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Front cover:

Fragment of the drawing demonstrating acupuncture points which should be applied when healing back pain
and a half-body paralysis. *Sabsire sûiha sindara ferguwecuke argan*, manuscript B 92 mss in the collection
of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, illustration 13, fol. 42, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Back cover:

Drawing of a male figure with acupuncture points which should be applied when healing child's night crying
and tooth-ache. The same manuscript, illustration 1, fol. 28, 27.0×46.3 cm.

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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

B. Babajanov

BIOGRAPHIES OF MAKHDŪM-I AʿZAM AL-KĀSĀNĪ AL-DAHBĪDĪ, *SHAYKH* OF THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NAQSHBANDĪYA*

So far, biographical works on the Ṣūfī *shaykh*s of Central Asia have been studied quite insufficiently, notwithstanding that their significance as a valuable source of information has been noted by many scholars. At present, however, with scholars paying increasing attention to the dynamics of the religi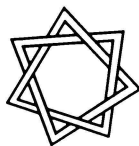ous situation in the region and to the history of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods in particular, interest in the hagiographic literature has grown noticeably [1]. But the greater part of the source material remains unknown to specialists, primarily because specialised works on such sources appear very rarely. Even more rare are editions of Central Asian Ṣūfī hagiographies, and those published, mainly in Iran and Turkey, do not always meet the standards of critical editions. This is especially true of the biographies (*maqāmāt*) of the *shaykh*s of the most influential brotherhood in Central Asia, the Naqshbandīya, which were written in the second half of the sixteenth—nineteenth centuries.

The chronological boundaries were not chosen at random. A serious transformation took place in the activities of the Naqshbandīya in the second half of the fifteenth century, which we know to be connected with the name of Khwāja Aḥrār (d. 1590). The basic elements of these changes were intensive economic activity and involvement in politics. The initial asceticism, "disdain for riches", as well as almost complete indifference to politics were replaced by a vivid interest in economic power and an attempt to establish close relations with the authorities.

This trend, which was accompanied by noticeable change in the Naqshbandīya doctrines, could not but influence the character of the hagiographic literature. Authors began to give special attention to the political activity and authority of *shaykh*s; the extent of their wealth was described as the special result of "divine mercy", although their lack of attachment to their property was also stressed. These new trends did not supplant the basic genric feature of Naqshbandīya hagiography — the presentation of *shaykh*s actions as miraculous ones, even if these actions were real. Still, the penetration of worldly, secular elements into the *ṭarīqa*'s activity freed hagiography from excessive

and very specific mythologization and, to a certain degree, eased the transition toward realistic interpretation of historical events described therein. Biographies of Makhdūm-i Aʿzam, a prominent Naqshbandīya theoretician in Mawarannahr in the first half of the sixteenth century demonstrate it in full measure.

Makhdūm-i Aʿzam succeeded in transforming the brotherhood, or at least the part he headed, into a religious-political organization which came to be known as Kār khāna-yi Khwājagān. Its members continued to engage in social and economic activity with great energy, protecting the poorest layers of the population and participating in trade and crafts. The Naqshbandīya, and especially its leader, Makhdūm-i Aʿzam, was even more active in politics. Following Khwāja Aḥrār, Makhdūm-i Aʿzam announced that the brotherhood's political activity was a priority and exerted serious efforts to make his contacts with the Shaybānids more intensive. All these circumstances led to including in his biographies absolutely original information on all aspects of the brotherhood's functioning, unusual for hagiography. These biographies place special emphasis on the political activity of the Naqshbandīya. Moreover, in addition to containing historical episodes not found in other sources, they present well-known historical events very differently than, for example, chronicles. The latter were normally drawn up at the behest of rulers, which made the authors be much constrained both in the selection of materials and description of events. This does not certainly mean that the authors of the *Maqāmāt* of Makhdūm-i Aʿzam were unbiased in conveying those events which they witnessed or recorded on the basis of eyewitness accounts. Quite the contrary, hagiographic works require even greater caution than other types of sources. The biographies of Ṣūfīs have, however, indubitable virtues which have not yet been adequately assessed.

The biographies of Makhdūm-i Aʿzam are the only sources which permit us to have an idea of the activities of the brotherhood he headed in Mawarannahr [2]. Among the extant biographies of Makhdūm-i Aʿzam, descriptions of

three incomplete and non-original copies have found their way into catalogues known to us. The defectiveness of early versions and too biased nature of later biographies seem to have misled same specialists (see below). It should be noted that published catalogues contain no description of the earliest work, *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, which contains brief biographical information on Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam. It was written in Persian by a little-known Ṣūfī poet from Bukhārā, Qāsim b. Muḥammad Shahr-i Ṣafāyī, whose pen-name was Kātib (16th century). I was lucky to discover one copy (apparently, the single one) of this work in the manuscript collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Uzbekistan (henceforth, IOSUz) [3]. Judging by the handwriting (rather crude *nasta‘līq*), the copy can be dated to the nineteenth century. The copyist's name is lacking. The text displays numerous blots and grammatical errors; several omitted words and prepositions were later written into the margins, either by the owner or by a reader.

The author provides his name, pen name, and examples of his own verse (in *munājāt* style) at the very opening of his work (fols. 2—4 ff.). He also gives very brief information about himself in the introduction (*muqaddima*). It seems that the author was of Bukhāran origin. We learn that already an adult, Qāsim Shahr-i Ṣafāyī suddenly experienced "torments of his heart and soul" and, following the advice of his friends, began to visit the *mazār*s of the "Bukhāran *shaykh*s of Khwājagān" [4]. Finally, at the urging of certain "venerable [ones]" (*‘azīzān*), he came to the "threshold of His Holiness Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam", who eased his spiritual torments by accepting him as a pupil (fols. 3b—4ab). In his own words, the author remained in the service of His Holiness Khwājagī Kāsānī for many years until the death of his teacher.

Qāsim b. Muḥammad also indicates that he wrote his work "on the instruction of Ḥaḍrat [Khwājagī] and his closest *aṣḥāb*" (fol. 7b). Though the author does not provide an exact date for the composition of the work, he cites a story told by the well-known court poet of the Shaybānid ‘Ubaydallāh Khān (1533—1539), Sayyid Muḥammad Pādishāh Khwāja (d. 1547), who was apparently still alive at the time of composition (fol. 77b). This enables us to place the *Anīs al-ṭālibīn* between 1542 (the year of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam's death) and 1547.

The work is divided into ten chapters (*bāb*s), of which the first seven are very brief and are either of a didactic nature (*dar bayān-i ādāb, dar bayān-i tawba*, etc.) or provide explanations of Ṣūfī rituals and terminology (dhikr, *rābiṭa, tawajjuh*, etc.). This section of the work (fols. 4b—31a) is not original and provides frequent citations from famed Ṣūfī *shaykh*s' writings, including excerpts from the works of the Naqshbandīya theoretician Khwāja Muḥammad Pārsā (d. 1419/20) and others.

As for chapters XIII—X (fols. 31a—117a), they contain valuable information on the early biography of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam recorded as provided by his inner circle, his admirers, and the author himself. Cited here is the earliest variant of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam's genealogy, which goes back to Qārakhānid (?) Burhān al-Dīn Qilīch (11th century) (fols. 31b—32a). These sections of the work were compiled by later biographers of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam. It is interesting, Qāsim b. Muḥammad frequently cites the works of his *pīr*, but for some reason rarely makes references to them [5].

The work contains little direct information on Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam's activities, especially those of a political

nature, while tales of the *shaykh*'s miracles are abundant in the writing. The most frequent are stories about the overflowing or drying up of the Kuhak, the main river in the Zarāfshān valley [6]. In these tales, Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam is depicted as succeeded in returning the river to its banks or in filling it with water by calling forth rain (fols. 102a—102b, 115b—116bff.). Even more frequent are stories about how all who dared oppose Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam or merely treat him without due respect (*biādāb*) received punishment as a result of accident, illness, or even death (fols. 65b—66a, 105a—105bff.). On the whole, the text demonstrates the common features of early Ṣūfī hagiography.

Much more original is the section where the author concentrates mainly on the *karāma* of his teacher, on the latter's views on relations between *murīd* and *murshid*, types of *dhikr, samā‘*, etc. The author only rarely mentions his teacher's political involvement, though he cites in abundance Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam's works on the necessity of constant contacts with "Sulṭāns of the time in order to promote the *sharī‘at*" (fols. 54b—55bff.). We also encounter mention of several Shaybānid rulers who considered themselves "*murīd*s of the Ḥaḍrat" (fols. 65a, 79a, and others). Only the relations between Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam and ‘Ubaydallāh Khān are treated in more detail. As the author indicates, "Ḥaḍrat was obligated by invisible benefactors (*rijāl al-ghayb* — B. B.*) to help this *khān*" (fols. 65a, 90b—91b, 97a—97b). Also, there are tales of the "political foresight" of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam, who foresaw the capture of this or that city by the Shaybānids (fols. 106a—109b, 114a—114b).

Let us turn now to another work, the *Tanbīh al-ḍāllīn wa-l-muḍillīn*, which also belongs to a pupil of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam, Dūst Muḥammad b. Nawrūz Aḥmad al-Kīshī Fālīzkār (16th century) [7]. According to the author himself, for about five years, he "inclined his head in humility toward the footprints of the Sulṭān of the *ṭarīqat* [8] … Ḥaḍrat Khwāja Aḥmad Kāsānī …" (fol. 43a). During this time, at his teacher's behest, Dūst Muḥammad Fālīzkār wrote down everything he heard from him and then gathered these notes into a book of "amazing happenings and events" to which he was witness (fols. 43a—44b). This writing contains significantly less biographical information than the *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*.

The single copy of this work, held in the collection of the IOSUz, is unfortunately incomplete; it lacks the final section, which apparently contained biographical information on Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam. The work begins with an ample, but quite traditional introduction (*muqaddima*) in four parts, with explanations of the specifics of Khwājagān (Naqshbandīya) ritual practice, elucidation of the spiritual lineage of the brotherhood (fols. 44a—64b), and so on. Of seven *faṣl*s, which were to follow, according to the author's plan, only the first has survived. In it, the author devotes the bulk of his attention to the rituals practiced in the Khwājagān brotherhood (*dhikr*, the *khatm-i Khwājagān* rite, etc.). One can term this work a biography of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam, although it is quite a stretch, at least until a complete copy of the work is discovered.

The fullest and most detailed biography of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam is contained in another vast work by Dūst Muḥammad b. Nawrūz Aḥmad al-Kīshī Fālīzkār — *Silsilat al-siddīqīn wa-anīs al-‘āshiqīn* [9]. This work contains unique and extremely valuable materials not found in other sources. These include, for example, the details of many political events, various aspects of the religious situation in

Mawarannahr during the first half of the sixteenth century, the Naqshbandīya brotherhood situation of that period, etc. It is truly surprising that this work has until now been practically unnoticed by specialists. The main reason for this, I suspect, is the absence of a more or less complete description. Existing mentions of this source are either too brief [10] or inaccurate [11], which makes it necessary to provide more details about the copies of the work known to us. Moreover, the most informative and earliest of them have not yet been catalogued and remains unknown to specialists. It is held in the collection of the IOSUz, which possesses in all three copies of the work. MS 622 is the most complete of them. It contains 220 folios and has not been catalogued until recently. Judging by the handwriting (small calligraphic *nasta'līq*), MS 622 was copied in the late sixteenth century. The name of the copyist and the place of copying are not indicated. Infrequent errors are corrected in the margins, mostly in the copyist's hand. The marginalia also contain additional information about Makhdūm-i A'zam, for example, his genealogy written in by an owner or reader. The paper is thick, crème-colored and apparently manufactured in Samarqand (as determined by A. Urunbayev).

Another copy of the work in the same collection (call number 2471) lacks both beginning and ending. It is only briefly described in the catalogue of Eastern manuscripts of the IOSUz [12]. It was copied at the end of the seventeenth century. There are *lacunae* at the beginning and in the middle of the text, as one can judge from the *paygīrs*. The name of the copyist is unknown. The handwriting (*nasta'līq*) is crude and the text displays orthographic errors. In style and arrangement, the manuscript is close to the preceding copy. The paper is grey, soft and most likely of Bukhāran manufacturing.

Judging by the writing (large, bold *nasta'līq*) of the third copy, as well as by its paper, MS 1904 was copied in the second half of the nineteenth century in Bukhāra. It has not been catalogued. Although the copy does not display *lacunae*, there are some abridgements in the text in comparison with above-mentioned manuscripts. Yet, it has more folios (270) than MS 622. The style of the MS 1904 text is somewhat simplified, and certain Arabic phrases have either been replaced by Persian phrases or equipped with Persian translation. The copyist does not give his name in the colophon, limiting himself to the traditional epithets like *al-faqīr* or *al-haqīr*. The graphic format of all three copies is quite unassuming.

Another manuscript of the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn wa-anīs al-'āshiqīn* is held at the State University of Istanbul library (call number F 691). I was able to consult a microfilm of the manuscript in the collection of the late Prof. M. Molé. Judging by the palaeographic data, this copy was produced in the eighteenth century. The copyist indicates his name as 'Ibādallāh Bābā al-Bukhārī (fol. 95a). The manuscript is considerably shorter (95 fols.) than the Tashkent copies: it lacks the final sections which lay out the biography of Makhdūm-i A'zam. However, the introduction and first chapers (fols. 20a—80b) are, on the contrary, more complete. It is worth noting that in the Istanbul copy the *nisba* Akhsīkatī (fol. 12a) is attributed to the author, while we find al-Kīshī in the Tashkent copies.

The author of the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* says that he spent 25 years in the service of Makhdūm-i A'zam, carrying out most important assignments for his teacher (MS 622, fols.

9b, 121b—123b, etc.). He even managed to write a work about his *pīr* — *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-mudillīn*. Having finished his education at one of Bukhāra's (?) *madrasas*, Dūst Muhammad al-Kīshī was already an adult when he became a pupil of Makhdūm-i A'zam (fol. 105a). Some political events described in detail by the author permit us to assume that the work was written during the lifetime of Samarqand ruler 'Abd al-Latīf Sultān (1533—1552) and his political rival, the ruler of Bukhārā, 'Abd al-'Azīz Sultān (1539—1550). Consequently, the work was completed no later than the middle of the sixteenth century.

According to the author, he was spurred to "take *qalam* in hand" by Makhdūm-i A'zam himself, who ordered him to describe three events. The first of these is connected with Makhdūm-i A'zam's success in foreseeing the capture of Kāsān (a city in the north of Farghāna) by the united forces of the Uzbeks led by Jānībīk Khān (1513—1529). The second concerns an attack by a "twenty-thousand-strong force of *kāfirs* on Mīrzā Bābur" (d. 1530) [13]. In this case, by means of Sūfī meditation (*murāqaba*) and concentration of thought (*tawajjuh*), Makhdūm-i A'zam could foresee Bābur's victory. Finally, the third tale describes one of the campaigns of 'Ubaydallāh Khān (1533—1539) against Khurāsān, as a result of which he was able to establish himself in Harāt for nearly a year (campaign of 1535—1537). According to the author, this victory was made possible by a blessing which 'Ubaydallāh Khān received from Makhdūm-i A'zam (MS 622, fol. 1a; MS 2471, fols. 2b—3a).

The language of the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* is relatively simple, lacking notable refinements and "plays of metaphor". Dūst Muhammad al-Kīshī also equipped his work with an extended and quite traditional introduction (*muqaddima*) in which he cites Sūfī authorities to prove that *tasawwuf* wholly conforms to the Sunna of the Prophet. This is followed by an enumeration of the seven parts (*qisms*) which were to make up the basic contents of the book. These are (i) *dar bayān-i Walīyat wa karāmat chi-st, wa karāmat-i walī ch-st*; (ii) *dar ibtidā-yi hāl wa jazbat wa ghalabat-i ān Hadrat*; (iii) *dar bayān-i silsila-yi hadarāt-i Khwājagān*; (iv) *dar bayān-i shafqat wa 'ibādat wa tarbīyat-i Ishān nisbat be-tālib*; (v) *dar bayān-i majālis-i sharīf-i Hadrat-i Ishān*; (vi) *dar bayān-i karāmat wa ahwāl-i Hadrat-i Ishān*; (vii) *dar bayān-i samā'*.

Unexpectedly, the actual arrangement of parts in all copies is confused. For example, in the three Tashkent copies, where the first section (*qism-i awwal*) is indicated , we find instead the title of the fifth part, which in MSS 622 and 1904 includes the names of the wives and children of Makhdūm-i A'zam (MS 622, fols. 36b—40; MS 1904, fols. 45b—53a). But in MS 2471, the members of Makhdūm-i A'zam's family are listed practically at the end of the work without any connection to the basic content of the text (fol. 173a—173b). Not one copy follows the order of sections evidently planned by the author. Furthermore, not one copy contains the first or fifth sections. In MSS 622 and 1904, the third section (judging by its contents) has a different title — *Dar bayān-i anfās-i qudsīya* (MS 622, fol. 42b; MS 1904, fol. 53a). Interestingly, an attentive reader (but not the copyist), having noticed the discrepancies described here, wrote in or corrected in the margins the numeration of chapters (MS 622, fol. 36b, 66b, and others). But this did not clear up the confusion. The copyist of MS 2471 attempted to reconstruct the order of the sections by bringing them into accordance with the contents listed in the

muqaddima. He was not entirely successful in this, as he was apparently working from a text with a confused arrangement. We discovered the same discrepancies in titles and order in the Istanbul copy, which, in addition, does not contain the later sections at all. These observations lead us to believe that the author did not finish his work and that the first copyists received a rough draft of the author's work.

Despite the fact that the author failed to complete his opus, the events, especially of a political nature, which he describes, are not found in any other sources, including narrative ones. Especially original are the accounts of diplomatic and military clashes between the appanage Shaybānids and about the role played in these clashes by the leaders of the largest Ṣūfī brotherhoods in Mawarannahr, whose political and social activities are one of the major characteristics of the region's history during the period [14]. Moreover, vivid examples illustrate the serious changes which took place in the doctrines and activities of these brotherhoods and in the status of *shaykhs*, who become influential political figures, apart from their role as religious leaders. One can see an evident "secularisation" of the majority of Ṣūfī *ṭarīqat*s, and especially the Naqshbandiya.

Among the original information found in the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn*, of special interest are the accounts of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam's peace-making efforts in the endless Shaybānid intestine strife. Some his efforts ended in peaceful accord (fols. 159a—159b, 164b—166b), while in others the *shaykh* extended diplomatic or military support to various appanage Shaybānids (among his *murīd*s). For example, in 1540/41, Makhdūm-i A'ẓam succeeded in preventing the seizure of Bukhārā by the united forces of Barāq Khān (ruled in Tashkent; d. 1556) and 'Abd al-Laṭīf Khān (ruled in Samarqand in 1533—1552). After unsuccessful attempts to convince the attackers to give up their siege, Makhdūm-i A'ẓam was able to attract to the side of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān, ruler of Bukhārā, another appanage Shaybānid, Kistīn Qarā Sulṭān (ruled in Balkh, d. *ca*. 1550) by sending a message to the latter. This caused the besiegers to conclude a peace and retreat to their appanages (fols. 121a—123a).

The author reports that Makhdūm-i A'ẓam had "special people" for such missions (fol. 166a—166b). The author himself also carried certain "special assignments" for his *pīr*. One of these "assignments" was connected with the seizure of several of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam's villages by Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who acted at the order of Barāq Khān. The messenger, this time our author, Dūst Muḥammad, was unable to obtain the return of the land, but received from "certain *amīr*s" advice to "kill this disrespectful, obstinate person" (Sulṭān Ibrāhīm). Makhdūm-i A'ẓam then drew up a message for Barāq Khān (we know nothing of its contents) and sent Dūst Muḥammad to Tashkent to deliver it. Furthermore, the *shaykh* hinted that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm could die within three days, and the latter was indeed killed in his home by 'Alī Sa'īd biy, which the messenger learned while on the way to Tashkent. There, with the aid of Mīrzā Turūm, a *murīd* of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam, he obtained an audience with Barāq Khān. Mīrzā delivered the letter from his *pīr* and said to the *khān*: "This hapless Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was the cause of his own undoing by showing such disrespect to our Ḥaḍrat. Do not even consider comporting yourself with similar disrespect toward His Holiness — return the villages!" The *khān* quickly ordered that the confiscated lands be returned (fols. 123b—124b). "May it be known," adds the author, "that [in fact] only three days passed before the

long-standing enemy [of Ḥaḍrat], Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, was killed; as a result of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's murder, Barāq Khān and all [of his] *amīr*s became sincere admirers [of Ḥaḍrat]" [15].

No doubt, this and other incidents, which are numerous in the source, convey real events; we find support for this in the entirely earth-bound and secular motives which drove the participants, who are all actual historical figures, the clearly defined geographical setting, the absence of the mythicization so characteristic of early Ṣūfī hagiography, etc. In keeping with the times, such harsh actions in defense of one's economic well-being and political interests became one of the brotherhood's basic modes of functioning.

Of interest are also the events described by the author which took place after the death of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam (after 1542). Thus, in 952/1545—46, his *mazār* and adjacent village of Dahbīd (15 km north-west from Samarqand) were seized and destroyed by a group of armed *amīr*s of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Khān. Moreover, the *khān* not only failed to halt the pillage, but refused to punish those responsible when the descendents and former pupils of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam in Samarqand demanded retribution (fol. 217a—217b).

The last biography of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam to be compiled was the *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* which was written by his grandson, Abū-l-Baqā' b. Bahā' al-Dīn b. Makhdum-i A'dham in 1026/1617—18. The work is found in many manuscript collections across the world, but the greatest number of copies (21) is held in the IOSUz. Only five of them have been catalogued [16]. Of all extant copies, the earliest and most complete was transcribed "by the hand of the feeble servant of God ... Shāh Muḥammad Ṣūfī b. Darwīsh Biy Khānazāda in 1034/1624—25" [17], that is, only seven or eight years after the work was written. A comparison of all the manuscripts which have reached us convinced us that they are identical in content (discounting lacunae), with the exception of MS 1606/I (IOSUz), which is close to the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* described above. There are also abridged versions of the work, represented by a number of copies in the IOSUz or the copy in the Berlin National Library [18].

As far as I know, this source was first mentioned in brief by V. V. Barthold and later in more detail by V. L. Viatkin, who noted its importance for the study of the first half of the sixteenth century [19]. A more complete description of the manuscript was published by Academician B. A. Akhmedov [20]. Unfortunatly this description is not free from errors, especially with concern to biographical information on the author. B. A. Akhmedov writes that the author, Abū-l-Baqā', was an "individual who carried out orders (i.e. who was a *ḥukmgīr*) for the Shaybānid 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān" (p. 179). Chronological considerations, however, make this unlikely: even if one assumes that Abū-l-Baqā' completed his work at a ripe old age (in 1617/18), then during the reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān I (1539—1549) he would have been extremely young (if not a child). It is even more doubtful that before this (if one is to believe B. A. Akhmedov) Abū-l-Baqā' managed to travel to various places (Balkh, India, Kāshghar) in connection with his commercial operations (p. 179).

Furthermore, Akhmedov asserts that the author "occupied the post of ambassador in Kazakhstan and lived there for two years, endured misfortune ... and returned home only with difficulty" (*ibid.*). In fact, the episode Akhmedov describes here was compiled from the *Silsilat al-*

siddīqīn and conveyed by Khwāja Jakka (but not the author) (MS 622, fol. 202a—202b; *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt*, MS 72, fol. 122a; MS 7638, fols. 232b—233a) [21]. As concerns "commercial operations" of Abū-l-Baqā', these tales, drawn from earlier biographies of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam, are not conveyed directly by the author, too (*Jāmi' al-maqāmāt*, MS 7638, fols. 104a, 110a). Therefore, the "biographical information" about the author of the *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* should in fact be attributed to informants whose testimony was compiled by Abū-l-Baqā' from previous biographies of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam. Also, he often does not provide the names of his informants, saying simply: *Naql kardand ki* ... .

One can also hardly agree with B. A. Akhmedov's interpretation of certain episodes in this source. For example, the scholar considers the tale of the seizure of Kāsān by Uzbek forces, told in the confused and non-concrete style typical of hagiography, a "popular uprising" (p. 180). In fact, it was not. In all versions, it is only said that during the siege of Kāsān, Makhdūm-i A'ẓam came into conflict with the city's spiritual elite (Bābā Mīrak and others), who had taken the defence of the city into their hands. As a result, "Ḥaḍrat Khwājagī was compelled to leave the city". After the capture of the city, the population was subjected to beatings and pillage; the rulers were executed (MS 622, fol. 75a—75b; MS 72, fol. 124a—124b). The author of the *Jāmi'* comes to the conclusion that the misfortune took place because "those unreasonable and haughty people (responsible for the defence) dared to disobey Ḥaḍrat (i.e. Makhdūm-i A'ẓam)" and were deservedly punished (*ibid.*). True, neither the informant nor the author indicates what exactly Makhdūm-i A'ẓam wished to gain from Bābā Mīrak and his circle. One can, however, guess from following episodes that Makhdūm-i A'ẓam was most likely trying to incline them toward the voluntary surrender of the city, since he felt that in cases of "struggles between the Sulṭāns of the time", "people of the *ṭarīqat*s" should work to reduce the number of innocent victims [22].

The writing of Abū-l-Baqā' includes a short introduction (MS 72, fols. 1a—3b), three chapters (*bāb*s) and a brief conclusion (fols. 148—151a). Of special importance are the author's explanations of the reasons which caused him to compose his work: "May it not be concealed," he writes, "that Mawlānā Dūst (Muḥammad al-Kīshī Fālīzkār — B. B.) was one of the greatest of the *aṣḥāb* of the Ḥaḍrat ... Makhdūm-i A'ẓam, at whose will he drew up a book about his *karāmāt*s and miracless [23]. The author says that "it was also on the counsel of this Ḥaḍrat that Khwāja

Ibrāhīm [24] and mullā Qāsim Kātib [25] wrote about him — both were among his (Makhdūm-i A'ẓam's) *aṣḥāb*". Abū-l-Baqā' adds: "But until now there was no collection (*jāmi'*) of his *Maqāmāt* [26]. Furthermore, copies of these (*Maqāmāt*) were provided for reading to His Holiness" [27], who "deigned to say: 'May a copy (*nuskha*) be made which brings together all of these texts and which includes other events not mentioned in the above-mentioned anthologies (i.e. *Maqāmāt*)'" (fol. 2a—2b).

One should note that the author conscientiously included in his work, practically without alteration, a large number of tales from the above-mentioned biographies. The only original section is a part of the first chapter, where he explains the reasons and motives which led the eldest son and successor of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam, Khwāja Muḥammad Amīn, to transfer the leadership of the *ṭarīqat* to the influential Bukhāran *shaykh* Khwāja Islām Jūybārī (d. 1563) (fols. 6—8). Also, we find in the *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* a more detailed elucidation of the conflict between Makhdūm-i A'ẓam and Mīr-i 'Arab, the well-known spiritual dignitary from the circle of 'Ubaydallāh Khān [28]. However, contrary to established opinion [29], the major part of *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* can hardly be called original. Even a cursory glance allows one to conclude that the basic source for the extensive compilations made by Abū-l-Baqā' was Dūst Muḥammad al-Kīshī's *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* (not *vice versa*) [30].

And finally, *Jāmi' al-maqāmāt* was compiled under the obvious influence of the Jūybār *khwāja*s (it even seems to have been ordered by them). This is evident from the above-cited authorial justification of the work's "timeliness", as well as from the exposition of the conflict between Khwāja Islām Jūybārī and Mawlānā Luṭfallāh Chūstī for the right to lead the "Bukhāran brothers (*yārān*) of the Khwājagān (Naqshbandīya)" (fols. 79a—80b), an exposition clearly biased in favour of Khwāja Islām Jūybārī.

These are, it seems, all of the biographies of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam which have come down to us. One can borrow some information about his live from his own works [31], as well as from the lives of his pupils [32]. In the latter case, the information is naturally of a biased nature in favour of a particular pupil. But even such accounts might greatly advance our understanding of the brotherhood's functioning, of relations between Makhdūm-i A'ẓam's main successors, etc. To conclude, it is to be hoped that the above-mentioned hagiographic works will receive many-faceted treatment, and the *Silsilat al-siddīqīn* in particular, which no doubt demands its publication as soon as possible.

Notes

1. The specifics of hagiography — the absence of universal methodologies for extracting the actual, if very mythologised, base of real events in hagiographic works — makes it difficult to work with this literature and renders its analysis extremely labour-consuming. Furthermore, to understand and interpret hagiographic works, one must be not only well-trained in Islamic studies and familiar with complicated Ṣūfī terminology, but must also bear in mind the specific features of literature created within this or that brotherhood. Success is only possible after one has "read through" the largest possible number of appropriate works. One must also retain a sense of balance both in one's critical appraisal and in respecting the "absolute presumption of a source's veracity". In these circumstances, it is not surprising that we witness little enthusiasm with concern to investigating Ṣūfī hagiography writings.

2. The economic, political, and charitable activities of Khwāja Aḥrār and the Jūybār *shaykh*s has received fuller study. This is linked to the availability of a multitude of extant documents, letters, detailed biographies and information from other sources which provide a firm basis for reconstructing the history of the Naqshbandīya under these *shaykh*s. Meanwhile, not one document has been hitherto discovered on the extensive estates of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam, and his large correspondence, part of which has survived in the accounts of his biographers, is little known. These circumstances enhance the importance of biographies of Makhdūm-i A'ẓam as historical sources.

3. Qāsim b. Muḥammad Shahr-i Ṣafāyī, *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, MS 3969 in the collection of the IOSUz.

4. Members of the Ṣūfī brotherhood founded by 'Abd al-Khāliq Gijdūwānī (d. A. D. 1180 or 1220).

5. The most complete known collection of Makhdūm-i Aʻzam's works is held in the collection of the IOSUz (MS 501) and contains twenty-eight treatises (*risālas*). It was copied in 977/1569—70 by Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mīr Jalāl (fol. 287b). Another four treatises not included in the above-mentioned collection have survived in a later copy (MS 1443/XXVII—XXXI) held in the same collection (copied in 1134/1721—22). One can find a brief description of these treatises in the *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (Collection of Eastern Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1955), iii, pp. 298—315, Nos. 2517—2520, 2523—2557; *ibid.*, (Tashkent, 1963), vi, pp. 517—29, Nos. 4950—4979).

6. That is the Zarāfshān River.

7. Dūst Muḥammad Fālīzkār, *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-mudillīn*, MS 3711/III in the collection of the IOSUz, fols. 40—75. This copy, the only one of the work, was completed in 1281/1864—65. The copyist's name is not indicated. The author listed his full name and some autobiographic details in another of his works (see below).

8. In another work (see below), the author indicates that he "was in the service" of Makhdūm-i Aʻzam for 25 years until the latter's death (1542). Consequently, the *Tanbīh al-dāllīn wa-l-mudillīn* can be dated to approximately 1522.

9. The author's full name is Dūst Muḥammad b. Nawrūz Aḥmad b. Khūsh Muḥammad b. ʻĀdil Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn b. Qadr-shāh b. Nawrūz al-Kīshī Fālīzkār.

10. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ*, iii, p. 31, No. 2576. This brief description of MS 2471 held in the collection of the IOSUz gives the name of the work, its author's name, the exterior characteristics of the copy and the approximate date of copying (17th century). Later, this date was mistakenly understood by some authors as the time of the work's composition. Even more brief mention of the manuscript is contained in B. A. Ahmedov, *Istoriko-geograficheskaia literatura Sredneĭ Azii XVI—XVIII vv. Pis'mennye pamiatniki* (The Historico-Geographical Literature of the Sixteenth—Eighteenth Centuries Central Asia. Literary Texts) (Tashkent, 1985), p. 182. The title of the work in this edition is given erroneously as *Silsilat al-salaṭīn wa-anīs al-ʻashiqīn*.

11. "Fonds M. Molé", *Studia Iranica*, extrait du tome 7 (Leiden, 1978), p. 138, MS 69. This is in fact a description of a microfilm made specially for Prof. M. Molé from a copy held in the library of Istanbul University (MS F 691). The title is reproduced erroneously: *Kitāb silsila al-ṣādīqīn wa-anīs al-ʻushshāqīr*; the author's name is given with the *nisba* al-Alskātī. The date of writing has not been determined.

12. See *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ*, iii.

13. There is no mention of this incident in published copies of the *Bābur-nāma*. It is possible that a description of the event was contained in a missing section of the Bābur's work (events of 1510—1519).

14. For more detail, see B. Babadzhanov, "Iasaviia i Nakshbandiia v Maverannakhre: iz istorii vzaimootnosheniĭ (XV—XVI vv.)"("Yasawīya and Naqshbandīya in Mawarannahr: on the history of relations in the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries), in *Yasaui taghlymy* (Turkestan, 1996), pp. 89—112.

15. *Pushīda namānad, ki az guftan-i ān Ḥadrat se rūz guzashte būd, ki munkir-i qadīm Sulṭān Ibrāhīm be-qatl rasīde; wa be-sabab-i kushte shudan Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, Barāq Khān wa jamīʻ umarāʼ az jān-u-dil mukhliṣ wa muʻtaqid gashtand* (fol. 125b).

16. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ*, iii, pp. 315—16, Nos. 2571—2575; for a list of literature and catalogues, see *ibid.*

17. MS 72 from the IOSUz (the V. L. Viatkin collection), fol. 151a (colophon). This manuscript is briefly described in *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopiseĭ*, iii, p. 315. The number of folios is indicated incorrectly (148 instead of 151).

18. The Berlin copy (MS Oct. 1562) was transcribed in 1236/1811—12. Copyist's name is not indicated in colophon (p. 110), European pagination, *nastaʻlīq*. The text contains errors.

19. V. V. Bartol'd, "Otchet o komandirovke v Turkestan" ("Report on a working visit to Turkestan"), in *Sochineniia* (Works), viii (Moscow, 1973), p. 153; [V. L. Viatkin], *Perechen' vostochnykh rukopiseĭ V. L. Viatkina v Gosudarstvennoĭ publichnoĭ biblioteke Uzbekskoĭ SSR* (List of V. L. Viatkin's Eastern Manuscripts Held in the State Public Library of the Uzbek SSR) (Tashkent, 1935), i, No. 73.

20. Akhmedov, *op. cit.*, p. 179—82. The scholar did not indicate the archival number of the copy he employed, although on the basis of certain information, not always accurate though, one can guess that his remarks concern MS 7638 from the IOSUz. This is the second oldest copy (1043/1633—34) containing more folios (251) than other copies. However, this manuscript's big volume is most likely connected with the bold hand (*nastaʻlīq*) inside a small (8.5×17.5 cm) page surface bordered in Indian ink and vermilion. Although the large number of folios creates the impression that we have here a full copy, the contents are identical to MS 72.

