربنا)	A	23
18v	24a	7:125(منقلبون)—135(الرجز)	A	23

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
19r	10a	7:168(قطعناهم)—178(من يهد)	A	24
19v	10b	7:178(الله)—190(جعلا)	A	25
20r	9a	7:190(له)—205(و)	A	23
20v	9b	7:205(اذكر)—206 8:1—9(ءمدكم)	A	20,5 + 2,5
21r	55b	9:61(قل اذن)—70(قوم)	A	23
21v	55a	9:70(نوح)—78(الم يعلموا)	A	23
22r	77a	9:96(الفاسقين)—105(الغيب)	A	23
22v	77b	9:105(والشهادة)—113(ما تبين لهم)	A	23
23r	11a	9:113(انهم)—122(يحذرون)	A	24
23v	11b	9:123(يايها)—129 10:1—4(جميعا)	A	22 + 2
24r	12a	10:4(وعد)—15(يرجون)	A	23
24v	12b	10:15(لقاءنا)—23(ثم)	A	23
25r	13a	10:23(الينا)—33(كلمت)	A	24
25v	13b	10:33(ربك)—45(بلقاء)	A	24
26r	14b	10:45(الله)—61(قرءان)	A	25
26v	14a	10:61(ولا)—73(معه)	A	25
27r	15b	10:73(فى الفلك)—88(انك)	A	24
27v	15a	10:88(ءاتيت)—99(مؤمنين)	A	24
28r	16b	10:100(وما)—109 11:1—2(تعبدوا)	A	20,5 + 2,5
28v	16a	11:2(الاالله)—14([لله] ا)	A	25
29r	2b	20:89(ا[ضر])—108([اعى]الد)	B	23
29v	2a	20:108(عوج)—124(فان)	B	23
30r	78a	24:11(ان الذين)—22(لكم والله)	B	25
30v	78b	24:22(رحيم[غفور])—31(لم يظهروا)	B	24
31r	27a	24:31(على‌عورات)—39(والذين)	B	24
31v	27b	24:39(كفروا)—49(يكن)	B	24
32r	28a	24:49(لهم)—58([من]ثيابكم)	B	23
32v	28b	24:58(الظهيرة)—62(واستغفر)	B	23
33r	29a	24:63(لهم)—64 25:1—9(الامثال)	B	20 + 3
33v	29b	25:9(فضلوا)—23(عملوا)	B	23
34r	30a	25:23(من عمل)—40(نشورا)	B	23
34v	30b	25:41(و اذا)—58(و توكل)	B	24
35r	31b	25:58(على‌الحى)—74(-اعين وا)	B	25

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
35v	31a	25:75(جعلنا-)—77 26:1—19(و فعلت)	B	22 + 3
36r	32b	26:19(يافكون)—45(فعلتك)	B	24
36v	32a	26:45(افرءيتم)—75(فالقى)	B	24
37r	33b	26:75(مبين)—115(ما كنتم)	B	26
37v	33a	26:116(يفسدون)—152(قالوا)	B	25
38r	34b	26:152(ا[لكيل])—181(فى الارض)	B	24
38v	34a	26:183(لمن[اتبعك])—215(اشياء)	B	24
39r	35a	27:54(ادارك)—66(الفاحشة)	B	22
39v	35b	27:66(علمهم)—82(الناس)	B	22
40r	36a	27:82(كانوا)—93 28:1—3(فرعون)	B	20,5 + 1,5
40v	36b	28:3(غفلةمن ا-)—15(بالحلق)	B	23
41r	37a	28:15(وقص عليه)—25(-هلها)	B	23
41v	37b	28:25(القصص)—35(سلطانا)	B	23
42r	38b	28:81(ا[د]ون الله)—88 29:1—6(جاهد)	B	21,5 + 1,5
42v	38a	29:6(فانما)—17(واعبدوه)	B	23
43r	39b	29:17(واشكروا)—29(السبيل)	B	23
43v	39a	29:29(اغرقناوما)—40(وتاتون)	B	23
44r	40b	29:40(كان الله)—51(وذكرى)	B	23
44v	40a	29:51(الى ا[لبر])—65(لقوم)	B	23
45r	41a	30:27(وهواهون)—39(تريدون)	B	24
45v	41b	30:39(الظلو[ا])—51(وجه)	B	24
46r	42a	30:51(من بعده)—60 31:1—7(و[لى])	B	22 + 2
46v	42b	31:7(مستكبرا)—19(من صو-)	B	24
47r	43a	31:19(كالظلل)—32(-تك)	B	25
47v	43b	31:32(دعوا)—34 32:1—10(وقالوا)	B	22,5 + 2,5
48r	44a	32:10(اءذا)—24(صبروا)	B	24
48v	44b	32:24(وكانوا)—33 33:1—5(تعمدت)	B	21,5 + 2,5
49r	45a	33:5(قلو)—16(ان فر-)	B	23
49v	45b	33:16(وكفى الله)—25(-رتم)	B	23
50r	46b	33:25(والصابر[ات])—35(المومنين)	B	23
50v	46a	33:35(والخاشعين)—47(و)	B	24

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
51r	47b	33:47(بشر)—53(لكم ان)	B	25
51v	47a	33:53(تؤذوا)—69(امنوا لا)	B	25
52r	48b	33:69(تكونوا)—73 34:1—8(بالاخرة)	B	24,5 + 1,5
52v	48a	34:8(فى العذاب)—20(الافريقامن)	B	26
53r	49b	34:20(المؤمنين)—33(و النهار)	B	24
53v	49a	34:33(اذ تامروننا)—44(-يد)	B	24
54r	50b	34:44(ونها[رس]-)—54 35:1—3(اذكر-)	B	22 + 2
54v	50a	35:3(وا نعمت-)—12(تلبسونها)	B	24
55r	52a	35:38(والارض)—45(بصيرا) 36 — ornament *sūra* separator	B	21,5 + 1,5
55v	52b	36:1(بسم)—21(-ا)	B	23
56r	53a	36:21(عوا[تب]-)—41(الفلك)	B	23
56v	53b	36:41(المشحون)—61(صراط)	B	23
57r	54a	36:61(مستقيم)—83 37:1(صفا)	B	24 + 1
57v	54b	37:2(فالزاجرات)—36(ويقو-)	B	25
58r	56a	37:36(لون-)—76(العظيم)	B	24
58v	56b	37:77(و جعلنا)—114(منناعلى)	B	24
59r	57b	37:114(موسى)—158(الجنة انهم)	B	25
59v	57a	37:158(لمحضرون)—182 38:1—8(من ذكرى)	B	22 + 2
60r	25b	38:8(بل)—26(جعلناك)	B	25
60v	25a	38:26(خليفة)—43(ووهبنا)	B	25
61r	26b	38:43(له)—69(لى)	B	24
61v	26a	38:69(من علم)—88 39:1—3(يختلفون)	B	20,5 + 2,5
62r	81b	43:8(مثل)—28([مة]كل)	B	25
62v	81a	43:28(باقية)—48([ن]نريهم م)	B	25
63r	59a	44:3(انزلناه [ان]ا)—31(عاليا)	B	23
63v	59b	44:31(من المسرفين)—59 45:1—2(الكتاب)	B	22 + 2
64r	60a	45:2(من الله)—17(ان ربك)	B	24
64v	60b	45:17(يقضى)—30(الصالحات)	B	24
65r	61a	45:30(خلهم[فيد])—37 46:1—5(وهم عن)	B	21,5 + 2,5

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
65v	61b	46:5(دعايهم)—15(-لى فى ذ)	B	24
66r	62a	46:15(-ريتى)—26(مكناهم فيما)	B	24
66v	62b	46:26(انمكناكم)—35(الفاسقون) 47 — ornament *sūra* separator	B	23 + 1
67r	63b	47:1(الله [بسم])—13(قوة من)	B	24
67v	63a	47:13(قريتك)—25(الشيطان)	B	24
68r	64b	47:25(لهم [سول])—38 48:1(مبينا)	B	23,5 + 2,5
68v	64a	48:2(ليغفر)—15(يريدون)	B	26
69r	65b	48:15(الوا[نيبد]ان)—26(الجا ه[لية])	B	26
69v	65a	48:26(فانزل)—29 49:1—6(-الذين ءا)	B	23,5 + 1,5
70r	66b	49:6(ان[منوا]-)—16(-قل ا)	B	26
70v	66a	49:16(-تعلمون)—18 50:1—18(-الاليه ر)	B	24 + 2
71r	67b	50:18 (قيب-)—44(يسير)	B	25
71v	67a	50: (نحن)45 51:1—36(غير بيت)	B	24,5 + 1,5
72r	68a	51:36(من المسلمين)—60 52:1—11([فل]ويل)	B	23,5 + 1,5
72v	68b	52:11(يوميذ)—40(مثقلون)	B	25
73r	69a	52:41(ام عندهم)—49 53:1—23(-الاا)	B	22 + 2
73v	69b	53:23(-لظن)—45(الانثى)	B	23
74r	70a	53:46(من نطفة)—62 54:1—10(ربه انى)	B	18,5 + 2,5
74v	70b	54:10(مغلوب)—33(بالنذر)	B	22
75r	71a	54:34(انا ارسلنا)—55 55:1—2(القرءان)	B	20,5 + 2,5
75v	71b	55:3(خلق)—33(-الجن وا)	B	22
76r	72a	55:33(-لانس)—59(تكذبان)	B	22
76v	72b	55:60(هل جزاء)—78 56:1—11(اولايك)	B	19,5 + 2,5
77r	73b	56:11(المقربو[ن])—51(الضالون)	B	22
77v	73a	56:51(المكذبون)—83(فلولااذا)	B	22
78r	74b	56:83(بلغت)—96 57:1—6(-الليل فى ا)	B	19,5 + 1,5

Continuation of the Table 1

True pagination	Existing pagination	Page contents	Type of script	Number of lines
78v	74a	57:6(ولنهار—)—13(وراءكم)	B	21
79r	75b	57:13(فالتمسوا[نورا])—20(كمثل)	B	22
79v	75a	57:20(غيث)—27(رافة)	B	22
80r	76b	57:27(ورحمة)—29 58:1—4(لتؤمنوا با-)	B	20 + 2
80v	76a	58:4(ءامنوا اذا—)—11(لله)	B	22
81r	3b	70:1(بسم)—37(عزين)	B	24
81v	3a	70:38(كل)—44 71:1—12(باموال)	B	22 + 2

Table 2

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
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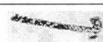
ب							
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Continuation of the Table 2

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
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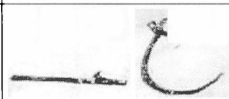
ع							
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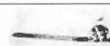
ف							
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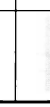
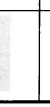
* Missing in the manuscript.

Continuation of the Table 2

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
و		—					
ي							
ة		—	—				
لا		—					

Letters are taken from the following pages: 7b, 8a, 8b, 12b, 16b, 17a, 18a, 21a, 22b, 24b.

For A.I, B.Ia, B.Ib, B.II see: F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD.* The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. I (Oxford, 1992), Table II, letter forms of groups A and B, pp. 38—9.

A.I = KFQ 42 and KFQ 62, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 5 in *The Abbasid Tradition* and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 330e, fol. 39a, for the *ṭā'/ẓā'* only.
B.Ia = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 331, fol. 43a.
B.Ib = KFQ 20, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 6 in *The Abbasid Tradition*
B.II = KFQ 13 and KFQ 14, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 9 in *The Abbasid Tradition*

Table 3

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
ا		—					
ب							
ت							
ث							
ج							
ح							
خ							
د		—					
ذ		—					
ر		—					
ز		—					

Continuation of the Table 3

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
س							
ش							
ص							
ض							
ط							
ظ							
ع							
غ							
ف							
ق							
ع							
ل							
م							
ن							
ه							

Continuation of the Table 3

Letter	1	2	3	A.I	B.Ia	B.Ib	B.II
و		—					
ي							
ة		—	—				
لا		—					

Letters are taken from the following pages: 2b, 24a, 35a, 37a, 37b, 45a, 48a, 60a, 60b, 61a, 66a, 69b, 71b, 73a, 81a.

For A.I, B.Ia, B.Ib, B.II see: F. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th centuries AD.* The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. I (Oxford, 1992), Table II, letter forms of groups A and B, pp. 38—9.

A.I = KFQ 42 and KFQ 62, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 5 in *The Abbasid Tradition* and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 330e, fol. 39a, for the *ṭā'/ẓā'* only.
B.Ia = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arab. 331, fol. 43a.
B.Ib = KFQ 20, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 6 in *The Abbasid Tradition*
B.II = KFQ 13 and KFQ 14, Nasser D. Khalili Collection, Cat. 9 in *The Abbasid Tradition*

Table 4

Nos.	Ornamental devices	Page number	Group of *āyāt*	Type of script
1.		8a	1	A
2.		26a	1	B
3.		66a	1	B
4.		72b	1	B
5.		8a	10	A
6.		26a	10	B
7.		33b	10	B
8.		56b	10	B
9.		72b	10	B
10.		7b	100	A
11.		15a	100	A

Continuation of the Table 4

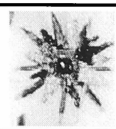
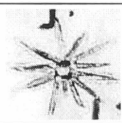
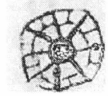
Nos.	Ornamental devices	Page number	Group of *āyāt*	Type of script
12.		23a	100	A
13.		51b	100	A
14.		58a	100	A
15.		77a	100	A
16.		33b	100	B
17.		56b	100	B
18.		9a	200	A
19.		34a	200	B

Table 5

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
1 *.		7:61	21a	A
2.		35:41	52a	B
3.		47:9	63b	B
4.		48:10	64a	B

* First device is situated at the end of the line, second device — at the beginning of the next line.

Continuation of the Table 5

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
5.		50:40	67b	B
6.		55:31	71b	B

Table 6

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
1.		6:165	19a	A
2.		35:45	52a	B
3.		53:62	70a	B
4.		55:78	72b	B

Table 7

Nos.	Device	*Āyāt* number	Page number	Type of script
1.		10:61	14a	A
2.		25:3	29a	B
3.		32:18	44a	B
4.		33:21	45b	B
5.		37:28	54b	B

Table 8

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	Text	Number of *āyāt* (declared)	Number of *āyāt* (real)	Number of *āyāt* (according to the Cairo edition)
1.	3a	71	سورة نوح ثلثون اية	30	—	28
2.	9b	8	الانفال سبعون و ست ايات	76	—	75
3.	11b	10	يونس ماية و تسع ايات	109	109	109
4.	16b	11	هود ماية و عشرون و اثنان	122	—	123
5.	19a	7	الاعراف مايتان و ست ايات	206	—	206
6.	26a	39	الزمر سبعون و اثنان	72	—	75
7.	29a	25	الفرقان سبعون و سبع ايات	77	77	77
8.	31a	26	مايتان و عشرون و سبع ايات الشعراء	227	—	227
9.	36a	28	القصص ثمانون و ثمان ايات	88	—	88
10.	38b	29	العنكبوت ستون و تسع ايات	69	—	69
11.	42a	31	لقمان ثلثون و ثلث ايات	33	34	34
12.	43b	32	السجدة سورة ثلثون ايات	30	33	30
13.	44b	33	الاخزاب سبعون و ثلث ايات	73	73	73
14.	48b	34	سبا خمسون و اربع ايات	54	54	54
15.	50b	35	الملايك اربعون و خمس ايات	45	—	45
16.	52a	36	سورة يس ثمانون و اثنان	82	83	83
17.	54a	37	الصافات ماية و ثمانون و اثنان	182	182	182
18.	57a	38	سورة ص ثمانون و ست ايات	86	88	88
19.	59b	45	الجاثية ثلثون و ست ايات	36	37	37
20.	61a	46	الاحقاف ثلثون و اربع ايات	34	35	35
21.	62b	47	[...] ثلثون و تسع ايات	39	38	38

Continuation of the Table 8

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	Text	Number of *āyāt* (declared)	Number of *āyāt* (real)	Number of *āyāt* (according to the Cairo edition)
22.	64b	48	الفتح عشرون و تسع ايات	29	29	29
23.	65a	49	الحجرات ثمان عشرة اية	18	18	18
24.	66a	50	سورة ق اربعون و خمس ايات	45	45	45
25.	67a	51	الذاريات ستون اية	60	60	60
26.	68a	52	الطور اربعون و (تسع) سبع ايات	47 (9) — ?	49	49
27.	69a	53	النجم احدى و ستون اية	61	62	62
28.	70a	54	الساعة خمسون و خمس اية	55	55	55
29.	71a	55	الرحمان سبعون و سبع ايات	77	78	78
30.	72b	56	الواقعة تسعون و تسع ايات	99	96	96
31.	74b	57	الحديد عشرون و ثمان ايات	28	29	29
32.	76b	58	المجادلة عشرون و اية	20 — ?	—	22