21. It is true that in the earliest biography of Makhdūm-i Aʻzam, *Anīs al-ṭālibīn*, this episode is conveyed by a certain admirer (*mukhliṣ*, name not given) (fol. 109b). This source adds that the ambassador was dispatched by the ruler of Akhsiket to Uzbekistan, meaning, apparently, to the territory of the nomadic Uzbeks (approximately the south-western part of what is today Kazakhstan).

22. For more detail, see Bakhtiyar Babajanov, "La Naqshibandiyya sous les premiers Sheybanides", *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale*, 3—4 (Tashkent—Aix-en-Provence, 1997), pp. 82—3, 86.

23. This concerns the *Silsilat al-ṣiddīqīn wa-anīs al-ṭālibīn* described above.

24. Unfortunately, I was not able to find this work.

25. That is the work by Qāsim b. Muḥammad — *Anīs al-ṭālibīn* — described above.

26. The author means that there was no compilation of all of the biographies of Makhdūm-i Aʻzam.

27. Although no name is given, it is clear that this concerns one of the Jūybār *khwājas* who ordered the writing of this work. The head of the Jūybārid house at the time was Tāj al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1646).

28. For more detail, see B. Babadzhanov, "Mīr-i Arab", in *Kul'tura kochevnikov na rubezhe vekov (XIX—XX, XX—XXI vv.): problemy genezisa i transformatsii* (The Culture of Nomads at the Turn of the Centuries (XIX—XX, XX—XXI): Problems of Origin and Transformation) (Almaty, 1995), pp. 89—91.

29. Akhmedov, *op. cit.*, pp. 179—82.

30. B. A. Akhmedov is of a different opinion. For example, he writes that *Jāmiʻ al-maqāmāt* was later reworked by Dūst Muḥammad al-Kīshī (see Akhmedov, *op. cit.*, p. 182). This assertion seems to be even more dubious if one bears in mind that Dūst Muḥammad was already an adult when he became a pupil of Makhdūm-i Aʻzam and remained with him for 25 years until the latter's death (see above). Moreover, the author of *Jāmiʻ al-maqāmāt* speaks of using al-Kīshī's work.

31. See, for example, the above-mentioned collection of Makhdūm-i Aʻzam's works (MS 501/I—XXXI from the IOSUz, fols. 284b—86b, and others).

32. Mawlānā ʻUbaydallāh Naqshbandī al-Samarqandī, *Sirāj al-sālikīn wa-laṭāʼif al-ʻārifīn*, MS 5785 from the collection of the IOSUz, fols. 81b—82b, 84a—85b, 112a—112b, and others.

S. M. Prozorov

A UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT OF A BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
BY A KHOREZMIAN AUTHOR

The Russian Arabist V. I. Beliayev (1902—1976) was the first to mention the manuscript of an unknown biographical dictionary in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. While working on the collection in 1953, he singled out this manuscript, acquired in 1939 from the Astrakhan book collector S. A. Alimov, as of "outstanding interest". The scholar also determined its provenance as Khorezm and suggested that it is an autograph copy dating to the twelfth century [1]. The manuscript was later examined by A. I. Mikhaylova (in drawing up a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the collection) and B. Z. Khalidov, who drew from it a biography of the famous scholar al-Zamakhsharī [2]. But it is only two decades after V. I. Beliaev's first comments on the manuscript that his pupil, A. B. Khalidov, published a more detailed discussion of it in his two articles [3]. Apart from an analysis of the manuscript's contents and sources used, the author made the description of the manuscript. But it is more important, A. B. Khalidov was successful in attributing the work. However, at present, the results of his research need some corrections and additions inevitable after many years had elapsed from the appearance of his articles. The present article presents my own observations on the manuscript, which are basing certainly on the main results of Prof. Khalidov's work .*

The manuscript contains 193 large-format folios (18.7 × 29.7 cm); 29 lines per page, *naskh*. The text was copied in black ink in a single hand; headings and emphasised words are underlined. There are corrections and additions in the margins, as well as a number of notes made by a reader (two readers?) soon after the copying of the manuscript. Vowelling and diacritical marks are rare. The custodes belong partially to the copyist, partially to readers. Late Arabic pagination runs up to fol. 31b in black ink and is continued thereafter in blue pencil until the end of the manuscript. The paper is of Samarqand origin, thick, glossed, and browned with age. The folios are worm-eaten in places, ragged, and soiled. The manuscript is stitched together and held in a paste-board binding of later production. The order of folios has been disrupted.

The manuscript is defective: it lacks both a beginning and an end. The text starts with a continuation of the biography of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Mubārak al-Khurāsānī (d. 181/797) and continues with the biographies of individuals whose names begin with the letters *ʿayn, ghayn*, etc.

in the order of the Arabic alphabet to the letter *ya'*. Then the biographies of people known only by *kunya* follow. The text breaks off on the biography of the traditionalist Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh (d. 173/789—90).

Thus, the dictionary is constructed in alphabetical order and most likely consisted originally of 28 chapters (*bāb*s), one for each letter of the Arabic alphabet, and a concluding section (*dhikr*) listing those known only by *kunya*. The manuscript contains only 10 incomplete chapters (approximately one third of the work), presenting 277 biographies (some with *lacunae*) of considerably varying length. Nearly half of the manuscript is occupied by some fifteen extensive biographies, while the length of the others varies from 2 or 3 lines to half of a page.

Within chapters, the biographies are arranged in alphabetical-chronological order: the companions of Muḥammad (*ṣaḥāba*) come first, then the "followers" (*tābiʿūn*), etc. Within the large chapter on *ʿayn* we find subdivisions for the names ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, ʿAbd al-Mālik, etc. The names of those whose biography is presented are written in large letters and underlined, serving as the headings of the text's sections and sub-sections (see *figs. 1* and *2*).

After comparing materials found in the manuscript with data provided in K. Brockelman, A. B. Khalidov came to the conclusion that the author of the dictionary was the traditionalist Abū-l-Karam ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥijjī al-Firdawsī al-Khwārizmī al-Andarasfānī. As the scholar points out, the author refers to one of his own works entitled *al-Mustaqṣā* ("What Was Studied") dealing with the early history of Islam (the history of Muḥammad, the early Arab conquests, the first four caliphs, etc.). A work of this title and content is listed by Brockelman, who gives the author's name as Abū-l-Karam al-Khwārizmī al-Andarasfānī [4]. Second, like Brockelman's Abū-l-Karam, the author of the dictionary lived in Khorezm (and must have also carried the *nisba* al-Khwārizmī); like him, he could have had another, specifically Khorezmian *nisba*, al-Ḥijjī, instead of al-Ḥājjī. The time of the active literary involvement of the dictionary's author is contemporary with the lifetime of Brockelman's Abū-l-Karam: his another extant work was written in 564/1169. Its content is connected with Muslim tradition, which also interested the author of the dictionary [5]. Finally, the decisive argument which permitted A. B. Khalidov to make his attribution is that the native village of the dictionary's author is shown in the

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* At present, the author of this article is preparing the manuscript of the dictionary for publication.

manuscript as Andarasbān, located in Khorezm. This forms the basis for the *nisba* — al-Andarasbānī (Pers. al-Andarasfānī). All this leaves no doubt that the attribution suggested is quite correct.

As concerns the dictionary's title *Kitāb tarājim al-rijāl* ("Biographies of the Transmitters of the Tradition"), as it is given in the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number C 2387, No. 9454), variants of similar titles in this genre are usually numerous: from the common *Ta'rīkh* ("History") or *Mu'jam* ("Dictionary") to the individual and original (cf., for example, al-Sam'ānī's *al-Ansāb* or *al-Taḥbīr*).

Unfortunately, I was not able to discover any information about Abū-l-Karam 'Abd al-Salām in other sources. However, luckily enough, the manuscript itself contains abundant materials on the scholar's biography, his teachers and acquaintances, as well as the titles and even the contents of some of his works. These materials in the text give us an idea of his work on the dictionary and on the corpus of sources he drew on in his work. The author frequently betrays his presence in the book, often speaking in the first person and referring to his personal encounters, conversations, and correspondence. He also reports that he made numerous notes (*maktūbātī*) and selections (*muntakhabātī*) from texts and wrote down what he "heard" (*masmū'ātī*). He mentions collections he drew up (*majmū'ātī*), lists cities he visited, and scholars under whose direction he learned *ḥadīth*s or copied out works. He also informs the reader that the famous philologist and Qur'ānic commentator Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī al-Khwārizmī (467—538/1075—1144) studied for a short time with his maternal grandfather. In turn, the author himself came to al-Zamakhsharī with the intention of studying with him, but the latter discouraged him from this, much to the youth's disappointment. Abū-l-Karam dedicates to his would-be teacher a heartfelt and detailed article which contains facts absent in other sources.

We also learn that in 545/1150—51, while completing the *ḥajj*, Abū-l-Karam stayed in Ray with *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Abū 'Abdallāh al-Astrābādī. He learned *ḥadīth*s from him (*ḥaddathanī*) and visited the grave of the noted Mu'tazilite theologian and Shafi'ite *faqīh al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad (d. 415/1025) [6]. The grave of this scholar was located in the courtyard of al-Astrābādī's home. Abū-l-Karam was "blessed" there by *waqf* deeds written in the deceased scholar's own hand. The special respect for this scholar demonstrated by the dictionary's author testifies to his Mu'tazilite sympathies; the Mu'tazilite school was firmly entrenched in his homeland, Khorezm. On his way to Mecca, Abū-l-Karam made pilgrimage to several tombs of celebrated Islamic personalities and *'ulaā*'s in Baghdad — the tomb of the Shi'ite *imām* Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799) and the tomb of the caliph al-Amīn (d. 193/809), in Jabal-Tabarak — the tomb of the Hanafite *imām* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shāybānī (d. 189/804—5), in Medina — the tomb of the eponymous head of the Malikites, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795). Furthermore, the author visited Asadābād, where he heard *al-qāḍī* Abū-l-Faḍl al-Tamīmī [7] and, on numerous occasions, Hamadan, where he studied with Abū-l-'Alā' *al-ḥāfiẓ* al-Hamadānī. From the latter he learned many *ḥadīth*s with various *isnād*s, copied books, and studied, in particular, the books *Kitāb al-tamhīd fī ma'rifat al-tajwīd* ("Introduction to the Study of Qur'ānic Recitation") [8] and *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-

Bukhārī. Also in Hamadan, he made a "selection" from the *Kitāb al-nuzah* ("Book of Delights") and copied an "excerpt" about a letter from the above-mentioned al-Shaybānī sent from Kufa to Baghdad to the first *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* in Islam, Abū Yūsuf.

The author compiled the dictionary in Gurganj — the main city in Khorezm — in close contact with the pupils of al-Zamakhsharī. As their titles *shaykh al-quḍāt*, *ṣadr al-sharī'a*, *ṣadr al-a'imma*, and others show, they occupied prominent positions in society. It can be deduced from the text of the manuscript that the author understood Khorezmian dialect. One of his mentors (*ustādhunā*, *shaykhunā*) was Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Mu'ayyad al-Makkī (d. 568/1172), a favoured and devoted pupil of al-Zamakhsharī. References to Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad in the manuscript are accompanied by such honorific sobriquets as *al-ṣadr al-khaṭīb*, *akhṭab al-khuṭabā'* ("head of the preachers"), and *ṣadr al-sharī'a* ("bastion of the *sharī'a*"). The author also expresses his gratitude toward his deceased teacher with a special formula (in addition to the traditional *raḥimahu Allah*) — *jazāhu Allah khayran* ("May Allah grant him prosperity!"). Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad was a famed orator, the author of sermons at the local mosque, a *faqīh*, as well as a literary figure and a poet. A significant amount of the information on the "pride of Khorezm" — as al-Zamakhsharī was referred to — is given with reference to Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad or taken directly from his work *Kitāb al-arba'īn* ("Forty [*Ḥadīth*s]") [9]. This includes his elegy for al-Zamakhsharī, his verses about Abū Ḥanīfa and two of his companions, the biography of an ascetic (*zāhid*) written at his request, etc.

The author had close ties to another titled pupil of al-Zamakhsharī — 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Umar Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Tarjumānī, who studied with al-Zamakhsharī for seven years his well-known Mu'tazilite commentary on the Qur'ān, *al-Kashshāf* [10], and other subjects. The author also uses the term "friend" (*ṣadīqī*) in relation to 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī Abū-l-Ma'ālī al-Ḥākimī al-Zamakhsharī, on whose authority he cites the verses of others about Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī, and Muḥammad al-Ḥājj, who accompanied al-Zamakhsharī throughout his life and later became one of the author's pupils. Together with *shaykh* al-Qāḍībī (?), Muḥammad al-Ḥājj learned from him al-Firdaws [11] and the author's own works (*mu'allafātī*).

The author's family evidently maintained close relations with al-Zamakhsharī himself, whom they had known since childhood. The author reports that after the death of his maternal uncle, al-Zamakhsharī, then in elementary school (*kuttāb*), wrote a letter to his grandfather with condolences and apologies that he had been unable to come from Zamakhshar to Andarsbān because of a physical ailment (he had lost a leg in childhood).

A spiritual authority for the author of the dictionary was Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī (d. 562/1167), who descended from a family of well-known scholars in Merv and was the author of dozens of works. Abū-l-Karam calls him "crown of Islam" (*tāj al-Islām*) and frequently cites from what he "heard" from him or his numerous writings. He also notes a letter in which Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, together with his teacher, Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Abū Ṭāhir al-Sinjī (d. in Bukhara, 555/1160), conveyed necessary information as transmitted by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Muẓaffar al-Bukhārī. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī was the author whose writings Abū-l-Karam cites abundantly — seven of his works
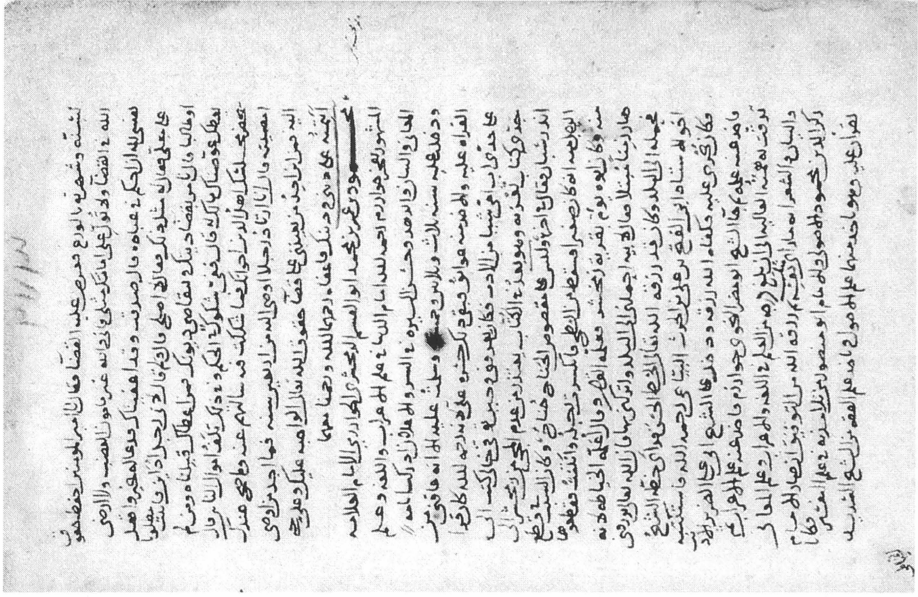
Fig. 2

Fig. 1

are cited, two of them — *Uns al-shātī* ("Sociability of One Spending the Winter") and *al-Nukhba* ("Selections") not being attested in other sources.

The author's work was founded on the assiduous collection of *hadīth*s, a thorough familiarity with the historical, biographical, theological, and legal literature, primarily of Mawarannahr and Khorasan, and a breadth of views (among his sources of information are Hanafites, Shafi'ites, Ṣūfīs, and Mu'tazilites). He refers the reader who wishes to learn more about particular individuals and events mentioned in the dictionary to his other works and lists eight titles. They are: *Kitāb ṣifāt al-ṣāliḥāt wa-'ādāt al-'ābidāt* ("Book of the Qualities of Virtuous Women and Customs of Devout Women"), *Fiḍḍat al-mūna wa-kanz al-ghūna* ("The Silver of Desires and the Treasure-Trove of Sufficiency"), *al-Muntakha fī-l-ghazāwāt* ("The Limit of the Desirable in Military Campaigns"), *al-Mustaqṣā* ("What Has Been Studied"), *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* ("The Virtues of Abū Ḥanīfa"), *Manāqib Mālik* ("The Virtues of Mālik [b. Anas]"), and *Siyar al-quḍāt* ("Biographies of Judges"). The *Siyar al-quḍāt* comprised, in particular, the biography of Muḥammad b. 'Alī *al-qāḍī* Abū 'Abdallāh al-Marwazī. An excerpt from this work is copied out in the margins of the manuscript under discussion here. Among his writings Abū-l-Karam mentions also the *Kitāb al-qand*. This is the abbreviated title of the works dedicated to the history of Samarqand. Their more common title was *Kitāb al-qand fī ta'rīkh Samarqand*, or *Kitāb al-qand fī dhikr 'ulamā' Samarqand* ("What Is Sweet in the Enumeration of Samarqand's Scholars"). That is the title, for example, of the work by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142—43), to which he also refers [12]. With the exception of the above-mentioned *al-Mustaqṣā*, which survives in a Persian translation of the fifteenth century, the works enumerated have not come down to us.

This information provided by Abū-l-Karam leads us to the conclusion that the author of the biographical dictionary was a broadly educated Khorezmian scholar. He was most likely a follower of the Hanafite *madhhab*, which is evident from the character of the materials he presents in his dictionary and, to a certain degree, from the fact that al-Subkī does not mention him as a Shafi'ite. At the same time, he apparently held to Mu'tazilite views. One can also conclude that Abū-l-Karam drew up his biographical dictionary after 569/1173 and probably died at the end of the 6th/12th century.

Those studying the manuscript of Abū-l-Karam's dictionary are faced with a not easy problem of identifying the sources of the author's information. The difficulty is that we have here only the final third of the writing in which the works cited or mentioned, as well as the names of their authors, are given in the abbreviated form. The full titles were likely provided in the preceding sections of the work. In the surviving part of the work, the full titles of works and the names of their authors are given only when they appear for the first time. Most often the author limits himself to providing only the first word of the title of the work he cites. Moreover, names of authors also appear frequently in their abbreviated form, with *laqab*, *kunya*, or *nisba* solely mentioned. Nonetheless, at the present stage of investigation we can state that the basic body of sources can be identified with a certain degree of accuracy [13]. The titles of more than 60 works employed by the author have been identified. The majority of these writings were compiled by

scholars from the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate — Khorasan and Mawarannahr (Nishapur, Khorezm, Merv, Bukhara, Baykhak, etc.). They are historians who represent local literature tradition. Among them are *faqīh*s, *muhaddith*s of various *madhhab*s, *qāḍī*s, literary figures, officials, and preachers.

The works cited belong to diverse genres. They include various collections of Muslim tradition, commentaries of the Qur'ān, works on *hadīth*s, law, *madhhab*s, Islamic dogmatics, polemics, and Ṣūfism. Historical-biographical writings are also numerous. Primarily, these are chronicles of cities, most frequently *Ta'rīkh*s or works with individual names, which present the biographies of famous people who either lived in the city or visited it. The dictionary makes use of chronicles of Baghdad, Nishapur, Khorezm, Bukhara, and others (in all, eight cited works bear the title *Ta'rīkh*). To the same category belong biographical works with individual titles such as *al-Tahbīr* and *al-Mudhayyal* by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, and specialised works on Ṣūfism, for example, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1039), on the Mu'tazilites — *al-Ṭabaqāt* by *al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad, and others.

Another genre of biographical literature actively employed by the author is the description of the "virtues" (*manāqib*) of the founders of the main four *madhhab*s: Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfi'ī, Mālik b. Anas, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Works with the title *al-Manāqib* are cited in the dictionary either with reference to their compilers (for example, al-Ṣaymarī, al-Sijistānī, al-Zaranjarī) or without such references (for example, the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* covers dozens of works).

The citation frequency varies. Ten works are cited about 10 to 40 times: the biographical dictionary *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* ("History of Baghdad") by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) — more than 40 times, and the *Ḥilyat awliyā'* ("Adornment of the Saints") by Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī — about 20 times. Both of these multi-volume works are well-known to specialists and have been published.

About 15 citations are accorded the *Ta'rīkh Naysābūr* ("History of Nishapur") by Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh *al-ḥāfiz* Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, also known as Ibn al-Bayyi' (d. 405/1014—15). This enormous, eight-volume history of the *'ulamā'* of Nishapur is divided chronologically into six "sections" (generations). The final section covers people who transmitted *hadīth*s between 320/932 and 380/990. The majority of the individuals mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh Naysābūr* were either studied directly with al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī or were teachers of his teachers. This writing was also used by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, who borrowed from it information about fifty Central Asian scholars who visited Nishapur. Later, Ibn al-Bayyi''s work was translated into Persian, in which version it has come down to us (published in Tehran in 1961) [14].

Of special interest is the *Ta'rīkh Khwārizm* ("History of Khorezm") by Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī, which Abū-l-Karam heard directly from the author and which he cites on several occasions. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-'Abbās b. Arslān *madhhar* (var. *dhāhir*) al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī (492—568/1099—1172/73) was a Khorezmian Shafi'ite *faqīh*, *muhaddith*, historian, and Ṣūfī. He heard *hadīth*s in Khorezm, Merv, Bukhara, Samarqand, and Baghdad and taught at the famed al-Niẓamiyya *madrasa* in Baghdad. The honorary title of *al-ḥāfiz al-muṭlaq* he bore

testifies to his profound knowledge of "the science of *ḥadīth*". Al-Samʿānī wrote about Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī's extensive knowledge of legal methodology and differences between the *fiqh* schools. His work *al-Kāfī fī-l-fiqh* was held in high esteem not only by Shafiʿites but also by the representatives of other *madhhabs*.

Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī's "History of Khorezm" consisted of eight large volumes, or parts. The autograph of this work was used by Yāqūt al-Hamawī (d. 626/1229), author of a well-known geographical dictionary. In particular, he took from it information on the famed Ashʿarite theologian and philosopher al-Shahrastānī (d. 548/1153), on Abū-l-Ḥasan al-ʿUmrānī (d. 560/1165), the pupil of Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī, etc. The "History of Khorezm" has been preserved in the abridged version of al-Dhahabī. Al-Subkī, who was acquainted with the first volume of the *Taʾrīkh Khwārizm*, cites in his own writing the "Introduction" (*al-muqaddima*) to the *Taʾrīkh Khwārizm* [15].

Several times Abū-l-Karam cites also the *Taʾrīkh Bukhārā* ("History of Bukhara") by Gunjār, most likely the manuscript trader (and copyist — *warrāq*) whose full name was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Bukhārī. He is known by the *laqab* Gunjār (d. 412/1021). According to al-Samʿānī, he inherited this sobriquet from his teacher, the well-known Bukharan *muḥaddith* ʿIsā b. Mūsā Abū Aḥmad al-Tamīmī whose *laqab* was Gunjār (d. 385/995). The tale of how the famed ascetic *faqīh* and *muḥaddith* ʿIsā b. Mūsā (Gunjār) resisted a posting as judge in Mawarannahr is given in the manuscript of the dictionary but it does not contain a biography of Gunjār as the author of the "History of Bukhara".

Al-Samʿānī describes Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī as an expert in *ḥadīth*s who travelled widely in the cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan and his work *Taʾrīkh Bukhārā* as the best book ever written on the history of that city. He cites the work when presenting the biographies of sixteen Bukharan scholars from the Samanid rule. Later historians also held Gunjār's "History of Bukhara" in high esteem. Gunjār's grave in Bukhara was preserved for many centuries; at the beginning of the twentieth century, his tomb still stood in the Western section of the city [16].

Among individually titled works in the *taʾrīkh* genre most frequently cited in the dictionary we find *al-Mudhayyal* and *al-Taḥbīr* by Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī. The first does not appear with this title in other sources, although we know that al-Samʿānī wrote a lengthy continuation of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's "History of Baghdad" which he entitled *Kitāb al-dhayl* ("Addition") or *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* ("Addition to the 'History of Baghdad'"). In length it surpasses (by one third) the surviving and published biographical dictionary by the same author, the *Kitāb al-ansāb* ("Book of Genealogies"). Strangely enough, the latter work does not appear in the dictionary of Abū-l-Karam, although he was well acquainted with al-Samʿānī and his works. *Al-Mudhayyal* is another title of the *Kitāb al-dhayl* [17].

The second work by al-Samʿānī cited by Abū-l-Karam in his dictionary is *Kitāb al-taḥbīr fī-l-muʿjam al-kabīr* ("Annotation to the Large Dictionary"). In the view of F. Sezgin, this is but a reworking of *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr fī asmāʾ al-ṣaḥāba* ("Large Dictionary of the Names of the Companions") by the traditionalist Sulaymān b. Aḥmad Abū-l-Qāsim al-Lakhmī al-Ṭabarānī (d. in Isfahan, 360/971). According to al-Subkī, *al-Taḥbīr* was equal in size to the *Kitāb al-ansāb* by the same author. The work has

survived and has been published (Baghdad, 1976) on the basis of a singe extant manuscript in Damascus [18]. To the same genre of biographical literature belongs *al-Ṭabaqāt* by the Muʿtazilite al-qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār frequently cited by our author.

Abū-l-Karam also drew on diverse materials from biographical works in the *manāqib* genre. The focus in this case is on the virtues of Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī. Most frequently cited (more than 25 times) is the *Manāqib* by al-Ṣaymarī. The reference is likely to the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* or *Manāqib wa-musnad Abī Ḥanīfa*, compiled in 404/1013. Its author, [al]-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ṣaymarī (d. 436/1045), was a Shafiʿite *faqīh* who shared the views of the Muʿtazilites. He was a pupil of a Baghdad Shafiʿite *faqīh*, Muḥammad b. Mūsā Abū Bakr al-Khwārizmī [19].

Another work in the same genre often cited in the dictionary is the *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī* ("Virtues of al-Shāfiʿī") by al-Sijistānī. The author, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm Abū-l-Ḥusayn (Abū-l-Ḥasan?) al-Sijistānī (d. 363/974), was originally from the village of Ābir (or Ābur) in Sijistan, which explains the second sobriquet we find in the manuscript — al-Ābirī (or al-Āburī). According to al-Subkī, al-Sijistānī's *Manāqib* is the best work in this genre, containing the largest number of chapters (*abwāb*) — 75. The latter assertion, however, conflicts with the description he provides of the structure of the *Manāqib al-Shāfiʿī* by a different author, the Shafiʿite *faqīh* Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm Abū Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī al-Harawī (d. 414/1022—23). Al-Subkī saw this work in the al-Ashrafiyya library in Damascus (in the Dār al-Ḥadīth). It consists of 116 chapters divided into two parts: the first (44 chapters) contains al-Shāfiʿī's genealogy, beginning with the Prophet Muḥammad; the final forty chapters of the second part provide 40 *ḥadīth*s as transmitted by al-Shāfiʿī with *isnād*s that go back to the Prophet [20].

A significant amount of the dictionary's source material comes from collections of Muslim tradition of various structures and organisational schemes. To this category belongs *al-Maṣābīḥ*, which the author cites more than 15 times. The compiler's name is not given, but we know from other sources that one of the seven fundamental compilations of Muslim tradition was the *Kitāb maṣābīḥ al-sunna* ("Lights of the Sunna"). Its compiler was the Shafiʿite *faqīh*, *muḥaddith*, Qurʾānic commentator and author of numerous works, al-Ḥusayn b. Masʿūd Abū Muḥammad al-Farrāʾ al-Baghawī (from the village of Bagh, which lies between Herat and Marwarruz). His *laqab* was Muḥyi al-Sunna (Restorer of the Sunna); he died in Marwarruz in 516/1122. Each chapter of the work classifies traditions in the accepted fashion: true (*ṣaḥīḥ*), good (*ḥasan*), strange (*gharīb*), and weak (*ḍaʿīf*). At the time of the dictionary's writing, this collection of traditions was considered one of the most authoritative; in subsequent centuries, it was the object of numerous commentaries and reworkings [21].

Among works of various genres cited by the author, we were able to identify the following:

1. A commentary on the Qurʾān (*tafsīr*) entitled *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* ("Revelation and Explanation"), which is cited (as *al-Kashf*) about 20 times. The author is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Isḥāq an-Naysābūrī al-Thaʿlabī, or al-Thaʿālibī (d. 427/1036). This *tafsīr* was read and copied by al-Samʿānī under the direction of the Shafiʿite Muḥammad b. al-Muntaṣir al-Mutawallī, known as

Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿd al-Tūqānī (Tuqan is a village in Tus; d. 535/1141) [22].

2. Al-Zawājir, from which the author took "notes", is cited about 10 times. This is likely *Kitāb al-zawājir wa-l-mawāʿiẓ* ("Book of Restraining Elements and Exhortations") by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī (293—382/906—992/93), the uncle and teacher of the traditionalist Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005), author of *Kitāb al-awāʾil* ("Book of Predecessors"). A manuscript of the *Kitāb al-zawājir* has survived [23].

3. *Kitāb tanbīh al-ghāfilīn* ("Gaining the Attention of the Carefree") by the Hanafite *faqīh*, Qurʾānic commentator, and Ṣūfī Abū-l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983). The work consists of 94 chapters and treats questions of morality, piety, ethics, and other topics on the basis of utterances by the Prophet Muḥammad [24]. The work was also used by Shafiʿites, in particular, the "devout ascetic" Aḥmad b. Mūsā Abū-l-ʿAbbās al-Ashnahī (?) (450—515/1058—1121), who came to Baghdad and there learned *fiqh* from the Shafiʿite *imām* Abū Saʿd *al-shaykh* al-Mutawalli (427—478/1036—1085), author of the *Kitāb al-tatimma* ("Continuation") [25].

4. *Kitāb shuʿab al-īmān* ("Branches of Faith"), a dogmatic work known in sources also by the title *al-Minhāj fī shuʿab al-īmān*, penned by the traditionalist al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥalīmī (338—403/949-50—1012). Originally from Jurjan, he lived in Bukhara before moving to Nishapur. Al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014) is considered to have been one of his pupils. The *Kitāb shuʿab al-īmān* was used by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (384—458/894—1066) in his treatise *Kitāb al-asmāʾ wa-l-ṣifāt* ("Divine Names and Attributes"). We should add that a *Kitāb shuʿab al-īmān* is also cited as one of al-Bayhaqī's numerous works. The author of the dictionary was also familiar with his works in Khorezm: the manuscript contains references to Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī [26].

5. *Riyāḍat al-nafs* ("Training the Soul"), or *Kitāb al-riyāḍa*. The author is Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. after 283/898), an extremely important figure in Khorasan mysticism and the author of many works (around 80) in which he developed his teachings on asceticism, mystic gnosis, the hierarchy of the saints, etc. His ideas on the soul, its "states" and "movements", on means of self-perfection, exerted a powerful influence on subsequent Ṣūfī psychology. *Riyāḍat al-nafs* has survived and has been published in Cairo in 1947 [27].

6. *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī* ("The Condemnation of Musical Entertainments") and *Kitāb al-muḥtaḍarīn* ("Those Possessed by Spirits"). The author of these works is the *imām* ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Qurashī, known also as Ibn Abī-l-Dunyā (d. 281/894). The title of the second work could not be found in other sources. It is possible that the same author is responsible for the work on banning chess (*Kitāb taḥrīm al-shaṭranj*) which is also cited in the dictionary [28].

7. *Kitāb sharḥ al-ʿuyūn*, or *Sharḥ kitāb al-ʿuyūn* ("Commentary on the 'Sources'"). The author is *shaykh al-islām* al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (as it stands in the manuscript). This is likely al-Muḥassin b. Karrāma Abū Saʿd al-Bayhaqī al-Zamakhsharī al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī (b. in Mecca in 431/1039, d. there in 494/1101). The full name of the work is *Sharḥ ʿuyūn al-masāʾil fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* ("The Interpretation of Theological Problems on the Basis of the Qurʾān") [29]. The title (in both variants) indicates that this

is a commentary on *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-masāʾil*, but we know of various authors who wrote works by this name. They are the Hanafite Abū-l-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. 373/983) who compiled his *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil fī-l-furūʿ* [30], al-Nawawī (d. 476/1083) with his *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-masāʾil* [31]; and al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī himself who wrote *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-masāʾil*. The latter work has been identified as *Kitāb al-ʿuyūn fī-l-radd ʿalā ahl al-bidaʿ* ("Sources for the Refutation of Those Who Introduce Impermissible Novelties") by the same author [32]. In this case, the title cited in the work may be interpreted as the author's commentary on his own work.

8. *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba* ("Information on the Companions [of the Prophet]") by the above-mentioned Ṣūfī traditionalist Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1039) [33].

9. *Al-Majmūʿ* ("Collection") by the Hanafite *faqīh* and ascetic Makḥūl b. al-Faḍl Abū Muṭīʿ al-Nasafī (d. 318/930). *Al-Majmūʿ* is not mentioned in other sources known to me [34].

10. *Kitāb al-ʿuzla* ("Solitude"), or *al-Iʿtiṣām bi-l-ʿuzla* ("Search for Refuge in Solitude"). The author is Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī al-Bustī (d. in Bosta in 388/998), one of the teachers of al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī. A *muḥaddith*, he wrote many works on *ḥadīth*s (aside from the *Kitāb al-ʿuzla*, *Gharīb al-ḥadīth*, *Maʿālim al-sunan*, and others). He was an ascetic who turned to mysticism in old age and entered a Ṣūfī cloister. The *Kitāb al-ʿuzla* has survived and been published in Cairo in 1937 [35].

11. *An-naṣāʾiḥ al-kibār* ("Main Exhortations") by the above-mentioned Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī. The work was written in 512/1118 and consisted, according to the author of the dictionary, of 50 *maqām*s (whence its other title — *al-Maqāmāt*) [36].

12. *Al-Qaṣīda fī-l-tawḥīd wa-ʿadl* ("*Qaṣīda* on Monotheism and Divine Justice") by Abū Saʿd al-Ābī. The title seems to be a descriptive. The full name of the author is Manṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn Abū Saʿd al-Ābī (d. 421/1030), the well-known Buwayhid *wazīr* Majd al-Dawla in Ray. A literary figure, poet, and historian, he was the author of the *Taʾrīkh Ray* ("History of Ray"), *Nuzhat al-adīb* ("Pleasure of One Well-Educated"), and poetic works. His anthology in verse and prose has survived [37].

In addition to the works mentioned above, the manuscript cites another 10 works which could not be identified at present. Among them are *Futūḥ Nasaf*, *Mafārīd ahl Marw*, *al-Majālis*, and others.

The question of what was the criterion by which these or those Muslim authors were selected for inclusion in the dictionary remains unclear. We can only state with surety that the majority of these authors, excluding the companions of the Prophet were residents of the eastern provinces of the Caliphate (Iraq, Khorasan, Mawarannahr). Some are linked to Mecca and Medina, and only a handful to Syria and Egypt. Chronologically, the dictionary deals with all generations of Muslims, including contemporaries of the author, however, figures from the first two centuries of the Hijra predominate.

Most numerous in the dictionary are Muslim scholars who wrote on a vast range of religious matters, but also on other branches of humanitarian Muslim science. They were *faqīh*s, *muḥaddith*s, Qurʾān commentators, *mutakallim*s, preachers, philologists, literary figures, and historians. However, the predominance of *qāḍī*s, including those who

combined scholarly pursuits with the performance of legal duties, is evident. The dictionary contains also biographies of the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (an extensive biography, running to 17 pages of text), the seventh Shi'ite *imām* Mūsā al-Kāzim, and others.

The theological and legal affinity of scholars represented in the dictionary is shown impartial and fully. We find in the dictionary the biographies of Hanafites, Shafi'ites, Mu'tazilites, Ṣūfīs, and others. Detailed and extensive biographies of Abū Ḥanīfa (one tenth of the manuscript) and his notable followers — Abū Yūsuf (approx. 16 pages) and Muḥammad al-Shaybānī (approx. 13 pages) — reflect their great authority and popularity in the Eastern provinces of the Caliphate. The author lavishes the same attention on the eponymous founder of the Shafi'ite *madhhab* — Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī (approx. 17 pages). The Mu'tazilite theological school is also broadly represented, beginning with its founders, Wāsil b. 'Aṭā' and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, and closing with Mu'tazilites from Khorezm. But what is noticeable is that almost all individuals included in the dictionary were ascetics (*zuhhād*) and pious men (*'ubbād*). The author recounts with care and reverence their asceticism, marvels of self-abnegation, restraint and selfless devotion, pious utterances, and dreams. As A. B. Khalidov has pointed out, many of the biographies resemble hagiographies. A guiding principle in the author's selection of subjects was piety to serve as an example of a pious way of life.

The dictionary makes use of information from a wide array of Arabic sources, including those which have since been lost or which today survive in abridged versions or in later Persian translations. Of especial interest are the biographies of men connected with the religious and cultural centres of Central Asia — Khorezm, Merw, Bukhara, Samarqand, etc. Such biographies reflect local historical-biographical traditions, actual life and mores, Islamic wor-

ship, the formation of a class of local religious authorities, their role in the dissemination and transmission of religious knowledge and in the establishment of close and mutually enriching spiritual ties with other regions of the Muslim world both far and near. Evidence of this is found, for example, in the biographies of outstanding Muslim scholars known far beyond Mawarannahr, such as al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and al-Zamakhsharī. Moreover, we find here facts about their lives which are absent in other sources.

The materials in the dictionary testify to the fact that Central Asia was a part of the single cultural realm formed by the Muslim world, that scholarly schools and local dynasties of scholars took shape in the cities of Mawarannahr and Khorasan. People from this region not only gained knowledge from authorities in the capital, but also taught at the famed *madrasa*s of Baghdad and Nishapur, and their works were known throughout the Muslim world. It is sufficient to cite names such as al-Khwārizmī, al-Māturīdī, al-Tirmidhī, al-Sam'ānī, and others, whose works stand as a treasured contribution to the legacy of Muslim science. This biographical dictionary by a Khorezmian author also took its place in the history of Muslim culture.

The dictionary was drawn up at a time when religion and culture in Khorezm were flourishing. In the final quarter of the twelfth century, Khorezm and its main city, Gurganj, were regional centres of scholarship with libraries, schools, and mosques. Not long after, however, the region fell victim to the ruinous assault of the Mongols: Khorezm was destroyed, the libraries were burnt, and scholars who failed to flee were slaughtered. An enormous written legacy created by generations of scholars perished forever. In this context, one should view the surviving section of this biographical dictionary by a Khorezmian scholar as a fragment of a culture which was destroyed, as a rich remnant of the Arabic literature of pre-Mongol Khorezm.

Notes

1. V. I. Beliaev, "Arabskie rukopisi v sobranii Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR" ("Arabic manuscripts in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences"), *Uchenye zapiski IVAN SSSR*, VI (1953), pp. 66—76.

2. B. Z. Khalidov, "Zamakhshari (o zhizni i tvorchestve)" ("Al-Zamakhsharī: on his life and works"), *Semitskie iazyki*, 2/2. *Materialy pervoĭ konferentsii po semitskim iazykam 26—28 oktiabria 1964* (Moscow, 1965), pp. 542—56.

3. A. B. Khalidov, "Neizvestnyĭ biograficheskiĭ slovar' XII v. iz Khorezma" ("An unknown twelfth-century biographical dictionary from Khorezm"), *Folia Orientalia*, XIII (1971), pp. 67—75; *idem*, "Biograficheskiĭ slovar' al-Andarasbani" ("The biographical dictionary by al-Andarasbānī"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. 1971* (1974), pp. 143—61. For the list of sources cited in the second article, see below, n. 13.

4. *GAL*, I, 365, No. 10; *SBd*, I, 624. This work has survived only in the manuscript of a 9th/15th century Persian translation. See C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, (London, 1935), i, pp. 177—8.

5. *GAL*, I, 365; *SBd*, I, 624.

6. Originally from Asadabad, 'Abd al-Jabbār lived in Baghdad and at the invitation of the Buwayhid *wazīr* al-Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād, he arrived in Ray and received from him the title of *qāḍī*. Hence, he is known in Mu'tazilite literature as *qāḍī-l-qudāt*. Among the surviving works of 'Abd al-Jabbār is *Fadl al-i'tizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila* ("The Virtue of Mu'tazilism and the Ranks of the Mu'tazilites"), published in Tunis in 1974 and cited by the author of the dictionary (*al-Ṭabaqāt* in the manuscript) in his biography of the Mu'tazilites. For more detail about him, see *GAS*, I, 624—6.

7. This evidently refers to the Shafi'ite *faqīh* 'Abd al-Mālik b. Sa'd Abū-l-Fadl al-Tamīmī, who studied *fiqh* in Baghdad from Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and later directed teaching in the city of Khurrabad. According to al-Sam'ānī, who conveys first-hand information from 'Abd al-Mālik, the latter was born in 475/1082. Al-Sam'ānī does not give the date of his death; it is possible that he was still alive at the time that al-Sam'ānī's dictionary was written. See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 262.

8. This is Muḥammad b. Sahl Abū-l-'Alā' al-ḥāfiẓ al-Hamadānī (488—569/1095—1173), *muhaddith* and Qur'ānic reader. In addition to *al-Tajwīd*, he authored a ten-volume biographical dictionary, *Kitāb ma'rifat al-qurrā'* ("Information about Qur'ānic Readers") and a multi-volume work on *hadīths*, *Kitāb zād al-mūsāfir* ("Traveller's Provisions"), see Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, X, 58. His name in the manuscript is accompanied by the formula for one departed — *raḥimahu Allah* — which indicates that the Khorezmian wrote his dictionary after 569/1173.

9. Works with this title were extremely common — they expounded the 40 *hadīth*s (with *isnād*s) which go back to the Prophet. In addition to the *Kitāb al-arba'īn*, the author seems to have used another work by Muwaffaq b. Aḥmad, *Manāqib al-imām Abī Ḥanīfa* ("The virtues of *Imām* Abū Ḥanīfa"), the manuscript of which has been preserved and published (Hyderabad, 1321/1903—04). See *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 549, 623; Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, XIII, 52.

10. The full title of this commentary is *al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq al-tanzīl wa-'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* ("Showing the Truths of the Revelation and Sources of Judgments on Means of Interpretation"). The author was the authoritative Mu'tazilite theologian, Hanafite *faqīh*, literary figure, and philologist Maḥmūd b. 'Umar Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (467—538/1075—1144). He was born in Zamakhshar and lived and died in Gurganj (Khorezm). *Al-Kashshāf* (completed in 528/1134) is the only Mu'tazilite commentary to have survived in full. It was well-known in the Muslim East even among opponents of the Mu'tazilites. Al-Zamakhsharī's commentary is distinguished by its attention to philological detail (a quality which made the Khorezmian school of philology famous) and its depth of analysis, founded on a rational interpretation of Islamic dogma. The main authorities for al-Zamakhsharī were the Mu'tazilites al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār and others who are mentioned by the author of the dictionary. He also made direct use of *al-Kashshāf*. On al-Zamakhsharī's commentary, see E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i ego tolkovanie" ("The Qur'ān and its commentary"), *Khrestomatiia po islamu*, comp. and ed. by S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1994), pp. 55—9.

11. This is an obvious reference to *Firdaws al-akhbār* ("Garden of Reports"), a collection of 10,000 short traditions in alphabetical order. The author of the collection was the historian of Hamadan, Shīrawayh b. Shahridār (Shahridād) *al-hāfiẓ* Abū Shujā' al-Daylamī al-Hamadānī, whose *laqab* was al-Kayā (445—509/1054—1115). See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 230; *GAL*, I, 344, Nos. 5, 3.

12. *Kitāb al-qand* (or *al-Qandiya*) by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī is a continuation of the "History of Samarqand" compiled by al-Idrīsī (d. 405/1012). An abridged Persian version of the *Kitāb al-qand* has come down to us (published), as well as a seventeenth-century Arabic manuscript of this writing. See V. V. Bartol'd, *Sochinenia* (Works) (Moscow, 1963), i, p. 61; *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 762, XIII; also *GAS*, I, 353, No. 11, I.

13. A. B. Khalidov was the first to publish the list of sources employed by the author of the dictionary (in all, 59 compositions). See Khalidov's "Biographicheskiĭ slovar'", pp. 144—56. The scholar subdivided them into 6 groups. The first group comprises the works which have come down to us, including those surviving in citations or in Persian translations (Nos. 1—20); the second — those works which have been lost but are known by their titles mentioned in Muslim writings (Nos. 21—31); the third — those identified if unknown by other sources (Nos. 32—40); the fourth — not identified (Nos. 41—43); the fifth — writings the titles of which are mentioned without providing any information about them (Nos. 44—52); and, finally, the last group comprises the writings about which only mentions in passing survives and one cannot state with certainty whether those mentions refer to written texts or not (Nos. 53—59). Apart from this, some well-known authors — al-Madā'inī, al-Wāqidī, al-Ṣūlī, etc. —constitute a separate group: citations from them are given in the dictionary with no indication of the exact titles of the works. As a whole, the list suggested can be considered as rather full, though the titles are regrettably given in the concise form. Nonetheless, the list enables us to have an idea of the corpus of works, which were used by the author of the dictionary. Certainly, this list needs some corrections and additions. Thus, among the works which are labelled by A. B. Khalidov as "unknown", we see *al-Ṭabaqāt* by a certain *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* (No. 47). In effect, this appears to be the *al-Ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila*, composed by the well-known *faqīh* and Mu'tazilite theologian, *qāḍī-l-quḍāt* 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad (about him, see n. 6) whose works are referred to by the dictionary's author more often than it is believed by A. B. Khalidov. The work has come down to us and been published recently. Moreover, the author of the dictionary refers to another extant writing by 'Abd al-Jabbār, *al-Mughnī* (published). It is lacking in the list given by A. B. Khalidov. Also, the scholar included in the same group of "unknown" sources *Kitāb al-kashf* (in the manuscript this work is also referred to more often than A. B. Khalidov thinks). Most likely, this *Kitāb al-kashf* is *Kitāb al-kashf wa-l-bayān*, a commentary (*tafsīr*) on the Qur'ān authored by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Isḥāq al-Tha'labī, or al-Tha'ālibī (about him, see n. 22).

Among sources, which could not be identified by A. B. Khalidov, is also the *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī* by Sijistānī (No. 42). The work under this title is also listed (No. 38) in the group of sources which are known only from the dictionary of Abū-l-Karam, as A. B. Khalidov maintains. His author is shown as Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Ābirī (with reference to *GAS*, I, 486). However, we know from al-Subkī that the author of the *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī* had two *nisba*s — al-Ābirī (or al-Āburī as stands in the manuscript) and al-Sijistānī. Evidently, in the case with the *Manāqib al-Shāfi'ī* we deal with the same author (see also n. 20).

The list of A. B. Khalidov lacks also the following works: *al-Naṣā'ih al-kibār* by al-Zamakhsharī (see also n. 36), *al-Nuhba* by al-Sam'ānī (by the way, this work is absent in the list of al-Sam'ānī's writings given in al-Subkī), *Kitāb al-qand* by the author of our dictionary (*katabtu fī kitāb al-qand*), from which he borrows the tale about *imām* Abū Muḥammad al-Muzanī who was a table-companion of the ruler of Khorasan (this work may be identified as the work under the same title authored by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī), about it, see n. 12. It seems also unlikely that the author of the work entitled *Amālī* ("Dictations") was Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, as A. B. Khalidov states (see No. 25 of his list and his note 11). In any case, the author of the dictionary asserts that the author of the *Amālī* is the father of Abū Sa'd, Muḥammad. About the latter al-Subkī writes that he "dictated" (*amlā*) the text during 140 gatherings (*majlis*es) in the mosque of Merv (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 187). Undoubtedly, the dictionary's author cites *imām* Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī's *Amālī*. However, doubts remain as to the correct identification of the *Kitāb al-tamhīd* whose author, A. B. Khalidov believes, was Abū-l-'Alā' al-Hamadānī (No. 35 of the list and note 39 with reference to *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 724, No. 11). About it, see above, n. 8.

14. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 64—72; Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, pp. 61—2; *GAL*, I, 166; *SBd*, I, 276. According to Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, who completed his history of Bayhaq in 563/1168, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's work consisted of 12 volumes (see Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, p. 61, n. 6). The "History of Nishapur" was continued in a chronicle *al-Siyāq li-Tar'īkh Naysābūr* by 'Abd al-Gāfir b. Ismā'īl Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Fārisī (451—529/1059—1134), the Nishapur *muhaddith* and preacher. The writing covered the period up to 518/1124. 'Abd al-Gāfir travelled much and visited Khorezm, Ghazna, and India (see al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 255; *GAL*, I, 364; *SBd*, I, 197). In turn, *al-Siyāq li-Tar'īkh Naysābūr* by 'Abd al-Gāfir al-Fārisī is one of the main sources of the *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfi'iya al-kubrā* by al-Subkī.

15. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 305—7; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 343; Bartol'd, *op. cit.*, pp. 78—9; Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, XII, 196. Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī is also the author of the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa*. A manuscript of this work has come down to us (published in Hyderabad in A.H. 1321). Probably, the author of the dictionary used this work by Maḥmūd al-Khwārizmī: he mentions the *Manāqib Abī Ḥanīfa* as his source.

16. Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, II, 100; IX, 177; Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, IX, 7, 105; O. A. Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina pozdnefeodal'nogo goroda Bukhary (v sviazi s istorieĭ kvartalov)* (The Block Community of the Later Feudal Bukhara: with Regard to the History of the Blocks) (Moscow, 1976), p. 276. Sh. S. Kamaliddinov, *"Kitāb al-Ansāb" Abū Sa'da as-Sam'ānī kak istochnik po istorii kul'tury Sredneĭ Azii* (*Kitāb al-ansāb* by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī as a Source for the History of Culture of Central Asia) (Tashkent, 1993), pp. 145—6.

17. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 260; *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 564—5; Kahhala, *Mu'jam*, VI, 4.

18. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 260; *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 279; *GAS*, I, 196. The author of the dictionary refers also to other writings by Abū Saʿd al-Samʿānī. These are *Kitāb al-ḥalāwa* ("Sweetness"), *Kitāb al-Isfār ʿan al-asfār* ("Exposure of Travels"), *al-Fawāʾid al-Samʿāniya* ("Al-Samʿānī's Useful Exhortations"), or *Fawāʾid al-mawāʾid* ("Useful Feast Exhortations"). The titles of these compositions are known from other sources.

19. *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 636, 1a; *GAS*, I, 411; Makdisī, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 170ff. The author of the dictionary refers also to *al-Musnad* by Abū Ḥanīfa, which he thinks to be an independent work. A manuscript of the writing has reached us (published in Aleppo in 1382/1962).

20. Al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, I, 63—4; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 149—50; *ibid.*, III, 115—6.

21. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 214—7; *GAL*, I, 363—4; *SBd*, I, 620—2.

22. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 23; *ibid.*, IV, 186.

23. *GAL*, I, 127; *SBd*, I, 193.

24. *GAL*, I, 196; Kahhala, *Muʿjam*, XIII, 91; *GAS*, I, 445.

25. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, IV, 56. In turn, Abū Saʿd al-Mutawallī studied *fikh* with three authoritative scholars such as *al-qāḍī* al-Ḥusayn (in Marwarruz), Abū Sahl al-Abīwardī (in Bukhara), and Abū-l-Qāsim al-Marwazī al-Fūrānī (in Merv). The latter died in Merv in 461/1069. He was the author of *Kitāb al-ibāna* ("The Exposure [of the Foundations of the Belief]") to which his pupil Abū Saʿd al-Mutawallī wrote a "Supplement" (*Kitāb al-tatimma*). Both works reflected the views of al-Ashʿarī's theological school whose principles they shared and advocated. Abū Saʿd al-Mutawallī was considered an authority in dogmas and their divergences. Till his death he taught at the famous *madrasa* al-Niẓamiyya. See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 223—5.

26. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 147—50; *ibid.*, 3—7; *GAL*, *SBd*, II, 144.

27. *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 355—6 (No. 4); *GAS*, I, 654 (No. 4); see also A. Knysh, "At-Tirmizi" ("Al-Tirmidhī"), *Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoĭ imperii. Ėntsiklopedicheskiĭ slovar'*, fasc. I (Moscow, 1998), pp. 91—2.

28. *GAL*, I, 154 (No. 3); *SBd*, I, 247 (No. 3); *GAS*, I, Indices. In the list of sources suggested by A. B. Khalidov, *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī* and *Kitāb taḥrīm al-shaṭranj wa-l-malāhī* are shown as a single work under the title *Kitāb taḥrīm al-nard wa-l-shaṭranj wa-l-malāhī* whose author is said to be Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ājurrī (d. 360/970). See Khalidov, "Biograficheskiĭ slovar'", p. 151, No. 11 with reference to *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 274, No. 9. But the author of the dictionary considered the two works to be independent writings. It should be noted that among numerous compositions of Ibn Abī-l-Dunyā we encounter *Kitāb dhamm al-malāhī*, a manuscript of which is held in Berlin.

29. *GAL*, I, 412.

30. The work was published in Cairo (also many times in Mecca). See *GAS*, I, 447, 436.

31. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, III, 224.

32. *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 731—2; *GAS*, I, 626; S. M. Stern, "Abu-l-Qasim al-Busti and his refutation of Ismaʿilism", *JRAS* (1961), pp. 14—35 where the author used this work by al-Jushamī.

33. *GAL*, *SBd*, I, 616—7 (No. 8).

34. *Ibid.*, 293, 6a; 357, 6b; *GAS*, I, 601—2.

35. al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt*, II, 218; *GAL*, I, 275; *GAS*, I, 210—1.

36. *GAL*, I, 292 (XII); *SBd*, I, 511 (XII).

37. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, VI, Index; *idem*, *Irshād*, II, 304; *ibid.*, V, 355; *GAL*, I, 351; SBd, I, 593; Kahhala, *Muʿjam*, XIII, 12; A. B. Khalidov, "Antologiia al-Abi v rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR" ("A manuscript of the anthology of al-Ābī in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences"), *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. Sbornik v chest' akademika I. A. Orbeli* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), pp. 487—91.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Manuscript of the biographical dictionary by Abū-l-Karam al-Khwārizmī al-Andarasfānī (call number C2387) from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1a with the text of the biography of ʿAbdallāh b. al-Murābak al-Khurāsānī.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 137b (p. 273) with the beginning of the biography of Muḥmūd b. ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī al-Khwārizmī.

I. V. Kulganek

A MONGOLIAN FOLK SONGS COLLECTION IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Folks songs are extremely popular among the Mongols, representing their best loved musical-poetic genre. They created a vast corpus of songs, with text or without it, which could be sung, whistled, recited, performed by choir and solo in various styles: *homiyloh* (lit., "singing with the throat"), *haylah* (lit., "crying"), *dongildoh* (lit., "ring"). These songs arose on the basis of a much earlier inheritance: calls, exclamations, and sound imitations used to call up animal's young, cheer up hunters or lure animals into traps. Folklore texts took up an important place in Mongolian literature. To cite only one example, one third of the first written text of Mongolian literature, the thirteenth-century *Yuan-Chao-Bi-Shi* ("Sacred Story"), includes numerous folk songs, fables, and legends. *Yuan-Chao-Bi-Shi* contains a fragment which indicates the syncretic nature of the ancient song genre; the song is an integral part of festivities. We read, for example: "They gathered in Horhon Chjubun khan's land, there was marry-making, with feasting and dancing. Having elevated Hutula to the khan's throne, they danced around the branchy tree at Horohonah. They danced so that, as they say, pot-holes formed up to their hips and heaps of dust — up to their knees" [1].

Through centuries songs accompanied all of the Mongols' celebrations, be they related to the calendar rites, religious rituals, or shaman practices. Songs were included in the medieval Mongolian historical chronicles like *Erdeniyn erih* ("Precious Rosary") [2] and *Altan tobch* ("Golden History") [3]. The *arats* wrote them down in collections and kept them as most valuable treasures. At present, we know 18 manuscript folk songs collections held at the Mongolian Institute of Language and Literature [4]. Folklorists, who study Mongolian folk songs, hesitate over saying exactly when the tradition of drawing up song collections began. Our own observations on the manuscript collections of Mongolian songs held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies lead us to conclude that the tradition arose no earlier than the eighteenth century [5].

Mongolian songs drew special attention only in the mid-nineteenth century when travellers, traders, and other visitors to Mongolia, started collecting them actively. Among those collectors were Buryat, Kalmyk, and Russian intellectuals from Lake Baikal and Volga regions. Their activities were usually directed by the Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg and by its Eastern Siberian Branch, created in 1851. The scholarly study of these songs began much later, at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The names of their first explorers are well-known: they are A. Pozdneev, B. Vladimirtsov, Ts. Zhamtsarano and A. Rudnev. That part of the song texts which was collected by St. Petersburg scholars is today stored in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (47 songbooks, of which 35 are in the Mongolian language and 12 — in Oyrat) and in the Orientalists Archive at the same Institute (in the collections "Mongolia and Tibet", "Buryats and Kalmyks", "Materials of various individuals", and 12 personal collections). They total 37 items containing over 1,000 songs.

The largest number of songs was collected by Ts. Zhamtsarano [6], an outstanding expert in the culture, folklore, and language of the Mongols and Buryats. During three ethnological-linguistic expeditions which he conducted from 1903—1911 in Buryatia and Mongolia at the behest of the Committee for the Exploration of Middle and Central Asia, he succeeded in collecting a huge folkloric material on nearly all Mongolian dialects. As Rudnev pointed out, "he (Zhamtsarano — *I. K.*) succeeded in drawing up an amazingly large number of texts, surpassing, it appears, all other collectors of texts from other peoples" [7]. The collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains 9 songbooks contributed by Zhamtsarano. In his private collection, which is held in the Orientalists Archive (No. 62), we find texts with songs in 10 of the 149 items. Those items contain several hundred songs.

Zhamtsarano transcribed songs either in written Old Mongolian or in Russian phonetic transcription. The latter takes into account the pronunciation of each informant, distinguishing gutturals, palatals, short and long sounds, stress and reduction [8]. The collector frequently provides commentary to the songs text and reports information he obtained from his informants during transcription. Zhamtsarano took interest not only in the text, but also in the language, the singer's rendering the text, his family affiliation, place of dwelling, social position, age, occupation, and even his attitude toward his relatives. Such an approach was typical of the ethno-linguistic approach of Eastern folklore studies which took shape between the end of the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. G. J. Ramstedt is the first to have applied this approach [9].

Of special interest in terms of repertoire and manner of recording is the collection of Mongolian songs contributed by Zhamtsarano and entitled *Mongol eldev duunuud*. It is held in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under call number F 165. The manuscript consists of 37 folios, 21.0×26.0 cm, and is written in Old Mongolian with elements of Southern Mongolian script, in ink, with a brush. There are blots and corrections in a different hand. The collection contains 54 of the most popular folk songs, which represent extremely valuable material for the study of Mongolian folklore. The songs are thematically mixed: among them are songs with good health wishes, toasts, songs of religious and philosophical contents, as well as lyrical and jesting songs.

According to the classification suggested by B. Vladimirtsov in his *Obraztsy mongol'skoi narodnoi slovesnosti (S.-Z. Mongolia.)* ("Samples of Mongolian Folk Literature (NW Mongolia)") [10], the collection presents *shastir, shalig,* and *aizmyn* songs. Depending on their phonation, Mongol songs are usually divided into *urtyn duu* (long songs) and *bogino duu* (short songs). The *urtyn duu* is the leading vocal-poetic genre in the Mongols. Researchers usually explain the etymology of *urtyn duu* with reference to sound and thematic material which can be nature, man, the eternal laws of Earth and, more broadly, the Universe [11]. *Urtyn duu* are indeed typified by free melodic variation. But it is possible that the name of the genre refers to the Mongols' own understanding of their ancient origins, their long historical path, the extended process of lore passing from generation to generation, and the songs sounding across the centuries [12].

The *urtyn duu* are subdivided into *jiriyn urtyn duu*, *ayzmyn urtyn duu* and *besreg urtyn duu*, *ayzam* songs being the most classical of the *urtyn duu*. Musically, they are characterized by the most complex classical musical model, by the epic-magnificent nature of their sonic structure, and by a refined technique of performance which employs subtle forms of vocal mastery. The texts of *ayzam* songs are distinguished by their outstanding artistic merits and represent perfect examples of Mongolian poetic artistry. Their style is elevated and their pathos is meant for the masters and guests who have gathered for the celebration. *Ayzam* songs belong to the category of obligatory festive songs; their performance was indispensable at the celebration. They are *tör joslolyn duu* ("ceremonial songs").

The compound word *ayzmyn* (or *ayzam*) is usually explained as follows: *ay* (*aya*) ("melody") and *zam* ("road"), from which the conclusion is made that *ayzam* songs may have derived from road, or travel songs [13]. Taking into account the Mongols' nomadic way of life, such explanations seems to be quite natural. But it remains obscure why road song transformed into a special, festive, obligatory song. Not denying the influence of Mongols' nomad way of life on their lexicon, I would suggest another rendering of the word *ayzmyn*. In the Mongolian language, the word *ayzam* designates one of the musical rhythm types, which is measured from one strong accent to another. Also, the phrase *ayzmyn ugtvar* indicates sounds which come before the first *ayzam* [14]. It would therefore be more productive to render *ayzam* songs as songs which have a metric base; they have a more clearly defined form of rhythmic organisation, unlike other songs structured along completely other rhythmic lines [15]. In other aspects, *ayzam* songs are identical to various *urtyn duu*. They all possess, at least, the

following features: (i) a broad range of sound; (ii) peacefulness and solemnity of performance; (iii) a large number of melisms (melodic adornments); (iv) far-reaching sound; and (v) play with voice overtones.

All celebrations in the Mongols — *har nayr, shashny nayr, nojodyn nayr* — were distinguished by appropriate songs performed. At the *har nayr*, songs about the homeland, steeds, livestock and relatives predominated, while at the *shashny nayr* and *nojodyn nayr*, religious songs glorifying Buddhism, various aspects of its teaching, the merits of famed religious figures, Buddhist saints and princes were predominant, as well as songs expressing patriotic sentiments. Before the beginning of the celebration, a specially selected individual, the master of ceremonies, would calculate the amount of food and wine, the number of guests, and announce the status of the celebration in accordance with those quantities. The number of songs to be performed depended on the status of the celebration. This number could be 12, 16, 18, 24, or 32. Even the celebration of a lower status required at least 12 songs, while 32 *ayzam* songs were sung on the most festive occasions [16]. In the latter case, the singer would sit in a *yurt* on the place of honour (*hoimor*) and sing to the accompaniment of a *hur, huchir,* and *yataga*. If only 12 songs were sung, the standing singer in full celebratory regalia, would sing without musical instruments accompaniment. All present except women and children joined in for the song's refrain, which usually consisted of lines such as *aya min zee ho, aya min zee* ("Oh! Ah, my melody!"), giving the singer an opportunity to rest. The lower status of the celebration at which only 12 songs were sung received its reflection in one of the Mongolian proverbs (*hotogoits*) devoted to a festive song singing. Kh. Sampilgendev recorded, for example, the following saying: "A celebration with twelve songs is not a real celebration!" [18]. The arrangement of guests at celebrations was strictly regulated by tradition. The relationship between the guests and the hosts, their social status, age and gender were taken into consideration. Also, restrictions existed concerning time for conversation, clothes (e.g., prohibition to sit in an open *deli*, Mongol outer clothing), etc.

The repertoire of *ayzam* songs varied from one region to another. Each Mongolian tribe had its own song cycles. But the following *ayzam* songs were common: *Tumniy eh* ("First of the ten-thousand"), *Huuryn magnay* ("Title Song of the Celebration"), *Tegsh tavan hüsel* ("Five desires of equal worth"), *Öndör sayhan bor* ("High, beautiful grey horse"), *Jargaltay* ("Joyeous song"), *Höhö shuvuu* ("Cuckoo"). Cycles of *ayzam* songs in various regions of Mongolia and in various tribes might also include the following songs: *Han uul* ("Khan's Mountain"), *Durtmal sayhan* ("Beautiful beloved"), *Tengeriyn agaar* ("In the air of heaven"), *Asaryn öndör* ("High palace"),*Öndör Hangay* ("High Hangay"), *Burhan bagsh* ("Holy teacher"), *Zun tsag* ("Summer"), *Bortogoy öndör davaa* ("High crossing"), *Am tsagaan uul* ("The Am Tsagaan mountain"), *Joroo jahan ulaan* ("Small dun ambler"), *Nayryn bogino ni — nasny urt* ("The celebration is short, life is long"), *Dörvön tsagiyn ergelt* ("Rotation of the four seasons"), and others.

The repertoire depended on the time, place and reason for the celebration. For example, songs to mark the setting up of a *yurt* in a new place or songs performed at the beginning of the "four seasons" celebration to mark up the first milking of the mares, shearing of sheep, rolling of felt, tasting koumiss were but occasionally performed at weddings.

The celebration began with a "title song" (*nayryn magnay duu*), which sounded after the master of ceremonies said '*Aya bar*' (lit., "Hold the tune"). The title songs were usually *Tumniy eh* or *Huuryn magnay* carrying out an important function of celebration's opening. Only after the "title song" had been performed, guests could enter the *yurt*. The characteristic feature of such a celebration is that the master of ceremonies regulated the guests' mood through songs, raising their spirits with joyful songs and calming them with elevated or placid music. There was also a time for *sarhdyn duu* ("wine songs", i.e. toast songs which glorified the guests and enjoined them to merriment). The celebration ended with "concluding songs" — *jargaah duu* ("joyful songs"). These could be *Zuun tsagaar* ("In summer"), *Höhö shuvuu* ("Cuckoo"), *Aryn nutag adil* ("Like the northern encampment"), *Hindin golyn balzuhay* ("Sparrow of the Hindin River"), *Magnay türgen* ("Fast title song"), *Jargaltay zuyl öngö saytay tsetseg ni* ("Beautiful five-budded flower"), *Delger zuuny tsag* ("Long summer time"), and others. Their function was not solely organisational, that is to remind guests that the celebration was over. Their aim was to leave guests with a good impression of the festivities. Besides, a final wedding song would instruct the young bride, a song at a calender celebration would express good wishes to all guests, etc. The host would customarily address guests with the words: "The dishes are tired. Let us thank the celebration". In reply, the youngest singer would say, '*Eehiy zee. Laahay*', and all present would echo these words, after which the celebration was considered complete. In this exclamation, the words *eehiy* and *zee* mean "beginning" and "oh, yes", words which frequently opened songs. The word *laahay*, from the Tibetan *lha*, means "heaven". The exclamation can be therefore understood as wishing upon guests all heavenly prosperity and happiness [19].

Manuscript collection of songs (call number F 165) in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a precious piece of Mongolian folklore which permits us to have idea of its exclusive richness. The table of contents to our collection lists the following songs:

A significant number of the songs in the collection are *ayzam* songs: introductory, closing, and those performed in the middle of a celebration. The song *Erten-u čayan buyan* opening the collection deserves special attention.

T e x t

Erten-u čayan buyan-i
Ur-e-eče boluysan
Ene čay-dayan čuquy [n]i
Cinar dumdau kürügsen
Cindamani erdeni
Cinar-ača ulemji
Cim-luya ayuljiysan
Jayuntai sonin qubi
Satayamal-un gerel-tei
Naran tuyay-a tegün-dü
Sibar-un dumda-ača uryuysan
Lingqu-a-yin čečeg egusnei
Tegün-luy-a adali
Tengčisi ügei taniyan
Udarduqui-yin üilen-dü
Ulam simdan jidkültei
Qara čayan qoyar-yi
Uryuča-bar taniqü
Qatayu jögelen qoyar-i
Yaýčayan sedkil-eče egüsnei
Ucir juil qubin-du
Udq-a cinarun yosun-du-
Unin yayča joriy minu
Udyan-u oron-du
Jiryal jobalang qoyar-i
Üilen-yin ür-e-ece boluday
Jig baci qoyar-i
Singjilen bayiju medemui
Doto mör-yi oluyad
Dörben üilis-i bütüged
Ek-e qamuy amitan
Ene metü cinggeküi
Egün-eče qoyisi
Töröl tutum dayaju
Erkem-ün bodi qutuy-i
Olqu mini boltuyai.

T r a n s l a t i o n

The virtue of past time
Arose from consequence.
The value of the present time
Has reached the highest quality.
How lovely is fate,
Which has brought me a meeting with you.
This meeting with you surpasses
In quality the preciousness of a *chintāmaṇi*.
In the shining of the sun
With burning rays,
Growing amid the mud
Arose the lotus flower.
Likewise,
Unrivalled acquaintance [of mine]
Attends more and more
To impending deeds.
Black and white
Are known by their results.
Hard and soft
Arise only from the soul.
As for the causes of phenomena,
They are in the realm of the mind's qualities.
The single striving
Is toward the land of Udiyana,
Both joy and suffering

Arise from the results of deeds.
The incomprehensible and cunning
Must, I know, be distinguished.
Having found the path of the heart,
I will perform the four deeds.
The entire diversity of living things
Does likewise.
After this, new births shall follow.
May I acquire
The perfect holiness which is venerated.