Table 9

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	*Āyāt* additionally marked as separate	*Āyāt* not marked as separate ones
1.	2b	20		92
2.	3b	70		3, 16,15
3.	4a	4	34	29 — ?, 32 — ?
4.	7b	4		96 — ?
5.	19a	6	161	
6.	19a	7		1
7.	21a	7		59
8.	26a	38		84
9.	27b	24		43
10.	30b	25	47	
11.	31a	26		1
12.	32a	26	49	51, 71, 72
13.	36a	28		1
14.	38b	29		1
15.	41a	30		
16.	42a	31		1
17.	42b	31	15	
18.	43b	31	32	
19.	43b	32		1
20.	45a	33		11
21.	46a	33		41

Continuation of the Table 9

Nos.	Page number	*Sūra* number	*Āyāt* additionally marked as separate	*Āyāt* not marked as separate ones
22.	52a	35	41	
23.	52b	36		1, 2 — ?
24.	54b	37		8, 22
25.	56a	37		69
26.	57a	38		1
27.	57b	37		153
28.	59a	44		25
29.	59b	44		34
30.	59b	45		1
31.	61a	46		1
32.	63b	47	4, 4	
33.	64a	48		8
34.	66a	50	11	13
35.	68a	51		58
36.	68a	52		1
37.	68b	52		26
38.	69a	52		44
39.	69b	53		28, 33, 36, 42
40.	70a	54		7
41.	70b	54	22	
42.	71a	54		54
43.	71a	55		1, 2
44.	71b	55		3
45.	72a	55		33, 43
46.	73a	56	51	63, 71
47.	73b	56		49
48.	74b	56	89, 92	90
49.	81b	43		16

Table 10

Nos.	Page number	MS *āyāt* number	Cairo edition *āyāt* number	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark in the MS
1.	5b	4:61	4:58	نصف الحزب ٩	
2.	7b	4:99		ع	
3.	10a	7:170	7:170	حزب ١٨	

Continuation of the Table 10

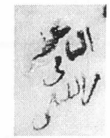
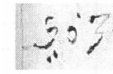
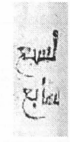
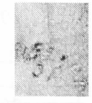
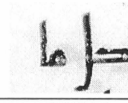
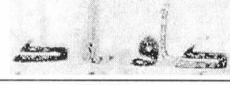
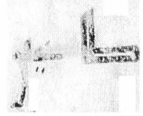
Nos.	Page number	MS *āyāt* number	Cairo edition *āyāt* number	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark	*Ḥizb, juz', sajda* or *tajwīd* mark in the MS
4.	16a	11:5	11:5	جزء ١٢ /حزب ٢٣	
5.	25b	38:24	38:24	سجدة	
6.	29b	25:21	25:21	جزء ١٩ /حزب ٣٨	
7.	35a	27:55	27:55	جزء ٢٠ /حزب ٣٩	
8.	37a	28:21	28:12	نصف الحزب ٣٩	
9.	40b	29:45	29:45	جزء ٢١ /حزب ٤١	
10.	44a	32:15	32:15	سجدة	
11.	46b	46:30	46:30	ربع الحزب ٥١	
12.	61a	46:1	46:1	جزء ٢٦ /حزب ٥١	
13.	65a	49:1	49:1	ربع الحزب ٥٢	
14.	67a	51:30	51:30	جزء ٢٧ /حزب ٥٣	
15.	70a	53:62	53:62	سجدة	
16.	76b	58:1	58:1	جزء ٢٨ /حزب ٥٥	

Table 11

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Cairo edition
1.	2b	20:96	قل		قَالَ
2.	3b	70:24	امولهم		أَمْوَٰلِهِمْ
3.	3b	70:29	حفطون		حَٰفِظُونَ
4.	4a	4:33	مولى		مَوَٰلِيَ
5.	4b	4:38	الشيطن		ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ
6.	4b	4:44	الكتب		ٱلْكِتَٰبِ
7.	5b	4:61	المنفقين		ٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ
8.	14b	10:54	راوا		رَأَوُا۟
9.	20b	7:38	كل ما		كُلَّمَا
10.	20b	7:38	ختا		حَتَّىٰٓ
11.	25b	38:22,24, 25	دواد		دَاوُۥدَ
12.	35b	27:73 (twice)	لذوا		لَذُو
13.	54b	37:30	طاغين		طَٰغِينَ

Continuation of the Table 11

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Cairo edition
14.	54b	37:31	غاوين		غَٰوِينَ
15.	66b	49:6	فسق		فَاسِقٌ
16.	75a 75b	57:21 57:29	ذا		ذُو
17.	80b	3:179	على		عَلَىٰ

Table 12

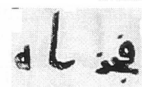
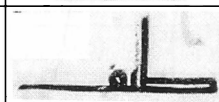
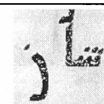
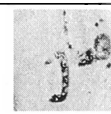
Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Cairo edition
1.	7b	4:93	فجزاه		فَجَزَآؤُهُۥ
2.	9a	7:201	طيف		طَٰٓئِفٌ
3.	14b	10:61	شان		شَأْنٍ
4.	14b	10:61	قرن		قُرْءَانٍ
5.	15b	10:73	خليف		خَلَٰٓئِفَ
6.	35b	27:67	ابونا		ءَابَآؤُنَآ
7.	80a	3:189	شى		شَىْءٍ

Table 13

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Notes
1.	4a	4:34	المضجع	المضاجع	Variant of Ibn Mas'ūd and others
2.	4a	4:34	قومون	قوامون	

Continuation of the Table 13

Nos.	Page number	*Āyāt* number	Before correction	After correction	Notes
3.	4b	4:44	الضللة	الضلالة	
4.	5a	4:56	بايتنا	باياتنا	
5.	6a	4:74	فليقتل	فليقاتل	
6.	6a	4:80	اطع	اطاع	
7.	8a	4:130	وسعا	واسعا	
8.	8a	4:134	ثوب	ثواب	
9.	13a	10:28	يوم	و يوم	
10.	16a	11:5	ترون	يرون	
11.	18b	6:157	الونا	الوانا	
12.	24a	7:130	فرعو	فرعون	
13.	32b	26:42	لمن	اذا لمن	Ibn Mas'ūd
14.	37b	28:27	انكحك	ان انكحك	
15.	40a	29:56	يعبدي	يا عبادي	
16.	47a	33:68	كثيرا	كبيرا	Ibn Mas'ūd
17.	51b	3:108	الكتب امنوا	الكتاب	Cf. 5:65
18.	56a	37:69	باهم	اباَءهم	
19.	58a	6:98	وحدة	واحدة	
20.	60b	45:24	هى حياتنا	هى الا حياتنا	
21.	65b	48:15	كلم	كلام	Ibn Mas'ūd and others
22.	66b	49:6	على فعلتم	على ما فعلتم	
23.	69a	53:17			Unrecognised sign between lines
24.	71b	55:20	برزج	برزخ	
25.	73b	56:48	ابونا	اباونا	
26.	75a	57:21	ذا	ذوا	
27.	76b	57:29	ذا	ذوا	
28.	80a	3:180	خير	خيرا	
29.	80b	3:164			Unrecognised sign between lines
30.	80b	3:175	تخفوهم	تخافوهم	
31	80b	3:177	بالايمن	بالايمان	

Notes

1. M. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Iuzhnaia Araviia v rannee srednevekov'e* (Southern Arabia in the Early Middle Ages) (Moscow, 1985), p. 24.

2. I. Sh. Shifman, *Vetkhiĭ Zavet i ego mir* (The Old Testament and Its World) (Moscow, 1987), pp. 145—7.

3. *Idem*, "Istoricheskie korni koranicheskogo obraza Allakha" ("The historical roots of the Qur'ānic image of Allah"), *Problemy arabskoĭ kul'tury. Pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), p. 286.

4. *Idem*, "O nekotorykh ustanovleniiakh rannego islama" ("On certain concepts in early Islam"), *Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Griaznevich and S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 41—4.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 35—41.

6. H. Speyer, *Die biblishen Erzählungen im Coran* (Nachdruck—Hildesheim, 1961).

7. V. V. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, "Strukturno-tipologicheskiĭ podkhod k semanticheskoĭ interpretatsii proizvedeniĭ izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva v diakhronicheskom aspekte" ("A structural-typological approach to the semantic interpretation of works of depictive art in their diachronic aspect"), *Trudy po znakovym sistemam*, vol. VIII (Tartu, 1977), pp. 16—32.

8. C. E. Dodd, Sh. Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Qur'anic Verses in Islamic Achitecture*, (Beirut, 1981), i—ii.

9. See E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: V. Language, the unconcious and the "real world", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/1 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1998), notes 83 and 90.

10. *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Jeffery (Leiden, 1937), p. 7. In his preliminary selection of non-canonical readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy, G. Bergstresser attempted to evaluate these two texts in comparison with the "'Uthmānic version", see G. Bergstrasser, *Die Geschichte des Qorantexts* (Leipiz, 1926), i, pp. 60—96.

11. In at least three cities — Tashkent (the library of the Administration of the Muslims of Uzbekistan), Cairo (the burial crypt of al-Ḥusayn) and Istanbul (the Museum of Islamic Artifacts and Topkapı Sarayı) — copies of the so-called "'Uthmānic Qur'ān" are stored which have allegedly preserved stains of the murdered caliph 'Uthmān's blood. These undoubtedly early manuscripts are the subject of a special literature. On the Tashkent Qur'ān in particular, see: Central State Archive of Uzbekistan, archive P-1, register 29, file 23; Archive of the Saint-Petersburg Institute of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, archive 1, register 1, file 25 (1868); A. L. Kun, "Koran Osmana" ("The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān"), *Materialy dlia statistiki Turkestanskogo kraia*, fasc. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1874), pp. 401—4; A. P. Khoroshin, ""Pervyĭ Koran" (Samarkandskoe izdanie)" ("The first Qur'ān: Samarqand edition"), in *idem*, *Sbornik statei, kasaiushchikhsia do Turkestanstkogo kraia* (St. Petersburg, 1876), pp. 238—41; N. P. Ostroumov, *Koran i progress* (The Qur'ān and Progress) (Tashkent, 1901), pp. 124—33; N. S. Lykoshin, "Po'lza iazyknaniia (Sartovskiĭ rasskaz)" ("The benefit of linguistics: the story of a Sart"), *Turkestanskie vedomosti*, No. 40 (1892); A. N. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki" ("The Kūfic Qur'ān from St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Imperatosrkogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, VI (1891), pp. 69—133; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire" ("The Kūfic Qur'ān from Khedival library in Cairo"), *ibid.*, XIV (1901), pp. 119—54. A. F. Shebunin's work in many ways anticipated ideas on the necessity of concerted study and description of early copies of the Qur'ān which G. Bergstresser (1886—1933) and A. Jeffery would formulate a quarter of a century later. A. Jeffery and I. Mendelsohn, "The orthography of the Samarqand Qur'ān codex", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 3 (1942), pp. 175—94; B. V. Lunin, *Sredniaia Aziia v dorevoliutsionnom i sovetskom vostokovedenii* (Central Asia in Pre-revolutionary and Soviet Oriental Studies) (Tashkent, 1965), pp. 100—8; N. S. Sadykova, "Kak "Koran Osmana" byl vozvrashchen Turkestanskoĭ respublike" ("How the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" was returned to the Turkestan Republic"), *Materialy po istorii Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1966); T. Stetskevich, "Koran Osmana" ("The Qur'ān of 'Uthmān"), *Nauka i religiia*, 7 (1975), pp. 54—6; Salaḥ al-Dīn al-Munjid, *Dirasāt fī tārīkh al-khaṭṭ al-'arabī* (Beirut, n. d.), pp. 48—50; Solih Habibullo, "Qur'on va Usmon Muhafi", *Adabiyet va san'at, O'zbekiston adabiyeti va san'ati* (Toshkent, yil, 25 noyabr 1994); *Tārīkh al-Muṣḥaf al-'Uthmānī fī Ṭashqand*, ta'līf Shaykh Ismā'īl Makhdūm (Tashkent, 1971); A. Hasanov, "History of the Tashkent Sacred Osman's Koran", *Bulletin of SCST of the Republic of Uzbekistan* (Tashkent 1997), pp. 25—31. In Saint-Petersburg, in 1905, a facsimile traced from this manuscript (the tracing, we know now, contains a number of inaccuracies) was published as a gigantic, full-size foliant, see *Samarkandskiĭ kufícheskiĭ Koran po predaniiu pisannyĭ tret'im khalifom Osmanom (644—656)* (Samarqand Kūfic Qur'ān Writen According to the Tradition by the Hand of the Third Caliph 'Uthmān), published through the St. Petersburg Archological Institute by V. I. Uspensky and S. I. Pisarev (St. Petersburg, 1905). A reduced-size edition was published in 1981 by the American Publishing House "Haidarabad Haus". At present, a CD-ROM edition is being prepared under the auspices of the UNESCO program "Memory of the World" (see: http://www. unesco.org/webworld/mdm/en/index_mdm.html). On the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" see also A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (London, 1937), pp. 338—9; E. Whellan, "Writing the word of God: some early Qur'ān manuscripts and their milieu" (Part 1), *Ars Orientalis*, XX (1990), p. 132.

12. Many centuries earlier, the members of the Yamni synedrion, who were trying to develop a canonical text of the books of the Bible, encountered similar problems. Despite all their efforts, non-canonical manuscripts were not removed from circulation. Confirmation of this is provided, for example, by a papyrus dated to the second century B.C. which contains an excerpt from the Ten Commandments, cf. Shifman, *Vetkhiĭ Zavet*, p. 18.

13. A. Rippin, "Qur'ān 21:95: "A Ban is Upon Any Town"", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XXIV (1979), pp. 43—53; *idem*, "Qur'ān 7:40: "Until the Camel Passes Through the Eye of the Needle"", *Arabica*, XXVII (1980), pp. 107—13; *idem*, "Qur'ān 78/24: a study in Arabic lexicography", *ibid.*, XXVIII (1983), pp. 311—20. In Kuwait, an encyclopaedia of Qur'ānic variants has been published: 'Abd al-'Āl Sālim Makram, Aḥmad Mukhtār 'Umar (I'dād), *Mu'jam al-qirā'āt al-Qur'āniyya, ma'a maqaddima fī 'l-qirā'āt wa ashhar al-qurrā'* (al-Kuwait, 1402—05/1982—85), i—viii.

14. AP 8 = PERF No. 558 in Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienne) and No. 15002 in Staatliche Museen (Berlin). See Y. Rāġib, "L'écriture des papyrus arabes aux premiers siècles de l'Islam", *Les premières écritures islamiques*, Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditerranee, vol. LVIII (Aix-en-Provence, 1991), p. 16.

15. They are absent, for example, in four unpublished documents from Louvres, dated to 664—65. In official correspondence, this sometimes led to tragic misunderstandings, see Rāġib, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. 4; also p. 26.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

17. M. G. Carter, "Les origines de la grammaire arabe", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XL (1972), pp. 69—97. See also G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber* (Leipzig, 1862); G. Weil, *Die grammatischen Streitfragen der Basrer und Kufer* (Leiden, 1913).

18. J. W. Fück, "Abū l'Aswad al-Du'alī", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. I (Leiden, 1961), pp. 105—6; H. Lammence, "Ziyād ibn Abīhi, viceroi de l'Iraq, lieutenant de Mo'awia Ier", extract from *Revista degli Studi Orientali*, IV (1912); C. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien et la formation de Ǧāḥiẓ* (Paris, 1953), p.130, n. 5.

19. T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*. Dritter Teil: *Die Geschichte des Korantexts*, von G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 103 f., 106, 124, 260—2; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, (Halle, 1888), i, pp. 99 ff., 139 ff.; Rāġib, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 28, n. 23; W. Diem, "Untersuchungen zur frühen Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie". I: "Die Schreibung der Vocalen", *Orientalia*, XLVIII (1979).

20. Whellan, *op. cit.*, p. 128—9, n. 36; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 260. This division was dictated by practical concerns (it is convenient to memorize, read or copy a text in sections of equal length on each day of the lunar month) and was based on the example of the Prophet's Companions. Thus, according to the tradition, the caliph 'Uthmān began on Friday night with the second *sūra*, continuing up through the fifth; on Saturday night, from the sixth through the eleventh; on Sunday night, from 12 through 19; on Monday night, from 20 through 28; then from 29 through 38; then from 30 through 55, after which on Thursday night he finished the text, from 56 through 114. Other Companions of the Prophet employed a different division, namely: first part — the first 3 *sūras*; 2 — the following 5 *sūras*; 3 — 7 *sūras*; 4 — 9 *sūras*; 5 — 11 *sūras*; 6 — 13 *sūras*; 7 — the remaining *sūras*. See A. A. Khismatullin, *Sufiiskaia ritual'naia praktika* (Ṣūfī Ritual Practice) (St. Petersburg, 1996), p. 110; Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, pp. 119—20; Whellan, *op. cit.*, p. 128—9, n. 36.