This solemn song would open religious celebrations. It is a sort of a hymn to the tie between the three seasons, to the unity of all things on earth. Its performance aims at arousing philosophical thoughts on the significance of the celebration's cause. The song presents a whole set of artistic devices typical of Mongolian folk songs. These devices, found almost in all forms of Mongolian poetic folklore, are: an associative chain of artistic images, initial alliteration, psychological parallelisms, rich use of metaphors, epithets, and similes. The logic of the song's construction is also of interest. It develops from the past to the present and future. The central event in the life of the song's hero, meeting with the beloved of his, is a pleasant result of fate's intervening. The preciousness of this meeting is exceptional. It surpasses the preciousness of the *chintāmaṇi*. The beloved herself, who increasingly attends to impending deeds, is compared with the lotus flower. These deeds which can be black or white, arise solely from the soul. The soul's aim is to strive toward the land of Udiyana. In order to find the way there, four good deeds must be performed. The ultimate goal of the song's hero is to attain sanctity everyone seeks to attain to. The logical chain in the song creates a fascinating feeling of the path on which this ultimate goal can solely be attained.

Images in the song also appear as a result of association, and sometimes assonances directly linked to the logic of the song's development. The images appear in the following succession: "virtue", "effect", "value", "quality", "preciousness of the *chintāmaṇi*", "lotus flower", "acquaintance", "black and white", "hard and soft", "cause", "striving", "happiness", "sadness", "the incomprehensible", "cunning", "path of the heart", "living things", "each new birth", "sanctity".

Philosophical images and concepts are the first to appear in the song. They are then associatively linked to lyrical images of everyday life and are redeveloped into philosophical images and concepts. The shift from one category of images to another takes place in the following fashion: the first image-concept to arise is that of "virtue", an image which occupies a central place in the value system of a believer. Next we find the mystical stone *chintāmaṇi*, which is believed to fulfil all wishes. Being everyone's dream, *chintāmaṇi* is in effect a great rarity. Finding is a rarity comparable to encountering one's beloved. We see how the Buddhist religious notion of the *chintāmaṇi*, implying rarity and preciousness, is linked with the image of the beloved, for encounter with her is also rare. Moreover, while rare, this encounter is pleasant and beautiful. But also beautiful is the "land of Udiyana". The two images, "pleasant and beautiful", evokes the image of the "land of Udiyana". Thus, romantic images are transformed into Buddhist images and vice versa, which is typical of Mongolian song poetry.

The second song in the collection, *Tumniy eh*, is also noteworthy. Together with *Avral deer* ("Best salvation")

and *Huuryn magnay* ("Celebratory title song"), this song usually opens the celebration of *borjigin halhs*. This song, originally on horse-races, later came to be performed at the most varied festivities. In the *Erdeniyn erih* ("Precious Rosary"), we read: "The *khans*, *wans*, and *beyles* returned to their encampments in 1696. They held a celebration according to the old rite. Bonhor Donir displayed the only horse. It had competed with many steeds and been victorious. Then Darhan chin wan composed words in honour of the horse, *Tumniy eh*, and set them to music. The song was sung at the beginning of the *nadom* (the Mongolian national celebration in the middle of summer — *I. K.*). After that, it has been performed once every three years at the meeting of seven *hoshuns*; it is always performed at the races" [20]. *Tumniy eh* begins as a *surgal* ("teaching", the name of a Mongolian poetic genre), gradually shifting into a hortatory song. The text of this song is given in the manuscript in full.

Text

Ariyun sayiqan-tan
Asurqu-bar getülgegci
Amuyulang-tu Tusid-un oron-daki
[Abural] i tegel Maidar
Erdeni-tü kümün-ü biy-e-yi oluyad
Endeged bur [u] yu üilen-eče Jayilaju
Ene ba ečüs qoyitu qoyar üilen ni
Sayitur bütügekü-yi sitültei
Šasin nom-un tula
Amin Jirüke-ben
Sayiqan törö-yin tul[a]da
Aqui cinige-ber
Sayitur simdan Jidkübesü
Olan tümen-ü eke bolumui
Arban qara-yin ündüsün-i
Arilyan tusalayči Ariy-a ri Mangd-a
Olan Joysal ayta-yin-du
Uyayan-u dumdu-ača
Ulam Joysaqu-dayan
Ilegüü yangyutai
Üsergekü čay-tu
Üjiltei ene mori bui
Tatayad odqu-yin čay-tu
Dakin temügülüged
Talbiyad irmegče <odqu-yin čay-tu>
Yayčayar terigülegči
Tasurqai sayiqan tere mori
<Olan> tümen ni ek-e bolumui
Kelincetü amitana
Kindalan ečülgegci
Kelinčeten-ü ejen
Ggru-a
Erteniken buyan-iyar
Büren učarayad
Esen mendü-yin bayar-iyar
Quran čiyulaJu
Egün-eče qoyinaysi
Ulam ürnikü-yin sayin beleg
Erkem blam-a-yuunan
Adistid-un küčün-ber
EJen degedüs-ün törö-yin tüsig-tu
Eldeb <sayiqan> tayabar üilenü
Čenggün Jiryay-a
Kündü yeke <kilinčetü> amitana
Küčün-iyer daruyči
Küčün yeke-tü Vačar-Vani
Üjekü-degen blam-a-yin gegen-i üjeged
Sonosaqui-dayan <ongčitai> nom-un dayun ni
<Kerbe> sedkil-dür <ayuluysan> (yayun

sayiqan qonoysiysan bui)
Yosutu küsel nada bui
Arban buyan-i-iyar
Čay-yi nogčiyeged
Qantar Jiryal-iyar
Basa bide cu ayulJaqu
<Tutam ulam> [tob tatamani ilegüü]
Orniku-yin sayin beleg boltuyai.

Translation

Oh, saviour Maydari,
By your pure, beautiful virtue
Deliverer through your concern,
[Dwelling] in the peaceful land of Tushit!
Having acquired the precious body of a person,
And free from unjust deeds,
In the regenerations of today and the past
I believe in the good fulfillment.
For religion and teaching
[Does one have] life and heart.
To receive a good birth
[Strive] to the extent of your ability.
If you strives well,
you will become the first of the many tens of thousands.
O, Aryaru Manda, who aids in purification
Of the ten bad foundations!
Among the many best
Splendid steeds
You are even more splendid
And wondrously beautiful!
This horse [was] joyful
As he grew up.
And during his instruction he [was] diligent.
As soon as they began to reach [it],
This beautiful horse, pulling away from the others,
Assumed the lead [before all others],
[Became] the first among many tens of thousands.
Thanks to former virtue
[We] have met.
Owing to joy at health
[We] have [here] gathered.
And further, after that
By the force of the blessing
Of our honourable *lamas*
This good gift [will] flower even more!
In the land of Tushita, of the masters of high birth,
By [our] various good deeds and our things
We will be happy, rejoicing!
Oh, all-powerful Ochir-Vani,
Who has stymied with his strength
The sinful [heavy] living things!
Having seen the sanctity of the *lamas* who instruct,
With what joy would I listen
To the sounds of the [righteous] teaching.
This is truly my desire.
In the ten virtues
Spending time,
We shall meet again owing to general luck!
May this lovely gift flower
More and more!

The version of this song in our manuscript is more extensive than that contained in the "Anthology of Mongolian Folklore" [21] (11 extra verses) or cited by Pozdneev [22] (14 extra verses). The text displays a large number of corrections and offers numerous difficulties in its deciphering. Before the lines which are known as opening the song — *Erdeni-tü kümün-ü biy-e-yi oluyad / Endeged buru üilen-eče jaylaju* ("Having acquired the precious body of a per-

son / Free from unjust deeds", etc.) — the following lines are inserted — *Ariyun saiyqan buyan-tan / Asurqu-bar getülgegči / Amuyulang-tu Tusid-un oron daki / [Abural] itegel Maidar* ("Possessing pure beautiful virtue, / Liberating with care, / Oh, dwelling in the peaceful land of Tushita, / Oh, Maydari, the deliverer!").

The fourth line, beginning with the words *sayitur simd[a]n jidgekü* lacks a continuation. The final three verses found in our collection are lacking in other editions known to us. They contain the largest number of corrections and marks.

The feature of the song is the abundant use of Buddhist terminology which was intended to stress the significance of the event, as well as to inspire solemn feelings in guests and a mood of respect and deference toward the hosts of the celebration. Still, the question remains whether these songs were composed in the Buddhist vein from the very beginning or they obtained this Buddhist character later.

Songs performed during the central part of the celebration contain fewer Buddhist ruminations on the fleeting nature of being and the eternal nature of creation. They focus more on the lives of ordinary people and are lexically simpler. Such is the ninth song in our collection, *Jüitü altan deleki* ("Just, golden heaven").

Text

Jogtu tala-yin köbegen-dü ni
Je wayidu
Joytu taryun bororan
Jirüken-i amaray abyai-dayan
Je wayidu
Jidkülen bartayad Jolyoy-a
Kegeren činu tarqun bi
Je wayidu
Keyiskülen bartayad
Arbi kelei Jang-tu abayai-dayan
Yajar čini qola di
Aru silin-i bararai
Nasu čini bay-a bi
Je wayidu
Olona Jangyar yaburai
Olan dayuyan quriyamani
Je wayidu
Aliy-a saryayiyan bariy-a
Aq-a degüü tangtayiyan
Je wayidu
Ayujim dayabar Jiryay-a

Translation

With a fine friend
Oh, *ze vaydu*!
There is a fine horse.
With a beautiful, beloved wife,
Oh, *ze, vaydu,*
Having overcome all obstacles, I strive to meet.
Your bay horse is well-fed,
Runs with the wind,
Overcoming obstacles.
With a wife who has a meek character,
I have forgotten when I saw [her] and loved.
Your place is far away,
Only its distant heights are visible.
In years, you are young.
Ze, vaydu,
There are many traps for you,
Many herds have gathered.
Ze, vaydu!

I will take any light bay [horse],
With your brothers and sisters,
Ze, vaydu!
I will live long and happily.

In comparison with the collection's first song, where we observe the interplay of images from various cultural spheres, this song contains a different row of associative images. The images here are of a single type. Through their repetition and gradual pressure, the song's emotional effect is rather strong. This row of images is: "friend", "fine light bay horse", "beautiful beloved wife", "bay horse", "wife who has a meek character", "far away place", "young in years", "many herds", "brothers and sisters". All this images are extremely simple and common. But what is noteworthy is the art with which they are used in the song.

We find two methods of linking images in Mongolian songs: the multifaceted, associative interplay of images on various stylistic levels and in various areas of activity, and the accumulation of images of a single type. The common element in these links is the presence of some general quality in the images. Both types of link represent psychological parallels; A. N. Veselovsky stressed this device is widely employed in the songs of many peoples [23]. The psychological parallelism is the basis not only of the verbal metaphors but also of the sounds and compositional structure of the song, along with other artistic devices such as repitition and singularity. These poetic features can be clearly seen in the seventeenth song in our collection, *Ara-yin öndör nodon-du* ("On a tall northern tree"), also performed in the middle of a celebration.

Text

Ara-yin öndör modon-du
Arayu-yin dayutu yuryultai
Tegün-u sayiqan dayun-du
Amaray čimayiyan sanana
Oi modon-du tügeregsen
Jüir-yin Joliy-a körökei
Orčilang-un badang tügeregsen
Modon-u muri körökei
Uryuqu naran-i gerel-yi
Olan egülen daldalnai
Uryaqan uqayan čini
Ayur-yin mungqay bürkünel
Narin sayiqan čečeng-i
Namur-yin kirayu kirtekenei
Nayirtai sayiqan sedkel-yi
Nayidangyui sedkel ebdeküJei
Arbin sara tala činu
Ayta-yin sayiqan-iyar tayulay-a
Amaray bayana čimadayan
BerteJi kürčü Joloyoy-a
Nasu čini bay-a bi
Olan Jang-qan todarai
YaJar čini qola biy
Aru sil-yi bararai
Dalai lam-a-yin adisayar
Dayisun totyar usadtuyad
Dayan mongyol bügüdeger-e
Dayaran qamtu Jiryay-a

Translation

On a tall northern tree [is]
The nightingale with a joyous voice.
To the accompaniment of his lovely song

I think of you, [my] beloved.
Lost in the forest,
The poor young of a wild goat!
Lost in the fog of the bustling world,
The poor descendent of man!
Thick clouds cover
The rays of the rising sun.
The foolish anger [of people] stifles
Your lovely, natural intelligence.
Autumn frost ruins
The tender, beautiful flower.
The jealous heart destroys
The beautiful, joyous feeling.
The wide, yellow steppe
Is easily overcome by the stallion.
With you, my small dear,
I strive to meet.
Though you are young in years,
You are wilful.
Far is your land,
Only the silhouettes of the northern summits are visible.
By the grace of the Dalai-Lama
Having destroyed enemies and obstacles,
All Mongols
Will be happy together.

All of the images in this song are imbued with a single emotional charge. The song is intended to convey impressions of events which are not revealed in the song, but familiar to both listeners and performer. The hero of the song is a youth who pines for his beloved. He does not act. The image of the youth remains unchanged throughout the song. He is "lost in the bustle of the world", a "poor human descendent". The image of the beloved also does not change, but gains detail. If the first stanza presents one side, the hero's attitude toward his beloved — "with you, my small dear" — the third stanza mentions her intelligence — "your lovely, natural intelligence". Then it is said of her character that she is "wilful". Though the image receives multifaceted treatment, it remains constant and well-defined from the beginning of the song.

The remaining images in the song are as follows "tall northern tree", "nightingale with a joyous voice", "lovely song", "forest", "young of a wild goat", "fog of the bustling world", "descendent of man", "rays of the rising sun", "many clouds", "lovely natural intelligence", "foolish anger", "tender beautiful flower", "autumn frost", "beautiful joyous feeling", "jealous heart", "wide yellow steppe", "stallion", "young in years", "wilfulness", "Dalai-Lama", "enemy", "all Mongols".

The dominant emotional element in the song is the pain of separation; the images, composition, and phonetic structure of the song are subordinated to it. The very opening of the song — "on a tall northern tree" conveys this sadly lyric mood. True, this is a common opening in the Mongolian songs devoted to separation. The image of a poor young of a wild goat, lost in the forest only stresses the loneliness of the person who, in the absence of his beloved, feels as unhappy as a motherless child. The pain of separation is shown in the song multi-facetedly. The set of images is rich, numerous details betray a nomad perception of the world, nomads' intimate link with nature. The pain of separation manifests itself in anxious recollections of the beloved, who seems to the hero a tender, beautiful flower. The hero's thoughts about the beloved's youth and wilfulness are full of tender feeling. He is not free from fear to be rejected by the

girl. Her portrait in the song absolutely realistic: the girl, gifted with "lovely intelligence", cannot stand the pressure of people's evil will. The metaphors used in this connection (autumn frost that ruins the tender beautiful flower; the jealous heart, which destroys the joyous feeling) are appropriate devices to provide a realistic portrait of the heroine. Rather unexpectedly, the image of a steppe and a stallion, the inseparable friend of the Mongol throughout his life, appear in the song. The association with the beloved here is however quite natural. Despite all obstacles, the hero strives to meet his beloved and his fast stallion is able to "overcome" the vastness of the "wide, yellow steppe" to carry the hero to the girl. The difficulties of the enterprise are stressed by the charmingly lyric lines about the remoteness of the land where the beloved lives. The landscape pictured, with the distant silhouettes of mountains in the North, produces both a keen feeling of loneliness and the belief in the success of the hero's enterprise. The song ends in a vigorous statement of all Mongols' victory over their enemies.

The phonetic structure of the text is also subordinated to the dominant emotional element. Throughout the song, we find a great deal of assonance. For example, the sound *γu* rings in the verse *araγu-yin daγutu γurγultai, tegün-u sayiqan daγun-du*. The same is with the sound *γa* (*qa*) in *uryaqan sayiqan iqaγan čini*; *jo* (*ju*) in *juir-yin joliy-a körökei*; and *ki* in *namur-yin kiraγu kirtekenei*.

The clearly expressed alliteration of the opening continues throughout. Moreover, the alliteration extends not only to a single consonant or vowel, but encompasses several syllabes at once, furthering an atmosphere of even greater melancholy and loneliness (for example, *aru-yin — araγu-yin — amaraγ — ayur-yin*; *oi — orčilang — olan — ugaqan*; *narin — nayirtai — nayidangγui — nasu*; *dalai — dayisun — dayan — dayaran*).

The cheerful close, quite common in Mongolian folk songs, brings a somewhat triumphant note to the sad song. It communicates a joyous thought to the celebration's participants who must be joyous, brings the guests calm, equilibrium, harmony, and satisfaction with the festive event.

I should like to give here the text of another song in the collection, *Öndör berke-yi sili-du* ("On a high, inaccessible height"). It is also the song which is performed in the middle of the celebration. It is a love song with a touching description of nature and usual cheerful close enriched with a Buddhist sense.

Text

Öndör berke-yi sili-du
Egülen budang tatanai
Ürgül jidegen seregüken
Yayun juyitei nutuγ bi
Narin sayaiqan solongγ-a ni
Naran-a tuyan-du tatanai
Nasu baγa ider-tü
Bartaγad kürčü Jolγoy-a
Qangdaysan qan nabči
Kangγ-a mürün-u jiγ-a-dur
Qayirtu baγa aldar mini
Melmel jeJü saγudaylan
Čidur γaγuntan Jokiγsan
Sergüleng ken saryayan
Salkin-i ügei tangnamanai
Ene dayan kürüged irebüü
Bürküg egüle-yin següder-e-tü

Qaril ügei yabarai
Dedün sarayin ayan-du
Tügel ügei yabarai
Čangdu-yin yeke berke-dü
Časun qur-a oronai
Čal buural eji-degen
Čay-dayan kürüged Jolγoy-a
Abural boγda-yin adis-iyar
Amar mendü saγumani
Erten-u sayin irügel-iyer
Engke amur Jirγay-a

Translation

On a high, inaccessible peak
There are clouds and fog lingers,
It is always fresh and cool [there].
Why is it thus at [this] encampment?
A thin, lovely rainbow
Reaches out to the rays of the sun.
With my young girl
I dream to meet, having overcome everything.
Dried leaves
Float on the waters of the Ganges.
My beloved, small, nice,
Lives with tears in her eyes.
Beneath the shadow of thick clouds,
Leave, not to return.
For several months,
You must leave.
There will be difficult times with frost,
The snows and rains will come,
With a completely grey mother
I will meet in due time.
By the blessing of Buddha the saviour
We will live in peace and good health!
In previous good wishes
We will rejoice peacefully and calmly!

The poetic images in this song are also intended to create an atmosphere of melancholy commiseration on the part of the listener, although the close returns one to the solemnity of the celebration. The basic, "nature" images here are "clouds, fog", "dried leaves", "rain, snow", "thick clouds". They differ from the poetic images of the elevated, solemn "title songs". Instead of the "thick clouds which cover the rays of the sun" in title songs we have "transparent white clouds", instead of a "distant encampment", a "green, sunny encampment", instead of a "tall tree", a "motley tree", etc. And while the same objects are employed to create poetic images, they are embedded in a different verbal context in keeping with the emotional temper. Hence, poetic images arise which support an opposite emotional dominant.

The songs cited above are not present in the published collections known to me, though some songs such as 7th, 24th, 25th, 29th, and others are found in other editions as well. A comparative study could lead to interesting observations concerning their presence and the extent of popularity in various regions of the country. For example, song 7, *Arvan tavny sar*, is published in B. Vladimirtsov's book [24] and in the "Anthology of Mongolian folklore" [25]. Song 24, *Ilagugsan erketü dalai blama* ("The victorious, respected Dalai-Lama") has become known from the private collection of Dashdorj and was included in the "Anthology" in the same form [26]. It differs from our text only in stanzas 2, 5, and 7, of which 2 and 5 are missing in the "Anthology" and 7 is completely different.

Song 29, *Tabun jüil-ün čečeg* ("Five-budded flower"), relates to a *nayryn magnay* songs. Like *Tumniy eh*, it is of literary origin, but became extremely popular and was sung as a folk song, which is evident from its inclusion in several collections in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (for example, manuscripts D 117 and E 225). Together with the song *Tegsh tavan hüsel* ("Five desires of equal value"), it is devoted to the Buddhist attitude toward the five senses, the starting point for many fundamental Buddhist tenets.

As for songs 25, 31, 35, 36, 37, 44 in our collection, they belong to the genre of *jargaah duu*. Among them, *Köke sibayu* ("Cuckoo"), is known across the whole of Mongolia. Each encampment retains its own version of the song. It is usually sung during moves from one *ayl* (a group of *yurt*s where several relatives live together) to another and is obligatory at weddings. It reflects Mongolian views on human beauty, duty, and attitudes toward changes in life. It is sung from the perspective of the bride's parents, who leave their daughter with stranger just as the cuckoo leaves its eggs in the nest of another bird. The song contains instructions for the daughter on life in her husband's family. It also expresses their pain of separation from her and resignation before the implacable laws of nature and the ancestors' traditions. The song glorifies the members of the family clan and relatives of the husband. An expression of confidence in the prosperity and happiness of the newlyweds' future life is also present. Here the text of the song "Cockoo" is presented.

T e x t

Kökege sibayu ireged
Kogjim-du dayun-i yaryayad
Ködölküi amitan sergemani
Köbküljin bayiji yadan
Basa toyos ireged
Bardayci luu-yin dayun-i sonosoyad
Bayasun sayitur činggemi-ni
Bayiju yadan bujini
Oron dayuti toyos ireged
Udbalan-un čečeg-ni ujeged
Ulbaran qoldan yadamani
Ulam ergečün bayunai
Eder quraysan bide bügüde
Engdecü olan ni üjeged
Egesig dayun-u sayiqan-du
Ende quran čuylanai
Siker-yin amtu luy-a adali
Taniyan Jang ayali-yin sayiqan-du
Singjilen medeyci merged-ün dumda
Silügeglen qolboju dagulbai.

T r a n s l a t i o n

The cuckoo has flown here,
And sung in a musical voice.
All living things have awoken,
Roused themselves.
The peacock has come,
The voice of the strutting *luus* is heard.
Sturdy, wealthy, good,
He danced.
The peacock came with a low voice.

Having seen the *utpala* flower, he could not
tear himself away from it.
He did not abandon us, but drew closer.
We, the young, have gathered here,
We have seen many [people] here.
We have gathered here to melodic, lovely singing.
Among wise and knowledgeable men,
The beauty of whose character
Is like the taste of sugar,
Composing verses, I sing.

There is a curious note which follows song 43, *Aryn nutag adil* ("Like the northern encampment"): "Do not scatter these forty-seven songs, and if you scatter them, I will beat you". This note seems to testify to a zealous attachment of the compiler of the collection, or possibly its reader, to the folk tradition, part of which Mongolian folk songs were.

All *ayzam* songs are most precious part of the Mongols' rich poetic legacy. They share the common features of Mongolian poetic folklore as a whole. Their poetics is distinguished by elaborate use of consonance, exclusive attachment to a harmonic sound, and the maintenance of a balance between all of the elements of the celebration.

The songs in the collection were recorded in such a way that some observations can be made about various Mongolian dialects. For example, one frequently finds that vowels after the first syllable differ from the literary standard: *jarlag* in place of *jarlig*, *küitün* in place of *küiten*, *jarudasan* — *jarudasun*, *jegüden* — *jegüdün*, *uragci* — *urugci*, *cindamuni* — *cindamani*, *qarutu* — *qaratu*, *tangyaray* — *tangyariy*, *ečege* — *ečige*, *amisqul* — *amisqal*, etc. The variations exhibit the alternations: $u — a$, $a — i$, $a — u$, $e — u$. This phenomenon did not escape the notice of Vladimirtsov who considered it to be a result of a difficulty native speakers commonly encountered in writing down reduced vowels [27]. At times, the same word is recorded with varying palatalizations: *dabsiqu* — *debsikü*, *ünin* — *unin*, *yatulqu* — *getülkü*, *čayan* — *čegen*, *morilaqu* — *mörilekü*, *bičiqan* — *bičiken*, *uniyar* — *üniyer*. Vladimirtsov described this phenomenon too and explained it with reference to the regular alternation of gutturals and palatals, an indication of the importance of synharmony in the Mongolian language [28]. Some words in songs' records are abbreviated, others are lengthened: *qarču* — *qaraču*, *gün* — *gün-e*, *bar* — *baras*, *šab* — *šab-a*, *qarbasu* — *qarubasu*, etc. This is most likely a reflection of actual pronunciation of various words in a given dialect. But it may also be a special device for maintaining the rhythm of the line, bringing the text closer to song pronunciation.

It is worth noting that the collection presents not only the texts of songs but also the so-called "extended verse", to employ the term in Russian folklore studies [29]. This "extended verse" represents a link between poetic and musical elements in the song and serves, together with musical notation, as a valuable source for revealing the mechanisms which bind together in rhythm the words and melody of Mongolian songs. The rich contents of the collection and the manner in which the songs are recorded present a good opportunity for scholars to investigate not only the themes, poetic style, lexicon, and language of festive songs, but also their phonic, intonational and sonic characteristics.

Notes

1. S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie* (Sacred Tale) (Leningrad—Moscow, 1941), p. 9.

2. Danzan Luvsan, *Altan Tovch* ("Zolotoe skazanie") (*Altan Tovch* (Golden Tale)), trans. from the Mongolian into Russian, commentary and notes by N. P. Shastina (Moscow, 1973).

3. *Erdeniyn erih* (Ulan Bator, 1960).

4. U. Zagdsuren, *Mongol duuny sudlalyn tovch toym* (Ulan Bator, 1975), p. 41.

5. I. V. Kulganek, "Pesenniki iz mongol'skogo rukopisnogo fonda LO IV AN SSSR" ("Song books from the Mongolian manuscript collection at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Buddizm i literaturno-khudozhestvennoe tvorchestvo narodov Tsentral'noĭ Azii* (Novosibirsk, 1985), p. 63.

6. For more detail on Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, see A. M. Reshetov, "Nauka i politika v sud'be Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano" ("Scholarship and politics in the fate of Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano"), *Orient*, fasc. 2—3 (St. Petersburg, 1998); *idem*, "Bibliografiia osnovnykh trudov Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano" ("Bibliography of the main works of Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano"), *ibid.*, p. 90; also see a collection of works by Zhamtsarano in *Tsyben Zhamtsarano: zhizn' i deiatel'nost'. Doklady i tezisy nauchnoĭ konferentsii* (Ulan-Ude, 1991).

7. Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, A. D. Rudnev, *Obraztsy narodnoĭ slovesnosti mongol'skikh plemen. Teksty* (Examples of the Folk Literature of Mongolian Tribes. Texts). Vol. 1: *Proizvedeniia narodnoĭ slovesnosti buriat* (Works of Buryat Folk Literature), collected by Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, fasc. 3 (Petrograd, 1918), pp. III—IV.

8. The rules for the phonetic transcription of the Mongolian language are presented in more detail in *B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, Sravnitel'naia grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo iazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiia. Vvedenie i fonetika* (Comparitive Grammar of the Mongolian Written Language and the Khalkh Dialect. Introduction and Phonetics) (Moscow, 1989), 2nd edn., pp. 53—68. The author lists 37 vowels, 34 consonants, and 8 diphthongs.

9. For more information on him, see *Nordmongolische Volksdichtung gesammelt von G. J. Ramstedt, Bearbeitet, übersetzt und herausgegeben von Herry Halen. Zum Andenken an seinen 100 Geburtstag. Vorwort* (Helsinki, 1973), pp. III—XVI.

10. B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Obraztsy mongol'skoĭ narodnoĭ slovesnosti (S.-Z. Mongoliia)* (Examples of Mongolian Folk Literature) (North-West Mongolia)) (Leningrad, 1926).

11. Zagdsuren, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Sh. Gaadamba, Kh. Sampildendev, *Mongol ardyn aman zokhiol*, eds. D. Dashdorzh, Zh. Dagdadorzh (Ulan Bator, 1988), p. 221.

12. M. Karatygina, D. Oiuuntsetseg, "O smyslovoĭ mnogoznachnosti bazovykh mongol'skikh muzykal'nykh terminov" ("On the polysemy of basic Mongolian musical terms"), *Problemy terminologii v muzykal'noĭ kul'ture Azii, Afriki i Ameriki* (Moscow, 1990), p. 130.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 117.

14. Ia. Tsenel, *Mongol helniy tovch taylbar tol*, ed. Kh. Luvsanbaldan (Ulan Bator, 1966), p. 26.

15. B. Smirnov, *Mongol'skaia narodnaia muzyka* (Mongolian Folk Music) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 27—73.

16. Kh. Sampildendev, *Mongol hurimyn yaruu nayrgiyin torol zuil*, ed. D. Tserensodnom (Ulan Bator, 1981), p. 99.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Erdeniyn erih* (Ulan Bator, 1960), pp. 108–9.

21. Sh. Gaadamba, D. Tserensodnom, *Mongol ardyn aman zohiolyn deezh bichig*, ed. Ts. Damdinsuren (Ulan Bator, 1978), p. 41.

22. A. M. Pozdneev, *Obraztsy narodnoĭ literatury mongol'skikh plemen* (Examples of the Folk Literature of Mongolian Tribes), fasc. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1880).

23. A. N. Veselovskiĭ, "Psikhologicheskiĭ parallelizm i ego formy v otrazheniiakh poėticheskogo stilia" ("Psychological parallelism and its forms as reflected in poetic style"), in A. N. Veselovskiĭ, *Istoricheskaia poėtika* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 101—55.

24. See Vladimirtsov, *Obraztsy*.

25. Gaadamba, Tserensodnom, *Mondol ardyn*, p. 48.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

27. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitelnaia grammatika*, p. 127.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

29. A. A. Banin, "K izucheniiu russkogo narodnogo pesennogo stikha: metodologicheskie zametki" ("On the study of Russian song verse: methodological observations"), *Fol'klor, poėtika, traditsiia* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 94—139.

M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI:
I. THE *VINAYA* OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS

The manuscript under discussion here has been known since 1966, when the first report appeared about a unique find in the Merv oasis, not far from the city of Bairam-Ali [1]. It was indeed a lucky find: while levelling a field by a bull-dozer, a small hill was removed and among the lumps of earth a shattered clay pitcher was discovered. Scattered on the earth were old coins, a statuette, and a sheaf of birch-bark folios, stuck together and covered with unintelligible signs. The discovery was delivered to the Institute of History of the Turkmen SSR. Later, archaeologist Ganialin brought the treasures to Leningrad where the head of the Eastern Section of the State Hermitage, Prof. V. G. Lukonin (1932—1984), determined that the pitcher contained Sasanian bronze coins with the date: "eighteenth year of the rule of Khosrow". This date corresponds to A.D. 549. The clay statuette was damaged, but specialists at the State Hermitage attributed it as a depiction of the Buddha Śākyamuni. The gummed-together folios of birch-bark were handed over to the Leningrad (St. Petersburg) Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, where restorer G. S. Makarikhina laboured for an entire year to split it into separate layers.

A study of the first restored folios showed that it was a manuscript written in black Indian ink in Brāhmī script. In all, restoration recovered 150 folios consisting of two layers of birch-bark pasted together with restoration paper. Palaeographic dating allows us to spread the dates of copying over several centuries, since the manuscript contains folios which were copied in the post-Kushan period (no later than the 2nd century A.D.), while the bulk of the folios were most likely copied no later than the 5th century A.D.

Significant difficulties arose as the folios were being separated. First, not all of the folios were originally two-layered. Some used folios from another, apparently damaged or unwanted, manuscript as an inner layer. They differed both in hand and in the text, which was also Buddhist. This discovery demonstrated yet again an established rule of the ancient Indian cultural tradition: no sacred remnants were thrown away. Archaeologists know this well, as they have frequently found pieces of old sculpture inserted into new statues. Another difficulty was presented by the fragility of the birch-bark itself: each folio had to be assembled line by line, and even *akṣara* by *akṣara*. And finally, the person who last held the manuscript in his hands and placed

it in the pitcher was either not especially literate or in a great hurry. When all of the folios were reconstructed layer by layer, it became clear that many of them bore pagination in Brāhmī numbers. But they had been reshuffled in the sheaf, and the pagination which the restorer recorded in the process of restoration differed significantly from the actual, preserved pagination. No small amount of time was required to restore the original order.

The pagination reveals that the manuscript is divided into three sections which differ in handwriting and content. The first part contains the longest work of 68 folios. 41 of them were at the end of the sheaf, 25 — in the middle, and two folios were found separately in other parts of the manuscript. Pagination was preserved for fols. 5—68. The first two folios, which lack pagination, can be established by content as folios 3 and 4. The original pagination is off in two places, which we discuss below.

In content, the first part of the manuscript is a selection of tales with plots of *avadāna* and *jātaka* type which illustrate various aspects of Śrāvakayāna doctrine. The work has not reached us in its entirety. Compositionally, the tales are linked with the aid of *uddāna*, in each of which we find enumerated the titles of 10—12 tales. All in all, one counts 17 *uddāna*s and 190 titles of tales, but not all of them have been preserved. There are stories not listed in the *uddāna*s and *uddāna*s not found in the text.

The work is clearly conspectual in nature. The plots of most stories are not elaborated; only the names of some heroes and certain details are given, which makes it difficult identifying the tale. Sometimes, instead of a tale, we find cited a single concluding *gāthā* or saying, or a maxim from a *sūtra*, that is, text which had to be learned by heart and repeated accurately. Finally, the work abounds in notations left by the copyist, sometimes in the form of notes to himself: for example, "tell how such-and-such happened", "how he went to this place", "tell about in more detail". In general, these remarks are abbreviated to relative pronouns or adverbs.

All this suggests that the text consists of notes for a preacher who wrote out for himself (or had copied) texts necessary for sermons. They allowed him to quickly refresh in his memory the basic thread of a tale or to cite certain details and positions accurately.

Even more indicative in this regard are the other two works in the manuscript: notes from the *Vinaya* of the

Sarvāstivādin school and notes from *sūtra*s which present Sarvāstivādin dogmatics in a form close to that of the *abhidharma*. They form a set of terms and quotes which describe *sūtra*s. The text takes up 48 folios without pagination and the order of the folios is not always easy to determine.

To clarify our reasons for confidently assigning the given manuscript to the Sarvāstivādin school, we turn to the second work (judging by the pagination). Although it lacks a title, it has been preserved in full. The beginning is the traditional Indian good wishes — Siddham — which is followed by an *uddāna*, completely unfolded in the text. The work has a colophon and occupies 13 paginated folios (69 to 81). The text is written on both sides of the folio, four lines per side on the first ten folios. The three final folios contain denser writing in a smaller hand, 5—6 lines per folio on each side.