21. Rāġib, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 24. For photo, see R. G. Khury, *Wahb b. Munabbih* (Wiesbaden, 1972), ii.

22. See Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, pp. 10 ff.

23. Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 195. The theologian al-'Aṭṭār, who died in 965, defended in one of his interpretations several readings which diverge from the official redact. He did this on the basis of the consonant shapes, asserting that in vowelling, everything, which produces meaning in the classical Arabic language, is permitted. He was reported to the authorities and called before a court of jurists and "readers" to repent. His renunciation was recorded in writing and signed by all present. The tradition holds that, despite these circumstances, he preserved his own variants until his death and even taught them to his pupils (*ibid.*).

24. For some time, popularity was retained by the system of al-Dūrī (d. 860) from Abū 'Amr (d. 770), al-Baṣra tradition, which had lost by now all its significance, see A. Brockett, "The value of the Ḥafṣ and Warsh transmissions for the textual history of the Qur'ān", *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), pp. 31—45. Bibliography of Western works and Muslim sources on the *qirā'āt* see in R. Paret, "Ḳirā'a", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. V (Leiden, 1982), pp. 127—9.

25. H. Laust, "La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Mawardi (364—450/974—1058)", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, I (1968), pp. 65—6.

26. Jeffery (ed.), *Materials*, p. 2, n. 4.

27. The famed *wazīr*, Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092), received as a gift a copy of the Qur'ān with variant readings written between the lines in red ink and with a commentary on rare expressions in blue ink. Various places most suitable for practical use were highlighted in gold (Mez, *op. cit.*, p. 175).

28. K. Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'ān* (Austin, 1985), p. 17.

29. A. T. Welch, "Qur'anic studies — problems and prospects", *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XCVII/4 (1980). Thematic Issue: *Studies in Qur'an and Tafsir*, ed. A. T. Welch, pp. 620—1; W. A. Graham, "Those who study and teach the Qur'an", *International Congress for the Study of the Qur'an*. Australian National Univesity, Canberra 8—13 May 1980. Series 1 (Canberra, 1980), p. 27; R. C. Martin, "Understanding the Qur'ān in Text and Context", *History of Religions*, XXI/4 (1982), p. 383.

30. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam: a History. 600—1258* (London, 1970), p. 181.

31. F. M. Denny, "The Adab of Qur'ān Recitation: Text and Context", *International Congress for the Study of the Qur'an*, p. 144.

32. C. E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotion: A Study of Prayer-Manuals in Common Use* (London, 1961), p. XXII.

33. At least two circumstances hampered the study of the Qur'ān's ritual role and its oral existence. Firstly, European and American specialists, raised on Judaeo-Christian concepts of Scripture, viewed the Qur'ān primarily as an object for historical and philological research. They stressed aspects of the written tradition (*tafsīr, lugha, balāgha, rasm*) and did not take into account other certain important facets of the Qur'ān's significance, such as the enormous role played by its recitation in the every-day life of the community. Secondly, their research should have relied first and foremost not on an analysis of corresponding works in other traditions, but on direct observations of Muslim practice. Only today in Islamic studies have scholars begun to grant ever-greater recognition to the importance of fieldwork. K. Nelson and F. Denny conducted many months of field research in Egypt and Indonesia. And only at the beginning of the 1980s was the necessity of studying the ritual aspect of the Qur'ān's role in the context of a comprehensive approach to Qur'ānic studies acknowledged. It was then that F. M. Denny in his "Exegesis and recitation: their development as classical forms of Qur'anic piety", published in *Transition and Transformations in the History of Religions: Essays in Honor of Joseph M. Kitagawa*, eds. F. Reynolds and Th. Ludwig (Leiden, 1980), pp. 91—123, formulated in general terms the conception of Qur'ānic recitation and Muslim exegesis as two particular forms of Muslim piety. The symposium "Islam and the History of Religion" at Arizona State University in 1982 represented a step in this direction for Qur'ānic studies. A group of papers presented there on the oral existence of the Qur'ān was later published in a collection edited by R. C. Martin: *Islam and the History of Religions: Perspectives on the Study of a Religious Tradition* (Berkeley, 1982). Of significant interest is W. Graham's work on the oral aspects of interpreting not only the Qur'ān, but other scriptures as well, see his *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge, 1987); on the Qur'ān, see pp. 79—115.

34. Etiquette stipulated ritual poses during reading and particular actions when reading certain *āyāt*. Thus, if during recitation one encounters in the Qur'ānic text mention of torment (*'adhāb*), prostration (*sajda*), mercy (*raḥma*), etc., one must pronounce after their mention the corresponding forms of requests for mercy, salvation, etc., and/or complete actions in correlation with them. Cf. Denny, "The Adab", where the author briefly analyses one of the best known works on Qur'ānic "etiquette", written by Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Zakarīyā' Yaḥyā al-Ḥizāmī al-Dimashqī (631/1233—676/1277) and Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, p. 113, where the author provides the classification of the most important elements in the etiquette of Qur'ānic reading.

35. For details see Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 109—13.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

37. 'Izzat 'Ubayd al-Da"ās, *Fann al-tajwīd* (Aleppo, 1384/1964), p. 9.

38. For English translation, see Muḥammad Abūl Quasem, *The Recitation and Interpretation of the Qur'ān: Al-Ghazali's Theory* (Bangi, Selangor, Malaysia, 1979), cf. also D. Macdonald, "Emotional religion in Islam as affected music and singing: being a translation of a book of the Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn of al-Ghazzālī with analysis, annotation and appendices", *Asiatic Journal*, I—III (1901), pp. 1—28, 192—252, 705—48.

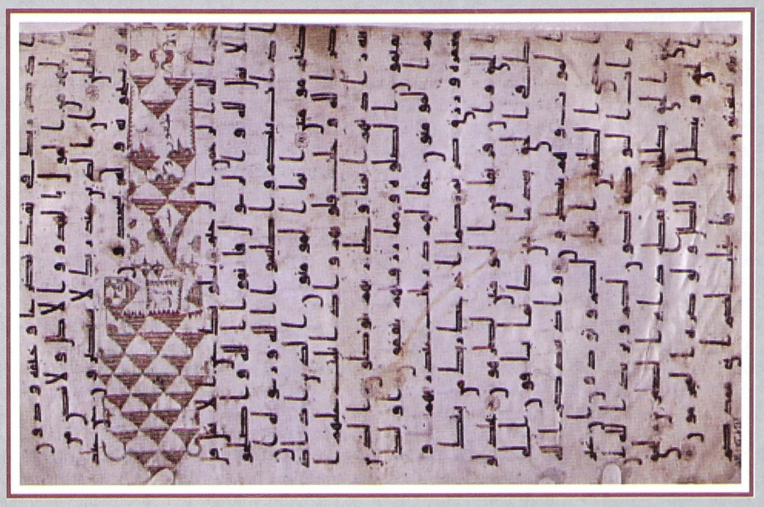


Plate 2

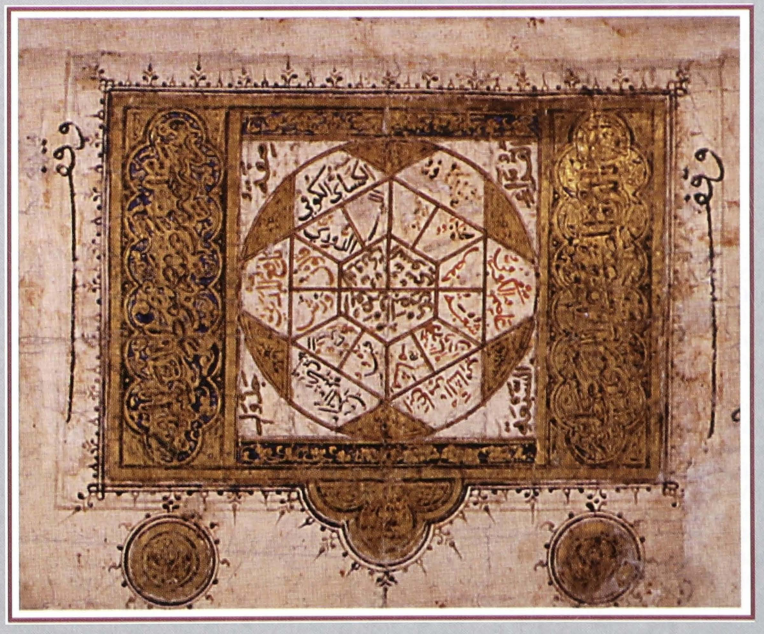


Plate 1

39. See D. James, *The Master Scribes. Qur'āns of the 10th to 14th Centuries AD*. The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. II (Oxford, 1992), No. 2 (Iran or Iraq, *ca.* A.D. 1050—1150), No. 4 (Eastern Iran, 12th century).

40. Pause is understood as a stop after pronouncing a word (phrase) in order to inhale. On the system of *waqf wa ibtidā'* see Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 116—7; Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—30.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 206, n. 12

43. On the styles of recitation and *samā'* polemic, see Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 32—51 and Khismatullin, *op. cit.*, pp. 114—5.

44. A. Rippin, "Literary analysis of Qur'ān, tafsīr, and sīra: the methodologies of John Wansbrough", *Approaches to Islam in Religious Studies*, ed. R. Martin (Arizona State University, 1985), p. 228, n. 4.

45. D. S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwab Manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library* (Dublin, 1955). See also James, *op. cit.*, pp. 14—9; Whellan, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and pp. 134—5, n. 97.

46. An inscription from Qaryat al-Faw (third century) can serve as an example of the first, and the epithet of Mar' al-Qays in al-Namāra is an example of the second, see A. Beeston, "Nemara and Faw", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, LII (1979), pp. 1—6. See also B. Gruendler, *The Development of the Arabic Scripts. From the Nabatean Era to the First Islamic Century According to the Dated Texts* (Atlanta, 1993); J. Ryckmans, "Alphabets, scripts and languages in Pre-Islamic Arabian epigraphical evidence", *Sources for the history of Arabia* (Riyadh, 1984), ii, pp. 75—7; J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Les origines de l'écriture arabe, à propos d'une hipothèse recente", *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XXXIV (1966), pp. 152—7; V. Colombo, "Une hypothèse sur le retour de l'alif dans l'écriture higazi", *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, sous direction de Fr. Déroche et F. Richard (Paris, 1997); O. G. Bol'shakov, *Istoriia Khalifata* (The History of the Caliphate) (Moscow, 1989), i, p. 231, n. 67.

47. An inscription from Kharāna, dated to 568, see P. Schroeder, "Epigraphisches aus Syrien", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII (1884), pp. 530—4 and early Arabic documents on papyrus (642—643), see, for example, A. Grohmann, "Aperçu de papirologie arabe", *Études de papirologie*, vol. I (Le Caire, 1932), pl. IX. Cf. also Bol'shakov, *op. cit.*, p. 231, n. 68. Comparitive material (epigraphic texts and dated papyri from the first and early second century of the Hijra) is, unfortunately, scarce. See A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*. Teil II: Das Schriftwessen. Die Lapidarshrift (Vienna, 1971), pp. 28—9. — Österreichische Academie der Wissenshaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, XCIV; J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Khaṭṭ", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. IV (Leiden, 1978), p. 1119; G. Endress, "Handschriftenkunde", *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, ed. W. Fischer (Wiesbaden, 1982), p. 170.

48. The second term belongs to Jacob Adler (1756—1834), who attempted to catalogue all of the Qur'ānic manuscripts from the Copenhagen Royal Library. He discovered the term *kūfī* in the works of Ibn Khallikān and Fīrūzābādī, in whose time only a dim sense of the true evolution of early Arabic scripts, remained. Since then, and up to the present day, this term has been widely used to designate early Qur'ānic scripts, as the style of writing for which Arab authors actually used the term has remained unknown. As for the term *ḥijāzī*, it is linked to Michelle Amary (1806—1889), who catalogued a large number of Qur'ānic fragments acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris from the descendants of de Cherville, dragoman of the French consul in Cairo. Relying on a text by Ibn al-Nadīm, Amary was able to identify the Meccan style which N. Abbot would later designate as *ḥijāzī*. For details, see Fr. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition. Qur'āns of the 8th to the 10th Centuries AD* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 11—2. — The Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, vol. I.

49. The early 'Abbāsid scripts (usually termed *kūfī*) and New style (usually termed Eastern *kūfī*). Fr. Déroche singled out six basic styles among the former (A—F), see his *The Abbasid Tradition*, p. 34. Naturally, the scripts of the 'Abbāsid tradition did not disappear at once. Up through the thirteenth century and in some places the fourteenth century, they were gradually supplanted by cursive *naskhī* and *muḥaqqaq*.

50. A. Grohmann, "The Problem of dating early Qur'āns", *Der Islam*, XXXIII (1958), pp. 213—5; Sourdel-Thomine, "Khaṭṭ", p. 1120; Endress, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

51. For more examples, see J. Pedersen, *The Arabic book* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 7—9; T. Nöldeke, "Fünf Mo'allaqat, übersetzt und erklärt," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenshaften in Wien*. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Bd. 142 (1900), p. 65; F. Schulthess, *Der Diwan des Ḥātim Ṭej* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 40, n. 4; F. Krenkow, "The Use of writing for the preservation of ancient Arabic poetry", *A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Professor Edward G. Brown*, eds. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 261—8.

52. E. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: II. The miracle of the book (The Qur'ān and Pre-Islamic Literaure)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1997), pp. 26—7; Krenkow, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

53. Vl. V. Polosin, *Slovar' poėtov plemeni 'abs: VI—VII vv.* (Dictionary of Poets of the 'Abs Tribe: 6th—7th Centuries) (Moscow, 1995), p. 266. On writing materials used in the early Islamic period, see Rāġib, *op. cit.*, pp. 20—4.

54. A. I. Elanskaia, "Koptskaia rukopisnaia kniga" ("The Coptic handwritten book"), *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka*, ed. Yu. Petrosyan (Moscow, 1987), p. 45.

55. Another book was created at the same time as the Qur'ān: a list of Muḥammad's Companions, with an indication of the share of spoils due them in accordance with their service to Islam.

56. Orange-red Qur'ān: the Khalili Collection and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Blue Qur'ān: 75 folios in al-Qayrawān, individual folios in museums and collections in Boston, Cambridge, MA, Dublin, Geneva, London, Paris, Riyadh, Tunis and a number of other private collections. See J. M. Bloom, "Al-Ma'mun's Blue Koran?", *Mélanges D. Sourdel*, ed. L. Klaus, published as *Revue des Études Islamiques*, LIV (1986), pp. 59—64; *idem*, "The Blue Koran. An early Fatimid kufic manuscript from the Maghrib", *Les manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, ed. Fr. Déroche (Istanbul—Paris, 1989), pp. 95—9; Déroche, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 92—5.

57. For example, Leiden, Or. 8264, Or. 8264 bis.; P. Duk. inv. 274 (Duke University Special Collections Library, Durham, USA. Descriptions and illustrations on the Internet: http://www.lycos.com/cgibin/pursuit?first=221&cat=lycos&query=Koran.

58. In the West of the Muslim world, the Maghrib, parchment retained its position until the fourteenth century. There also, and also at the turn of the tenth—eleventh centuries, the original square format evidently arose. The appearance of this format has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation.

59. M. Lings and Y. S. Safadi, *The Qur'ān. Catalogue of an Exhibition at the British Library* (London, 1976), p. 17; R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Geneve, 1962), p. 168.

60. S. Ory, "Un nouveau type de *muṣḥaf*. Inventaire des Corans en rouleaux de provenance damascene, conservés à Istanbul", *Revue des Études Islamique*, XXXIII (1965), pp. 87—149.

61. I am indebted to Prof. Malachi Beit-Arié for many observations, which he kindly shared with me in 1993 and which form the basis of the hypothesis expressed here. See also Ettinghausen, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

62. Paper came into widespread use at least a century before this. Held in Leiden is evidently the earliest codex on paper in a European collection — *Gharīb al-ḥadīth* (Or. 298, dated by the colophon of Dhū'l-Qa'da 252/November—December 866).