The work represents a compilation based on the main texts of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*: *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Vinaya-Vibhaṅga*, and Vinaya-*vastu*. The text can be divided into three parts:

1. a summary of the main tenets of the *Vinaya* in the following areas, as established in the *uddāna*: collection of rules for debate, collection of rules on misdeeds, collection of rules on *kleśa* ("pollutions", or "affects of consciousness"), collection of rules for individual cases (including distant locations), collection of rules to be observed at all times. The text presents a list of *Vinaya* terms in these areas, although they are poorly linked by overall context (overall, it resembles a *mātrikā*, fols. 69 r (1)—73 r (3);

2. abstract of rules governing the life of a monk in a community, fols. 73 r (4)—78 v (4). The rules are not linked by content but are arranged in convenient order for memorisation (in ascending numerical order). The rules are broken down into two groups. The first (34 rules) focuses on units of time — from 1 to 10 nights, from 1 to 10 months, from 1 to 7 years, from 9 to 12 years, from 18 to 20 years. The second group contains 12 rules, designated as the "rule of one", "rule of two", etc. (to the "rule of 10"), after which two rules follow without special indication (on 20 people and on 40 people). The numbers here designate quantities people, times, *pātra*s, *civāra*s, and years;

3. rules regarding *pātra*, *civāra*, needle, needle-case, knife, and a detailed description of means of painting the *civāra*s, fols. 79 r (1)—81 v (4).

The questions discussed in the text were of great practical significance to Buddhists. They are broadly reflected in the texts of *Vinaya* of all schools and there was generally no divergence between the various schools on these issues. The arrangement of the material in the text testifies to the need for memorisation and use during preaching. The material is clearly intended for a wide audience. A comparison with the canonical text of the Sarvāstivādin school's *Vinaya*, preserved in small excerpts in Sanskrit and in Chinese, as well as with the canon of the Mūlasarvāstivādin in Sanskrit and Tibetan and the Theravādin in Pālī confirmed the compilative nature of the work in question. In structure, the text should be closest to the *Vinaya-uttara-grantha*, but one cannot assert it with certainty, since the Sanskrit text of that work has not survived. Fortunately, a Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school's *Vinaya-uttara-grantha* has been preserved, which is close to the text of the Pālī *Parivāra-pāṭha* and the eighth part of the Chinese transla-

tion of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* — *Shi-sun-lü*. The *Vinaya-uttara-grantha* presents the abridged version of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* text. The length of the work, as it has been reconstructed from translations exceeds 300 folios.

The work which has survived in the manuscript confirms the existence of a living tradition of transmitting the *Vinaya* and demonstrates the form in which the missionary memorised basic tenets for his proselytising activities.

As was noted above, the work has a colophon which throws light both on the work and on the history of the Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin canon. The colophon enables us to speak of the affiliation of the text preserved to the Sarvāstivādin school. It also gives the idea of the structure of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* and the time of the written codification of the Sarvāstivādin canon relative to the canons of other schools.

We reproduce here a translation of this colophon (fol. 81 r (3)—81 v (4)):

> "[They] (intended are cases in which one can deviate from the rules, see below — *M. V.-D.*) are not [cited] neither [by] the *Prātimokṣa-[sūtra]* nor [by] the *Vibhaṅga*. [Nor are they cited by] the *Vinaya-vastu* [comprising] 18 sections. [They] are [also] absent in the separate *nidāna*, in the *Vinaya-mātrikā*, in the *Vinaya-paṃcika*, in the *Vinaya-ṣoddaśika*, [and] in the *Vinaya-uttarika*. The chapter on the collection of rules entitled "Gathering of the five-hundred [*bhikṣu*] and no less than five-hundred" has been completed. Praise be unto he who ordered this copy with the aid of the "best friend", expert in the *Vinaya*, [representative of the] Sarvāstivādin [school], for his own benefit [and] for the benefit of others [and] unto all buddhas".

At present it has been established that the Sarvāstivādins (*vaibhāsikās*) first appeared as an independent school after the schism which occurred under Aśoka (*ca.* 244—243 B.C.). According to the Buddhist tradition, this took place at the assembly at Pāṭaliputra [2]. The main point on which the Sarvāstivādins opposed the Sthāviras was their recognition of the *Abhidharma-piṭaka* as the highest authority. In the mid-second century B.C., the Sarvāstivādins lived on the territory of Peshawar, Western Kashmir, Mathurā, and Śrāvasti [3]. By the seventh century A.D., the Sarvāstivādins had spread to significant territorities encompassing all of North-West India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and East Turkestan [4]. The discovery of a Sarvāstivādin manuscript in the Merv region allows us to extend the boundary of this school's dispersion far to the West.

As the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, unlike the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, has been survived in Sanskrit only in fragments, we cannot judge of its full contents. Juxtaposing extant *Vinaya* texts in Chinese, Tibetan, and Pālī, we can only state that they all must contain two parts: the *vibhaṅga*, or commentary on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, and the *skandhaka*, or "Statutes of the Bhikṣu Community". The Pālī *khandhaka* consists of the Mahāvagga and the Cullavagga. E. Frauwallner points out that the Sarvāstivādin *skandhaka* also consists of two parts — the *Saptadharmaka* and the *Aṣṭadharmaka* [5]. This conclusion is based on the study of the Chinese translation of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*. As concerns the Sanskrit texts, the term *skandhaka* is not yet attested for any section of the *Vinaya*. It was evidently introduced into the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*s from the Pālī *Vinaya*. At present, there is no basis for the claim that *skandhaka* for

the Sarvāstivādins *Vinaya* was thought to be *Saptadharmaka* plus *Aṣṭadharmaka*. It is all the more so, since in the *Mahāvyutpatti* these terms are absent. The sections *Saptadharmaka* and *Aṣṭadharmaka* of the Chinese translation are broader in contents than the Pāli *Mahāvagga* and *Cullavagga*.

The structure of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* listed in the colophon of the manuscript from Bairam-Ali coincides with the Chinese translation and is close to the structure of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* in the Tibetan translation. In the Chinese translation *Shi-sun-lü* (Skr. *Daśādhyāya*) [6] *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and *Vibhaṅga* also come first, constituting the first three parts [7]. In the index to the Chinese version of the *Tripiṭaka* (*Hôbôgirin*), the *Shi-sun-lü* is erroneously called *Vinaya-Vibhaṅga*. In fact, the *Vinaya-Vibhaṅga* forms only three of 10 parts. In the Tibetan Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and *Vibhaṅga* occupy the second and third places [8]. In the Bairam-Ali manuscript, there is no mention of the *Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa-sūtra* and *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya-vibhaṅga*. In the Chinese translation they occupy the seventh place (pp. 342—6). In the Tibetan translation, these works follow after the *Vibhaṅga* for *bhikṣu* under numbers 4 and 5 (vol. *ta*, fols. 1v—328r(6)). The Bairam-Ali manuscript mentions (in the *uddāna* before the beginning) the *Bhikṣu-vinaya* and *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya*. In the text, they appear as rules of parts 2 and 3.

The *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* is not included in the Pāli *Vinaya*; the *Suttavibhaṅga* comes first there. The second place in the Sanskrit Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, according to the manuscript's colophon, is occupied by the *Vinaya-vastu*, which consists of 18 sections. In the *Shi-sun-lü*, this work occupies four parts which follow after the *Vibhaṅga* from 4 to 7 [9]. In the Tibetan *Vinaya*, the *Vinaya-vastu* occupies the first place; in the Pāli, the *Vinaya-vastu* corresponds to the *Mahāvagga* and partly to the *Cullavagga*, which together form the *khandhaka* and stand after the *Suttavibhaṅga*.

In the number of sections in the *Vinaya-vastu* indicated in the colophon (in all, 18) this work differs from all others: both Chinese and Tibetan translations comprise 17 sections; the Sanskrit text from Gilgit — 17; the *Mahāvyupatti* — 17, while the *khandhaka* consists of 22 sections.

Comparison shows that the Chinese translation of the *Vinaya-vastu* lacks chapters on the assemblies; they are removed to the end of the work and occupy a place after the *Vinaya-uttara-grantha* (another title for the *Ekottaradharma*), that is, they make up part 8 of the *Shi-sun-lü*, although part 7 is dedicated to the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*. In the Tibetan *Vinaya*, the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* does not receive its own section; the account of the organisation of the *bhikṣuṇī* community is placed at the beginning of part 16 — the *Adhikaraṇa-vastu*, although part 17 is the *Saṃghabhedaka-vastu*. It partially coincides with part 15 of the *Shi-sun-lü*, presenting a text on relations between the Buddha and Devadatta, but the greater part of the text of part 17 is paralleled in neither the Pāli or Chinese versions: names of rulers, origins of the Śākya lineage, birth of Śākya Gautama, his life, etc. The corresponding Sanskrit text in the Gilgit manuscripts are surviving in the form of small fragments. The Tibetan translation lacks a special section entitled *Kṣudraka-parivarta* and accounts of the assemblies. In content, both of these sections form part of a different Tibetan work, the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* [10]. The work's title indicates its connection to the *Vinaya-vastu*, while in

content it coincides to a significant degree with the *Cullavagga* (especially chapters 5, 11, and 12), but is broader. In the colophon of the Bairam-Ali manuscript, the *Vinaya-kṣudraka* is not listed as an independent work. It is also absent in the Chinese translation *Shi-sun-lü*. One can assume that one should search for the 18th section of the *Vinaya-vastu*, which distinguishes the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* from all others, in the text of the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* which is similar to the *Cullavagga*.

In the Tibetan translation of the "*Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu*", the text is divided into 8 parts and 59 chapters; they all lack titles, although the contents are reflected in *uddāna*. There are 88 of the latter, including "general lists of contents" (*bsdus-pa'i sdom-ni*) and "inserted lists of contents" (*bar-sdom-ni*). The presence of late additions and insertions in the text is indicated in the colophon [11]:

> "[We have] translated the Indian *paṇḍit Vidyākaraprabha, Dharmaśrīprabha* and *Iotstshaba Bande dPal-'byor*. During the translation of this *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* many translators worked individually after having divided the work up into sections. While the book was being put together, because the [excerpts] were translated individually, they put [them] together in such a way that an error was made. A large number of instructions on certain questions were omitted during the codification of the text. Later, in the monastery sTod-'ol rgod, *sthāvira* Dharmasimha, while compiling the instructions of the four types [12], included [in the text] everything that in practice was established by *Vinaya-dhara kalyānamitra* "great plough-man" (?) Bodhisimha and everything that was gathered in the monasteries dBus and gTsang ...".

Later, the colophon specifies which additions were made to the text. For example, the tale about sMan-chen-po was added to chapter 33; the story about the ugly son of a *brāhman* was added to the end of chapter 46; the story about Ananda was moved from the end of chapter 50 to the beginning of chapter 52, etc. Thus, the colophon to the Tibetan translation of the *Vinaya-kṣudraka* describes in detail how the text was reworked, evidently in the ninth—eleventh centuries. A comparison with the Pāli *Cullavagga* and the Chinese *Shi-sun-lü* allows one to identify the most ancient parts of this text.

In content, one can divide the *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* into four parts:

1. The *Vinaya-kṣudraka* itself or a collection of individual rules which governed the life of *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* in the community (chapters 1—35, parts 1—4).

2. *Vinaya* for *bhikṣuṇī* — the formation of the community, the acceptance ceremony, basic rules, relations between the *bhikṣu* and *bhikṣuṇī* communities (chapters 36—44, end of part 6, all of part 7, and the beginning of part 8). This section is marked as inserted, and was evidently taken from the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* for *bhikṣuṇī* and the *Bhikṣuṇī-vinaya-vibhaṅga* commentary on it.

3. Description of the Buddha's life after enlightenment — sermons, addresses to pupils, final admonishments, retreat to *nirvāna*, division of the Buddha's remains (chapters 45—56, part 8, up to fol. 303 v (4)). In content it corresponds to the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra*.

4. Tale of the assembly in Rājagrha (chapter 56, from fol. 303 v (4) to chapter 58, up to fol. 316 v (3)). Tale of the assembly in Vaiśālī (chapters 58 and 59, from fol. 316 v (3) to the end of the text).

It is among these chapters that we must seek the basis for the independent, eighteenth section of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya-vastu.*

The colophon of the Bairam-Ali manuscript contains direct evidence of a link between the tradition of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* and the assembly in Rājagrha. Despite a *lacuna* in the last line of fol. 80r (5), one can still glimpse in the colophon a concluding formula very close to that found in the colophon to the eleventh part of the *Cullavagga* entitled *Pañcasatikakkhandhaka*: "*imāya kho pana vinayasamgītiyā pañca bhikkhu satāni anunāni anadhikāni ahesum, tasmā ayam vinayasamgītī pañcasatītī vuccatītī*" ("Now that 500 *bhiksu*, not one less, not one more, have taken part in the collection of the rules of the *Vinaya* (lit., "in singing the *Vinaya* together" — *M. V.-D.*), for this reason the collection of rules of the *Vinaya* is called [the collection of the] 500").

The *Vinaya* recorded at the assembly in Rājagrha enjoyed the greatest authority as the most ancient, for it was drawn up before the Vaiśālī "heresies". It is with this assembly, as we see from the colophon, that the text of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* was linked. One can presume that a description of the collection of the assembly at Rājagrha (cf. part 4 of the Tibetan *Vinaya-kṣudraka-vastu* above) was included as the independent, eighteenth part of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya-vastu.*

As concerns the other works enumerated in the colophon of the Bairam-Ali manuscript, they can be correlated with a number of well-known works from other schools.

Thus, the crux of the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya* consists of three works indicated in the colophon of the manuscript and preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. They are the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and commentaries on it: the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* and *Vinaya-vastu.* The remainder of the works mentioned in the colophon expand on particular questions or are compilations. First, we find mentioned a "separate *nidāna*", that is, the *Vinaya-nidāna*, which makes up the first chapter or introduction to the Chinese translation *Shi-sun-lü* [13]. It was evidently considered an independent work in the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya.*

Named second is the *Vinaya-mātrikā*. Two works with this title have reached us in Chinese translation — from the Sarvāstivādin school [14] and the Mūlasarvāstivādin. Japanese researchers describe this work as compilative. It contains 9 *juans* with stories about the first and second assemblies and the *hetupratyaya.* The independent text of this work has not survived in the Tibetan tradition.

The next two works listed in the manuscript's colophon have not reached us. They are the *Vinaya-pañcika* and *Vinaya-ṣoddaśika.* Judging by the titles, they were compilations as well — "*Vinaya* in five sections" and "*Vinaya* in 16 sections". Similar works of other schools have survived in Chinese translation [15].

The last work named in the manuscript's colophon is the *Vinaya-uttarika*, which was evidently an index to the Sarvāstivādin *Vinaya (Vinaya-uttara-grantha).* It corresponds to the eighth part of the *Shi-sun-lü (Ekottara-dharma).* In the Pālī *Vinaya*, an analogous work is entitled *Parivāra*, in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya* — *'dul-ba-gžung-bka'-ma* [16].

TRANSLITERATION

FOL. [69r]

1. *siddham vinayāti*[1] *vivāda-vinayah āpatti*[2]*-vinayah kleśa vinayah prādeśiko-vi*[*nayah*]
2. *sarvvatra-vinayah bhikṣu-vinayah bhikṣuṇi vinayah // vivāda vinayo katamah*
3. *yam ta kalaho bhaṇḍana vigraha vivādah tat va paiśumnyam*[3]
   anyamanyam vipratya-
4. *ni vādatah ayamucyate vivāda-vinayah // so samnga*[*mayitavya*][4]

TRANSLATION

1. It is good! Expounded here is the collection of rules regarding disputes [1], the collection of rules regarding misdeeds [2], the collection of rules regarding *kleśa* [3], the collection of rules appropriate [in individual cases] [4],
2. the collection of rules [appropriate] in all cases, the collection of rules for *bhikṣu*, the collection of rules for *bhikṣuṇī.* What is the collection of rules regarding disputes?
3. When there arises a] squabble, argument, disagreement, dispute [5] or [when] one [person] in relation to another [person]
4. speaks calumny in anger, this is considered [a reason to employ] the collection of rules about dispute. A gathering must be convened [6] ...

Commentary

[1] Actions taken by the community in the case of various disputes between *bhiksu* are detailed in the *Vinaya-vastu*, sections *Kośāmbakavastu* (see *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. III, p. 2), *Pāṇḍulohitavastu* (*ibid.*,p. 3), *Vivādavastu* (not preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts). In the Pālī *Vinaya-piṭaka*, actions taken because of differences within the community are treated in the following sections: *Cullavagga*, 1: *Kammakkhandhaka*; 3: *Samuccaya-kkhandhaka* (beginning); 4: *Samathakkhandhaka.*

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¹ A slip of the pen: *vinayati.*
² *Āpati=.*
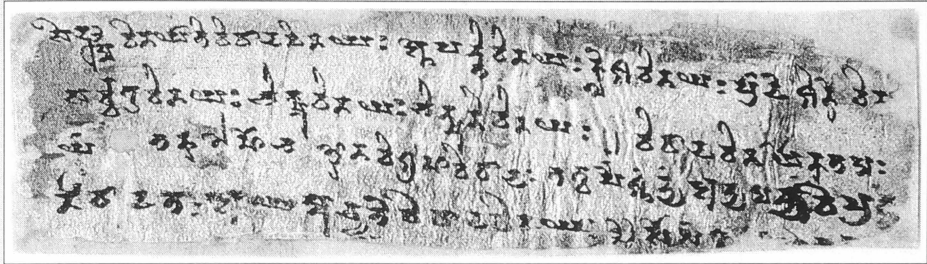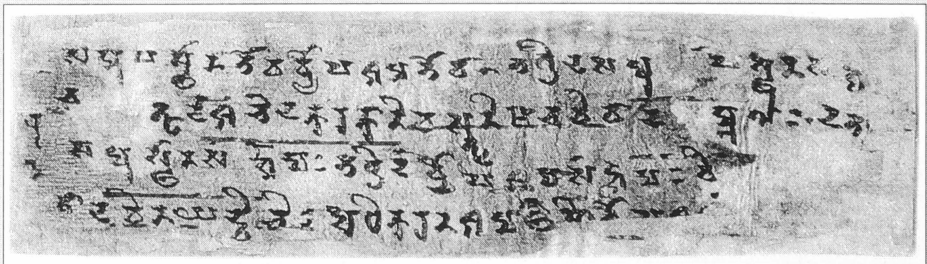³ *paiśunyam.*
⁴ *Samga*[*mayitavya*].

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

[2] *Āpati* — "misdeeds" — make up the basic content of the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* , which classifies them and provides corresponding commentary in the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*. The *Vinaya-vastu* describes certain more minor misdeeds. In the manuscript, this term is written either as *āpati* or as *āpatti*.

[3] The term *kleśa* here is apparently to be treated not in the *abhidharma* sense as "emotional instability, emotional breakdown" (see A. Guenther, *Buddhist Philosophy in Theory and Practice*, Baltimore, 1972, pp. 39, 43, 59, 64) or as a "state of affect" (see V. I. Rudoĭ, *Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakoṣa*. Section 1, Moscow, 1990, p. 45), but in the *vinaya* sense as "passions, pollution of consciousness". The collection of rules regarding *kleśa* is absent in the *Vinaya* texts which have reached us.

[4] The term *prādeśiko-vinayaḥ* is not attested in *Vinaya* texts. Its literal translation is "collection of rules for [individual] regions". In the text itself it appears as "collection of rules appropriate in individual cases". One should most likely interpret it in accordance with the following *Mahāvagga* text, V, 13 (1—13): "In the east lies the city of Kajan, beyond it, Mahāsālā. Further still lies the border country. This is in the vicinity of Madhyadeśa... In these border countries, I proscribe for *biksu* that, having gathered together, four *bhikṣu*, together with their leader, can perform the ceremony of *upasampāda*". This is an allowance. Similar allowances affect the rules regarding clothing and footware, certain rules of conduct, etc., in accordance with the climatic conditions of various locations. This interpretation is bolstered by the fact that together with the term *prādeśika-vinaya*, we find employed the term *sarvatra-vinaya*, that is, "collection of rules appropriate in all cases". Cf. *Parivāra*, VI : *sabbatthapaññatti jānitabbā; padesapaññatti jānitabbā*. The term *paññatti* is used here in the meaning "rule, resolution", that is, a synonym for *vinaya*. Thus, the term *prādeśika-vinaya* can be viewed as a synonym of the Pālī *padesapaññatti*.

[5] Cf. *Kośāmbhakavastu*, p. 176: *satyaṃ yūṣmakaṃ bhikṣava utpannaḥ kalaho bhaṇḍanaṃ vigraho vivādo yadu āpanna it pūrvavadyavat kopyena sthāparheṇeti*. Cf. also *Cullavagga*, I, 11.

[6] In the manuscript, the term *saṃgama* or *saṅgama* is used in the meaning "gathering, assembly". This term is not attested in the Gilgit manuscripts. In the Pālī *Vinaya*, the term *saṃgīti* (lit., "singing together") is used in this meaning.

TRANSLITERATION

FOL. 69v

1. *samupastānato ca vyopaśamato vā, tatrida[ṃ] samupasthāna*
   saṅga [ma]
2. *catūrdaśa bhedakarakāni vastūni sa ca vivādamūlā*[5] *ida[ṃ]*
   ta[tra]
3. *samusthāna*[6] *samṃgamaḥ tatridam vyopaśama samṃgamaḥ*
   vi...[vi]
4. *vāda-vinayaṃ dvibhiḥ adhikarana*[7] *śamathehi vyopaśama...*

TRANSLATION

1. at which [disputed questions] are acknowledged and resolved [7]. A gathering for acknowledgement [is convened] [when]
2. there are 14 things [on the basis of which one can determine, that a *bhikṣu*] is inclined toward heresy [8], and there are 6 reasons for dispute on legal questions [9]. Then
3. a gathering [is convened] for acknowledgement. A gathering for resolution [is convened] ...
4. [in order to] resolve in accordance with the collection of rules legal questions which arise during dispute, with the aid of two methods of resolution — [through action] in presence and [by a majority vote] — the legal question was resolved [10].

Commentary

[7] *samupasthānato* (from the root *samupastānat*) is used as a term to designate acknowledgement. Cf. the Pālī *samuṭṭhāna*. Below we find *āpati-samupasthāna* — "acknowledgement of a misdeed".

[8] *catūrdaśa bhedakarakāni vastūni* — cf. *Parivāra*, IV: *tattha katamāni* **aṭṭhārasa bhedakarvatthūni**. *idha bhikkhu adhammaṃ dhammo'ti dīpeti... aduṭṭhullaṃ āpattiṃ duṭṭhullā āpattīti īpeti. imāni aṭṭhārasa bhedakaravatthūni // 16 //*. In the *Mahāvagga*, X, 5, 4 "18 things" are enumerated which can serve as an indication that a *bhikṣu* is falling into heresy. As is evident from the text of the manuscript, the number was 14 for the Sarvāstivādins.

[9] *sa ca vivādamūlāni* — cf. *Parivāra*, IV: **tattha katamāni cha vivādamūlāni**. *Idha bhikkhu kodhano hoti upānāhi. yo so bhikkhu kodhana hoti upānāhi so satthari pi āgaravo viharati appatisso ... evaṃ etassa pāpakassa vivādamūlassa āyatiṃ anavassavo hoti. imāni cha vivādamūlāni // 13 //*. For an analogous text, see *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 3.

[10] *adhikarana-*, cf. *Parivāra*, IV: *tatha katamāni cattāri adhikaraṇāni. vivādādhikaraṇaṃ anuvadādhikaraṇaṃ apatādhikaraṇaṃ kiccādhikaraṇaṃ. imāni cattāri adhikaraṇāni // 17 //*. Cf. also *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 2.
Regarding the term *śamatha* "resolution of disputed questions" see *Parivāra*, IV: *tattha katame satta samathā sammukhāvinayo sativinayo amūlhavinayo paṭiññatakaraṇaṃ yebhuyyassikā tassapāpiyyasikā tiṇavatthārako. ime satta samathā // 18 //* ("What are the seven means of resolving disputed questions? In the presence [of the accused *bhikṣu* in the community], [by means of] vindicating [the *bhikṣu* of a misdeed which he did not commit], [by accepting the vindication of a *bhikṣu* of a misdeed he committed] in a delirious state]; [by means of the] acknowledgement [of the *bhikṣu* of a minor misdeed]; [with the aid of] a majority vote; [by overcoming the] stubborn [refusal of the *bhikṣu* to recognise] the sinful misdeed; [by completely forgiving the *bhikṣu*], as though all had become overgrown with grass"). See also *Cullavagga*, IV. Cf. *Mahāvyutpatti*, section 263, p. 555.

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[5] *mūlāni*.
[6] Cf. below: *samupashāna*, Pālī *samuṭṭhāna*.
[7] *adhikaraṇa*.

Skr. *...vivāda-vinayaṃ dvibhiḥ adhikaraṇa śamathehi vyopaśama* [*ti*] *... samukhī-vinayena.* To this the following text corresponds in Pāli: *vivādādhikaraṇaṃ katīhi samathehi sammati. vivādādhikaraṇaṃ dvīhi samathehi sammukhavinayena ca yebhuyyasikāya ca,* cf. *Cullavaha,* IV, 14, 16). The term *vivāda-vinaya* is evidently used in this context in the meaning of *vivāda-adhikaraṇa-vinaya,* a "collection of rules for the resolution of legal questions which arise during dispute".

TRANSLITERATION

FOL. [70R]

1. *samukhī vinayena ca, idaṃ tatra vyopaśama saṅgama //* [*āpati vinayaḥ*]
2. *katamaḥ pa*[*ṃ*]*ca āpatiyo āpati-nikāyā āpati-skandho...*
3. *ayamucyati āpati-vinayaḥ so samṅgamayitavya*[8] *...*
4. *ca deśanato ca tatridaṃ samusthāna samṅgamaḥ*[9] *pa*[*ṃ*]*ca āpati-samu*[*sthā*]-

TRANSLATION

1. Then this is a gathering for resolution. What is [the collection of rules regarding misdeeds]?
2. Five types of misdeeds [11], [five] *nikaya* on misdeeds [12], [five] groups of misdeeds [13] ...
3. this makes up the collection of rules regarding misdeeds.
4. and he admits to [acknowledges] the misdeed. Then the gathering [is convened] for acknowledgement. Five types of acknowledgement of a misdeed [14] ...

Commentary

[11] The five types of misdeeds are given detailed treatment in the Sanskrit *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and commentaries on it. These texts are part of the Sarvāstivādin school, but have not been preserved in their entirety. Cf. the Pāli commentaries *Parivāra,* IV: *tattha katamā pañca āpattiyo. pārājikāpati saṃghādisesāpatti pācittiyāpatti pāṭidesaniyāpatti dukkaṭāpatti ima pañca āpattiyo //2//.* Cf. also *Mahāvyutpatti,* 255, pp. 630—1: 1. *catvāraḥ pārājikā dharmāḥ;* 2. *trayodaśa saṃghāvaśeṣaḥ;* 3. *pāyattikāḥ;* 4. *carvāraḥ pratideśanīyāḥ;* 5. *saṃbahulā-śaikṣa-dharmāḥ.*

[12] *āpati-nikāyā* instead of *paṃca āpati-nikāyāḥ*? The term *nikāyā* on misdeeds is not attested in Sanskrit texts of the *Vinaya.* In northern Buddhism, the term *nikāyā* is replaced by the term *āgama,* cf. *Mahāvyutpatti,* 65, p. 109.

[13] [*paṃca*] *āpati-skandha* — cf. *Parivāra,* IV: *tattha katame **pañca āpattikkhandhā.** pārājikāpattikkhandho sāmghadise-sāpattikkhandho pācattiyāpattikkhandho pāṭidesaniyāpattikkhandho dukkaṭapatti-kkhandho, ime pañca āpattikkhandhā //3//.* Cf. also *Mahāvagga,* II, 3, 5.

[14] *paṃca-āpati-samusthāna* — cf. *Parivāra,* IV: *tattha katame cha āpattisamutthānā... .* In the Sanskrit text, there are six such methods, rather than the five found in the Pāli (see below).

TRANSLITERATION

FOL. 70V

1. *nā vacanīyaḥ asti āpatti*[10] *kāyīkā na vācikā na cetasikā*[*ḥ asti*]
2. *āpati vācikā na kāyika*[11] *na cetasikāḥ asti āpati* [*kāyikā ce*]-
3. *tasikā cah*[12] *asti āpati vācikā cetasikā cah* [13] *asti āpa*[*ti kāyi*]-
4. *kā vācikā cetasikā ca ida*[*ṃ*] *tatra samusthāna samṅga-mah*[14] [*saṅga*]-

TRANSLATION

1. it must be said: there [exists] a misdeed which is [acknowledged] through actions, [but is] not [acknowledged] in words and thoughts; there is
2. a misdeed, which [is acknowledged] in words, [but is] not [acknowledged] through actions and in thoughts; there is a misdeed, which [is acknowledged] through actions and in
3. thoughts; there is a misdeed which [is acknowledged] in words and in thoughts; there is a misdeed which [is acknowledged] through actions,
4. in words and in thoughts [15]. Such is the gathering for acknowledgement. The gathering

[8] Instead of *saṅgamayitavya.*
[9] Instead of *saṅgamaḥ.*
[10] Instead of *āpati.*
[11] Instead of *kāyikā.*
[12] Instead of *ca.*
[13] Instead of *ca.*
[14] Instead of *saṅgamaḥ.*

Commentary

[15] The text on fol. 70 v is a list of the above-indicated "five types of acknowledgement of a misdeed" — *paṃca āpati-samusthānā*. Having presented these types schematically with recourse to the *akṣara k* instead of *kāyikā, v* instead of *vācikā*, and *c* instead of *cetasikā*, we juxtapose the Sanskrit text with the Pālī from the Theravādin canon. The first, second, and fifth type of acknowledgement of misdeeds in the Sanskrit text coincide with the first, second, and sixth types in the Theravādin canon: 1. $k — v — c$; 2. $v — k — c$; 5. $k — v — c$. The third and fourth types represent varieties of the fourth and fifth types of the Pālī *Vinaya*: 3. $k + c$ (Pālī $k + c — v$); 4. $v + c$ (Pālī $v + c — k$). Absent in the Sanskrit text is the sixth type, which is presented in the Pālī *Vinaya* as the third: $k + v — c$. Cf. *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 6; *Parivāra*, IV, 5.

TRANSLITERATION

FOL. [71 R]

1. *maḥ tatridaṃ deśana-saṃgamaḥ asti āpatti*[15] *lahuk[a-garukaḥ sa pa]-*
2. *rikarmaḥ asti paravijñapti sa parikarmaḥ asti ag ...*
3. *avrahanaḥ avrahanaṃ kho punaṃ*[16] *dvi vidhaṃ pra[ti-cchanna-apraticcha]-*
4. *no ca apraticchano*[17] *ca idaṃ tatra deśana saṃga[maḥ // kleśa vinayaḥ]*

TRANSLATION

1. it is considered a gathering for [resolution] on the matter of acknowledgement [16], when there is a misdeed, and [the gathering] adopts a resolution, be it mild [or severe] [17];
2. when [the *bhikṣu*] announces [his misdeed] to others, it adopts a resolution ... [When the punishment has been completed, and there is a need for]
3. rehabilitation, [it performs the act of] rehabilitation [18]. And also [a misdeed can be of] two types: acknowledged and unacknowledged [19].
4. If a misdeed is not acknowledged by the *bhikṣu*, then there [is convened] a gathering [for resolution] on the matter of the acknowledgement. [The collection of rules regarding *kleśa*].

Commentary

[16] *deśana-saṃgamaḥ* — "gathering for [resolution] on the matter of acknowledgement" is a term not attested in the Pālī *Vinaya*. In *Cullavagga*, IV, the term *deśana* signifies "acknowledgement, confession" in sections which describe the gathering of the community which is supposed to accept the acknowledgement of a *bhikṣu* that he has committed a misdeed of the sort "resolvable within the community (that is, legal) by means of dispute" — *adhikaraṇa* — with the use of the seven above-indicated methods: *satta samathā* (cf. n. 10): *yassāyasmato khamati amkhākaṃ imāsaṃ āpattinaṃ saṃghamajjhe tiṇavatthākarakena desanā ṭhapetvā thūlavajjaṃ ṭhapetvā gihapaṭisaṃyuttaṃ so tuṇh'assa... (Cullavagga,* IV, 13, 3). The verb *deśayati* ("he acknowledges") is widely used in the Sanskrit text of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya-vastu* (Gilgit manuscript), see, for example, *Pudgalavastu*, p. 79: *dvau pudgalau saṃghāvaśeṣām-āpattimāpannau deśayiṣyāvo deśayiṣyāva iti* ("two people committed *saṃghāvaśeṣa* misdeeds. Both must acknowledge them, [they decided] that both must acknowledge them").

[17] *lahuka[garukaḥ]* — is a constant epithet to the term *āpati* when there is a situation of choice. See, for example, *Parivāra*, XV: *apattānāpattiṃ na jānāti, lahukagarukaṃ āpattiṃ na jānāti...* ("If [the community] does not know, [whether he committed] a misdeed or not; if [the community] does not know [whether he committed] a mild misdeed or a severe [one] ..."). Cf. also *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 2.

[18] The term *avrahanaḥ* is written incorrectly in the manuscript; the correct spelling is *āvarhana*, cf. *Mahāvyutpatti*, 264, p. 556, No. 8656. In Pālī, it has the form *abbhana* ("purification, rehabilitation").

[19] *praticchanna, apraticchanna* — are two constant, established terms in the *Vinaya* ("acknowledged" and "unacknowledged, concealed"). In the current text, both terms refer to minor misdeeds which can be resolved by the community itself (cf. n. 16). The rules regarding "concealed" and "unacknowledged" misdeeds are detailed in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya-vastu*, see *Pudgalavastu*, pp. 61—77. If a misdeed was acknowledged by a *bhikṣu* or not acknowledged by him, the community could set for the *bhikṣu* a period of probation after which a "purification" ritual was performed (see n. 18) and the *bhikṣu* once again became a fully fledged member of the community. The probationary period is called *apraticchanna parivāsa* ("probationary period [when a misdeed has been] acknowledged") and *praticchanna parivāsa* ("probationary period [when a misdeed has not been] acknowledged"). See *Cullavagga*, III, 28.

Notes

1. M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia, E. N. Temkin, "Indiĭskie rukopisi v Turkmenii" ("Indian manuscripts in Turkmenia"), *Nauka i zhizn'*, 1 (1966), p. 26; M. I. Vorob'eva-Desiatovskaia, "Nakhodki sanskritskikh rukopiseĭ pis'mom brāhmī na territorii sovetskoĭ Sredneĭ Azii" ("Discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts in Brāhmī script on the territory of Soviet Central Asia"), in *Sanskrit i drevneindiĭskaia*

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[15] Instead of *āpati*.
[16] Instead of *punar*.
[17] Instead of *apraticchanno*.

kul'tura, 1 (Moscow, 1979), pp. 123—33; *idem*, "Pamiatniki pis'mom kharoṣṭhī and brāhmī iz sovetskoĭ Sredneĭ Azii (obshchiĭ obzor)" ("Documents in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī writing from Soviet Central Asia: general overview"), in *Istoriia i kul'tura Tsentral'noĭ Azii* (Moscow, 1983), pp. 22—96.

2. A. Bareau, Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule (Saigon, 1955), p. 131.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 132.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 36—7.

5. E. Frauwallner, *The Earliest **Vinaya** and the Beginning of Buddhist Literature* (Roma, 1956), p. 9. — Serie Orientale Roma, VIII.

6. *Tripiṭaka Taisho*, No. 1435, translated by Kumārajīva and Puṇyatara. The work is divided into 10 parts (*adhyāya*), 29 sections, 65 chapters; it fills 470 folios of volume 23 (fols. 1—470).

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 1—147.

8. *bKa'-'gyur* Derge, *'dul-ba*, **No. 2**: vol. *ca*, fols. 1b—20b(7), **No. 3**: vol. *ca*, fols. 21a(1)—292a(7), vol. *cha*, fols. 1b—287a(7); vol. *ja*, fols. 1b—287a(7); vol. *ña*, fols. 1b—269a(6).

9. *Tripiṭaka Taisho*, No. 1435, vol. XXIII, pp. 148—346.

10. *bKa'-'gyur* Derge, *'dul-ba*, **No. 6**: vol. *tha*, fols. 1—310; vol. *da*, fols. 1—333.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. *da*, fols. 332a(5—7): *rgya-gar-gyi mkhan-po vidyākaraprabha dang/ dharmaśrīprabha dang/ lotstshaba ban-de dpal-'byor-gyis bsgyur // 'dul-ba lung-phran-tshegs-kyi gži-'di sgyur-ba'i dus-su lotstsha-ba mang-pos dum-bu mang-por bgos-te so-sor-tha-dad-du bsgyur-bas glegs-bam-du sdom-pa'i dus-su gnas tha-dad-du 'thor-nas mtshang bžin-du bsdebs-pas / lung-phran-tshegs phal-che-ba mtshang-bar bžugs-pa-la / skad-kyis-la sdod-'ol-rgod-kyi gtsug-lag-khang-du gnas-brtan dar-ma seng-ges lung sde-bži bžengs-ba'i tshe dge-ba'i bśes-gñen 'dul-ba 'dzin-pa žing-mo (žing-rmo?) che-ba byang-chub-seng-ges phyag-len mdzad-nas sbyir dbus gtsang-gi gtsug-lag-khang-rnams-na bžugs-pa dang /....*

12. The word *lung* here is used with the meaning *lung-bstan-pa*, that is, *vyākaraṇa*. Intended is the *vyākaraṇa* or four types: 1. *mgo-gcig-tu lung-bstan-pa* (Skr. *ekāmśa vyākaraṇa*); 2. *rnam-par phye-ste lung-bstan-pa* (Skr. *vibhajya vyākaraṇa*); 3. *yongs-su dres-te lung-bstan-pa*, (Skr. *paripṛccha-vyākaraṇa*); 4. *gžag-par lung-bstan-pa*, (Skr. *sthāpanīya-vyākaraṇa*). See *Mahāvyutpatti*, publ. by Sakaki, No. 86, pp. 132—3.

13. *Tripiṭaka Taisho*, No. 1144, translation by Vimalākṣa (A.D. 405—418).

14. *Tripiṭaka Taisho*, No. 1132, translation by Saṅghavarman (A.D. 445).

15. A. Ch. Banerjee, "The *Vinaya* Texts in Chinese", *IHQ*, 25 (1949), pp. 90—1.

16. *bKa'-'gyur* Derge, *'dul-ba*, No. 7: vols. *na, pa*.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 69r, 18.5×5.0 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 69v, 18.5×5.0 cm.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. 70r, 16.5×5.0 cm.

Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. 70v, 16.5×5.0 cm.

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. 71r, 15.0×5.0 cm.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD.
IX. THE TRIUMPH OF DIVERSITY: MUSLIM EXEGESIS*

"That thou mayest make clear to mankind what was sent down to them"

The Qur'ān, 16:44

The events which took place after Muḥammad's death brought to light numerous questions which the Qur'ān could not answer directly. This became even more obvious after the end of the Arab conquests and the emergence on the subjugated territories of a new socio-cultural community. At that period Arab-Muslim society encountered many problems which differed considerably from those it had previously faced. On the one hand, this gave birth to the appearance of other sources of Muslim law, primarily the *sunna*, whose significance steadily increased, and, on the other, it fostered the emergence of numerous "metaphoric" commentaries on the Qur'ān which drifted ever farther from the direct meaning of the text. In effect, it has resulted in the creation of new "Scriptures" by the followers of various schools of thought.

The as yet unformed nature of the early Islamic theology, the absence of generally recognised institutions and procedures comparable to the Christian ecumenical councils for ratifying religious dogma and criteria for determining the "truth" of this or that position or statute inevitably gave rise to countless disputes within the Muslim community. These conflicts touched on the most important questions of the faith. Diversity of thought became an inalienable trait of Islam, so that the problem of the "true faith" came to be insoluble [1].

As a cultural symbiosis, marked by Muslim culture's broad assimilation of the accomplishments of the peoples it conquered, took shape within the Muslim state, the theoretical conception of the social-religious system naturally grew more complex. The centre of that system was the Qur'ān, which brought together the basic semantic "inventory" of the culture and formed many aspects of the world-view

characteristic of its followers. Since the culturally and linguistically alien environment influenced greatly the Islamic assimilation of ideas, customs, and commonplace assumptions, which were fundamentally foreign to it, the "guardians of the true faith" who strove to base their views solely on the propositions established by the Qur'ān and *sunna* became intransigent enemies of all "impermissible" innovations. The problem of "tradition and innovation" runs through the entire history of Islam up to the current day.

We have already spoken of the Qur'ān as a sacral text, the true meaning of which is always broader than its direct meaning; the text is always augmented by the associations and images which it evokes in readers and listeners. At various times and in various socio-cultural and ethnic contexts, the range of these associations varied significantly. The diachronic study of Qur'ānic exegesis as the reaction of Arab-Muslim society to the Qur'ān represents, hence, an attempt to recreate the real history of the text. In this sense, the Qur'ān and Muslim exegesis form a kind of unity and a unique religious, social, and historical document [2].

As a modern scholar puts it, "calligraphy is the first sacred duty of the pen, commentary the second" [3]. Indeed, numerous commentaries on the Qur'ān reflected political and religious convictions and national and cultural predilections of their authors, be they Sunnis or Shiʻites, Ṣūfīs or Ismāʻīlīs, inhabitants of Egypt or Khorasan, Muslim Spain or India. Their approaches to interpreting the text, the appearance and development of various instruments for its analysis, were indissolubly linked to the ideological needs of the age [4]. Internal conflicts gave way to foreign invasions, periods of prosperity were followed by years of hunger and poverty, capitals fell and dynasties perished, and

each age viewed the Qur'ān through its own eyes, each generation fashioned its own readings of the Sacred text. As one of the key elements in the system of traditional Muslim education, commentaries (*tafsīrs*) on the Qur'an formed,

and continue to form today, the world-outlook of millions of Muslims. Hundreds of extant commentaries convey to us their authors' unique understanding of the Qur'ān, representing an astonishing monument to ages past [5].

I

The first interpreter of the revelation was Muḥammad himself: "We have sent down to thee the Remembrance (*al-dhikr*) that thou mayest make clear (*li-tubayyina*) to mankind what was sent down to them" (16:44). Such clarifications must have made up an indispensable part of Muḥammad's preaching and undoubtedly found their way into the Qur'ān, forming the first, basic "level" of interpretation.

Both the Muslim tradition and the analysis of the text of the Qur'ān show that throughout his life, Muḥammad continued to return to revelations he had uttered earlier, introducing changes. In *āya* 2 : 106, we learn that Allah can compel Muḥammad to forget certain earlier *āyāt*, that he can abrogate them, replacing them with better or similar *āyāt*. These words were uttered in response to the accusations of opponents that the Prophet allowed himself undue liberties with the "words of Allah". At times, such changes were apparently of an arbitrary nature: one word would be replaced by another of similar meaning. Muslim tradition reports a curious incident in which Muḥammad listened in the mosque to a person reciting the Qur'ān from memory and realised that the excerpt being recited contained a verse or verses which he had forgotten. Sometimes, the changes introduced by Muḥammad into the text of his revelations betray certain tendencies. This may explain the disappearance in the Qur'ān of the term *ḥanīfiyya*, replaced almost throughout by *islām*, which represented a move to distance himself from the representatives of other contemporary Arabian monotheistic movements [6]. In any case, the Prophet's opponents repeatedly drew attention to inaccuracies in the transmission of previously uttered revelations. The appearance of *āyāt* close in meaning but textually divergent from those uttered earlier provoked disputes and disagreements: "It is He who sent down upon thee the Book, wherein are verses clear (*muḥkamāt*) that are the Essence of the Book, and others ambiguous (*mutashābihāt*). As for those in whose hearts is swerving, they follow the ambiguous part, desiring dissension, and desiring its interpretation (*ta'wīluhu*); and none knows its interpretation, save only God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge say, 'We believe in it; all is from our Lord'..." (3:7). This *āya* would later give rise to a special theory which divided all *āyāt* into *muḥkam* and *mutashābih*, with a special procedure for interpreting the latter [7].

Another form of alteration was the appearance in Muḥammad's preaching of *āyāt* which abrogated earlier *āyāt* [8], a phenomenon conditioned by the development of Muḥammad's own perception of his prophetic mission and the shifting circumstances of his life over a twenty-two-year period. The most famous case is that of the "Satanic verses" in which Muḥammad agreed to consider the pagan deities al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt intermediaries between Allah and people (53:19—22 and 22:52) [9]. Later, within the complex of the Qur'ānic sciences (*'ilm al-Qur'ān wa-l-tafsīr*) there arose the special field of *'ilm nasīkh al-Qur'ān wa-mansūkhuhu*, a field closely associated with Muslim law. By establishing the chronological interrelation of *āyāt*,

legal scholars strove to determine which *āya* could not serve as the basis for legal pronouncements because they were later abrogated. It was clarified, for instance, that *āyāt* "Then, when the sacred months are drawn away, slay the idolaters, wherever you find them, and take them, and confine them, and lie in wait for them at every place of ambush" (9:5) abrogates one hundred twenty four *āyāt* [10].

An analysis of such texts demonstrates that almost immediately after the Prophet's death, among the texts he had left behind which made up the Qur'ān, a certain small group of *āyāt* (around 40) was considered "abrogated". These were, in turn, linked with the abrogating *āyāt*. Taken together, they represented a fairly distinct group in which the chronological place of each *āyāt* was clearly recognised [11].

Thus, already in the course of Muḥammad's prophetic activities, the contents of his message, which made up the text of the Qur'ān, underwent significant changes: certain *āyāt* which had been uttered earlier were replaced by new *āyāt*, others received a new interpretation. The specifics of the text rendered many *āyāt* incomprehensible to neophytes. As a result, Muḥammad was compelled to provide new interpretations of revelations which had already been pronounced. It remains unclear, however, to what extent Muḥammad considered it permissible for others to provide commentary on the revelations he received. The contradictory testimony of the *sunna* provided arguments both for supporters and opponents of interpreting the sacred text and served to generate heated discussions.

Muḥammad's listeners retained in their memories the circumstances in which many *āyāt* were uttered (*asbāb al-nuzūl*) and the causes of the Prophet's polemics with his opponents. Without this, many Qur'ānic verses would remain difficult to comprehend. The "bundled" material of the *'ilm asbāb al-nuzūl* and *'ilm nasīkh wa-mansūkh* retained an extremely important layer of information which in one form or another made its way into the majority of the *tafsīrs* and reflected the actual history of the Qur'ān's emergence. As the chronological gap between the age of the Prophet grew larger and as Islam spread into a new socio-cultural arena, the importance of these interpretations grew apace.

At first, the Qur'ān was largely interpreted orally, as recitation was accompanied by interpretation. Certain *āyāt* and *sūras* were frequently commented upon by the *imām* in the mosque after the Friday *khuṭba*. Certain people began to gather these materials in a systematic way, gradually becoming authorities in the field. Certainly, like other religious teachings, Islam was vulgarised as it spread. New recipients of the faith themselves became popularising preachers. Story-tellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) who performed at markets and in city streets added their own interpretations to Qur'ānic texts, often enriching them with parallel materials from the Judaeo-Christian cultural context. Popular "stories about the prophets" (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*) made up a special literary genre, becoming an indispensable part of *tafsīrs* and introducing into them new ideas and images.

The biography of Muḥammad (*sīra*) was also partialy an interpretation of the Qur'ān: *āyāt* in it are integrated into the context of events. The complex of *āyāt* which are connected with legal norms sanctioned by the Prophet was the subject of careful study and interpretation in the works of Muslim legal scholars. The first Arab lexicographic and grammatical works were also linked in large degree with the need to interpret the Qur'ān [12]. The emergence of a complex of Qur'ānic sciences took place in close interrelation with the development of the teaching of "readings" (*al-qirā'āt*) of the Sacred book. This progressed in the framework of Islam's formations as a dogmatic system, in which the Qur'ān was pronounced the main "miracle" (*mu'jiza*), the main divine sign (*āya*), the main proof of the superiority of Islamic religious doctrine, and the confirmation (*burhān*) of the truth of Muḥammad's prophecy.

The interpretation of the Qur'ān as a special field arose in the course of the Muslim *sunna*'s development. For many years, it did not stand out as an independent discipline. The *tafsīr* of 'Abdallāh b. Wahb (743—812), one of the earliest texts of its kind to have reached us, is in form closer to a *musnad* [13].

A special section on the interpretation of the Qur'ān is contained in al-Bukhārī's (810—870) famed collection of *ḥadīth*s — *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* [14]. This section can be traced to the collections of *ḥadīth*s which appeared in the second half of the seventh century. All of them were based on the principle that "the *sunna* explicates the Qur'ān". The *Kitāb al-tafsīr* [15] can, it seems, be considered one of the most important works to result from the development of this tendency. Chapter 65 of the *Kitāb al-tafsīr*, forming a key section of the work, contains 457 *ḥadīth*s. Al-Bukhārī collected materials on each of the *sūra*s in the Qur'ān. The *ḥadīth*s are prefaced by brief lexicographic remarks with reference to Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid (d. *ca.* 719—722) or one of their pupils, although they occasionally lack references. In thirty-one instances, these remarks alone make up the contents of the section on a specific *sūra* (for example, *sūra* 97). As F. Sezgin has showed, a significant part of the lexical material cited by al-Bukhārī goes back to the work *Majāz al-Qur'ān* by Abū 'Ubayda (d. 825) [16].

The choice of *ḥadīth*s demonstrates the rigorous standards the author applied to their veracity. Far from all *āyāt* receive commentary, and it is a rare case when more than one *ḥadīth* is cited for a single *āya*. Seventy-six individuals figure as primary transmitters in al-Bukhārī's work. These are mainly *aṣḥāb* and the best known authorities of the second generation. In terms of its composition, this chapter in al-Bukhārī's work differs somewhat from the others. Taking into account the fact that the author also penned a work entitled *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, the *Kitāb al-tafsīr* can be viewed as the result of preparatory research for a more general work. Qur'ānic texts are frequently cited by al-Bukhārī in other chapters of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*.

Also, one of the earliest specific works on the interpretation of the Qur'ān to have reached us is the *tafsīr* attributed to Abū-l-Ḥasan Muqātil b. Sulaymān al-Azdī al-Balkhī (d. 767), a *mufassir* who belonged to the generation of so-called followers (*al-tābi'ūn*), who gleaned their knowledge of the Muslim tradition and scholarship directly from the companions (*aṣḥāb*) of the Prophet [17]. He is considered the founder of such important approaches in Muslim exegesis as the narrative approach, which broadened through interpretation the content of the Sacred scripture, the lexical-

grammatical approach, the symbolic-allegorical approach, and, finally, the approach intended to satisfy the needs of legal science. In addition to a large *tafsīr*, Muqātil b. Sulaymān is also credited with works on the interpretation of groups of *āyāt* and *sūra*s, the circumstances of the revelation (*asbāb al-nuzūl*), the language of the Qur'ān (specifically, instances of homonymy and polysemy in the Qur'ān — *al-wujūh wa-l-naza'ir*), one of the first works on the "abrogating and abrogated" *āyāt* (*al-nasīkh wa-l-mansūkh*), and an anti-Qadarite treatise.

Although a number of contemporary works dispute [18] or question Muqātil b. Sulaymān's authorship of the large *tafsīr*, in most cases and with certain reservations, the text of this work is treated as authentic and viewed as a basis for judgements on the author's contribution to the development of Muslim exegesis [19].

Clearly, the *tafsīr* attributed to Muqātil b. Sulaymān underwent certain alterations in the process of its transmission. The very use of the term *tafsīr* in the work's title gives rise to doubt. But an analysis of the text allows one to glimpse the outlines of an earlier work which reflects a different stage in the emergence of *'ilm al-Qur'ān wa-l-tafsīr* as a genre. Of note is the underdeveloped state of the terminological apparatus. Researchers have found many parallels and material for fruitful juxtaposition with, for example, the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 767) / Ibn Hishām (d. 833 or 828) or the renowned *al-Muwaṭṭa'* by Mālik b. Anas (d. 796) [20].

Of significant interest is the material broadly included in the *tafsīr* by its author which goes back to a group of Judaeo-Christian legends and traditions (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*). Such stories were common among the story-tellers (*quṣṣāṣ*) from whose ranks emerged Muqātil b. Sulaymān. They significantly augmented Qur'ānic tales and noted by name all of the figures who appear in some form or another in the Qur'ān. The broad employment of such tales in the *tafsīr* allowed others to state later that Muqātil b. Sulaymān "collected folk interpretations" (*jama'a tafsīr al-nās*) [21].

Specialised works on the interpretation of the Qur'ān arose within a complex of disciplines which was at first not divided into separate fields. They inherited a fully formed procedure for conducting research and an emergent terminological apparatus [22]. It seems that one can state that the tradition of writing down *tafsīr*s has existed since the middle of the second century of the Hijra.

As is the case with the significant changes in the outward appearance of the Qur'ān, about which we have written earlier [23], the appearance of *'ilm al-Qur'ān wa-l-tafsīr* is in large part linked to the intensification of ideological struggle between the 'Alīds and 'Abbāsids toward the end of Umayyad rule. *Tafsīr*s became an ideological weapon in the battle for power in the Caliphate. The *tafsīr* of the Sunni al-Makkī (642—722) and the pro-'Alīd commentaries of al-Ju'fī (d. 745/46) and al-Suddī (d. 744) were created simultaneously. The tradition of Shi'ite commentaries was energetically developed in al-Kūfa, a former 'Alīd stronghold. Shi'ite authors interpreted a number of sections in favour of 'Alī and his descendants, making use of the allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān (*ta'wīl*), shifting vowellings and logical accents, employing special manipulations of letters, and seeking out meanings for certain Qur'ānic terms which differed from those accepted by Sunnis. Jābir b. Yazīd (d. 745/46), one of the earliest pro-'Alīd commentators on the Qur'ān, interpreted in precisely this fashion *āya* 34:14, which tells the story of Sulaymān,

and *āya* 12:80, on the story of Yūsuf. This approach was frequently applied to the interpretation of *āya* 5:67, which Shi'ite exegetes linked to the tradition of Muhammad's proclaiming 'Alī his successor (at Ghadīr Khumm) [24]. Moreover, pro-'Alīd commentators accused their opponents of conscious distortion (*takhrīf*) of the Qur'ānic text [25] and of destroying a number of crucial *āyāt* under 'Umar I, 'Uthmān and al-Hajjāj. A copy of a Qur'ānic manuscript containing an additional, 115th *sūra* entitled "Two Luminaries" was copied in Shi'ite circles and later published [26].

In a move undoubtedly linked to 'Abbāsid propaganda, the role of Muhammad's cousin, 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās (d. 687), was elevated. The tradition, prone to personalising, dubs him the first interpreter of the Qur'ān and honours him with a number of special epithets (*tarjumān al-Qur'ān, al-bahr, habr al-umma, ra'īs al-mufassirīn*). He soon became a symbolic figure who personified an entire age in the history of the Muslim community [27].

The religious and political situation in the Caliphate was reflected in discussions in which the correctness of Shi'ite *ta'wīl* was disputed in juxtaposition with Sunni *tafsīr*. The 'Abbāsid ascent to power and subsequent repressions against the 'Alīds led to the suppression of the pro-'Alīd tendency in the interpretation of the Qur'ān. Its rebirth coincided with the rule of al-Ma'mūn (813—833), who pursued pro-'Alīd policies.

These disputes spilled out into the city squares and found expression in the topical poetry of the day, which was influenced by the conclusions of the *tafsīr*s. Thus, the poet Marwān b. Abī Hafs, a contemporary of events, wrote the following lines:

Or do you ('Alīds) reject the word of our God, conveyed by Jibrīl to the Prophet and uttered by Him?
The last *āya* of the *sūra* al-Anfāl bears witness to their ('Abbāsids') legacy, and you would abrogate it? [28].

At issue is *āya* "those related by blood are nearer to one another in the Book of God" (8:75) (that is, 'Abbās is the legal inheritor of his paternal uncle).

The same poet continues:

Women are not granted a share equal to that of men. The *sūra* al-An'ām was revealed on this count. When can such a thing be?
It will never be that the descendants of the daughters [Fatīma] received the inheritance of their paternal uncles [29].

Ja'far b. 'Affān objected:

Why should it not be? It does in fact happen that the descendants of the daughters inherit [a legacy] in place of the paternal uncles.
The daughter receives a full half [of the legacy] while the paternal uncle is left with no share at all [30].

The "disappearance" of the last *imām*, Muhammad b. al-Hasan (d. *ca.* 874), is connected with the appearance in Shi'ite circles of a number of works on the interpretation of eschatological *āyāt*.

At the same time, the *tafsīr*s reflected a sharp rivalry between two ethno-political unions — the Qahtānids and the 'Adnānids (the "Southern" and "Northern" Arabs), a conflict which grew especially intense in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. A number of extremely important political events is connected with the struggle between

these two groups — the ascent to power of Marwān b. al-Hakam, who bested the "anti-caliph" 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr with the support of the Qahtānids, and Muslim military setbacks in the South of France. One consequence of this struggle was the relative ease with which the 'Abbāsids seized power. Finally, the rivalry between the Qahtānids and 'Adnānids in many ways determined the political history of Muslim Spain.

In their struggle against the "Northern Arabs", the "descendants of Qahtān" made broad use of interpretations of the Qur'ān. This interpretative tradition took shape in Hims, where representatives of the Yemeni cultural elite began to gather soon after it was conquered by the Arabs. Among them were the converted Yemeni Jew Ka'b b. Ahbar (d. 652) and Wahb b. Munabbih (d. 728), son of a Persian father and Yemeni mother. According to the tradition these two men are responsible for the oldest commentaries on those sections of the Qur'ān which discuss events in ancient history. They introduced into the context of Qur'ānic interpretation many traditions and legends from the Judaeo-Christian legacy. Qahtānid commentators attempted to interpret in their own favour a number of *āyāt* (for example, 47:38; 89:6—7), linking them with Yemen.

The Qahtānids' opponents, the "sons of 'Adnān", also made use of the Qur'ān. They strove to prove, in particular, that the Qur'ānic words on which the Qahtānids based their claim of Southern Arabian descent, were in fact not Arab. More importantly, they claimed that the Qur'ān was sent down to the 'Adnānids and that the Prophet came from their number [31].

The 'Abbāsid victory led to a diminishment of the Arab role in political and military life. The Arabs' opponents were united by *Shu'ūbiyya*, an ideological movement directed against Arab cultural hegemony. The Shu'ūbites also employed the Qur'ān in their polemic, especially *āya* "O mankind, We have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes (*shu'ūb wa qabā'il*), that you may know one another" (49:13). They asserted that the word *shu'ūb* (peoples) referred to the Persians. It stands before the word *qabā'il* ("tribes"; in their view, "Arabs"), and "what comes before is more worthy than what comes at the end". Their opponents, also with recourse to the Qur'ān, responded that, for example, in their address "'Company of jinn and mankind'" (6:130), the word *jinn*s comes first, while people are superior to *jinn*s. The opponents of the Shu'ūbites stressed in particular the exclusive nature of the Arabic language, the language of the Qur'ān. "I am an Arab, and the Qur'ān is Arabic, and the language of those who dwell in paradise is also Arabic", asserted one popular anti-Shu'ūbite *hadīth* [32]. To buttress their position, the anti-Shu'ūbites cited the authority of Ibn 'Abbās, connecting in particular a number of lexicographical items with his name [33].

One consequence of the Shu'ūbite movement was the appearance of *tafsīr*-translations of the Qur'ān, first into Persian [34], and later into Turkic [35].

Qur'ānic commentaries also reflected disputes between supporters of various brands of "local patriotism", who asserted the primacy of this or that city (*fadā'il al-buldān, fadā'il al-amākin*) in polemics closely linked to the political situation of the day. To this aim, attempts were made to prove that a certain event mentioned in the Qur'ān occurred in a specific place, the merits of which the commentator wished to underscore [36].

Fig. 1

The sharp ideological disputes which stemmed from the struggle of various forces for supreme control of the Caliphate were also reflected in the division of the community into proponents of a literal understanding and interpretation of the Qur'ānic text (*ahl al-ẓāhir*) and those who sought in the Qur'ān the "hidden", "secret" meaning (*ahl al-baṭin*). A corresponding *ḥadīth* arose: "Not a single verse of the Qur'ān was revealed to me without it having the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin*" [37]. Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Tustarī (*ca*. 818—896), a theoretician of early Sufism and Qur'ānic commentator, was one of the first to interpret the Qur'ān in the *bāṭin* vein. [38]. The approximately ten works which are ascribed to him represent his pupils' efforts to gather and record his statements, sermons, and commentaries on various *sūras* and *āyāt*. The symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān allowed al-Tustari to develop a number of theses which were later to play an important role in the formation of Ṣūfī cosmogony, gnoseology, and psychology. They provided intellectual support for the works of such outstanding Ṣūfī thinkers as al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), al-Sulamī (d. 1021), al-Kushayrī (d. 1072), al-Baqlī (d. 1209). They found later development in the works of al-Ghazālī and Ibn 'Arabī. Al-Tustarī's ideas and images served as the conceptual basis of the *al-salimiyya* school, which was created at the turn of the ninth—tenth centuries in Basra by his followers.

Al-Tustarī's *Tafsīr* was drawn up among his closest pupils in Basra, it is thought, around 888—902. It is the earliest extant Ṣūfī work of its type. Before the text assumed its final form in 1156, it was transmitted for many years by his followers. Nonetheless, an investigation of al-Tustarī's *Tafsīr* by G. Böwering [39] has convincingly demonstrated the authenticity of the surviving text. The *Tafsīr* is fragmentary and presents commentaries of varying length (from several words to a page of text) on approximately one thousand Qur'ānic excerpts. It includes literal and metaphorical interpretations of Qur'ānic phrases and expressions, examples from the *sunna* of Muḥammad and legends about the ancient prophets, accounts of the views and practices of early Ṣūfī thinkers and al-Tustarī himself, episodes from his life, and sermons addressed to his pupils and his answers to their questions.

Three structural levels of the text are evident. The first, and most basic, consists of commentaries on Qur'ānic fragments which reveal their "evident" (*ẓāhir*) and "hidden" (*bāṭin*) meaning. In such commentaries, al-Tustarī employs Qur'ānic texts not only to buttress his ideas but to give the impulse to mystic inspiration. The second level is composed of al-Tustarī's utterances and teachings on various questions, mystical interpretations of legendary episodes from the lives of the ancient prophets. The third structural level represents later additions to the text which evidently go back to his followers. The majority of edifying tales from the life of al-Tustarī and other Ṣūfīs belong to this level.

The disputes over the concepts of *tafsīr* (interpretation, clarification) and *ta'wīl* (return to an origin, beginning) unfolded in the context of the polemic between supporters of *ahl al-ẓāhir* and *ahl al-bāṭin*. A large variety of opinions were expressed. Muqātil b. Sulaymān asserted that *tafsīr* is what is known to the *'ulamā'*, while *ta'wīl* is that which is known to Allah alone. Al-Māturīdī (d. 944) believed that *tafsīr* belonged to the companions of Muḥammad, *ta'wīl* to the *fuqahā'* (*al-tafsīr li-l-ṣaḥaba wa-l-ta'wīl li-l-fuqahā'*) [40].

The opinion of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (838—923), an outstanding historian and exegete who worked successfully in many different disciplines (*fiqh*, lexicography, grammar, poetry, ethics, mathematics, and medicine), acquired significant authority in this regard [41]. Far from all of al-Ṭabarī's works have reached us, but his fundamental "History of Prophets and Kings" and his multivolume *tafsīr*, which provides a summation of the preceding era of Muslim exegesis, represent the result of many years of painstaking work and testify to al-Ṭabarī's exclusive erudition. The appearance of al-Ṭabarī's work provides yet further proof of the tenth century's liminal importance, a phenomenon we described earlier [42]. That time saw the completion of extremely important and essentially unsurpassed works on the Qur'ān, the outward appearance of which was altered as well.

In the breadth of material it encompasses and in the objectivity with which al-Tabari cites varied and frequently contradictory views, his *tafsīr* is without equals in the history of Muslim exegesis. Al-Ṭabarī's work includes fragments of many works by his predecessors which have not come down to us, providing us with unique materials on the early development of Muslim exegesis. At a time of pitched debate over the concepts of *tafsīr* — *ta'wīl*, al-Ṭabarī proposed something of a compromise view. He divided Qur'ānic texts into three categories: (i) those which are inaccessible to human understanding, their true meaning is known only to Allah; (ii) those which can only be comprehended with recourse to the traditional clarifications stretching back to the Prophet himself; (iii) those, the interpretive complexities of which are linguistic and can be resolved with the help of philology. Al-Ṭabarī 's views on the methodology of working with the text exerted a powerful influence on future generations of Muslim exegetes. Based on the principle that the "*sunna* explains the Qur'ān" (*sunna tufassiru l-Qur'ān*), al-Ṭabarī's work was an extraordinarily important achievement for that strain of Islamic exegesis which received the name *al-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr* (interpretation with the aid of tradition). The editor of the newest edition of the work has calculated that from the first *sūra* to *āya* 14:25 (which is where publication has stopped) al-Ṭabarī employed 20,787 *ḥadīths* [43].

Later, al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), whose name closes the register of outstanding medieval Muslim exegetes, summed up another view which took shape around the concepts of *tafsīr* — *ta'wīl*. According to al-Suyūṭī *tafsīr* is the transmission of wisdom gathered by preceding Islamic authorities; *ta'wīl* stems from the study of the text. Viewed formally, the following distinction is stressed: *tafsīr* is the interpretation of those passages which permit only one interpretation (*al-tafsīr dhū wajh*); *ta'wīl* permits several (*al-ta'wīl dhū wujūh*) [44].

One should note, however, that the opposition between *tafsīr* and *ta'wīl* is appropriate only in the context of the polemic between *ahl al-bāṭin* and *ahl al-ẓāhir*. At all times a significant number of Muslims either did not take part in the polemic or acknowledged the correctness of both approaches. For them, the terms *ta'wīl* and *tafsīr* were frequently synonymous, which is reflected in the titles of many interpretations of the Qur'ān [45].

The phenomenon which stands somewhat aside from the histiry of the Qur'ān text's interpritation but is closely connected with the theme is the appearance of new "Qur'āns" as result of the complex ethno-social and ethno-

cultural process underway in the Caliphate. Throughout the history of Islam, people appeared in one place or another who laid claim to the title of *mahdī* (messiah). Many of them drew up their own "scriptures" [46]. One of the first *mahdī* in Islamic history was Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, who headed in 748—749 the powerful Berber tribal association of Barghawāṭa. He created in the Berber language a "Qur'ān" consisting of 80 "*sūras*". The ideas espoused by Ṣāliḥ represented a complex conglomerate of basic Sunni views, traditional Berber beliefs, and Kharijite ethics which stemmed from clan and tribal democracy and Shi'ite influences [47].

The growing complexity of Islam as a socio-religious system signified a new stage in the interpretation of the Qur'ān. The Mu'tazilites — representatives of the first formidable thrust in theoretical Muslim theology (*kalām*) — engaged in the interpretation of the Qur'ān with recourse to personal opinion (*al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y* or *dirāya*), or "rationalistic *ta'wīl*". This practice was deemed impermissible by their opponents, primarily the Ḥanbalites and their followers, who supported the interpretation of the Qur'ān with the aid of *ḥadīth*s and the Musim tradition (*al-tafsīr bi-l-'ilm*, *tafsīr bi-l-ma'thūr*, or *riwāya*). For their part, the Mu'tazilites referred to the Qur'ān, citing those *āyāt* linked with the above-mentioned polemic between Muḥammad and his opponents. Most frequently cited was *āya* 3 : 7 on the *mutashābihāt*. According to the Mu'tazilites, the "ambiguous" *āyāt*, those which contradicted logical conclusions, should be viewed as metaphors (*majāz*) and interpreted by means of *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y*. With the aid of "logical conclusions" they reinterpreted everything which contradicted their teaching about higher divine justice (*al-'adl*) and the transcendental nature of divine essence (*al-tawhīd*), in particular, the anthropomorphic conceptions of divinity which are recorded in the Qur'ān [48].

The best known Mu'tazilite commentary on the Qur'ān was created by Maḥmud b. 'Umar Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī (1075—1144), a famous Mu'tazilite theologian, legal scholar of the Ḥanafite school, philologist, and literary figure [49]. Thanks to the title of his *tafsīr*, *Al-Kashshāf 'an ḥaqā'iq al-tanzīl*, completed in Mecca in 1134, al-Zamakhsharī received the honorary sobriquet Ṣāḥib al-Kashshāf. It is the only complete Mu'tazilite commentary which has reached us. It was widely distributed throughout the Muslim world, but primarily in the eastern sections, and was popular even among the Mu'tazilites' opponents.

Al-Zamakhsharī directs the bulk of his attention to the dogmatic aspect of commentary, reducing to a minimum traditional commentary based on the principle that the "*sunna* explains the Qur'ān". He was no less attentive to the philological aspects of commentary, carefully analysing known variants of Qur'ānic readings, citing examples from poetry and accentuating the text's rhetorical virtues as confirmation of the Qur'ān's "inimitability" (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*). In an introductory phrase, al-Zamakhsharī sounds the idea of the Qur'ān's createdness, providing a rationalistic interpretation of the concepts of "divine justice" (*al-'adl*), "monotheism" (*al-tawhīd*), and "divine attributes" (*al-ṣifāt*). He pays special attention to those sections in the Qur'ān which were supposed to express the most important Mu'tazilite beliefs about "promise" (*wa'd*) and "threat" (*wa'īd*), about the "injunction to do good and refrain from what is not approved". He draws support from the authority of the leading Mu'tazilite theologians of the ninth — elev-

enth centuries from Iran and Iraq, such as 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, Al-Zajjāj, al-Jāhiz, *al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Jabbār. Al-Zamakhsharī's *tafsīr* gave rise to numerous refutations and reworkings intended to cleanse it of Mu'tazilite ideas. The pathos of the *tafsīr* of al-Rāzī (d. 1209) inheres largely in its attempt to refute *al-Kashshāf*; al-Baydāwī set himself the task of surpassing al-Zamakhsharī in philological thoroughness and the profound analysis of variant readings.