63. Starting from the fourteenth century, when paper began to replace parchment in Russia, uncial writing began to cede its dominant position to semi-uncial writing, see I. Levochkin, "Khudozhestvennoe oformlenie russkikh rukopisnykh knig" ("The artistic format of Russian handwritten books"), *Al'manakh bibliofila.* Fasc. 26: Tysiacheletie russkoĭ pis'mennoĭ kul'tury (988—1988) (Moscow, 1989), p. 139.

64. Déroche, *op. cit.*, pp. 18—9.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 20—1.

66. Grohmann, "The Problem of dating", pp. 213—5.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

68. *Ibid.*

69. Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

71. *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Dār al-Athār al-Islamiyyah,* Kuwait National Museum (Kuwait, 1985). After their work in Ṣan'ā', German specialists, with the support of a grant from the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, undertook urgently needed restorations on the store-room of the mosque of Sīdī 'Uqba (founded in 672) in al-Qayrawān (Tunisia). It holds between 70 and 100 Qur'ānic manuscripts on parchment, 1,500 works by early Muslim authors (also on parchment) and more than 2,500 early manuscripts on paper.

72. G. R. Puin, "Observations on early Qur'ān manuscripts in Ṣan'ā'", *The Qur'ān as Text*, ed. St. Wild (Leiden, 1996), p. 108.

73. J. Sourdel-Thomin and D. Sourdel, "Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Age", *Revue des Études Islamique*, XXXII (1964), pp. 1—25; *idem,* "À propos des documents de la Grand Mosquée de Damas", *ibid.*, XXXIII (1965), pp. 73—85; S. Ory. "Un nouveau type de *muṣḥaf*", *ibid.*, pp. 87—149; Fr. Déroche, "Collections de manuscrits anciens du Coran à Istambul. Rapport préliminaire", *Études médiévales et patrimoine turc*, volume publ. à l'occasion du 100ème anniversaire de la naissance de Kemal Atatürk in the series *Culture et civilisations médiévales* of the CNRS (Paris, 1983), pp. 145—65. At present, Fr. Déroche is at work on a collated catalogue of manuscripts from Damascus held at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul.

74. J. Sadan, "Genizah and genizah-like practices in Islamic and Jewish traditions", *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLIII/1—2 (1986), pp. 36—58.

75. G. R. Puin, "Methods of research on Qur'anic manuscripts — a few ideas", in *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, p. 17.

76. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition,* p. 15.

77. Puin, "Observations", p. 109.

78. See p. 196 of the comprehensive critical review by A. Jeffery of Nabia Abbot's *The Rise of the Arabic Script and its Qur'anic Development* in *Moslem World,* XXX (1940).

79. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

80. *Ibid.*, p.195; Puin, "Methods", p. 14.

81. H. C. von Bothmer, "Meisterwerke islamischer Buchkunst. Koranische Kalligraphie und Illumination im Handschriftenfund aus der Grossen Moschee von Sanaa'", *Jemen, 3000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur des glückichen Arabien*, ed. W. Daum (Innsbruck—Frankfurt am Main, 1987), p. 178.

82. *Idem,* "Frühislamische Koran-Illuminationen", *Kunst und Antiquitäten,* I (1986), pp. 22—33; *idem,* "Architekurbilder im Koran. Eine Prachthandschrift der Umayyadenzeit aus dem Yemen", *Pantheon*, XLV (1987), pp. 4—20; *idem,* "Ein seltenes Beispiel für die ornamentale Verwendung der Schrift in frühen Koranhandschriften. Die Fragmentgruppe Inv. Nr. 17 — 15.3 im "Haus der Handschriften" in Sanaa'", *Ars et Ecclesia. Festschrift F. J. Ronig*, eds. H. W. Stork, Ch. Gerhardt and A. Thomas (Trier, 1989), pp. 45—67.

83. Grohmann, "The problem of dating", p. 229.

84. Déroche, *The Abbasid Tradition,* pp. 23—4.

85. M. Jenkins, "A Vocabulary of Umayyad Ornament", in *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, pp. 29—33.

86. Puin, "Observations", pp. 109—10.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

88. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, *Izbrannye Sochineniia* (Selected Works), i, (Moscow, 1955) pp. 116—8. The manuscript is listed in *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia. Kratkiĭ katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies. Concise Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov (Moscow, 1986), i, p. 38. Some pages of the manuscript have been published, see, e.g., Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 117 (fol. 22b); *Koran.* Perevod akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo (The Qur'ān, translation by Academician I. Yu. Krachkovsky) (Moscow, 1990) (colour insert) (fol. 66b); *De Bagdad à Ispahan. Manuscrits islamique de la Filiale de Saint-Pétersbourg de l'Institut d'Études Orientales, Académie des Sciences de Russie*, ed. Yuri A. Petrosyan (Milan, 1994), p. 85 (fol. 66b) (the same folio was reproduced in the German, English and Italian editions of the noted publication).

89. Measurements were taken in three places on every folio. Group A, see *Table 1*, Nos. 1—28; Group B, see *Table 1*, Nos. 29—81). In format, a fragment discovered in Ṣan'ā' corresponds most closely to our Qur'ān: 50.3 × 36.0 cm. (call number 00-30.1, for photo, see *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, p. 53).

90. We are indebted to Prof. O. F. Akimushkin for dating the binding. On the bindings of early Qur'āns, see G. Marcais and L. Poinsot, *Objets kairouanais, IXe au XIIIe siècle. Reliures, verreries, cuivres et bronzes, bijoux* (Tunis, 1948); U. Dreibholz, "Some aspects of early Islamic bookbindings from the Great Mosque of Sana'a, Yemen", *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, pp. 16—34.

91. Even the most preliminary statistics on manuscripts copied in *ḥijāzī* and "late *ḥijāzī*" (our copy, Or. 2165 from the British Library, materials from other European collections, the Khalili Collection, published information on Qur'āns found in Ṣan'ā') shows that the greater part of the Qur'ānic text as copied in these hands has reached us. We have, in full or in part, the texts of *sūra*s 2—58, 66—67, 70—72, 76, 83, 86—88, 91—92, 100—105.

92. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, pp. 79—80, fig. 44.

93. On a comparative analysis of hands A and B with the aid of a specialized computer program called ENTRAP, see E. Rezvan and N. Kondybayev, "New tool for the analysis of handwritten script", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/3 (St. Petersburg—Helsinki, 1996), pp. 43—53. The analysis consistently reveals differences in the writing of all main symbols. A special article on this is forthcoming in Manuscripta Orientalia.

94. See N. Abbot, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 38—9; A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo, 1952), pp. 83—7.

Plate 1

Plate 2

Plate 3

95. This practice is attested by early manuscripts, see *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, pp. 44—8, 51, 56, 58. In one case (p. 9b) an illumination was written in above the marker indicating the end of an *āya*.

96. Fols. 3a, 9b, 11b, 16b, 19a, 26a, 29a, 31a, 36a, 38b, 42a, 43b, 44b, 48b, 50b, 52a, 54a, 57a, 59b, 61a, 62b, 64b, 65a, 66a, 67a, 68a, 69a, 70a, 71a, 72b, 74b, 76b. Triangles were used as the main element in illuminations in a fragment from one of the earliest copies of the Qur'ān (see *Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'*, p. 58). The vignettes in our copy are paralleled in manuscripts found in Ṣan'ā' and in decorative architectural fragments from the early and mid-eighth century. See about it Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 22, fig. 6a. Cf. also *Arabic Palaeography. A Collection of Arabic Texts from First Centuries of Hidjra till Year 1000*, ed. B. Moritz (Cairo, 1905), pls. 1—3, 9, 11.

97. For a conclusion based on a discussion of the impossibility of using the given form of numerals for dating, see Whellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 124—5.

98. Here we find intermixed variants of the count accepted by two versions of the Medinan system. Cf. A. Spitaler, *Die Verzählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung. Jarhang 1935, Heft 11 (München, 1935).

99. Cf. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki", pp. 96—109; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire", pp. 128—43; Jeffery and Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 182—194; Puin, "Observations", pp. 108—9; Nöldeke, *Geschichte*; R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (Paris, 1947), pp. 150—5; W. Diem, *op. cit.*, *Orientalia*, XLVIII (1979), pp. 207—57; *ibid.*, XLIX (1980), pp. 67—106; *ibid.*, L (1981), pp. 332—83; *ibid.*, LII (1983), pp. 357—404. For a bibliography on the question, see A. Neuwirth, "Koran", *Grundriss der Arabischen Philologie*. Band II: Literaturwissenschaft, ed. H. Gätje (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 98—135.

100. Cf. Jeffery and Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 193; Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki", pp. 104, 109; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire", p. 143; Puin, "Observations", p. 109.

101. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Imperatorskoĭ Sankt-Peterburgskoĭ Publichnoĭ biblioteki", p. 124; *idem*, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoĭ biblioteki v Kaire", p. 150; Jeffery and Mendelsohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 194—5.

102. Such errors were quite common, as copyists wrote from memory and unintentionally confused similar variants. In a manuscript of the work *Kitāb al-awrāq* by Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 947) dated to 1113, in the Qur'ānic citation on fol. 152b, one could find *āya* 3:160 cited with the end attested in *āyāt* 12:67, 14:12 and 39:38, textually close to 3:160. For this observation we are indepted to Prof. A. B. Khalidov.

103. Whellan, *op. cit.*, pp. 119—23, figs. 19—22.

104. Blachère, *op. cit.*, p. 133. On the "Kazan Qur'āns", see Anās Khālidūf, *Al-kutub al-'arabiyya allati tubi'at fī Rūsīya: 1787—1917* (Dubai, forthcoming); Ifīm Rizfān, *Al-Qur'ān al-Karīm fī Rūsīya* (Dubai, forthcoming); P. A. Griaznevich, "Koran v Rossii (izuchenie, perevody i izdaniia)" ("The Qur'ān in Russia: study, translation and editions"), in *Islam: Religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Griaznevich and S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 76—82; A. G. Karimullin, *U istokov tatarskoĭ knigi* (At the Roots of Tatar Book) (Kazan, 1971), pp. 103—4; E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies"), in *Islam: istoriograficheskie ocherki*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1991), p. 15; H. Röhling, "Koranausgaben in Rissichen Buchdruck der 18 Jahrhunderts," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz, 1977), pp. 205—10.

105. G. Bergstrasser, "Koranlesung in Kairo", mit einem Beitrag von K. Huber, *Der Islam*, XX (1932), pp. 1—42; XXI, 1933, pp. 110—40.

106. Brockett, *op.cit.*

107. G. Bergstrasser, *Plan eines Aparatus Criticus zum Koran* (München, 1930). — Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung, 7; A. Jeffery, "Progress in the study of the Qur'an text", *Moslem World*, XXV (1935), pp. 4—16; *idem, Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'ān* (Leiden, 1937), p. VII, n. 6; *idem, The Qur'ān as Scripture* (New York, 1952), p. 103; O. Pretzl in T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, pp. 249—51, 274; A. Spitaler, "Otto Pretzl, 20. April 1893 — 28. October 1941", *Zeitschrift der Deutchen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XCVI (1942), pp. 161—70; A. Fischer, "Grammatisch schwierige Schwur- und Beschwörungsformeln des klassischen Arabisch", *Der Islam*, XXVIII (1948), pp. 5—6. See also A. Rippin, "The present status of tafsir studies", *Moslem World*, LXXII (1982), p. 224; A. Welch, "Al-Ḳur'an", *EI*, 2nd edn., vol. V (Leiden, 1975), p. 409; D. Brady, review of H. Loebenstein's *Koranfragmente auf Pergament aus der Papyrussamlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Wien, 1982), in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XXVIII (1983), p. 376.

108. See E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān: between "textus receptus" and "critical edition," *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, ed. J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1992), pp. 291—310. A similar database (Sfar-data) of dated Jewish manuscripts, emerging within the framework of the Jewish Palaeographic Project under the direction of Prof. Malachi Beyt-Arié, has convincingly demonstrated that this is not merely an ordinary computer catalogue, but a powerful tool for research.

109. A colour facsimile of manuscript E 20 will be published in the CD-ROM series "Asiatic Museum Treasures from St. Petersburg Academic Collection of Oriental Manuscripts", issue No. 4: *Late ḥijāzī Qur'ān Manuscript from the St. Petersburg Academic Collection* (see web-site: http://www.thesa.ru). We also plan to publish other early Qur'ānic fragments from the rich collections in St. Petersburg (The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, National Library of Russia, etc.).

Illustrations

Plate 1. Colour *jadwal* in MS Yahuda MSAR 900 dated *ca.* A.D. 1390. The margins of the manuscript are full of *al-qirā'āt*. Courtesy of the Jewish National and University Library.

Plate 2. Fol. 9b of manuscript E 20 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (ending of *sūra* 7 and beginning of *sūra* 8), 52.5 × 34.0 cm.

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

I. Ye. Petrosyan

A TURKISH TRANSLATION OF A COSMOGRAPHIC WORK BY IBN AL-WARDĪ AND ITS MANUSCRIPT IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Turkish manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a Turkish translation of an Arabic cosmographic work by Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Wardī. The manuscript is illustrated. In addition to a decorative *'unwān*, it contains as many as 92 miniatures. Until now, the manuscript has not drawn scholarly attention. The original Arabic work was written in Syria in 1419 and was intended for the commandant of the fortress of Aleppo, Shāhīn al-Mu'ayyidī. The Turkish manuscript, which consists of 277 folios, was dated to the sixteenth century by the compilers of a Catalogue of Turkic MSS of the above-mentioned collection [1]. The text written in black Indian ink and red vermilion was copied in an almost calligraphic *nasta'līq*; both paper and binding are Eastern; the pasteboard binding is covered in leather; double pagination — Eastern and later European.

The manuscript displays many marginal notes, some of them in French or Latin. Folio 01a contains a note in Latin which reports that the manuscript was given as a gift in 1840 to the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg by Buteneff. A small sheet was glued to folio 01a; it contains the following inscription: "Constantinople. 1832. A. Buteneff", which makes us suppose that A. Butenev acquired the manuscript in Constantinople in 1832. We find in the same place a note in French which provides the title of Ibn al-Wardī's work — his name is cited in the form "Omer-Seradjouldin" — and a brief description of its contents. The title of the work is found on folio 02a: *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*. Folio 02b contains the *fihrist* — section titles are in black Indian ink with page numbers listed beneath them in red. The margins of many folios bear notes in pencil which give the Arabic titles of works and the names of authors found in the main body of the text (for example, fols. 69a, 215a, and others).

The manuscript of the Turkish translation of Ibn al-Wardī's work under consideration here is not unique. Several copies of it have survived, among which we are aware of manuscripts held in Uppsala, Oxford, Paris, Bratislava, and Istanbul [2]. Numerous copies of the translation testify to the popularity of this particular translation of Ibn al-Wardī's composition.

The authors of the above-noted Catalogue of Turkic MSS indicate in their brief description of the St. Petersburg copy that, judging from the translator's introduction, the translation was completed for presentation to a certain 'Othmān Shāh b. Iskender Pasha [3]. They do not, however, provide any information on the person for whom the translation — completed in 970/1562—63, as the translator's introduction runs [4] — was intended.

This date, taken together with the palaeographic characteristics of the manuscript, supports a dating to the second half of the sixteenth century. Thus, the St. Petersburg copy is in close chronological proximity to the actual translation. But what in effect make the manuscript especially interesting are numerous miniatures it contains. These are, as a rule, small in format and located largely within the text or on the margins.

The history of this Turkish translation is no doubt of interest as well. The translation includes two introductions, one in Arabic and the other — in Turkish. The Arabic one opens the translation and provides information on the contents of the work and its sources. In the Turkish introduction, which immediately follows the Arabic one, the translator, who calls himself Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb [5], and in another place simply Mollā Maḥmūd [6], writes that he undertook his work at the advice of his "friends and brethren". Following the accepted formula of self-abasement, common among Muslim authors, he complains of his inadequate abilities and the impossibility of avoiding mistakes and inaccuracies. To justify his literary undertaking, he cites a popular saying, according to which "he who has received an order is not guilty [of what he was ordered to do]". For further justification, he notes that Ibn al-Wardī's work was written in Arabic, and for this reason was not accessible to all. It was this latter consideration which, in his words, moved his friends to ask him to translate the composition into Turkī, that is, into Turkish [7].

The translator also writes that his efforts were supported by the court (*dergāh-i 'izzet-i penāh*) and eulogizes his patron, the "great emir" (*amīr-i kabīr*) 'Othmān Shāh

Plate 4

b. Iskender Pasha, calling him a "friend of the *'ulamā'* and the righteous", "benefactor of the sick and indigent", "source of generosity and mercy", "helper of widows and orphans". He notes in particular the "sweetness" of his speech and his ability to express himself artfully and elegantly [8]. At the close of his introduction, Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb finally raises the curtain of secrecy on his patron, indicating directly that the latter is among the members of the Sultan's family and is a descendent of the Ottoman Sultan Selīm Khān [9]. Taking into account the date of the translation, one can easily guess that this Sultan is Selīm I (1512—1520). It is also important that the translator refers to 'Othmān Shāh with the title "king of [his] retainers and pillar of rulers and sultans". In another place he simply calls him Sultan and entreats Allah to deflect from his "Royal essence" all ills spiritual and physical [10].