Free and far-ranging commentary — in essence, the replacement of the text by interpretation, the employment of the same *āyāt* in varying interpretations by opposing sides — was bound to provoke a reaction. A perception arose that the interpretation of the Qur'ān was undesirable, even forbidden. This was buttressed by the authority of Caliph 'Umar I, who is said to have spoken out against commentary on the Qur'ān and was the first to grasp the danger of replacing the sacred text with arbitrary interpretation [50]. *Hadīth*s appeared which condemned the practice of *al-tafsīr bi-l-ra'y*: "he who speaks on the Qur'ān with his own judgement, certainly he will find his abode in the hell" [51]. A theory of reconciliation, however, held that 'Umar had spoken out only against the interpretation of "ambiguous" *āyāt*.

Further development of views on the possibility of Qur'ānic commentary was concentrated in disputes over the "createdness" and "uncreatedness" of the Qur'ān. These disputes reflected a profound political conflict within the Caliphate. In their most general form, the opposing sides' positions can be summarised as follows: those who, citing the authority of 'Umar I, rejected the possibility of commentary stood with the "literalists" as defenders of the view that the "Qur'ān" was the uncreated (*ghayr makhlūq*) word of God. As such, it was an eternal attribute of His being and could not be altered by anyone. The Muslim community must be guided by what is outlined in the eternal book of God. Since the *'ulamā'* were the recognised authorities in understanding the changeless will expressed in the Qur'ān, the thesis of the Qur'ān's uncreatedness and eternity objectively aided the growth of their influence and power.

Opposed to them were those who took the greatest liberties in interpreting the Qur'ān. In the majority of cases, they were close to the pro-Shi'ite view on the nature of power and underscored the necessity of a divinely inspired leader for the Muslim community. A ruler who has a tie to divinity has the right to reject a religious law in the form in which it was previously understood and acknowledged. If one considers the Qur'ān created (*makhlūq*), one should accept the possibility that God could create it anew. This position strengthened the hand of the *'ulamā'*'s political opponents, the representatives of secular power [52].

The positions were not always expressed so clearly in works of that time. In fact, the opposite is more likely true. The abundance of ideological currents and approaches, the multiplicity of ideological levels on which polemics were conducted frequently led to the layering of one position atop another, to the combination of several points of view. For example, the *tafsīr* of al-Rāzī, the well-known representative of Ash'arite *kalām* [53], is both anti-Mu'tazilite and anti-Ẓahirite. In a work he penned late in life and entitled *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb*, al-Rāzī attempted to formulate an Ash'arite response to al-Zamakhshari's *tafsīr*, expounding at the same time his own philosophical views. In conducting a polemic with the Mu'tazilites, however, al-Rāzī sometimes

supported their positions. In effect, this *tafsīr* is a rigorous philosophical tract with frequent references to the works of other authors. It is the only work of its type to have reached us.

Al-Rāzī's method is founded on the division of the Qur'ānic text into small sections, each of which expresses a complete thought. He reveals their interconnectedness and analyses transitions from one thought to another. Al-Rāzī follows this with an analysis of the text itself, citing, when he felt it necessary, variant "readings" (*al-qirā'āt*). He singles out complexities in the text, posing questions (*mas'ala, baḥth*) to each of the excerpts and scrupulously answering them. Al-Rāzī frequently subdivides the excerpt into even smaller parts (*wajh*), especially when he conveys the position of another authority. When treating passages where the Qur'ān establishes a ritual or legal principle, al-Rāzī usually provides the views of various *madhhabs*, giving his work an encyclopaedic character. In the course of the exposition, he frequently pauses to illuminate the natural-science views typical of his age, rendering the *tafsīr* an important source on the history of science. For various reasons, the work which the author intended to crown his career remained unfinished. It was completed by his pupils — Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl al-Huwayya (d. 1242), chief *qāḍī* of Damascus, and Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kamūlī (d. 1375). Muḥammad b. Abī-l-Qāsim al-Righī (d. 1307) penned a popular abridgement of al-Rāzī's work, *Al-Tanwīr fī-l-tafsīr mukhtaṣar al-tafsīr al-kabīr*. In general, al-Rāzī is traditionally considered to have deviated from accepted interpretations in favour of rationalism.

The discussion of the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur'ān ended with the victory of the latter view's supporters, strengthening their positions as one of the bases of the dogmatic system of Sunni Islam and bolstering the role of the Qur'ān as an eternal and unchanging guide for the Muslim community.

The victory of those who viewed the Qur'ān as uncreated conditioned the broad acceptance in societal consciousness of the idea that the Qur'ān is unique and inimitable in content and form (*i'jāz al-Qur'ān*) as an inalienable part of Islamic doctrine and the most important proof of its superiority [54]. The original conception of the Qur'ān's "miraculous nature" reflects an archaic mythological identification of word and object. As the Arab literary tradition evolved in the eighth and ninth centuries, this identification was dismantled through the demystification of language and literature. This led to the reconception and reevaluation of the Qur'ān on the purely literary level, to the isolation of "content" and "form" within the concept of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*.

This concept found itself at the centre of internal Islamic polemics, primarily on the question of the createdness and uncreatedness of the Qur'ān. It played an important role in the polemic with Judaism and Christianity as a key concept in grounding the truth of Muḥammad's prophetic mission. In the course of this polemic, Muslim authorities developed the ideas of "miracles" and "signs" which could be perceived by the senses (*ḥissiyya*) and comprehended by reason (*'aqliyya*). The former — significant only for their own time — were declared characteristic of Judaism and Christianity; the latter — inexhaustible — belonged to Islam. The Qur'ān — the main eternal "miracle" (*mu'jiza*) and "divine sign" (*āya*) — was declared to be the most important proof of the superiority of Muslim religious doctrine. According to Muslim theologians, inimitability is

unique to the Qur'ān. They denied that this quality adhered to the Old and New Testaments. Moreover, such concepts were absent in the dogmatic systems of Christianity and Judaism. In the course of the polemic, a complex of arguments was developed which in various combinations forms a part of all theological structures.

Shi'ite circles gave birth to another concept — *al-ṣarfa*. According to its proponents, the Qu'rān as a literary work is not unattainably perfect in the formal sense, but Allah rendered people incapable (*ṣarafahum 'an*) of creating anything similar at the time when Muḥammad was active. This was actually the limitation of the concept of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, which was possible in Shi'ite circles in large part thanks to the idea of the *imāms'* "infallibility" (*al-'iṣma*) and the conception of their connection to God.

Alternately, the formation of Sunni "orthodoxy" in the mid-ninth century and the establishment in the early tenth century of Ash'arite theological doctrine was accompanied by the development of the idea that man is inherently incapable of achieving the perfection of Qur'ānic style (*naẓm*) and composition (*ta'līf*).

Another argument (*akhbār al-ghayb* — "accounts of the concealed") is also found in the works of authorities from various schools: the Qur'ān contains information about the past, present and future which the illiterate (*ummī*), in the traditional view, Prophet could not have received through ordinary channels.

In the Ash'arite view, in the Qur'ān, as in the "speech of Allah", two aspects were highlighted — the "inner" and the "outer". The former is the "eternal speech which is an attribute of the divine essence" (*al-kalām al-qādīm alladhi huwa ṣifāt 'azzāt*). The latter is "that which signifies the eternal, that is, the uttered words" (*al-dāll 'ala-l-qadīm wa-huwa-l-alfāẓ*). By revealing the attributes of the "outer" and the "inner", the "visible" (*ẓāhir*) and the "concealed" (*bāṭin*), this approach allowed an important problem to be framed: the "unity of form and content" in the Qur'ān. This was especially important in the context of the polemic over the Shi'ite interpretations of the "concealed" (*bāṭin*) in the Qur'ān and the symbolic-allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'ān.

Disputes continued over the conception of the human inability to comprehend the perfection of a form comparable to that of the Qur'ān. Some, for example, Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 909) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), claimed that one could find in the Qur'ān archetypes of all rhetorical devices and that one could study and understand those archetypes only with the aid of the appropriate sciences (*'ilm al-bayān, 'ilm al-ma'ānī*). Others, for example, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064), felt that the "words of God" (*kalām Allāh*) were fundamentally incomparable to the "words of those who were created" (*kalām al-makhlūqīn*). Finally, a third group, for example, al-Bāqillānī (d. 1013), strove to arrive at a compromise: the Qur'ān is filled with stylistic beauties, but this is not related to the principle of its inimitability. With this move, al-Bāqillānī in principle rejected the concept of *al-ṣarfa* [54].

The development of theory took place in active collaboration with the philological disciplines. By the beginning of the eleventh century, a synthesis was formed between the teaching of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān* and the theory of *badī'*, which taught the figures and concrete devices which structure speech (Abū-l-Ḥasan Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan al-Marghīnānī; first half of the 9th century, and Abū Khilāl al-'Askarī; d. 1010) [55].

In literary and scholarly circles several attempts were made to create imitations of the Qur'ān (*mu'āraḍāt al-Qur'ān*), understood as "approximations" of it. Among them were works by the prominent stylist Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. 756), the famed poets Bashshār b. Burd (d. 785/786), Abū-l-'Atāhiya (d. 828), Abū-l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 1057), al-Mutanabbī (d. 955) and especially the Mu'tazilite Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 859) [56]. It is even said the Bashshār b. Burd once heard a slave-girl singing a song to his verses and cried out: "I swear by Allah that they are better than the *sūra Al-Ḥashr*" [57].

The development of the "science of the Qur'ān" led to its differentiation. Special works appeared in specific areas. In addition to those listed above, we note here *'ilm mushkil al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm al-muḥkam wa-l-mutashābih*, *'ilm lughāt al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm i'rāb al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm mufradāt al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm marsūm al-khaṭṭ*, *'ilm al-waqf wa-l-ibtidā'*, *'ilm badā'i' al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm amthāl al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm gharā'ib al-Qur'ān*, *'ilm faḍā'il al-Qur'ān*, and so forth [58]. Beliefs of the time dictated that a *mufassir* had the right to create a full-fledged *tafsīr* only if he had mastered this entire complex of disciplines [59], although special compendiums also were written which united the accomplishments of all branches (for example, *Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī).

Commentary was accorded individual episodes, concepts and images of the Qur'ān, secret letters (*al-fawātiḥ*), descriptions of Allah, the hellish torments of sinners, the rewards reserved for the just. Many works were created on the rules for reading the Qur'ān (*tajwīd*), on the magical significance of individual *sūras* and *āyāt*, on their use as prayers. As the Qur'ānic sciences developed, their needs conditioned the appearance of biographical lists of Qur'ānic reciters.

Special works were created on the "virtues" (*faḍā'il*) of individual *sūras* and *āyāt*, *tafsīrs* on individuals *sūras*, *āyāt*, or groups of *āyāt*. An examination of these works in chronological order allows one to glimpse the principal moments in the religious-philosophical polemic in medieval Islam over the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'ānic text. Of primary importance was the selection of *āyāt* for commentary; it changed with the emergence of new problems and socio-religious conflicts. Each era had its "favourite" *sūras* and *āyāt*. Shi'ite authors wrote a group of works entitled *Kitāb mā nuzila fī 'Alī min al-Qur'ān* ("A Book about What Was Revealed in the Qur'ān about 'Alī"). Tendentiousness reared its head in works on the circumstances in which the *āyāt* were revealed (*asbāb al-nuzūl*). One finds both pro-Shi'ite tendencies (an attempt to demonstrate 'Alī's role in the revelation of the Qur'ān, for example, the work of al-Ḥaskānī; d. 1077) and Sunni tendencies, reflected in the so-called *muwāfaqat*, works on the special accomplishments of 'Umar I (for example, al-Suyūṭī's *Qaṭf al-samar fī muwāfaqa sayyidinā 'Umar*) [60].

One of the triumphs of Shi'ite exegesis was al-Ṭabarsī's (d. 1153), *Majma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*" [61]. This is one of three works by al-Ṭabarsī on the interpretation of the Qur'ān. It was completed in 1139 and soon recognised as one of the great achievements of Shi'ite exegesis. In the breadth of the material it encompassed and the thoroughness of its exposition, al-Ṭabarsī's work drew comparisons with al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*. This similarity, arising from a shared group of sources, was stressed, in our view, by al-Ṭabarsī himself in the conception of the work and in its title.

Al-Ṭabarsī was the spiritual successor of the famed Shi'ite theologian Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067), who was in turn a follower of al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (d. 1044). Like his teachers, al-Ṭabarsī relied on both the Shi'te and Sunni exegetical traditions. In contrast to early and late Shi'ite exegetes, however, he recognised the authenticity of the so-called 'Uthmānic Qur'ān. In essence, he rejected the view that the Qur'ānic text was intentionally distorted (*takhrīf*) and misinterpreted, that a number of key *āyāt* were destroyed under 'Umar I, 'Uthmān and al-Hajjāj. Like al-Ṭabarī, al-Ṭabarsī frequently cites various interpretations of the same *āyāt*, but unlike al-Ṭabarī, he always indicates his own position. Among the authorities on whom al-Ṭabarsī relies are 'Abdallāh b.'Abbās, Muqātil b. Sulaymān, Qatāda, and a number of other representatives of early Sunni exegesis. He frequently cites the views of such prominent theologians as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 728) and the Mu'tazilite Abū-l-Jubbā'ī (d. 915). In addition to the usual *isnād* references, al-Ṭabarsī also lists a number of works by his predecessors and contemporaries.

Al-Ṭabarsī structures his commentary in the following manner: place where the *sūra* was revealed, number of *āyāt*, presence of variants (*ikhtilāf*) in the reading of a specific *āyāt* in the given *sūra*. He then turns to the "virtue" (*faḍl*) of the *sūra*, citing *ḥadīth* on its special significance. In the section "interpretation of the *sūra*" (*tafsīruha*), the author briefly speaks of its contents and introduces the full text of the *sūra*. The next section enumerates the views of various authorities on the pronunciation of specific words. Arguments are presented later in a special section entitled "Proof" (*ḥujja*). The section "Language" (*lugha*) analyses rare and difficult words encountered in the *sūra*. The author here cites as examples poetic fragments (referring to such poets as al-Khansā', al-Nābigha al-Zubyānī, Ka'b b. Zuhayr, Dhū-l-Rumma). The section "Syntax" (*i'rāb*) discusses complex grammatical constructions in the *sūra*. This is frequently followed by accounts of the circumstances surrounding the revelation of specific *āyāt* (*asbāb al-nuzūl*). Next we find interpretation in a section headed "Meaning" (*ma'na*). Thus, al-Ṭabarsī brings together in his commentary materials from works of various genres of Muslim exegesis.

The appearance of the Ismā'īlites on the political scene was marked by the formation of Ismā'īlite interpretations of the Qur'ān. Making broad use of *ta'wīl* methods, the Ismā'īlites sought in the Qur'ān confirmation of the veracity of their methods of political struggle, the particularities of their organisation, the necessity of "propaganda" (*da'wa*), the importance of a secret hierarchy of "initiates", etc. Interpreting certain *āyāt* and concepts allegorically (frequently terms designating the earth, heavens, mountains, trees), they employed the Qur'ānic text to prove the truth of their esoteric cosmogony and teaching of salvation [62]. According to their reading, the sermons of the Prophet in Mecca were filled with ideas and images which originated with the neo-Platonics. These ideas were first expressed in interpretations originating with authors from the "Brothers of Purity" (*ikhwān al-ṣafā'*) [63].

Appeals to the Qur'ān were an obligatory condition for grounding any ideological or scholarly position. But if theoretical theology in Islam (*kalām*) developed within its disciplinary framework in the direction of independent philosophical knowledge, working from the symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān (*ta'wīl*), Muslim philosophy

(*falsafa*) moved in the opposite direction. Conclusions were brought into formal agreement with Scripture, which was interpreted beforehand with the methods of *ta'wīl* [64].

Interesting in this connection, for example, is the analogy employed by Ibn Ṭufayl (Abubacer) (1110—1185) to explain the phenomenon of the spirit's "inhabiting" the body of man: this spirit proceeds eternally from God and is akin to the light of the sun which illuminates the earth. Some bodies, such as transparent air, do no reflect the light emitted by the sun; others, such as bodies with smooth surfaces, reflect it entirely. Similarly, the spirit emitted by God has no effect on some bodies, such as minerals; on others, such as plants, it has a certain effect; on yet a third group, the animals, it has a powerful effect. And just as some bodies with a smooth surface are capable not only of reflecting light, but of reproducing an image, some animals not only "reflect", but reproduce the spirit, assuming its image. The latter trait is unique to man, as is confirmed by the words of Muḥammad: "The Lord created Ādam in his own image" [65].

Another characteristic example of such philosophical rumination belongs to Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (d. 1198): "Among them (the philosophers — *E. R.*) there is no dissent over the fact that the material of existing things which make up this or that material, assumes either one form or an opposite form. This, in their opinion, is the case with the forms of the four elements, fire, air, water, and earth. They differ among themselves only about that thing which does not have material in common with other things or which is composed of various materials. The question is whether some of these things can assume the forms of others. For example, can something which assumes a certain form (as observations indicate) assume this form only through many intermediary "links" or without intermediary "links". For example, a plant arises thanks to a combination of elements. Being a living thing, it turns into blood and semen; and from semen and blood come living things, as was said by Allah (May He be glorified): "We created man of an extraction of clay, then We set him, a drop, in a receptacle secure" and up to the words "So blessed be God, the fairest of creators!" (23:12—14) [66].

Ṣūfī exegetes — proponents of "spiritual" *ta'wīl* — grounded their interpretations, strayed far from the literal meaning of the text, with recourse to the authority of Ibn 'Abbās and the Shi'ite *imām* Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Proponents of "spiritual", or theosophical, *ta'wīl* saw four meanings in each *āya* or letter: the "evident" (*ẓāhir*), the "concealed" (*bāṭin*), the "limit" (*ḥadd*), and the "ascendant" or "beyond-the-limit" (*maṭla'*). These concepts are closely paralleled by the division developed by Christian exegesis: *historia, allegoria, tropologia, anagoge*. The resitation (*tilāwa*) of an *āya* contains its evident meaning — "(literal) expression" (*'ibāra*) — and its realisation leads to an understanding (*fahm*) of the concealed meaning or "allegorical"indication" (*ishāra*). What the *āya* permits or forbids (*ahkām al-ḥalāl wa-l-harām*) from the point of view of religeous law is the "limit" (*ḥadd*). And finally, *maṭla'* is the true meaning invested in the *āya* by Allah Himself [67]. Interpretation was usually accorde the first two meanings — *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* (*sensus literalis* and *sensus spiritualis* in the Patristic tradition). The "evident" meaning was considered accessible to all Muslims (*al-'āmma*), while the "concealed" meaning was accessible only to a chosen few (*al-khāṣṣa*). In this, Ṣūfī *ta'wīl* is close to its Ismā'īlī and Shi'ite counterparts.

Ṣūfī exegetes, however, recognised a fundamental difference between their approach and that of the Mu'tazilites to the interpretation of the Qur'ānic text. In the view of important Muslim philosopher and mystic, Ibn 'Arabī (Ibn al-'Arabī) (1165—1240) [68], the proponents of the rational comprehension of the revelation's truths (*ahl al-naẓar al-'aqlī*) were among the chosen few (*al-khāṣṣa*). They, however, seek in the Qur'ān only that which corresponds to their logical constructions and views on the nature of divinity, consciously omitting everything which contradicts those constructions. But "those who have gained knowledge" (*al-'ārifūn, al-muḥakkimūn, ahl Allāh*) see these contradictions and overcome them by grasping the deep interconnection of the "inner" and "outer" aspects of the prophecy.

The concealed meaning was grasped by the Ṣūfī in a state of mystical trance. Eschatological images, legendary episodes or obscure words awakened in his consciousness a complex range of associations. Such insights frequently led to the emergence of new stipulations within the theory and practice of Ṣūfism. A number of typical examples can be found in works by Ibn 'Arabī, including a work attributed to him and entitled *al-Tafsīr* (which, while thought to have been written by al-Kāshānī (d. 1330), appears to reflect the ideas of Ibn 'Arabī himself) [69]. For Ibn 'Arabī and his followers, the symbolic-allegorical interpretation of the Qur'ān (*ta'wīl*) became a special method of philosophising. In his commentary, initial mystical-philosophical conceptions are grounded and clarified with the aid of an allegorical interpretation of the text, often in direct contradiction with the literal sense. He saw the universe itself as a vast Qur'ān, the "metaphors" and "signs" of which could be grasped with the help of divine "revelation". The teaching of *ta'wīl* — the "return to primary sources", to the foundation of being — becomes a means of acquiring knowledge [70].

Ibn 'Arabī exerted great influence on his contemporaries, on the successive development of Ṣūfism and medieval Muslim philosophy, provoking sharp discussions in the Muslim world which continue to this day [71].

According to Ibn 'Arabī, the "tyrant" Fir'awn (Pharaoh) possessed true knowledge concealed (*mastūr*) from Mūsā (Moses) and consciously advanced toward the end preordained for him [72]. The pagans who answered Nūḥ's (Noah's) calls by "puting their fingers in their ears", and "wrapping" themselves "in their garments" (71:7), displaying stubbornness, and proudly praising themselves" were, in Ibn 'Arabī's interpretation, in fact possessors of "true knowledge" (*'ārifūn*), unlike Nūḥ himself.

The growing complexity of socio-political practice and the emergence within Islam of new ideological teachings could not help but lead to an ever-widening gap between the interpretation and literal sense of the Qur'ān. New interpretations became, in essence, new revelations: the Shi'ites, beginning with the fifth *imām*, Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 743) and later the Ismā'īlites, frequently called the *imām Qur'ān-i nāṭiq* ("speaking Qur'ān"), while the Qur'ān itself, as a text requiring interpretation, was designated by the term *Qur'ān-i ṣāmit* ("silent Qur'ān"). They felt that the *imām* could abrogate any *āya* at his desire [73]. Ismā'īlite, Shi'ite, and Ṣūfī *ta'wīl* frequently supplant the original text with commentary. A fine example of the principle of "interpretation as revelation" can be found in the works of 'Alī Muḥammad Shirazī (Bāb) (1819—1850), the eponymous founder of the Bābī movement in Iran. Illustrative in

this regard is his *Tafsīr sūrat Yūsuf*, the text of which imitates the Qur'ān itself (with divisions into *sūra*s and *āyāt* and with isolated letters before the beginnings of "*sūra*s") [74].

Surely, the taking of such liberties with the sacred text time and time again provoked a reaction: both the traditionalists and Ash'arites subjected the practice of *ta'wīl* to harsh criticism. "Look at this shameless distortion and perversion of the original meaning, look at these repulsive interpretations and false claims which aided him in his denial of the Qur'ān. He made, after all, a lack of faith one of the qualities which deserve praise in order to prove the Ṣūfī community's right to exist," wrote about Ibn 'Arabī his opponent Ibn al-Akhdal [75]. Ibn Taymiyya (1263—1328) demanded the expurgation from *tafsīr*s of materials which went back to the Judaeo-Christian context; in his view, their use led to the distortion of time-honoured Muslim values and ideas.

This reaction to the taking of liberties with the sacred text may be one of the reasons for the enormous popularity which was accorded the moderate and entirely traditional work by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1286), *Anwār al-tanzīl wa-asrār al-ta'wīl* [76]. Al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr* is based on al-Zamakhsharī's *Al-Kashshāf*. In his work, al-Bayḍāwī attempted to outdo his famed predecessor, fine-tuning the latter's philological observations, broadening his interpretations by introducing historical and philological material from other works, and removing dogmatic Mu'tazilite constructions (although he was not able to accomplish this last task in full measure). Al-Bayḍāwī did not try to exhaust the full range of material available to him in any single area of commentary. Although his work contains inaccuracies, the great popularity which it acquired in Sunni Islam demonstrates that he found a proper balance between the amount and type of material he introduced. Among Sunnis, al-Bayḍāwī's commentary was regarded with near sanctity. For several centuries, it was a teaching aid in Muslim schools. In turn, many commentaries were written on al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr*; the best known is by Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā al-Kujāwī Shaykh-zade (d. 1543).

The history of the Near and Middle East in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was marked by the battle with the Mongols. The Chingīzids established themselves in Turkestan and Iran, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. By the thirteenth century, the Mongols had accepted Sunni Islam, which would seem to have deprived their opponents of the main religious arguments necessary for battle with the enemy, posing instead the question: is war with the Mongols a *jihād* or a clash between two Sunni states? Having accepted the basic precepts of Islam, the Mongols continued to follow the *Yāsā* of Chingīz Khān as well. The question arose of where to locate the border between a Muslim and an apostate. An answer came in the works of Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Kathīr (1300—1372/73), who spoke out strongly against the then dominant multitude of opinions, fiercely insisting on the primacy of the principle that the "Qur'ān explains itself" [79].

It is possible that Ibn Taymiyya's future fate was predetermined by impressions received in childhood, when the Mongol invasion compelled his family to abandon their native Ḥarrān and flee to Damascus (leading one to wonder what thoughts may today be gestating in a young "Ibn Taymiyya" marooned in a camp for refugees from Kosovo). As an adult, he participated, to employ the accurate expression of E. Sivan [80], as a *politruk* (Red Army political instruc-

tor) in several campaigns against the Mongols and the Armenian allies of the crusaders in Asia Minor. It was he who succeeded in formulating the idea later summarised clearly by his pupil Ibn Kathīr in his interpretation of *sūra* 5. Of key importance are the following fragments of the *āyāt* 5:49—55: "Whoso judges not according to what God has sent down — they are the evildoers"; "Judge between them according to what God has sent down", and "Is it the judgement of pagandom then that they are seeking?". To cite Ibn Taymiyya himself:

> "[These verses] refer to people who abide the regulations and laws set by men, to fit their own misguided desires and whims, rather then adhering to the *sharī'a* bestowed upon us by Allah. This was the case with the inhabitants [of Arabia] during the *jāhiliyya* ... and (today) with the Mongols who follow the *Yāsā* code set down by Genghiz-Khān, which is a conglomeration of laws, some taken from Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and other legal traditions, and many others decided upon by the whim of the Mongol rules; the whole amalgam being given priority over the laws of Allah laid down in the Qur'ān and *sunna*. Those who follow such (man-made) laws are infidels and should be combated until they comply with the laws of God" [81].

For six centuries, the followers of Ibn Taymiyya continued to be a presence, preaching literal adherence to the letter of the Qur'ān and the *sunna* and inspiring religious movements of the Salafite type (the Wahhābites, for example). In the mid-twentieth century, his views once again gained popularity, primarily in Muslim India and Egypt, which we shall discuss below.

The Islamic world fell into a long period of cultural stagnation, ushering in the "era of supra-commentaries", the victory of empty scholasticism, scholarship divorced from actual life. It is not surprising that the famed *Muqaddima* of Ibn Khaldūn (1332—1406) contains a "Chapter on why scholars who specialise in the Qur'ānic sciences are the least capable of running the state and resolving questions of administration". The idea on which it is based flatly contradicts the well-known *ḥadīth*: "the best among you are those who study and teach the Qur'ān" [82]. Ibn Khaldūn was echoed by 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (al-Sha'rāwī) (1491/2—1565), the well-known Egyptian philologist and follower of Ibn 'Arabī: "There is no benefit from reading interpretations!" [83].

One of the last truly original works of classical Muslim exegesis was the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, jointly authored by the "two Jalāls", al-Maḥallī and the famed al-Suyūṭī. This unique "Arabic translation of the Qur'ān" gained great popularity, mainly in the non-Arabic-speaking world [84]. The appearance of works of this type was connected for the most part with the needs which arose as Islam spread widely in South and South-East Asia and Africa in the Late Medieval Age [85]. The great authority of al-Suyūṭī was the main reason for the popularity of *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. His marvellous works on the study of the Qur'ān, primarily *Al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* — a unique overview of the Qur'ānic sciences, an expanded version of the introduction to a planned, but unwritten or lost, large *tafsīr* — are the last genuinely original works of classical Muslim exegesis. They sum up eight centuries of development and exerted a profound influence on the later history of the "Qur'ānic sciences". As concerns the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* and its methodological roots, its most important predecessor was the *Tanwīr al-*

miqbās min tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās, attributed to Ibn 'Abbās, al-Kalbī (d. 763), or al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 871/1415) [86]. Clear and concise, replete with necessary explanations from the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and a certain amount of variant "readings" (*al-qirā'āt*), the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* served as the basis for one of the most authoritative contemporary interpretations, the *Tafsīr al-Manār*.

*Tafsīr*s form an original "hypertext", the kernel of which is provided by the text of the Qur'ān itself, which frequently includes both revelation and interpretation. This

kernel is surrounded by texts, each of which represents several levels of interpretation, usually going back to various eras, ideological and cultural communities (see *fig. 1*).

On the whole, the ideological battle over the place of the Qur'ān in the Muslim community reflects a broader, ongoing discussion on the role of the secular and the spiritual in a Muslim state. Interpretations of the Qur'ān continue to play an important role in this debate, aided by the tradition of "adapting" *tafsīr*s to new conditions.

II

The fourteenth century after the Hijra, which largely matches up with the Christian twentieth century, bristled with events which were injurious to the self-image of Muslim civilisation. It is therefore symbolic that the final year of that century should have been marked by such events as the Islamic revolution in Iran and an attempt to seize the Meccan holy places by representatives of a Muslim extremist organisation.

The process of adapting the religious, philosophical, and legal norms of Islam to new historical conditions, a process which began in the mid-nineteenth century and continues to this day, is frequently designated by the term "Muslim reformation", although it is a fundamentally different phenomenon than the Christian reformation. The Muslim reformation has found expression primarily in numerous attempts to review the philosophical motivations of various aspects of secular life. Only to an insignificant degree has it touched on purely theological questions. Furthermore, the absence in Islam of an institution such as the Christian church and clergy has profoundly influenced the nature of reforms in Islam [87].

To a significant degree, processes of religious renewal in Islam at the turn of the nineteenth—twentieth centuries were linked to the task of mastering the scientific and technical achievements of the West. Implicit in this task was the rebirth of traditional cultural and spiritual values on a new basis. Two basic approaches emerged — that of reform and renewal, and that of traditionalism. If the "liminal" periods in the history of the Qur'ān were the late eighth — early ninth centuries and the tenth century, in the twentieth century we single out the first decade and the 1960s. Among the first to initiate this process were Russian Muslims, who, for a variety of reasons, found themselves at a turning point in the development of Eurasian civilisation [88].

Muslim reformist exegesis, which developed most vigorously at the turn of the century, reflected Muslim society's encounter with new realities, primarily European philosophy and scientific thought. With the aid of interpretations of the Qur'ān, the new exegetes sought, on the one hand, to show that new scientific accomplishments and social concepts had been predicted by the Qur'ān, thus preventing an erosion of the Sacred Text's authority. On the other hand, they strove to introduce to a broad Muslim readership new scientific concepts, rendering them acceptable in the context of traditional religious and philosophical values. In their interpretations, the new exegetes relied on the traditions of classical commentary: Amīn al-Khūlī (d. 1965) asserted that "scientific commentary" (*al-tafsīr al-'ilmī*) was presaged in al-Ghazālī's (d. 1111) works; al-Rāzī's famed *tafsīr* provides an original exposition of his age's achievements in the

natural sciences. The centuries-long practice of allegorical interpretation armed the reformist exegetes with an extremely important methodological tool. Citing a fragment of *āya* "We have neglected nothing in the Book" (6:38), the new commentators attempted to prove that one can find everything in the Qur'ān. And, in fact, works by al-Kawākibī (1849—1902), Tantawī Jawharī (1862—1940) and their intellectual allies contain extremely varied materials, from anti-colonial or anti-materialist polemics to popular scientific descriptions of cell structure and the Solar system [89].

The "traumas" inflicted by long years of colonial rule, the abolition of the Caliphate, the absolute superiority of Western civilisation in the scientific and military spheres were reflected in commentaries on the Qur'ān. New *tafsīr*s conveyed both a drive to Westernise social institutions, culture, and education, and calls to return to traditional Muslim values. The simplified language of these works indicates an appeal to a broader readership; an emphasis on legal and theological problems demonstrates that the linguistic difficulties of the text were viewed as having been clarified by earlier generations of interpreters.

Muhammad 'Abduh (1849—1905), grand Mufti of Egypt and doyen of Islamic renewal [90], and the like-minded Rashīd Ridā (d. 1935), attempted in their noted *Tafsīr al-Manār* to formulate organisational principles for a Muslim society renewed in the spirit of liberalism and reform [91]. In one form or another, the text written by 'Abduh reflected its author's famed *fatwā*s on such key problems as interest on loans and polytheism. In reference to *āya* "their affair being counsel (*shūrā*) between them" (42:38), Muhammad 'Abduh strove to prove that Islam is democratic in its essence. He called for the rebirth of the greatness of Islamic civilisation through a return to "true Islam", which had been "distorted" by later religious authorities. Muhammad 'Abduh saw his ideas for modernising Islam as a return to the "true faith". In his struggle against the "distortion" of Islam, he relied on the authority of Ibn Taymiyya, while in advocating an ethical conception of faith, he followed the teaching of al-Ghazālī and made broad use of the traditions of Muslim rationalism. He asserted that each age requires an independent reading of the Qur'ān. Muhammad 'Abduh advanced the thesis that the world and its laws of development can be known, that there is a greatness to human reason. In contrast to Sunni authorities, he considered the Qur'ān created.

Muhammad 'Abduh's *Tafsīr* was published serially by the journal *Al-Manār* during the author's lifetime. It remained uncompleted and was reworked and finished by his pupil Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, receiving the title *Tafsīr al-*

Manār. A significant part of the *tafsīr* was occupied by lectures on the Qur'ān which Muḥammad 'Abduh had delivered at al-Azhar; they were based primarily on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. Among the many traditional interpretations of the Qur'ānic text, Muḥammad 'Abduh attempted to choose those which were buttressed by *ḥadīths* traced back to the Prophet himself. Today, *Tafsīr al-Manār* is one of the most authoritative Qur'ānic commentaries in the Muslim world.

As national consciousness and movements of national liberation developed, the politicisation of Islam became ever more apparent, manifesting itself in the extensive employment of Islamic slogans in political struggles. Participants in anti-colonial actions frequently appealed to messianic ideas, proclaiming their leaders *mahdī*. In the nineteenth century, Ṣūfī brotherhoods continue to play an active role in political battles. The liberation of Muslim peoples from colonial dependence, the formation of a bi-polar world and the gradual growth of financial and economic independence in a number of Muslim countries posed fundamentally new problems for Muslim social thinkers. Numerous conceptions of the so-called "third way" appeared.