In identifying the 'Othmān Shāh, eulogized by the translator, and determining his relation to the Ottoman dynasty, it is important to recall that the internecine struggle for power within the Ottoman dynasty commonly left no male descendants of the Sultans alive aside from that who was meant to occupy the throne. Thus, one can suppose that 'Othmān Shāh descended from Sultan Selīm I along the female line and had no chance to be enthroned. We know that Selīm I had six daughters. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, a well-known authority on Ottoman history, mentions one of them, calling her Khatīja Sulṭān and reporting that she was the mother of 'Othmān Shāh [11].

A special study on the Ottoman dynasty by A. Alderson indicates that 'Othmān Shāh was the son of Selīm I's daughter (from her second marriage with Muṣṭafā Pasha), whose name was Ḥafiṣa. Alderson's work lists both the date of her death — 10 July 1538 — and the date of her son 'Othmān Shāh's death — 1568 [12]. According to this scholar, Selīm's daughter Khatīja by name did not have a son who would bear the name of 'Othmān Shāh. Besides, she was married to another Ottoman official — Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Yūnus. As for Ḥafiṣa, her first marriage was to Aḥmed Pasha Dūqakīn-zāde (the marriage took place in 1511), but she bore him no children. Aḥmed Pasha, who descended from an Albanian aristocratic family and accepted Islam, was executed by order of Selīm I during his Iranian campaign in 1514 [13]. In 1522, Ḥafiṣa married again, this time to Muṣṭafā Pasha (d. 27 April 1529), and she bore him son by the name of 'Othmān Shāh [14]. The exact date of his birth remains unknown.

Thus, according to Alderson, the father of 'Othmān Shāh was an Ottoman official Muṣṭafā Pasha. This would appear to disagree with the name indicated in the manuscript — 'Othmān Shāh b. Iskender Pasha. However, Alderson also informs that the father of Muṣṭafā Pasha was **Iskender Pasha**, whom he lists as having died in 1506 [15]. Including in a name in place of the father the grandfather or a distinguished founder of a lineage was not at all uncommon in Muslim literature.

Thus, 'Othmān Shāh, for whom Ibn al-Wardī's work was translated, belonged to the upper nobility of the Ottoman state. His grandfather on his mother's side was Sultan Selīm I; and on his father's side — the renowned Ottoman military leader Iskender Pasha. The latter served under the Sultans Meḥmed II (1451—1481) and Bāyazīd II (1481—1512) and participated in all military operations in Europe as the commander of border forces in Serbia and Bosnia (later as a *beylerbey*). In 894/1488—89, he received in return for his military services the rank of *wazīr* and the title of *pāshā*. In 901/1491—92, however, in connection with certain considerations of "the reign and the faith", as writes the seventeenth-century Ottoman historian Ḥuseyn, he was deprived of his rank of *wazīr* [16]. His falling into disgrace was possibly connected with the attempt on the life of Sultan Bāyazīd II during his campaign against Albania. The attempt took place in 1492 [17]. But according to İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, Iskender Pasha left the post of *wazīr* of his own volition in 1499 and was appointed *sancak-bey* of Bosnia. In this rank he later participated in military actions against Venice [18]. The above-mentioned Ḥuseyn reports that Iskender Pasha spent the remainder of his life in Bosnia [19].

Of Iskender Pasha's son, Muṣṭafā, it is reported that he attained the rank of second *wazīr* under Sultan Suleymān I (1520—1566) and married one of the daughters of Selīm I [20]. His *nisba*, Boshnaq (Bosnian), was in all likelihood connected to his father's place of residence and service. In providing information on officials during the reign of Bāyazīd II, Ḥuseyn mentions Muṣṭafā, son of Iskender Pasha. He writes that the latter was distinguished by his bravery and was also known as a learned man and author of some fame. To him belong several works in verse and in prose which he composed in Persian and Turkish [21]. The Ottoman *tezkireci* Laṭīfī (d. 1582), in his *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* written in 953/1546—47, mentions 'Othmān Shāh's father Muṣṭafā Pasha. He reports that Muṣṭafā Pasha bore the pen-name Ṣun'ī-bey and was renowned for his exceptional talent in rhetoric as well as valour in wars. In appreciation of his military services, Muṣṭafā Pasha received from Sultan Selīm I a large *sancak* to administer. Laṭīfī also introduces citations from two *qaṣīda*s by Muṣṭafā Pasha [22].

Another Ottoman *tezkireci*, Qinālī-zāde Ḥasan Chelebī (953/1546–47—1012/1604), also has high praise for the bravery Muṣṭafā Pasha displayed during Selīm I's campaign against the Persian Shah Ismā'īl. He reports that in appreciation of Muṣṭafā's accomplishments in the war, Selīm I personally adorned his head-dress with a *sulṭān* [23].

Thus, by distinguishing himself during Selīm's Persian campaign of 1517—1518 and receiving the administration of a large *sancak* (by some accounts, that was the *sancak* of Tripoli in Syria), Muṣṭafā entered the military-administrative elite of the Ottoman Empire. Besides, he was personally singled out by the Sultan. This evidently played a role in the decision, taken in 1522, two years after the death of Selīm I, to marry him to the widowed daughter of Selīm, Ḥafiṣa. This made Muṣṭafā Pasha part of a special social stratum, the sultans' "sons-in-law".

The fact of Muṣṭafā's mention by Ottoman *tezkirecis* indicates that he was a highly educated man and enjoyed a certain amount of renown in the literary circles of his time. It is only natural that his son, 'Othmān Shāh, should have received an excellent education. In any case, his eloquence, or the ability to express himself artfully and elegantly for which Ibn al-Wardī's translator lauds him, he might well have inherited from his father.

But 'Othmān Shāh, for whom the translation was performed, made his mark on Ottoman history for reasons other than his rhetoric talents. The grandson of Selīm I and the nephew of Suleymān I, he found himself drawn

Fig. 1

into the internal strife which broke out in the dynasty among the sons of Sultan Suleymān. We know that the conflict became especially severe when only two of the Sultan's sons remained alive — Selīm (the future Sultan Selīm II) and Bāyazīd. Bāyazīd, a highly educated man who greatly resembled his father, was popular in court circles and hoped to inherit supreme power in the state. But after the death of Suleymān's favourite wife, Khurrem Sulṭān — the mother of both princes and a peacemaker between them — the struggle for power became even more acute. An attempt was made to distance the two physically by sending Selīm to Konya and Bāyazīd to Amasya. Amasya, however, was much farther from Istanbul than Kütahya, where Bāyazīd had formerly resided, therefore, he refused to move to Amasya. As for Selīm, he obediently fulfilled his father's order and removed himself from Manisa to Konya. In order to prevent a possible clash between the brothers, the high officials of the state — Sokollu Meḥmed Pasha and Pertev Pasha — were sent to brothers with admonitions. It is at this point that our hero, 'Othmān Shāh, appears on the historical scene; he should have been approximately forty-two at the time. The two princes, extremely hostile to each other, were told that if they failed to hault their rivalry, the throne would pass to the nephew of the reigning Sultan Suleymān, 'Othmān Shāh, who then occupied the post of *sancak-bey* of Morea [24].

This episode seems to be without parallels in the history of the Ottoman dynasty. It allows us to gain some insight into the personality of the man for whom the translation of Ibn al-Wardī's work was intended. It is quite clear that if 'Othmān Shāh was meant to be enthroned, he must have enjoyed not only fame, but a certain amount of popularity at the Ottoman court. This information places the translator's preface to Ibn al-Wardī's work in a special light. As was noted above, the introduction is distinguished by its exceptional praise for 'Othmān Shāh, his pertaining to the Ottoman dynasty being particularly stressed. Viewing that the translation dates to 1562—1563, one can assume that the fame of 'Othmān Shāh as a possible candidate for supreme power was still great. In turning to 'Othmān Shāh for support in his literary endeavour, the translator possibly took this circumstance into account. In any case, this provides a satisfactory explanation for the translator's addressing his patron as sultan, though by the time of the translator's work the prince Bāyazīd had been executed (25 September 1561) and there remained only one candidate to the throne, the prince Selīm.

We turn now to the work which Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb selected for translation into Turkish and presentation to the nephew of the reigning Sultan Suleymān I. The original composition written, as was noted, for Shāhīn al-Mu'ayyadī, commandant of the Aleppo fortress, bears the title *Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib* ("Gem of Wonders and Pearl of Rarities"). Although the work's authorship is disputed, the author is generally considered to be Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. al-Wardī (d. 1457) [25].

I. Iu. Krachkovsky, who in his *Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura* ("The Arabic Geographical Literature") stresses the great popularity of Ibn al-Wardī's work, notes, however, that it represents the degeneration rather than the development of the cosmographic genre [26]. Muslim cosmography reached its peak in the well-known work by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt* ("Wonders of Creatures and Rarities of All Existing Things"), written in the second half of the thirteenth century. It was translated from Arabic into Persian, and later, starting from the fifteenth century, translated many times into Turkish (possibly from the Persian). Interestingly, one of these translations was intended for the son of Suleymān I, the prince Muṣṭafā, also one of the participants in the struggle for supreme power in the Ottoman Empire. The translator was the *khwāja* of the prince, Gelibolu Surūrī-efendi (d. 969/1561—62), a Ṣūfī of Nakshbandī order, who had an immense influence over Muṣṭafā. The translation remained, however, uncompleted because of Muṣṭafā's death (he was executed in 1553) [27]. The translation was later completed by another man, a certain Rodosī-zāde. Manuscripts of Surūrī-efendi's translation of the work by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī's are usually illustrated. At almost the same time as Mevlānā Maḥmūd's translation of Ibn al-Wardī, yet another translation of Qazwīnī's work into Turkish appeared in 1562. The translation was made by Mevlānā Gināyī, the *qāḍī* of Bosnia [28]. These translations seem to demonstrate the then general passion for cosmography in the learned Turkish circles of the period.

This exaggerated interest in cosmographic literature no doubt had its effect on the appearance of the 1562—1563 translation of Ibn al-Wardī. Yet it should be noted that in the Turkish milieu interest in his work took place even earlier. The oldest of Ibn al-Wardī's translation into Turkish appeared as far back as before the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks [29], that is, when Ibn al-Wardī was still alive. The work by him was no less popular in the Arab milieu, too. Suffice it to say that the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies alone holds seven copies of this work, the earliest of which dates to 1565 while the latest was executed in the Volga region at the beginning of the twentieth century [30].

As is known, the sixteenth century witnessed the outburst of interest in geographic literature in the Ottoman State, which can be linked primarily to the successes of Turkish seafaring at the time. However, this fact can explain interest in Ibn al-Wardī's work only partly, since this writing contains too many fantastic details to be directly attributed to geographical literature. Fantastic details make up the major part of the work, although the author also included descriptions of cities, countries, oceans, straits, plants and animals, borrowing his information from the works of such authors as Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (*ca.* 850—934), Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (1201—1274), al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956), al-Marrākushī (d. *ca.* 1262), and others whose names he cites.

Ibn al-Wardī's compilation is usually denied to be of any originality or scientific value. It is commonly accepted that Ibn al-Wardī skilfully compiled his work, basing it on Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Hamdān b. Shabīb al-Ḥarrānī al-Ḥanbalī's *Jāmi' al-funūn wa salwat al-maḥzūn*, written in the fourteenth century in Mamlūk Egypt [31]. This view, however, seems to be incorrect. Though Ibn al-Wardī's work, as Krachkovsky notes, clearly betrays the influence of Ibn Hamdān, whom Ibn al-Wardī, however, does not cite among his sources, the two works are not

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

identical. One should note that Ibn al-Wardī makes abundant borrowings from Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, al-Dimashqī (1256—1327), al-Idrīsī (1100—1165), al-Muqaddasī (second half of the 11th century), at times without citing them among his sources. One can, in any case, conclude that Ibn al-Wardī was a well-read author deriving his knowledge not only from Ibn Hamdān [32]. Moreover, in the view of C. J. Tornberg, Ibn al-Wardī's work contains materials which have not reached us directly. The information he provides on Africa, Arabia and Syria is of interest. It is only in Ibn al-Wardī that we find information on the large bridge, 150 meters in length, which connects Trapani with the Sicilian mainland. Additionally, in the map of the world he provides, for the first time in an Arab map we find the Balkans as well as the mention of "the Allemands and other Christian peoples" [33].

All of these features of Ibn al-Wardī's work, however, are entirely eclipsed by his penchant for the marvellous and fantastic accounts. Interestingly, already in the seventeenth century, the famous Turkish scholar and geographer, Ḥājjī Khalīfa (1609—1657) gives scathing comment on Ibn al-Wardī's work in his famed bibliographic dictionary. He writes that the work contains "groundless tales and impossible circumstances which reasoned minds refuse to accept". In describing the author, Ḥājjī Khalīfa notes that such is the practice of "storytellers who are uninformed in the literary and rational sciences". Evaluating the popularity of the work, the learned Turkish author adds: "This work has spread among those who possess insufficient minds, such as he (Ibn al-Wardī — *I. P.*)". "It begins," writes Ḥājjī Khalīfa, "with the words 'Praise unto Allah, who forgives sin and accepts repentance ...'; perhaps the author meant to indicate that this work and others like it are [merely] frivolous entertainment and sin" [34].

In analysing these responses, one should attend to the criterion applied by critics to Ibn al-Wardī's work. This criterion is the authenticity and "scientificity" of the information it contains, its novelty and originality. But to apply such criteria to Ibn al-Wardī's cosmographic work is incorrect. Ḥājjī Khalīfa himself was first and foremost a scholar — he engaged in the serious study of geography and made use of the fruits of European geographic science and was presumably familiar with the works of European authors. His demand from Ibn al-Wardī is accuracy and authenticity, and he blames the author for the fantastic nature of the information he provides.

In analysing the genre of *'ajā'ib* literature, Krachkovsky points out that cosmographic works had to meet the following requirements: be skilfully composed compilations with a clear and logical exposition; provide a summary of the information in the natural sciences known at the time. As concerns "the wonders of the world" they describe, the scholar notes that the authors of such works were "primitive mystics" who saw "wonders of creation" in all things [35]. It is this last observation, which deserves our special attention with regard to Ibn al-Wardī's work and its Turkish translation in particular, since it provides a key to understanding one of the fundamental characteristics both of the genre of Muslim cosmographic literature and of a certain sense of the world common to medieval Muslim society.

Let us ask a simple question: who were the authors of cosmographic works in the *'ajā'ib* genre and what was the purpose of the work they endeavoured? The answers would appear to be obvious: these works were written by Muslim scholars for the purpose of introducing to a broad readership what geographical information they possessed in a form most likely to attract and entertain readers. The latter condition could explain the strong element of the fantastic in their works. Such an answer, however, is applicable to far from all cosmographic works known to us, despite the partial truth in contains: human curiosity is a universal trait, and Muslims, as well as people of different faiths, were endowed with a lively interest in the outer world they could not observe personally and where they expected to encounter numerous wonders.

The cosmographic works of medieval Muslim authors display yet another very important feature. It is worth noting that the majority of these authors were not at all travellers, but deeply pious people — most often Ṣūfīs. We also know that Muslim mysticism was especially sensitive to questions concerning the act of the world's creation by God and to questions of how to evaluate the world, which arose from that act of creation. The religious aspect of the work by Ibn al-Wardī, like of many his predecessors, was probably much more important than it is usually considered.

In this regard it is perhaps appropriate to recall the first Christian apologists, who composed their works to struggle with paganism. The Christian philosophy of being held an important place in their works. They taught that the world was created by God so that man, created solely to know the Creator of the world, might be born into it. Cognition of the world was indispensable in order to render veneration unto God. In turn, the aim of the man who venerates the Creator is to attain immortality, come to resemble an angel, and serve the Creator in the kingdom of heaven. "In this is the meaning of things (*summa rerum*), in this is the mystery of God, in this is the sacrament of the world," writes the early Christian author Lactantius (d. *ca.* 325) in his famous *Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septem* [36].

But how does one gain knowledge of the Creator of the world and of the world which He created? The final object of knowledge is transcendental and hence unknowable. But it is possible to gain knowledge of God's creation — the world in which man resides. In this, the world interests Christian apologists primarily from an aesthetic point of view, as God's most beautiful creation. God created the heavens and placed them at the highest point in the universe in order to set up his throne there. He then created the earth that people and animals might dwell there. He brought forth on its surface seas and rivers. He gave light to His dwelling, creating the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies. God divided the world into two opposite parts — East and West, where the East has a direct relation to God and the West resembles a dark spirit which takes light from people. God also made the South and the North, which are images of life and death, for life is linked to warmth and death to cold, Lactantius teaches [37].

The world, its astounding diversity, exists for cognition of God's wisdom, of his absolute might. The ancient Biblical and generally Near Eastern motif of God's creation of the world, present in Islam as well, stands at the core of an extra-rational, aesthetic approach to the world. The material world was created and adorned by God and

for this very reason cannot be censured. This is a powerful argument against dualists. The beauty and structure of God's world are the main proof of the existence and truthfulness of the Creator Himself. From this inevitably follows that the description of this world and its wonders is pleasing to God and represents a rendering of praise unto the Creator and his creation, for it advertises his truthfulness and existence.

Viewed in this fashion, Muslim cosmographic works are in no way geographic literature, but a special type of religious-philosophical literature, a special form of preaching in which the description of the world expresses praise for the divine creation and delight in the Creator Himself. In vain should we expect from such literature a rational, "scientific" approach to the subject. Predominant here is the aesthetic and emotional approach to the subject, which has only an indirect relation to geographic matter-subjects. In such an approach, the introduction of fantastic details, the element of wonderful is absolutely natural and even indispensable. All wonders of the world described represent a vast metaphor for the wisdom of God, who created a miracle to grant mankind understanding. In this sense, Ibn al-Wardī is far from being an adherent to what is unusual and rare, rather he is a pious collector of manifestations of God's wisdom and His fervent admirer.

It is no mere coincidence that Ibn al-Wardī's Turkish translator, Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb — himself undoubtedly a Ṣūfī, as his *laqab* Mevlānā shows, — reports in his introduction that he was inspired in his work by the literary exploit of the Muslim "Brothers of Purity" (*Ikhwān al-ṣafā*). These created in the tenth century their famed encyclopaedia of the world, a work profoundly mystical. It is also noteworthy that the author of another cosmographic work exceptionally popular among Muslim readers, Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī, was greatly influenced by the famous Arab Ṣūfī Ibn al-'Arabī (1165—1240) [38]. Finally, we know that al-Dimashqī, author of the cosmographic work *Nukhbat al-dahr fī 'ajā'ib al-barr wa-l-baḥr* ("Selection of the Age on the Wonders of Land and Sea"), was also a mystic — his *laqab* was al-Ṣūfī. He ended his life as a hermit in the Ṣafad region of Palestine [39].

Such an approach to cosmographic works allows us in particular to understand why a significant number of such kind of works were abundantly illustrated with miniatures. The visual aspect in this context was no less important than the text itself with its description of the "world's wonders". Miniatures describing these wonders were aimed at strengthening the emotional and aesthetic effect, thus emphasising the main idea of the text. It is therefore not surprising that the numerous copies of Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī's work are so rich in illustrations. Ibn al-Wardī's work would seem to contradict this rule. Manuscripts of it, for the most part, contain only a map of the world and a drawing of the Ka'ba with the *qibla* indicated. This is, however, possibly a special case. The absence of illustrations is perhaps explained by the non-high rank of the person for whom the work was intended and, consequently, his modest means to remunerate the author's work. It may well be that there was no miniaturist capable to illustrate Ibn al-Wardī's work in fifteenth-century provincial Aleppo.

Alternatively, the manuscript of the Turkish translation from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is abundantly illustrated: it contains 92 miniatures. The quality of the miniatures, which illustrate numerous "wonders of the world" as well as the diversity of the plant and animal world, is mostly not very high, though some of them betray a skilful hand. It concerns especially the miniatures depicting birds (see the front cover of the present issue). These are shown usually in their motion or in a pose so much elegant that most exquisite examples of the renowned schools of miniature painting come to mind. However, the miniatures were apparently executed not in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. A number of them look even clumsy. The brush is not bright and the palette not rich. The miniatures seem to have been performed by a provincial, if talented, artist. At any rate, the style of the miniatures is unusual (cf., e.g., *Plate 4*, p. 56). I dare not state that the St. Petersburg illustrated manuscript was created in Morea, where 'Othmān Shāh was reported to reside with his "home court", and that this manuscript is the very copy to have been presented to him. Yet the suggestion seems to be tempting. We know that the cost of the execution of an illustrated manuscript was very high, and that the appearance of such a copy was always connected with a high-ranked customer and with the expectation of receiving substantial remuneration in return. Is it a mere formula of etiquette that the translator, Mevlānā Maḥmūd al-Khaṭīb, in his introduction to the translation painstakingly underscores the generosity of 'Othmān Shāh [40]?

Certainly, such a far-reaching supposition would require special research conducted on the basis of all remaining manuscripts of this translation of Ibn al-Wardī. At present, it is important to stress only that the style of the miniatures, which adorn our manuscript, is distinctly provincial. It does not allow for direct attribution: the style cannot be linked with any particular school of miniature painting. It is dependent on many of them, being evidently a mixture of style elements. The artist was in all likelihood guided in his work by some illustrated manuscript of a cosmographic work, most likely by Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī.

The author of the present article hopes that the present publication will draw anew the attention of researchers to the illustrated Turkish translations of the famous Muslim cosmographic works and to the reasons of their great popularity in the learned Muslim audience. The solving of the question needs more detailed analysis of both authors' and translators' views and tastes, as well as mentality of those to whom such kind of writings were presented.

Notes

1. L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies). Fasc. 2: History documents, bibliography, encyclopaedias, geography, calendars, ed. A. S. Tveritinova (Moscow, 1975), p. 139.

2. See C. J. Tornberg, *Codices arabici, percici et turcici bibliothecae regiae Universitatis Uppsaliensis* (Uppsala, 1849), p. 216, No. 315; H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstâni and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, pt. 2 (Oxford,

1930), p. 1179, No. 2080; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris* (Paris, 1932), i, p. 319, No. 151; *Arabské, turecké a perzské rukopisy Univerzitnej knižnice v Bratislave*, za redakcie Josefa Blaškoviča napisali: arabské rukopisy Karol Petraček, turecké rukopisy Josef Blaškovič, perzké rukopisy Rudolf Vesely (Bratislava, 1961), p. 309, No. 429; etc.

3. See Dmitrieva, Muratov, *op. cit.*, p. 139; *Tarjama-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 3b.

4. *Tarjama-yi kharīdat*, MS B 790, fol. 4a.

5. *Ibid.*, fol. 272b.

6. *Ibid.*, fol. 276b.

7. *Ibid.*, fol. 3b.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, fol. 4a.

10. *Ibid.*

11. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli tarihi*, 2nd edn. (Ankara, 1964), ii, p. 406.

12. See A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), Table XXIX.

13. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

14. Alderson, *op. cit.*, Table XXIX.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Khiusein, *Beda'i' ul-veka'i' (Udivitel'nye sobytiia)* (Ḥusayn, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i': Wonderful Events*), publication of the text, introduction and general editorship by A. S. Tveritinova. Contents annotation and indices by Yu. A. Petrosyan, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1961), fol. 416a. — Pamiatniki literatury narodov Vostoka. Teksty. Bol'shaia seriia, XIV.

17. *Petit traicté de l'origine des turcqz*, par Théodore Spandouyin Cantacasin. Publié et annoté par Charles Schefer (Paris, 1896), p. 226.

18. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

19. Ḥusayn, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i': Wonderful Events*, fol. 416a.

20. J. Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman* (Paris, 1835—1841), v, pp. 24—5.

21. Ḥusayn, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i': Wonderful Events*, fol. 416a.

22. *Latîfî tezkiresi*, hazırlayan Doç. Dr. Mustafa İsen (Ankara, 1990), p. 415.

23. Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, Tezkiretü'ş-şuarâ (Ankara, 1989), i, pp. 568—9.

24. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, pp. 405—6.

25. [Ed.], "Ibn al-Wardī", *EI*, New Edition, fasc. 55—56 (Leiden—London, 1969), p. 966.

26. I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, "Arabskaia geograficheskaia literatura" ("Arabic Geographical Literature"), *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1957), iv, p. 490.

27. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, p. 403.

28. G. Kut, "Acâibü'l-mahlûkat", *Türkiye diyanet vakfi İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1988), i, p. 317.

29. F. Taeschner, "Der Bericht des arabischen Geographen Ibn al-Wardī über Konstantinopel", *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients*, hrsg. von H. Mžik (Leipzig—Wien, 1929), pp. 86—7.

30. A. I. Mikhaĭlova, *Katalog arabskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii Akademii nauk SSSR* (The Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples, the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 2: Works on Geography (Moscow, 1961), pp. 39—44.

31. [Ed.], "Ibn al-Wardī", *EI*, p. 966.

32. Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 493.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 493—4.

34. Cited after Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 358—9.

36. Cited after V. V. Bychkov, *Estetika pozdneĭ antichnosti: II—III veka* (Aesthetics of Late Antiquity) (Moscow, 1981), pp. 49, 114.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 128—9.

38. Krachkovskiĭ, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

40. *Tarjama-yi kharīdat*, MS B 790, fol. 3b.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"One-eyed people fighting with their swan-enemies", *Tarjuma-yi Kharīdat al-'ajā'ib wa farīdat al-gharā'ib li-Ibn al-Wardī*, manuscript B 790 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 111b, 6.7 × 6.3 cm.

Back cover:

"Muslim *mappa mundi*" from the same manuscript, fols. 2b—3a, diameter: 21.3 cm.

Inside the issue:

FAMOUS COLLECTORS: FACTS AND ASSESSMENTS

T. Harviainen

ABRAHAM FIRKOVICH AND THE KARAITE COMMUNITY IN JERUSALEM IN 1864*

The Karaite movement of Judaism was founded by 'Anan ben David in Mesopotamia in the middle of the eighth century A.D. Its tenets were rejection of the Talmudic oral tradition, a return to the Bible, the Old Testament, as the sole source of Divine Law, and repudiation of the authority of the exilarchic and Gaonic leadership. The Karaite reformation was able to appeal also to other antinomian, "sectarian" groups which had existed on the fringes of Judaism through the ages and which possibly had connections with the Second Temple period [1].

Karaite settlement in Jerusalem started in the ninth century. The Karaite quarter was located in *Ṣelá' ha-'élef* (Joshua 18:28) — Ḥārat al-Mušāraqa, probably to the south-east of the Temple Mount — where the city of King David had stood. According to Karaite tradition, in 755 Anan built a synagogue in Jerusalem, where Karaite synagogue still bears his name. However, it is probable that the present synagogue located in the Jewish quarter dates back to a period after the destruction wrought by the Crusaders, who in 1099 brought to an abrupt end the first Golden Era of the Karaites in Jerusalem [2].

The date of the return of Karaites to Jerusalem is uncertain. However, the Karaite synagogue of Anan within the city walls was probably founded fairly soon after the city was sacked, since in the thirteenth century it was still possible to occupy deserted plots of land and buildings in the city. Since that period a small Karaite community has been living in Jerusalem with only minor interruptions, especially in the vicinity of this underground synagogue. It is reported that the synagogue was repaired and partly rebuilt twice in the nineteenth century, in 1837 and 1864 [3]. We shall soon return to the subject of the later reconstruction.

The number of Karaites in Jerusalem has never been considerable and the same holds true with regard to all of their settlements [4]. In the sixteenth century they had their own quarter (Maḥallat al-Qara'in) opposite the Western Wall; however, their number did not exceed 10% of the number of Jews in the city. This favourable period was followed by rapid decline, and in 1641 they are reported to have numbered 27 living in 15 houses in Jerusalem. Irrespective of better contacts with other centres of Karaism and immigration to Jerusalem, the figures remained on the same level, in tens, until the middle of the twentieth century, i.e. until the Karaite *'aliyya* from Egypt. According to the reports of different Western visitors in the nineteenth century, the number of souls vacillates between six and fifty and that of the households between one and fourteen [5].

A rumour once circulated in Jerusalem that, due to a curse, the number of Karaite males in the city would never reach 10, i.e. the number required to form a *minyan* necessary for public prayer [6].

The famous Karaim scholar **Abraham Firkovich** (1787—1874) arrived in Jerusalem on October 5, 1863. This *grand tour* which extended until March 1865 was Firkovich's last visit to the Near East. During journeys to several lands during these years he collected with great success the majority of his second collection of Hebrew, Arabic, Judaeo-Arabic and Samaritan codices, manuscripts and manuscript fragments as well as other antiquities. The collection consists of more than 15,000 items. It was acquired in 1876 by the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg; at present the library bears the name of the National Library of Russia [7].

The collection also houses the personal archive of A. S. Firkovich, where a great number of letters received by him are kept as well as copies of letters sent by him. The majority of the correspondence is written in Hebrew, while a few letters are in Karaim, the Turkic native language of Firkovich, his relatives and the East European Karaites (Karaims) in general. On the basis of Firkovich's letters we can learn a great deal about the situation of the Karaim community in Jerusalem in those days. In addition, Firkovich gives a detailed report of his building activities for the benefit of the tiny community as well as of his "Zionistic" plans for the future of his brethren in the Holy City [8].

* A shorter version of this paper was read at the *Sjette nordiske kongres i judaistik* in Aarhus (18—20 May 1996).

Among the letters of the personal archive of Abraham Firkovich known to me, the most informative passages concerning Jerusalem are contained in a letter to the Karaite community in Constantinople sent from Jerusalem on March 24, 1864 (Thursday, the 16th of Adar Sheni; No. 605:18v—19v), a letter to Ṣadoq Yerushalmi from Nablus (Sikem) dated April 8, 1864 (Friday, the 1st of the 1st month; No. 607:1r—2r) [9], the list of 45 inscriptions in the courtyard and the doors of the synagogue (605:12v—14r), and a report to R. Abraham b. Jehuda ha-Miṣri dated September 16, 1864 (Friday, 15th of Elul 1864; 607:4r—7v) [10].

Abraham Firkovich (1787—1874)

In his letters Firkovich does not offer a detailed description of the Karaite community in Jerusalem nor of its members or its synagogue. Nevertheless, we can cull a fair amount of information from references intended for other purposes.

The number of Karaite households in Jerusalem was reported to have been 8 or 9 and the number of people between 6 and 4 in the 1850s [11]. Abraham Firkovich corroborates the scale of these figures in his letter to his co-religionists in Constantinople [12], whence he applied for economic help for the Karaites of Hīt who desired to move to Jerusalem — I have dealt with this affair as well as Firkovich's attempt to acquire all the manuscripts preserved in Hīt in an article in *Folia Orientalia* published a few years ago [13]. In this letter Firkovich writes that he has informed the people of Hīt that in Jerusalem the Karaites possess 11 houses which the immigrants from Hīt may share "until the Lord enlarges their territory" (*'ad yarḥib h' 'et gebulam*). One of the houses was an entrance room for the gatekeepers of the synagogue courtyards (*mabo' šey-yošebim bo šomre ḥaṣrot ha-qodeš*). Besides this, there were 9 houses, and a new one had been built by Abraham Firkovich — obviously for himself.

The lack of *minyan* is also mentioned by Firkovich, who expresses the wish that the immigration of the "Hītites" will "take away the reproach of the Rabbanites against the Karaites that the latter have not a single *minyan* in Jerusalem; in their opinion, this is all caused by a curse with which, by taking out a Torah scroll, their sages cursed the Karaites so that there would never be found a *minyan* for them in Jerusalem" [14]. Firkovich writes that he prays to the Lord that he would turn the curse into a blessing; he was convinced himself that soon there would be enough Karaites in Jerusalem for four *minyanim*. In this view he was encouraged by the hope of the immigration of Karaites from Hīt as well as by the promises of respected Karaite participants in the Feast of Shavu'ot, who built three new houses in Jerusalem; Firkovich enumerates the names of these prospective donors. These houses and three others, two of them built by Firkovich, were intended for the newcomers from Hīt, "as was reported in the English newspaper" [15].

It is obvious that Abraham Firkovich and his family enjoyed a position of respect among his brethren *bene miqra'* in the Holy City. He enjoyed the support of the Russian consulate. He was a rich man, and in the *firman* signed by the Ottoman Sultan Abdül Aziz, it was stated that the Karaites were not subject to the same legislation as the Rabbanites [16]. Due to his good connections, Abraham Firkovich was able to visit the Temple Mount and the Dome of the Rock *(Ḥarām aš-Šarīf)* several times with his relatives and Karaite friends. As a consequence, he could also enjoy the good services of the community members.

On the basis of his letters we are acquainted with Shabbetai Levi of Jerusalem, who as Firkovich's agent established secret contacts with the Samaritans in Nablus. However, David *he-ḥakham* ha-Levi, the General Commissioner *(ha-paqid ha-kolel)* of the community, was Firkovich's "beloved friend" in Jerusalem. David acted as an intermediary between the Samaritan High Priest 'Amran and Firkovich, when the Samaritans sold more than one thousand Samaritan manuscripts to Firkovich, and at the same time he was the latter's Arabic interpreter.

The title of *ḥakham* might imply that David *he-ḥakham* ha-Levi was the leader of the Karaites in Jerusalem in that period. However, Mr. Mourad al-Qudsi writes in his unpublished genealogy that David Levi's father, *ḥakham* Abraham ben Moshe Levi (1776—1865) died in 1865 and was then succeeded by his son David (1806—1872) [17]. Obviously Abraham Levi was too old to take care of all community matters in 1863—64, and his son David, "the General Commissioner" was in fact his deputy [18].

We know that Abraham Firkovich was not fluent in Arabic [19]. Al-Qudsi, for his part, knows that David Levi's younger brother Moshe ben Abraham (1810—1905) [20], in addition to Arabic and Hebrew, spoke French, English, Spanish (obviously Ladino), Turkish, Greek and "the Tatarish language of the Karaites of Eastern Europe and Crimea". On the other hand, Mrs. Elizabeth Ann Finn writes that the *ḥakham* visited by her in 1858 came from the Crimea and spoke excellent Turkish; most probably this *ḥakham* was their father Abraham Levi. For some time her husband, Mr. H. B. Finn, studied Turkish with the chief of the Karaite Jews, who was a Turkish subject from the Crimea. According to her, "the Karaites consisted chiefly of one family", and she "saw very little of them" [21].

On the basis of Finn's and al-Qudsi's notes, we can be rather certain that Firkovich could use Turkish and his native Karaim language in his communication with the congregation and his Karaite collaborators — as well as in wider contact with the Turkish authorities in the Near East.

Before this journey Firkovich had visited Jerusalem at least once, in 1830, and during that visit he had purchased manuscripts which were preserved in the *geniza* of the Karaite synagogue [22]. As a consequence, there was not much new to be found. As a dedicated explorer, however, he copied 45 inscriptions which the earlier Karaite visitors had written "on the gate of the synagogue courtyard, the gate of the house opposite the gate of the synagogue and on a stone in the wall of the small garden". Jerusalem was the destination of Karaite pilgrims, who after their visit used to affix the honorary title *yerushalmi* to their name. These inscriptions of pilgrims were quite short; they are of the type "I have come, I, X ben Y on the date so-and-so from the holy congregation of Z". The texts date back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kaffa, present-day Feodosia in the Crimea, is the most common home city of the visitors. These memorials would provide material for the prosopography and phraseology of those centuries.

Abraham Firkovich attempted to draw the attention of his co-religionists to Jerusalem and the Karaite congregation there and he wished that at least one out of every hundred Karaites would visit the Holy Mount each year — as the Muslims do during their pilgrimage — and that many of them would settle in the Holy City. Nevertheless, he considered the name *yerushalmi* to be a deception when it was used by a person who did not intend to stay in Jerusalem, even if this person could afford to do so without exercising any occupation. As a notorious example he mentions the rich Crimean Karaite Moshe Hallelovich (Gelelovich) [23] and his wife who after a single visit returned to the Crimea [24].

The main activity of Abraham Firkovich for the benefit of the Karaite community in Jerusalem concerned the old underground synagogue of Anan and its compound [25]. For this purpose he asked the congregation in Constantinople to send him all documents dealing with the Karaite buildings in Jerusalem and in Hebron in particular. In another letter, to his friend Mr. Ṣadok ha-Yerushalmi [26], Firkovich gives a detailed description of how he rebuilt the synagogue and what his plans were for the future of the Karaite community centre in Jerusalem. A parallel but shorter report is included in the request for support sent to the congregation in Constantinople [27].

Before the first visit to Aleppo in the autumn of 1863, Abraham Firkovich had made a vow to donate 500 roubles for the repair of the ruins of the Holy City of Jerusalem; his wife had added 100 roubles to this sum, and the recipient of the letter, Firkovich's friend Ṣadok, also contributed 100 roubles. Seeing the condition of the old synagogue (*bet 'elohenu miqdaš me'aṭ ha-qadmon*) he decided to spend the 600 roubles donated by himself and his wife for its repair and rebuilding. The work was started at the beginning of the month of Kislev; the 1st of Kislev was November 12, 1863. Before that Firkovich and Ṣadok had made repairs in the synagogue in the month of Heshvan; in 1863 Heshvan occurred between October 14 and November 11.

At first, Firkovich divided the outer courtyard of the synagogue, *ha-'azara,* into two parts with a stone wall which extended from the ground to the roof [28]; before that the court was filled by granaries. The left half of the courtyard Firkovich again divided into two parts. The granaries of the commissioners of the community remained in the lower part, above which Firkovich built a wooden ceiling. Between these new and old roofs he constructed a complete new house with a window and door towards the poor-house rented out to the Rabbanites. The inside (?) of the dark and low half of the synagogue intended for women was repaired by him, and outside in the courtyard (*baḥaṣer*) Firkovich built a kitchen, *bet ha-mibšalim* in Firkovich's Hebrew, and a coffee room, *bet ha-kafe'*. He planned to rent out these rooms — therefore they were built to be as beautiful as possible — and Firkovich supposed that the rent would afford a profit of more than 500 *groush* annually.

The right-hand part of the outer courtyard, which bordered on the men's synagogue on the lower level, was also divided, and the wall between the synagogue and the court was demolished. Thus the men's synagogue was extended so as to be 12 cubits long and 7 cubits broad, while the seats of the elders took 2.5 cubits — according to the custom in the Karaite synagogue of Gözlävä, i.e. Eupatoria in the Crimea.

Then Firkovich removed the steps and the door which he had constructed with Ṣadok a month earlier. Instead, he opened a new door three steps deeper in the wall, and thus the elders had only two steps to climb to their seats. The upper part was rebuilt to be the women's synagogue, six cubits long and four cubits broad; new screens were painted green. The door of the women's synagogue led to the kitchen; as a consequence the old ladies had only six steps to negotiate from their house to the synagogue, instead of

the eighteen steps down and nine up before the repair. It is interesting to note that in the repair of the Samaritan synagogue in Nablus, Firkovich was concerned to grant the Samaritan women an opportunity to participate in the synagogue service.

In Jerusalem, the earlier installation of the windows of the synagogue had turned out to be unsuccessful — water leaked in during the winter rains — which even in our day is not an exceptional phenomenon in Jerusalem. Firkovich carefully put a frame around each window on the outside of the wall and wire netting to protect the glass screens [29]. Inside the synagogue he enlarged the windows diagonally and could thus double the amount of light in the synagogue, which in addition was plastered with the best whitewash. Firkovich planned to paint the synagogue later in colours resembling marble.

Inside the synagogue Firkovich also renewed the deep, narrow and dark Ark of Torah scrolls, *hekhal še-hayu bo sifre ha-torot* — as he calls it in Rabbinic Sephardi terms. The new ark measured 1.5 cubits by a quarter of a cubit, it had two doors, and a *geniza* was located under the ark. On the top of the *hekhal* doors Firkovich put a circular crown with a picture of a *menora* in the centre, on the right he wrote the Ten Commandments, on the left *qeri'at šema'* and all around them Biblical verses stressing the importance of prayer. In addition, a place for a new rostrum — a *dukhan* — was built by Firkovich between the ark and the synagogue room for the *ḥazzan*. The *dukhan* was dedicated to the synagogue by his grandson Samuel Firkovich, and three curtains *(parokhet)* were donated by Abraham Firkovich and his wife.

The roof of the Cave, i.e. the entrance to the synagogue, was removed by Firkovich and replaced by a cupola with three glass windows facing east, west and north; thus the Cave too was illuminated.

"And if I intend to write down every single thing which I added and repaired in every detail, the story will be prolonged," Firkovich said in his letter. "Just in short I shall say that for five full months seven carpenters and masons have been working each day with the exception of sabbaths, because all of them are Rabbanites. ... And indeed, the glory of this Holy House and its beauty and its brightness have become at this time greater than those of the first one".

Abraham Firkovich was not successful in his call to the Karaites to settle in the Holy City, although in his opinion it was the time when Jeremiah's prophecies of the return were about to be fulfilled [30]. He saw that, instead of Karaites [31], various other peoples came to Jerusalem and settled there. Among these were all types of Rabbanites: "*sefaradim, perushim, ḥasidim, mitnaggedim*" who built their great synagogues "which are already five in number and which are not sufficient for them, but they have to pray *minyan* by *minyan* in private houses".

Firkovich asked himself what benefit there was in his building activity, since even afterwards not a single complete Karaite *minyan* prayed in Jerusalem and the Rabbanites and even Christians and Muslims mocked them because of it. At that time Firkovich did not know that the Karaites of Hīt would in fact come to Jerusalem. He did not know, either, that they would soon turn their backs on the Holy City and return to Hīt [32]. However, as a fervent advocate of immigration to Jerusalem, Abraham Firkovich could be included in the number of the early Zionists.

In contrast to the settlement plans, Firkovich's achievements as the constructor of the Karaite courtyard in Jerusalem remained in effect as long as the Karaite community lived in East Jerusalem, and partially they are visible to this very day in the Holy City, where a new Karaite congregation prays on the same site in its underground synagogue.

Notes

1. Cf. Johann Meier, "Oppositional trends within Judaism during the Talmudic and early Gaonic period", *Nordisk judaistik — Scandinavian Jewish Studies,* 13/1 (1992), pp. 1—11 with bibliography.

2. For details and sources, see Nathan Schur, *History of the Karaites* (Frankfurt am Main—Berlin—Bern—New York—Paris—Wien 1992), pp. 29—41, 55—7. — Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums, Band 29. Also Haggai Ben-Shammai, "The Karaites. From the first settlers to an established community and a spiritual center", *The History of Jerusalem. The Early Muslim Period 638—1099*, eds. Joshua Prawer and Haggai Ben-Shammai (Jerusalem—New York City, 1996), pp. 201—24.

3. Schur, *op. cit.*, p. 92, and the sources referred to by him; Jacob Mann, *Texts and Studies.* Vol. II: Ḳaraitica. Ktav Publishing House (New York, 1972), pp. 120—7, 321—32; vol. I (1972); first publication — in 1931. Jacob Pinkerfeld offers a general description of the synagogue and its architecture together with ten drawings, see Ya'aqob Pinqerfeld, "Bet ha-keneset la-'adat ha-qara'im b-Irušalayim", *Yerušalayim.* Muqdaš le-zeker hr' "m Luṇs z"l (Yerualayim, 5588/1928), pp. 204—20.

4. According to a letter of Abraham Firkovich (No. 1051, 2r, in the personal archive of Firkovich, cf. below, n. 9) to Hamadan in 1851, there were 1,062 Karaite *patres familias* in the Crimea, 200 in Poland, and 220 in Constantinople, Egypt and Jerusalem, which makes a total of 1,482 households. According to the census of 1897, there were 12,894 Karaims in Czarist Russia. With the exception of two hundred Austrian Karaims in Halicz (Galič), the entire Karaim population lived at that time within the boundaries of the Empire, in the Crimea, Lithuania, the city of Luck (Łuck) in the Ukraine as well as in the chief cities of the country (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Odessa). In addition, there were almost thirty smaller communities of Karaims in the Russian Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century; the communities had 17 sanctuaries at their disposal. See the list in Szyszman 1989, p. 59, n. 159. Obviously the census of 1897 gives the highest figure for the Eastern European Karaims throughout the ages.

5. A table of the size of the community according to these reports is offered by Schur, see *op. cit.*, pp. 79—99.

6. Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—1. Firkovich also mentions the curse in his letter to R. Abraham the Egyptian (607:4r—7v; Friday, 15 Elul 1864) 607:5r: *le-gallot ḥerpat ha-rabbanim 'al ha-qara'im še-'en lahem 'afillu minyan 'eḥad b-Iru'*[*šalayim*] *we-kol ze le-fi da'tam mippene ha-qelala 'ašer qillelu ḥakamim 'et ha-qara'im be-hoṣa'at s*[*efer*]*"t*[*ora*] *šel-lo' yimmaṣe lahem minyan šalem b-Iru'*[*šalayim*] *le-'olam.*

7. On the collections, their collector, his travels and acquisitions, see K. B. Starkova, "Rukopisi kollektsiĭ Firkovicha Gosudarstvennoĭ publichnoĭ biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina" ("Manuscripts from the Firkovich collections at the M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public library"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka, Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. Ezhegodnik, 1970* (Moscow, 1974), pp. 165—92; *idem*, "Les manuscrits de la Collection Firkovič", *Revue des Études Juives*, 134 (1975), pp. 101—17; V. Lebedev, "Jidishe ksavjaden in der leningrader efentlekher bibliotek", *Sovetish hejmland*, 11/1989 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 154—8; V. L. Vihnovich

and V. V. Lebedev, "Zagadka 15 000 drevnikh rukopiseĭ (K sporam vokrug samoĭ bol'shoĭ v mire kollektsii vostochnykh rukopiseĭ, khraniashchikhsia v Leningradskoĭ publichnoĭ biblioteke im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, i lichnosti eë sobiratelia — karaimskogo uchenogo A. S. Firkovicha)" ("The enigma of fifteen thousand manuscripts: to the controversy on the largest collection of Oriental manuscripts, kept in the Leningrad M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin Public library, and its collector, a Karaim scholar A. S. Firkovich"), *Materialy po arkheologii, istorii i ėtnografii Tavrii*, fasc. 2 (Simferopol, 1991), pp. 130—40); T. Harviainen, "Abraham Firkovitsh och hans samlingar i *Rossijskaja nacional'naja biblioteka* i S:t Petersburg", *Nordisk judaistik*, 14/1 (1993), pp. 79—83; Haseeb Shehadeh, "Diwwuaḥ rishoni 'al 'osef kitbe ha-yad ha-šomroniyyim be-Sanṭ-Petersburg", *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division D, Vol. I: The Hebrew Language, Jewish Languages (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 61—4; V. V. Lebedev, "Novye dannye o sobiratel'skoĭ deiatel'nosti A. S. Firkovicha" ("New data on A. S. Firkovich's manuscript collecting"), *Vostochnyĭ sbornik GPB*, Gosudarstvennaia ordena trudovogo krasnogo znameni Publichnaia biblioteka imeni M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina, fasc. 4 (Leningrad, 1990), pp. 32—44, esp. pp. 35—41; Tapani Harviainen and Haseeb Shehadeh, "How did Abraham Firkovich acquire the great collection of Samaritan manuscripts in Nablus in 1864?", *Studia Orientalia*, 73 (Helsinki, 1994), pp. 167—92. Reprinted in *A. B. — The Samaritan News — Alef Bet — Ḥadashot ha-shomroniyyim*, 633—636, Holon, 13.4. 1995, pp. 158—80; and T. Harviainen, "The Cairo *genizot* and other sources of the Second Firkovich Collection in St. Petersburg", *Proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of the International Organization for Masoretic Studies. Masoretic Studies, 8*, ed. E. J. Revell (The Society of Biblical Literature. Scholars Press, 1996), pp. 25—36.

8. The personal archive of Firkovich kept in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg (F. 946, Lichnyĭ arkhiv A. S. Firkovicha).

9. The letter addressed to his grandson Gabriel Firkovich begins on page 607:2r and is dated — "on Thursday the 30th of Adar Sheni which for the Samaritans was the 1st day of the New Year" — i.e. on April 7, 1864; in Harviainen and Shehadeh, *op. cit.*, pp. 175—6, the first pages were erroneously mentioned as part of the letter to Gabriel Firkovich.

10. Abraham Miṣri (Micri or Michri, 1830—1917) was a famous Crimean Karaite; a great number of cultural achievements are connected with his name, see B. S. El'iashevich, "Karaimy" (Materials for the series "Narody i kul'tury"), vol. XIV (Moscow, 1993), pt. 2, No. 160, pp. 141—5.

11. Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 90—1.

12. Letter 605:19v.

13. T. Harviainen, "Abraham Firkovitsh, Karaites in Hīt, and the Provenance of Karaite Transcriptions of Biblical Hebrew Texts into Arabic Script", *Folia Orientalia*, vol. XXVIII (1991), Studies in Memory of Andrzej Czapkiewicz (1) (Wrocław—Warszawa—Kraków, 1992), pp. 179—91.

14. Firkovich was in favour of a *minyan* consisting of ten men, see Tapani Harviainen, Haseeb Shehadeh, Harry Halén, "Samaritan and Karaim Commitments to *Minyan*, Abraham Firkovich, and the Poor of Trakai", *Studia Orientalia*, 82 (1997), pp. 85—98. Cf. also above, n. 7.

15. Letter 607:5r (to Abraham ha-Miṣri). The donors were Ezra *yerushalmi ha-gebir* Babağan (1796—1869; El'iashevich, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, No. 13, pp. 6—7), Šelomo *ha-gebir* and his brother Jacob *yerushalmi ha-gebir* Kefeli, Mrs. Rachel, Mrs. Gulam (?) and Mrs. Hannah *yerušalmit*, the widow of Mišael Koğaš (Koğak?) who had built a small house to live in it until her death, and Mordekhai *he-ḥakham ha-ḥazzan* (for his namesake, cf. El'iashevich, *op. cit.*, pt. 1, No. 74, p. 94, d. 1761).

16. Harviainen and Shehadeh, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 174, 186, and n. 30.

17. I am grateful to Mr. Mourad al-Qudsi for the opportunity of using his unpublished family documents as a source for this study.

18. H. Bonar in 1856 calls the *ḥakham* by name Daud, cf., Schur, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

19. Harviainen and Shehadeh, *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 70; nor was he satisfied with his knowledge of French.

20. Moshe ben Abraham Levi was the *ḥakham* of the Cairene Karaite community until the death of David in 1872, when Moshe returned to Jerusalem to be the chief *ḥakham* there.

21. [E. Finn], *Reminiscences of Mrs. Finn* (London — Edinburgh, 1929), pp. 177—8. A considerable number of the Karaims in Jerusalem came from the Crimea, see Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 92—4.

22. Lebedev, "Novye dannye", p. 32—4.

23. Moisey Mordekhayevich Gelelovich (1788—1869) occurs as number 50 (pp. 34—5) in the second part of the *Karaimskiĭ bibliograficheskiĭ slovar'* (The Karaim Bibliographical Dictionary) by B. S. Elyashevich (El'iashevich), see above, n. 10.

24. Letter 605:19r.

25. The Karaite synagogue of Anan in Jerusalem was for centuries the recipient of support from the Eastern European Karaims and a site of pilgrimage (see Schur, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—90). An interesting case is the "holy money" collected by Josef b. Jeshua' *ha-zaqen* of Deraźnia (Derazhnia in the present-day Ukraine) in 1768. The funds were obviously intended for the repair of the *kenesa* in Jerusalem. However, the Khan of the Crimea put him in prison in Bakhchisarai and the donations he had collected were confiscated. In a poem, written in the Karaim language, entitled *Qarangı bulut* ("The Black Cloud"), Josef describes his troubles and expresses his hope of being released from prison and having the contributions collected by him returned. The poem was published, e.g., by Jan Grzegorzewski in his article "Caraimica. Język Łach-Karaitów. Narzecze południowe (łucko-halickie)", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 1 (Kraków, 1916—1918), pp. 252—96, pp. 268—70, 274—9; I am grateful to Mr. Keijo Hopeavuori for the Finnish translation of the poem.

26. Letter 607:1r—2r; the Hebrew text will be published by me in my article "Abraham Firqobiṣ we-ha-miqdaš ha-qara'i b-Irušalayim" (forthcoming in *Mehqarim be-lašon 'ibrit u-b-sifrutah*. Proceedings of the 12th Hebrew Scientific European Congress, Université de Strasbourg du 30 juin à 4 juillet 1996. Brit Ivrit Olamit, Jerusalem, 1998).

27. Letter 605:18v—19r; the Hebrew text will be published in the article mentioned above in n. 26.

28. *'ad sippun ya'ani kyw'gyr g' d'*; the Karaim (?) equivalent of Hebrew *sippun* ("roof") is unknown to me. The drawings by Pinkerfeld (see above, n. 3) and the tables 1—3 in the *Karaims in Poland* by Ananiasz Zajączkowski (Warszawa—La Haye—Paris, 1961), pp. 33—5, help to visualize the description by Firkovich.

29. See table 2 in Zajączkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

30. Firkovich refers to Jeremiah 3:17—18 in his letter to Constantinople (605:19r).

31. "Who every day, in the morning and in the evening, are sworn to say: 'If I forget you, O Jerusalem ... Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, etc.'" (sc. Ps. 137:5, TH), letter 605:19r.

32. W. Schur (Šur), *Maḥazot ḥayyim* (Wien, 1884), p. 66; A. Ben-Ya'aqob, *ha-Yehudim be-Babel* (Jerusalem, 1965), pp. CCCXVIII—CCCXX.

BOOK REVIEWS

***Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* ("*Istoriia Badakhshana*"). Faksimile rukopisi. Izdanie teksta, perevod s persidskogo A. N. Boldyreva pri uchastii S. E. Grigor'eva, vvedenie A. N. Boldyreva i S. E. Grigor'eva, primechaniia i prilozheniia S. E. Grigor'eva. Moskva: Vostochnaia Literatura, 1997, 142 str. (vvedenie, perevod, primechaniia, prilozheniia), 256 str. (tekst pamiatnika).**

***Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* ("*The History of Badakhshān*"). Facsimile of the text. Edition of the text, translation from the Persian by A. N. Boldyrev with the assistance of S. E. Grigoryev, introduction by A. N. Boldyrev and S. E. Grigoryev, notes and appendices by S. E. Grigoryev. Moscow: Vostochnaya Literatura Publishing House, 1997, 142 pp. (introduction, translation, notes, appendices), 256 pp. (text of the original).**

Given the numerous troubles Russian scholarship is now experiencing, it is a special pleasure to greet the appearance of the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān*, published by the Vostochnaya literatura Publishing House of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān*, a dynastic chronicle which narrates events during the rule of the last independent *amīr*s of Badakhshān, runs from 1067/1656—57 to 1880s. One should stress that this historical work is the **only** known example of regional historiography from Badakhshān, to this day a little-researched area located in the North-East of what is now Afghanistan and in the neighboring regions of the right bank of the Piandj River which form the Gorno-Badakhshanskaya autonomous region of Tajikistan. The *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* not only contains valuable and at times unique information on political history, but reliable materials on the ethnic and religious composition of the population as well as on the economic and cultural life of the country.

Only one copy of the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* is known today. The work contains the text of the history of Badakhshān as well as three appendices: (i) a genealogy of the *shāh*s of Shughnān; (ii) a biography of *sayyid* Shāh-Khāmūsh, forefather of the Shughnān *shāh*s; and (iii) a genealogy of *sayyid* 'Alī-Shāh-Walī, a relative of Shāh-Khāmūsh. The book was written in Persian by two authors: the first part of the history of Badakhshān, which covers the period from 1657 to 1809, belongs to Sang-Muḥammad Badakhshī; the remainder of the basic text and the appendices were penned by Faḍl 'Alī-bek Surkh Akhsar. The latter's work extends up through 1325/1907 and was copied by him at that time in the city of Osh. In the text, Faḍl 'Alī-bek calls himself the *mu'allif-i thānī* ("second author") and directly indicates the additions and corrections he introduced into the text of the first author, the *mu'allif-i awwal*.

At the close of the 1920s, an autograph copy by Faḍl 'Alī-bek found its way to the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [1]. As a primary source on the history of Badakhshān this work immediately drew the attention of an outstanding authority on Muslim literature, A. N. Boldyrev, who completed a translation of the text into Russian by the mid-1930s. For a number of reasons, however, the text and translation were never published. Only in 1959 did the Leningrad State University press issue a small run of the text of the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* prepared by A. N. Boldyrev [2], although the translation was not published at that time. Only now, at the turn of the century, has a full edition of the text of the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* together with translation appeared, thanks to the efforts of the editorial board of the series "Pamiatniki pis'mennosti Vostoka".

As was noted above, the translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* is based on the autograph copy by Faḍl 'Alī-bek which is today held in the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (manuscript B 2311). The edition under review here is a result of the combined work of two authors — Prof. A. N. Boldyrev (1909—1993) and his pupil and junior colleague, the St. Petersburg State University senior lecturer S. E. Grigoryev. As the authors note, "the translation be-

[1] N. D. Miklukho-Maklaĭ, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of the Persian and Tadjik Manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 3: Istoricheskie sochineniia (Moscow, 1975), No. 462.

[2] See *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān. "Istoriia Badakhshana"* (*Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān.* "The History of Badakhshān"), fotografic reproduction of the text (of the Leningrad manuscript), introduction, indices. Prepared for publication by A. N. Boldyrev (The Leningrad State University Publishing House, 1959).

longs entirely to A. N. Boldyrev. S. E. Grigoryev collated the text, edited it and corrected a small number of mistakes in historical details and terms. The foreword to the edition was jointly authored by A. N. Boldyrev and S. E. Grigoryev. The indices and notes were drawn up by S. E. Grigoryev" (Introduction, p. 23).

The translation is somewhat abridged: in a number of places, long lists of traditional epithets of historical figures have been omitted; the appendices of Faḍl 'Alī-bek to the *Ta'rīkh-i Badakhshān* itself are given in abstract with the translation of those sections which struck the publishers as "most deserving of attention" (p. 98).

Unfortunately, the published text of the translation contains misprints and certain inaccuracies. Furthermore, lines of text are given in incorrect order on certain pages as a result of insufficient proof-reading. As I do not set myself the task of correcting all of the inaccuracies allowed by the author and lapses permitted by the proof-reader which I discovered, I note only two instances. On page 63 of the translation, in accordance with the text of the original, line 20 should follow line 17 (at the top), and after that — 18 and 19, after which the shift to the text of the translation of folio 60a should begin. In the first lines of page 99 of the translation we read: "This *sayyid* Shāh Akbar-khān-biy has several illegitimate sons". The original, however, runs as follows (fol. 116a): مومی الیه سید شاه اکبر خان بی را نیز چنر نفر پسران صلبی بوده اند ("The above-mentioned *sayyid* Shāh Akbar-khān-biy also had several legitimate sons (or: 'direct descendents')").

These lapses in no way diminish the significance of the edition under review. Thanks to the pain-staking labours of two Russian specialists, we now have under a single binding a facsimile edition of the manuscript text of a rare and most valuable historical work along with an annotated translation into Russian. This achieves in full one of the goals of Oriental studies — to make accessible to a broad readership the major literary texts and historical sources in Eastern languages.

T. Sultanov

V. L. Uspensky. *Prince Yunli (1697—1738). Manchu Statesman and Tibetan Buddhist.* Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 1997, VIII, 140 pp.

The book under review is the first to be entirely devoted to the activities of Prince Yunli, the seventeenth son of the Kangxi emperor, a high official at the court of the emperor Yongzhen. The book presents the Imperial prince as a Manchu statesman (chapter 1), a Tibetan Buddhist (chapter 2), as well as a bibliographer and publisher (chapter 3). In his preface, the author notifies that his publication is addressed to specialists ("is not supposed to be casually read but used by interested scholars", p. VIII). The official positions of Prince Yunli and his role in relations of the Qing dynasty with Tibet are convincingly described in the first two chapters which are based on the Mongolian and Tibetan sources, supported by the English translations from different biographies of the Buddhist *lama*s. These texts clearly show, the author point out, "that the common struggle for power, influence, rank and titles among the Tibetan Buddhist hierarchs residing in Beijing was in full swing in the first half of the 18th century... To some extent, this struggle reflected the political and religious struggle in Tibet proper and other areas where Tibetan Buddhism was spread" (p. 18).

Prince Yunli himself was a devoted adept of Tibetan Buddhism. The important statement of the author is that "Yunli and his Buddhist associates maintained that the teachings of both the dGe-lugs-pa (the New School) and the rNyng-ma-pa (the Old School) were equally correct and had no superiority one over another. This doctrinal syncretism within Tibetan Buddhism is a forerunner of the 19th-century *ris-med* ('impartial'; 'universalistic') movement. While in the 1730s a movement of that kind, especially when supported by a brother of the Emperor, could lead to changes in the balance of influence among different Tibetan Buddhist schools..." (p. 15).

Prince Yunli was notorious for his enormous library: he ordered translations of different Buddhist texts from Tibetan to Mongolian, many works in both languages were sponsored and initiated by him. After his death the library was sold out, and a big part of it was acquired by the Russian scholars and members of the Russian Ecclesiastic mission in Peking (now in the St. Petersburg State University Library, Oriental faculty). The author traces the tracks of the books from the Prince's library and describes the texts kept in Germany and England (pp. 32—3). But the emphasis is given to the Russian collections. Among these books are two works written in Mongolian by Prince Yunli himself. Dr. Uspensky is the first to introduce these texts to the scholarly world, publishing them in transliteration and facsimile (pp. 57—140). These works, are, as he puts it, "a valuable example of cultural diversity of the 18th century Qing Empire and show dexterity of the Manchu imperial family in Tibetan Buddhism" (p. 21).

It should be noted that though the author himself limits his reading public to specialists, his book could be recommended to all historians, Tibetologists, Sinologists and specialists in Buddhist studies as a thorough study of the Buddhist trends in Peking and their controversies at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The published texts can serve as a valuable source for the religious and linguistic studies. It is also worth noting that the book under review was published in the series of the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa in Tokyo and could be only ordered from this Institute which sends the books on request.

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Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts must be written in English.

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Submissions

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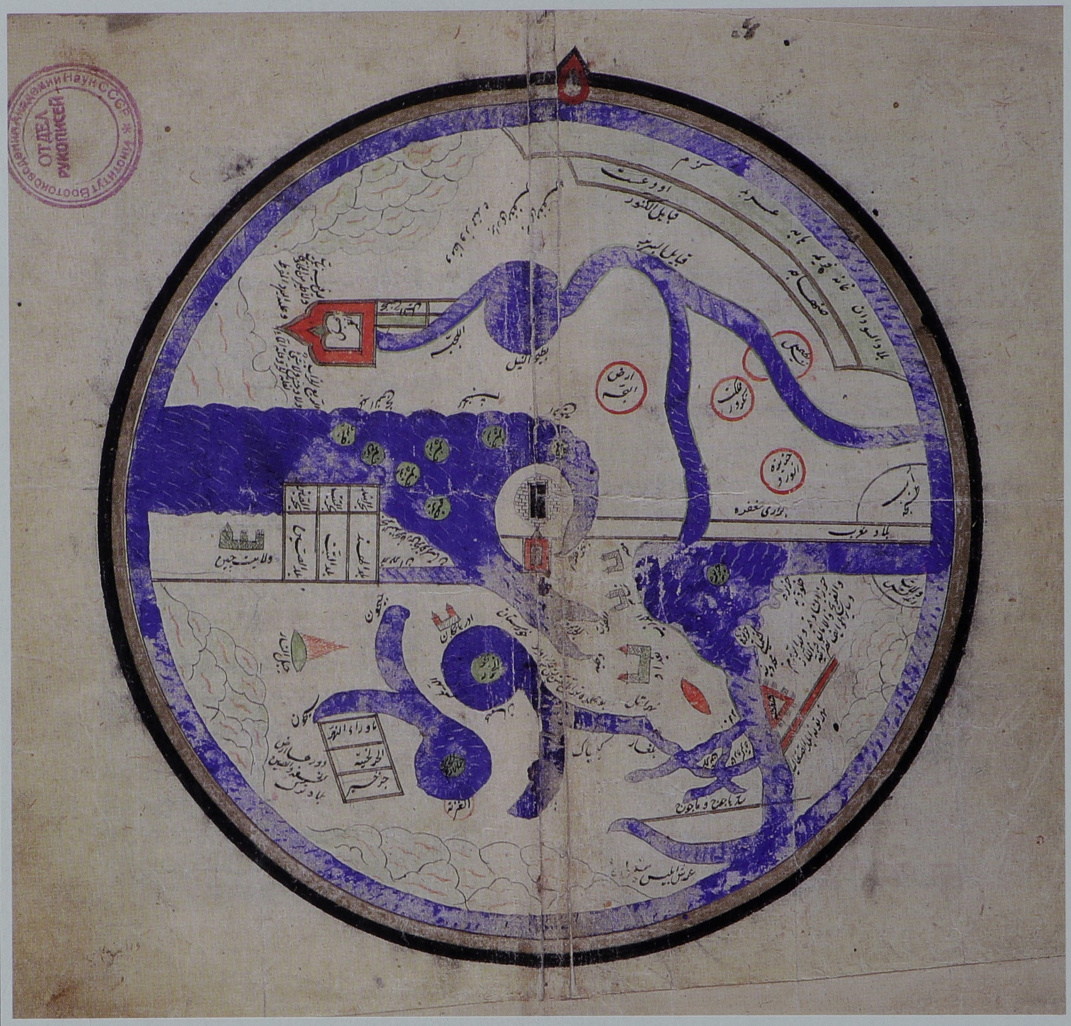

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