The struggle for Indian independence and the attempt to preserve that great multi-national state from religious fragmentation was reflected in the *tafsīr* of Mawlānā Abū-l-Kalām Āzād (1888—1958) [92]. A very different, narrowly confessional position is found in the words of two Indian Muslim theologians and publicists, Abū-l-'Alā' al-Mawdūdī (1903—1979) [93] and Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Nadwī. The latter influenced in many ways the views of Sayyid Qutb, ideologist of the Egyptian "Muslim Brotherhood".

The struggle against neo-colonialism and the influence of Ṣūfī orders on economic and internal political life, the influence of K. Marx and P. Teilhard de Chardin, the works of Western orientalists and economists were curiously interwoven in works on the Qur'ān by Mamadou Dia, the well-known Senegalese political figure and religious philosopher [94].

During this period, the works of Muslim theologians and publicists displayed the influence of socialist ideas, primarily collectivism and the rejection of absolute private property. These ideas were employed both by the official ideologists of several ruling regimes and by their opponents (for example, the leader of the Syrian "Muslim Brotherhood", Muṣṭafā al-Sibā'ī, who released the book "Socialism of Islam" in 1958). Both groups frequently cited the Qur'ān as proof of their arguments' correctness.

The mid-twentieth century, the division of the world into two opposing military and political camps, the Cold War and the sharp ideological stand-off it occasioned set the peoples of Muslim states new challenges. The achievement of national independence in no way guaranteed the solution of important problems. The search for a place in the world, for a national and political identity took place in conditions of military confrontation with neighbours and a balancing act between two hostile centres of power. The 1960s were marked by the crisis of all ideologies then prevalent in the Arab-Muslim world. The crisis was most strongly felt in the three most developed countries of the Near and Middle East — Lebanon, Egypt, and Iran. A new radicalism arose in response to this crisis; it proclaimed a farewell to Islamic modernism and a rejection of pan-Arabism. In the view of the radical ideologists, Islamic civilisation, weakened by centuries of stagnation and colonial rule, needed to develop a weapon to oppose new dangers both internal and external. Foremost among them was the penetration from West and East of ideological systems and teachings, ideological imperialism (*ghazw fikrī*).

One of the ideologists of the new Islamic radicalism, Sa'īd Hawwā, singled out the three most dangerous components of "modernisation", which undermined, in his view, the very basis of Islamic civilisation. These were *jāhilī* nationalism, Marxism and existentialism [95]. Later, the *enrichessez-vous* policy pursued by Sadāt's regime signified a new "enemy of Islam": the cult of economic growth at any price.

The struggle for independence (the "first Islamic revolution" in Hawwā's terminology) ended in victory. The second Islamic revolution would be directed against internal enemies — secularism and consumerism [96].

Locating the main internal enemy in the state which espoused an ideology of nationalism and pan-Arabism, Muslim radicals unleashed a ruthless struggle against it. Nasser was seen as a follower of Atatürk, who had destroyed the Islamic empire (the fifteenth—seventeenth centuries of which, in the eyes of the radicals, contained some of the brightest pages in Islamic history), abolished the Caliphate, and transformed Turkey into a secular state. They called for the restoration of the Caliphate, for those who submit to the secular state share with it the sin of apostasy (*ridda*). To save themselves from *jāhiliyya* and retain the "genuinely Muslim inheritance and traditions", members of the radical group "al-Takfīr wa-l-Hijra" preached the necessity of retreat, solitary life in caves. They were even called "people of the cave" (*ahl al-kahf*), an allusion to *sūra* 18. The above-mentioned Mamadou Dia, however, employed this image in a call for Muslims to "come out of the cave" and embrace true dynamism in the face of the age's new challenges [97].

Sayyid Qutb (executed in 1966), the chief ideologist of the new radicalism, founded his struggle against pan-Arabism and the nation-state in part with his interpretation of *āya* 2:110. Of what truly Muslim national state can one speak, he wrote, if Muḥammad's first followers were the Arab Abū Bakr, the Ethiopian Bilāl, the Byzantine Ṣuhayb, and the Persian Salmān [98]. Qutb diagnosed the state of the Muslim social organism as follows: *jāhiliyya*. He asserted that the very life or death of Islam was at issue. In his view, society was once again in a state of "ordeal and discord" (*miḥna wa-l-fitna*) [99]. If during Ibn Taymiyya's time, the scourge afflicted only the elite (Greek philosophy) and the newly converted (the Mongols), then today, thanks to a vice-ridden educational system and the mass media, at issue is the decay of broad layers of Muslim society under the influence of "imported ideas" (*afkār mustawrada*) and elements of a way of life which eat away at the very bases of the Muslim way of life.

Sayyid Qutb [100] wrote also a *tafsīr* which owes its pathos to the affirmation through the Qur'ān of the justice of the "Muslim Brothers'" social programme [101]. Sayyid Qutb's *tafsīr*, *Fī zilāl al-Qur'ān*, published in six volumes in folio and today translated into many languages, including English and French, was written between 1963 and 1964. In the foreword, the author modestly describes it as "a number of thoughts and impressions born in that period of my life spent under the protection of the Qur'ān" [102]. In fact, it is an extended *tafsīr* on the entire text of the Qur'ān in which the author relies on his earlier works on the Qur'ān and on Islamic dogmatics, his own political and religious works

[103], and works by the most important representatives of the "Islamic Radicalism", such as the Indo-Pakistani figures Abū-l-'Alā' al-Mawdūdī and Abū-l-Ḥasan al-Nadwī. Sayyid Quṭb also employs works by the leading medieval *muḥaddith*s and *mufassir*s, advocates of the method of *al-tafsīr bi-l-ma'thur*, such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim (d. 875), al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Kathīr. Cross-references within the Qur'ān itself are frequent. Quṭb strives to explain the Qur'ān through the Qur'ān itself, following the principle of *al-Qur'ān yufassiru ba'duhu ba'dan* ("the Qur'ān explains itself"). On the whole, he makes use in his work of the most varied sources, from the poetry of 'Umar Khayyām to the writings of Julian Huxley (1887—1975), one of the creators of the contemporary synthetic theory of evolution.

A pitched struggle continues today over Sayyid Quṭb's legacy, and not only among his opponents, but also among the supporters of various currents of the "Islamic Radicalism". As an example, we cite the concept of *jāhiliyya* developed by Sayyid Quṭb. For him, the entire world is in a state of *jāhiliyya* — not only the countries where "materialist communism" or "mercenary capitalism" prevails, but also Muslim countries, where, in his view, the principles of the faith have undergone prolonged and significant distortion [104]. As he puts it:

> "In this sense, *jāhiliyya* is not just a specific historical period ... , but a state of affairs. Such a state of human affairs existed in the past, exists today, and may exist in the future, taking the form of *jāhiliyya,* that mirror image and sworn enemy of Islam ... . Modern-style *jāhiliyya* in the industrialised societies of Europe and America is essentially similar to the old-time *jāhiliyya* in pagan and nomadic Arabia. For in both systems, man is under the dominion of man rather than of Allah" [105].

It is no coincidence that after the murder of Sadāt, who differed from his predecessor in that he opened speeches with the *basmala* and closed them with references to the Qur'ān, the *Minbār al-Islām*, the print organ of the Ministry for Religious Affairs, published in two issues extended commentary on 5:44 and 48, stressing the historical context in which these *āyāt* appeared. They were uttered by Muḥammad in conditions of a confrontation with his foes [106]. Through his commentary on *āyāt* 22:40 and 2:251, Sayyid Quṭb grounded the right of "self-defence for healthy forces in Muslim society" and the use of force in such cases. His position neared that of the Kharijites in his claiming of the right of final judgement on who is a true Muslim.

Quṭb was echoed by Sa'īd Hawwā:

> "Any revolt against an illegitimate ruler is justified. Isn't it then right to combat a ruler who does not apply the laws set in the Qur'ān ... ? Doesn't Allah help those who help themselves?" (cf. Qur'ān, 22:40) [107].

The task of seizing power was set: for only victory and the ascension to power would attract the masses, a belief also founded on the Qur'ān: "When comes the help of God, and victory, and thou seest men entering God's religion in throngs ..." (110:1—2) [108].

The Qur'ān was widely used in discussions of key social concepts. A fine example is the dispute over the concept of "democracy". In the opinion of Muḥammad 'Abduh, which he based on his understanding of *āya* 42:38, Islam is democratic in its essence. This view was also shared by Mawdūdī [109], while Sayyid Quṭb assumed a cardinally different position on this *āya* in his *tafsīr*: why import to the

Near East an institution which has bankrupted itself in the West? [110].

Sharp ideological struggle revealed polar positions: if in Syria in the early 1960s school textbooks were re-written to exclude citations from the Qur'ān and *hadīth*s, then according to the ideologists of the "al-Takfīr wa-l-Hijra" group, the Qur'ān and *sunna* were the only true sources of Muslim law. All statutes accepted after 660 on the basis of analogy (*qiyās*) and the consensus of experts (*ijmā'*) were suspect, as the *faqīh*s frequently acted to please the authorities.

In Shi'ite Islam, new ideological concepts underwent active development in the works of 'Alī Shari'ātī (1933—1977), one of the forerunners of the Iranian revolution [111]. Revolutionary ideas of social justice and equality which go back to Marxism, and an existentialist conception of the individual and freedom directed against conformity and religious obscurantism form an inalienable part of his intellectual legacy. In his works, which have been translated into Arabic, Urdu, English, and other languages, as well as in Khomeinī's fundamental work "Islamic Government", appeals to the Qur'ān serve as one of the most important forms of ideational argumentation.

*Tafsīr*s continue to be used widely by Iran's Shi'ite leaders. In their attempts to provide an ideological basis for exporting the Iranian revolution, Shi'ite propagandists strive to rely solely on the Qur'ān, a source of undisputed authority for both Shi'ites and Sunnis.

The Aḥmadiyya movement's three-volume *Large Tafsīr*, which appeared in 1963, aspires to the role of an encyclopaedia. It relies not only on traditional sources and works by the movement's founder, the messianic miracle-worker Ghulām Aḥmad (1839—1908) (a bibliography of the latter's works on the Qur'ān runs to 80 titles). In preparing the *tafsīr*, use was made of the most important encyclopaedias, works by Western Orientalists (for example, E. Renan, E. M. Wherry, A. Mingana, Ph. K. Hitti), sociologists, philosophers, and historians (for example, Th. Carlyle, S. Freud, A. J. Toynbee).

Despite the sharply negative attitude of such prominent contemporary exegetes as Mawlānā Abū-l-Kalām Āzād, Sayyid Quṭb, Kamīl Ḥusayn [112], *al-tafsīr al-'ilmī* continues to develop. For adepts of this school such as the Turkish engineer Mehmet Şükrü Sezer, who published in Ankara in 1965 his book "The Positive Sciences in the Qur'ān", or the Egyptian 'Abd al-Razzāq Nufl, author of "Allah and Contemporary Science" (Cairo, 1957), the entire text of the Qur'ān is a living, constantly self-renewing prophecy about contemporary scientific accomplishments and a cryptogram which encodes information about those accomplishments. They can find in a single *āya* (for example, "when the seas shall be set boiling", 81:6), a prophecy of the eruption of Krakatau, which occurred in 1883 (Muḥammad 'Abduh), and of the hydrogen bomb. In October 1957, immediately after the Soviet Union first launched sputnik, the journal *Liwā' al-Islām* initiated in Cairo a symposium on the topic "Sputnik and the Qur'ān", which affirmed that space flight was predicted by *āya* 55:33. The Qur'ān is also seen as the source of references to the theory of an expanding universe (51:47; 21:31), Nicolaus Copernicus's system (36:38, and 40), the law of the conservation of energy (55:8), etc. [113].

The needs of socio-economic development placed Muslim theologians and legal scholars before the necessity

of rethinking a number of traditional Islamic positions. Gradual limitations were imposed on the jurisdiction of *sharī'a* courts, the codification of the norms of Muslim law began, and a lively polemic ensued on the permissibility of creating a contemporary banking system in Muslim countries. Phenomena new in content were not infrequently treated as a continuation and development of Muslim tradition. Today, Qur'ānic ideas and positions, in particular the ban on the "usurer's percent" (*ribā'*) are widely employed in the works of Islamic sociologists and economists, for example, in providing a basis for the so-called *tawhīd economy.*

Attempts are made to create a contemporary "Qur'ānic philosophy". This was the goal set by 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād (d. 1964), one of the ideologists of Arab nationalism, who published a series of works on this topic.

Qur'ānic symbols, parables, and tales gain a new resonance in the works of Arabic literature. We recall here the novel *Awlād Ḥāratinā* (Children of Our District) by recent Nobel laureate Najīb Maḥfūẓ. In essence, it forms an unusual *ta'wīl* of the Qur'ān. In a novel which consists of 114 chapters, the residents of Cairo are Ādam, Mūsā, 'Īsā, and Muḥammad, presented with different names. Qur'ānic legends and parables are used in the tale of their lives and struggles. They try to bring people happiness, but each time the followers bring their teachers' efforts to naught. The author concludes that only science can bring happiness to people, but even science is powerless in the end. Its accomplishments are employed to the detriment of humanity and lead to the creation of hitherto unseen weapons of mass destruction. The novel's partial publication in the newspaper *Al-Ahrām* in 1959 provoked the indignation of Muslim authorities; it was published as a separate book in Beirut in 1967 [114].

'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jūda al-Ṣaḥḥār has published a series of historical novels on the main figures of Qur'ānic legends. Moreover, he treated not only the Qur'ān and *tafsīr*s, but the Old Testament, Gospels, and apocrypha as well. It was precisely the use of such materials which Ibn Taymiyya opposed in his time. Ibn Taymiyya, incidentally, had his imitators in Egypt in the late 1940s, when a far-ranging discussion began on the problem of Jewish legends (*isrā'īliyyāt*) in Muslim literature.

An analysis of contemporary Muslim exegesis and literature of the "Qur'ānic circle" shows that the boundaries between "progressive" and "conservative", between "topical" and "archaic" are constantly shifting. Qur'ānic ideas and concepts are filled with new content, are reconceived in accordance with new needs and requirements. On the other hand, a number of time-honoured Qur'ānic concepts and ideas are actualised.

We have seen that the texts of the most important *tafsīr*s are united not only by a base level of material which naturally informs all works, but by a complex system of interrelations, polemicising, correcting, and mutual developing (for example, al-Ṭabarī — al-Ṭabarsī; al-Zamakhsharī — al-Rāzī; al-Zamakhsharī — al-Bayḍāwī; "the pseudo-Ibn 'Abbās" — al-Jalālayn; al-Jalālayn — al-Manār; Ibn Kathīr — Quṭb, etc.).

Qur'ānic citations are widely used in the mass media and by political figures. They evoke in listeners a broad range of associations and their use can condition specific reactions. Immediately after the Israeli attack in 1967, *jihād*-related *āyāt* appeared on the walls of Cairo homes. In essence, they fulfilled the role of patriotic slogans.

Qur'ānic texts retain their significance as one of the basic decorative motifs in Islamic art and architecture. They are widely used in the design of official institutions and private homes in Muslim countries. Records and cassettes with recordings of Qur'ānic recitations delivered by the best known *qurrā'* are released in mass editions. National and international competitions of Qur'ānic recitation are conducted.

Islam arose as a synthesis of an entire complex of religious ideas and concepts which had existed since antiquity and which permeated Arabia at the time of the Prophet. As it spread beyond Arabia, it developed and was enriched thanks to its ability to "absorb" critically important elements of the religious and cultural heritage of Near and Middle Eastern peoples. As a consequence, Islam has become surprisingly multi-faceted. And while Muslim states endured a period of severe weakness, this quality allowed Islam to spread easily through the Far East as far as Indonesia. Today it is expanding rapidly in Sub-Saharan African and among the Afro-American population of the United States.

There is no doubt that the internal algorithms, multi-faceted nature, and pluralism inherent in Islam will ensure in the twenty first century ongoing development and expansion.

As we have seen, the Qur'ān, which stands at the centre of Islam's ideological system, living and developing in interpretation, remains today one of the most venerated Books on earth. New interpretations are created every year, new books appear, new articles, even plays, all rife with Qur'ānic ideas, episodes, and images. The "history" of the Qur'ān continues to be written each day.

Notes

1. S. M. Prozorov, "K voprosu o 'pravoverii' v islame: poniatie *akhl as-sunna* (sunnity)" ("On the queston of 'orthodoxy' in Islam: the concept of *ahl al-sunna* (the Sunnis)"), in *Problemy arabskoĭ kul'tury. Pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 213—8.

2. See H. R. Jauss, "Literary history as a challenge to literary theory", *New Literary History* (Baltimore, 1970), ii, pp. 7—37; *Reader-Response Criticism: from Formalism to Post-Structuralism,* ed. J. P. Tompkins (Baltimore, 1980); A. Rippin, "The Qur'ān as literature: perils, pitfalls and prospects", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin,* X (1983), pp. 38—47; W. C. Smith, "The true meaning of scripture: an empirical historian's nonreductionists interpretation of the Qur'ān", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* XI (1980), pp. 487—505.

3. K. Cragg, *The Pen and the Faith. Eight Modern Muslim Writers and the Qur'ān* (London, 1985).

4. One of J. Wansbrough's most important contributions is his convincing proof of this assertion, which one can find reflected in his essential work *Qur'ānic Studies. Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977). See also A. Rippin's "Studying early *tafsīr* texts", *Der Islam,* LXXII/2 (1995), pp. 310—23. I offer my sincere thanks to Prof. A. Rippin (Calgary), who sent me an entire series of relevant and important works on this problem.

5. In 1920, a series of lectures on Muslim exegesis which Ignatz Goldziher had intended to deliver seven years earlier in Uppsala, but did not, was published in Leiden, see I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920). Although the author did not consider his work to be general — in his view, he merely noted tendencies in the development of Muslim exegesis — his great erudition, direct study of numerous sources then available only in manuscript, and scholarly intuition rendered the book a major achievement of Western Islamic studies. In 1982, A. Rippin raised the question of the need to replace Goldziher's work with a new study that would reflect more contemporary theoretical and practical concerns. See A. Rippin, "The present status of *tafsīr* studies", *Moslem World*, LXXII (1982), pp. 237—8). At present, such a replacement of Goldziher's work could only take the form of a series of monographs on various aspects of the problem, see my review of *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, ed. A. Rippin (Oxford, 1988), in *Narody Azii i Afriki*, III (1990), pp. 175—82. Five recent publications can serve as a prototype for such a series: *International Congress for the Study of the Qur'ān*. Australian National University, Canberra, 8—13 May 1980. Series 1 (Canberra, 1980); *Studies in Qur'ān and Tafsīr*, ed. A. T. Welch, in the special issue of *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, XCVII/4 (1980); *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, eds. G. R. Hawting and A.-K. A. Shareef (London, 1993); *The Qur'ān as Text*, ed. St. Wild (Leiden, 1996) and *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, noted above.

Recent years have seen the publication of numerous works on the "genres" of Muslim exegesis, *tafsīr*s by various authors, and the particular features of various exegetical tendencies within Islam. Attempts to recreate and publish early texts have been undertaken both in the West and in the Muslim world. See Cl. Gilliot, "Textes arabes anciens édites en Egypte au cours des années 1992 à 1994", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, XXI (1993). Traditional works have also appeared which provide a number of exegetical views for each *āya* (for example, M. Ayoub, *The Qur'ān and Its Interpreters* (Albany, 1984).

A detailed analysis of research and publications of source material necessary for the study of *'ilm al-Qur'ān wa-l-tafsīr* was conducted by A. Rippin in a twice-published overview. See A. Rippin, "The present status of *tafsīr* studies", *Moslem World*, LXXII (1982), p. 224—38, where he also presents a solid bibliography. For another bibliography, see C. Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue, et théologie en Islam. L'exégèse coranique de Ṭabarī (m. 311/923)* (Paris, 1990); A. Neuwirth, "Koran", *Gründriss der arabischen Philologie*. Band II. Literaturwissenchaft, ed. H. Gatje (Wiesbaden, 1987), pp. 119—35; Band III. Supplement, ed. W. Fisher (Wiesbaden, 1992), pp. 262—4.

6. W. M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinbourgh, 1970), p. 16.

7. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, index; M. Ayoub, "Study of Imāmī Shi'i *tafsīr*", in *Approaches to the History of the Interpretation of the Qur'ān*, p. 189.

8. A. Rippin, "Naskh al-Qur'ān and the problem of early *tafsīr* texts", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, XLVII (1984), pp. 22—43; various sources also cite the number of abrogated *āyāt*, which exceeded 200. See, for example, D. S. Powers, "The exegetical genre *nasīkh al-Qur'ān wa mansūkhuhu*", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, p. 137, Appendix A.

9. See A. G. Lundin, "'Docheri boga'" v iuzhno-arabskikh nadpisiakh i v Korane" ("'Daughters of god'" in Southern Arab inscriptions and in the Qur'ān), *Vestnik drevneĭ istorii*, II (1975); J. Burton, "Those are the high flying cranes", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, XV (1970), pp. 246—65.

10. Powers, *op. cit.*, pp. 130—1 and 138, Appendix B. See also W. Hallaq, "Was the gate of *ijtihad* closed?", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, XVI (1984), p. 6; Muṣṭafā Zayd, *Al-Naskh fī-l-Qur'ān al-karīm* (Cairo, 1963).

11. For details see Powers, *op. cit.*

12. Differences in identifying the basic developmental forces behind early Arabic grammatical schools and in dating grammatical fragments in early *tafsīr*s today elicit lively discussion, for example, Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 216—27; M. G. Carter, "Language control as people control in medieval Islam: the aims of the grammarians in their cultural context", *Al-Abḥāth*, XXXI (1983), pp. 65—84; C. H. M. Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar and Qur'ānic Exegesis in Early Islam* (Leiden, 1993); M. Muranyi, "Neue Materialen zur *tafsīr* Forschung in der Moscheebibliothek von Qairawan", in *The Qur'ān as Text*, p. 225—55; Rippin, "Studying early *tafsīr* texts", pp. 310—23. However, it does not reduce the significance of the fact that by the second century A.H. at least, the Muslim community had attained a surprising level of unity in establishing the written form of the "most copied text", the text of the Qur'ān. See E. A. Rezvan, "Qur'ān and its world. VI, Emergence of the canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), p. 26). This would have been impossible if many copyists had not first mastered the results of the grammatical schools' work on the bases of the Arabic language. This process, of course, must have taken some time. In this regard, of key importance for us today is a thorough analysis of the particular features which accompanied the establishment of the text as they are preserved in early fragments of Qur'ānic manuscripts. It is also important to continue the study of the vital early grammatical text written by Sībawayhī (d. 796) (see the project initiated by M. Carter at: http://www.hf.uio.no/easteurorient/sibawayhi/HomePage/index.htm).

13. Wansbrough, *Studies*, p. 127; see also: *'Abd Allah b. Wahb (125/743—197/812). Al-Ĝamī'. Die Koranwissenschaft. Quellenstudien zur Ḥadīth- und Rechtliteratur in Nordafrika*, ed. Miklos Muranyi (Wiesbaden, 1993); *'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (125/743—197/812). Al-Ĝamī'. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (Die Koranexegese). Quellenstudien zur Ḥadīth- und Rechtliteratur in Nordafrika*, ed. Miklos Muranyi (Wiesbaden, 1993); M. Muranyi, *'Abd Allāh b. Wahb: Leben und Werk* (Wiesbaden, 1992).

14. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ju'fī al-Bukhārī, a famed Sunni *muḥaddith*. Born in Bukhara, he traveled widely in the Muslim world and died near Samarqand. *Al-Sahīh* is al-Bukhārī's best-known work; he dedicated 16 years to its compilation. According to the tradition, the scrupulous analysis of *isnād*s allowed him to select from among 600,000 then current *hadīth*s 2,762 (not counting repetitions) "true" *hadīth*s, which he organized free for the first time by content.

15. See R. M. Speight, "The function of *hadīth* as commentary on the Qur'ān, as seen in the six authoritative collections", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, pp. 63—81.

16. F. Sezgin, *Buharı'nın kaynakları hakkında araştılmalar* (Istanbul, 1956), XI, App. III; Speight, *op. cit.*, pp. 73—5; C. Brockelman, *Geschichte des arabischen Literatur* (Weimar—Berlin, 1898), p. 166.

17. Information about the life and works of Muqātil b. Sulaymān is fragmentary and frequently contradictory. He was born in Balkh, in the North of Afghanistan, lived in Basra and Baghdad, and died in Basra. For more detail on Muqātil b. Sulaymān and the *tafsīr* attributed to him, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri. Qur'ānic Commentary and Tradition* (Chicago, 1947), pp. 92-106; P. Nwiya, *Exégèse coranique et language mystique* (Beyrouth, 1970), pp. 26—61. See also I. Goldfeld, "Muqātil Ibn Sulaimān", *Bar Ilan Arabic and Islamic Studies*, (1978), ii, pp. 13—30; K. Versteegh, "Grammar and exegesis: the origins of Kufan grammar and *Tafsīr* Muqātil", *Der Islam*, LXVII (1990), pp. 206—42; C. Gilliot, "Muqātil, grand exégète, traditionaliste et théologien maudit", *Journal Asiatique*, CCLXXIX (1991), p. 39—92; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesselschaft im 2. um 3. Jahrhündert Hidschra. Eine Geschihte des religiosen Denkens im fruhen Islam* (Berlin, 1991), ii, pp. 516—32.

18. See, for example, F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, (Leiden, 1967) i, p. 36.

19. See, for example, Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, Index.

20. E. g., *idem*, pp. 122—3 and 171—2.

21. H. Birkeland, *Old Muslim Opposition to Interpretation of the Qur'ān* (Oslo, 1955), pp. 26—7.

22. Three works written during the last 20 years by N. Abbot, F. Sezgin, and J. Wansbrough (see Abbot, *op. cit.*; Sezgin, *Geschichte*, i; Wansbrough, *op. cit.*), have exerted great influence on the development of research in the area under discussion. Furthermore, completely different views of Sezgin and Wansbrough on the emergence of Muslim exegesis in the first century A.H. established the poles of discussions for a large group of specialists. See F. Leemhuis, "Origins and early development of the *tafsīr* tradition", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, pp. 15—6; M. M. Sawwaf, "Early tafsīr: a survey of Qur'ānic commentary up 150 AH", *Islamic Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Mawlana Sayyid Abūl 'Alā' Mawdūdī*, eds. K. Ahmad and Z. I. Ansari (Leicester, 1979), pp. 135—45; C. Gilliot, "Les débuts de l'egégèse coranique", *Les premières écritures islamiques, Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée*, LVIII (1991), pp. 82—100.

23. Rezvan, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

24. S. M. Prozorov, *Arabskaia istoricheskaia literatura v Irake, Irane i Sredneĭ Azii v VII — seredine X v: Shiitskaia istoriografiia* (Arab Historical Literature in Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia in the Seventh—Mid-Tenth Centuries: Shi'ite Historiography) (Moscow, 1980), pp. 46—7; J. van Ess, "Das *Kitāb al-Irğā'* des Ḥasan b. Muhammad al-Ḥanafiyya", *Arabica*, XXI (1974), p. 45.

25. Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *Al-Ṣāfī fī tafsīr kalām Allāh al-wāfī* (s. l, A.H.1286), pp. 12—3. J. M. Claudeul, R. Caspar, "Textes de la tradition musulmane concernant le *takhrīf* (falsification) des écritures", *Islamochristiana*, VI (1980), pp. 61—104; M. Ayoub, "The speaking Qur'ān and the silent Qur'ān: a study of the principles and development of Imami Shi'ite Exegesis", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, pp. 189—92. See also E. Kohlberg, "Some notes on the Imāmate attitude to the Qur'ān", *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition: Essays Presented to R. Walzer*, 1972, pp. 209—24.

26. See "Observations de Mirza Alexandre Kazem-Beg, professeur de langues orientales à l'université de Cazan, sur chapitre inconnu du Coran, publié et traduit par M. Garsin de Tassy", *Journale Asiatique*, IVème série, II (1843), pp. 373—429. This *sūra* is included in a Shi'ite translation of the Qur'ān into Urdu published in Allahabad in 1844.

27. I. Goldfeld, "The *Tafsīr* of Ibn 'Abbās", *Der Islam*, LVIII (1981), pp. 125—35; C. Gilliot, "Portrait "mythique" d'Ibn 'Abbās", *Arabica*, XXXIII (1985), pp. 127—84; A. Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās* and criteria for dating early *tafsīr* texts", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, XVII (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 37—83.

28. Abū-l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1963—1970), x, pp. 78—88.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

30. *Ibid.*, xiii, p. 141.

31. M. B. Piotrovskiĭ, *Predanie o khim'iaritskom tsare As'ade al-Kamile* (Legend of the Himyarit Ruler As'ad al-Kāmil) (Moscow, 1977), pp. 19, 45—9, 66, 75, 81, 97.

32. P. Kahle, "The Qur'ān and the Arabiya", *Goldziher Memorial Volume* (Budapest, 1948), i, p. 174.

33. A. Rippin, "Ibn 'Abbās's *al-Lughāt fī-l-Qur'ān*", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, XLIV (1981), pp. 15—25; *idem*, Ibn 'Abbās's *Ghārib al-Qur'ān, ibid.*, XL (1983), pp. 332—3.

34. A. A. Romaskevich, "Persidskiĭ *tafsīr* Ṭabarī" ("Ṭabarī's Persian *tafsīr*"), *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, V (1930), pp. 801—6; A. A. Hekmat, "Une exégèse coranique du XIIe siècle en persan: Kashf al-asrār wa-'uddāt al-abrār", *Journale Asiatique*, CCXXXVIII (1950), pp. 91—6.

35. A. Erdoğan, "Kur'an tercümelerinin dil bakımından değerleri", *Vakıflar Dergisi*, I (Ankara, 1938); R. Hartmann, "Ein altosmanischer Kor'an-Kommentar", *Orientalilistische Literaturzeitung*, XXVII (1924), pp. 497—503; C. Huart, "Un commentaire du Qoran en dialecte turc de Qastamouni (XVème siècle)", *Journale Asiatique*, série II, XVIII (1921), pp. 161—216; K. H. Menges, "Zum turkistanischen *Tafsīr* des 12/13", *Ural-altaische Jahrbücher*, 36 (1964), pp. 348—59; J. Schacht, "Zwei altosmanische Kor'an Kommentare", *Orientalilistische Literaturzeitung*, XXX (1927), pp. 744—52; *idem*, "Weiteres zu den altosmanischen Korankommentaren", *Orientalilistische Literaturzeitung*, XXXI (1928), pp. 812—5; C. F. Seybold, "Ein anonymer alter turkischer Kommentar zum letrten Drittel des Korans in drei Handschriften zu Hamburg, Breslau und im Britischen Museum", *Festschrift E. Sachaus* (Berlin, 1915), pp. 326—32; A. Zajaczkowski, *Studia nad jezykiem staroosmanskim*, II. *Wybrane rozdiaty z anatolijskotureckiego przekladu Koranu* (Krakow, 1937); J. Eckmann, *Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation* (Budapest, 1978).

36. See, for example, A. K. Boĭko, *Arabskaia literatura v Egipte v XII—XIX vv.* (Arab Literature in Egypt in the Twelfth—Nineteenth Centuries) (Moscow, 1983), pp. 132—6.

37. I. K. Poonawala, "Ismā'īlī ta'wīl of the Qur'ān", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, p. 209.

38. At-Tustarī was born in Tustar and died in al-Baṣra. According to Ṣūfī tradition, he was a pupil and spiritual inheritor of the famed mystic Dhū-l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 246/860—61). After the latter's death, he delivered a public sermon which earned him numerous followers and enemies.

39. A. Böwering, *The Mystical Vision of Existance in Classical Islam. The Qur'ānic Hermenenties of the Sufi Sahl at-Tustarī (d. 283/896)* (Berlin—New York, 1979), pp. 110—28.

40. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 122—36.

41. Al-Ṭabarī was born in Āmul (Tabaristan). He lived in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq (died in Baghdad). In his youth, he was a follower of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and dedicated many years to the study of *hadīth*s. He followed at first the Shafi'ite *madhhab*, then attempted to found his own school, which received the name *Jarīriyya*. He entered into numerous and pointed polemics with the Ḥanbalites in which he rejected the authority of Ibn Ḥanbal in the area of *fiqh* and refuted several interpretations of Qur'ānic texts accepted by the Ḥanbalites. On al-Ṭabarī's *tafsīr*, see Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue, et théologie en Islam*, pp. 207—78; O. Loth, "Ṭabarī's Korankommentar", *Zeitschrift der Deutchen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXV (1881), pp. 588—628.

42. Rezvan, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

43. J. D. McAuliffe, "Qur'ānic Hermeneutics: the views of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, p. 48, n. 7

44. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*,, pp. 154—6.

45. Yet another synonym — *ma'na* — gradually gained acceptance in the titles of works which treated primarily linguistic aspects of the interpretation of the Sacred text.

46. A curious parallel to such "scriptures" can be seen in the apocryphal Books of Psalms of David (*Kitāb al-Zabūr li-Dāwūd*). In MS Or. 1 4.027, fols. 141a—148b (Leiden), the psalms are called *sūras* and are preceded by the *basmala*.

47. R. Tourneau, "Barghawāṭa", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1963), i, pp. 1043—5.

48. Mazher-ud-din Siddiqi, "Some aspects of the Mu'tazili interpretation of the Qur'ān", *Islamic Studies*, II (1963), pp. 95—120; Naṣr Ḥamīd Abū Zayd, *al-Ittijāh al-'aqli fī-l-tafsīr. Dirāsāt fī qādīyāt al-majāz fī-l-Qur'ān 'inda al-mu'tazila* (Beirut, 1982); D. Gimaret, *Une lecture mu'tazilite du Coran. Le tafsīr d'Abū 'Alī al-Djubbā'i (m. 303/915)* (Louvain—Paris, 1994).

49. Al-Zamakhsharī, who received the honorary sobriquets *Jār Allāh* and *Fakhr Khwārizm*, was born in Zamakhshar. He spent the greater part of his life in Gurganj, where he died. Despite a deformity (he lost the use of a broken leg in childhood), he enjoyed a success-

ful scholarly career and gained recognition at the court of the Khorezm-shāhs. A turning point in al-Zamakhsharī's life was a severe illnesss he endured at the age of 43. He twice completed the pilgrimage to Mecca and began to strive for isolation and abstinence. For more detail, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 117—77; M. al-Juwaynī, *Manhaj al-Zamakhsharī fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa bayn i'jāzihi* (Cairo, 1959); B. Z. Khalidov, "Zamakhshari (o zhizni i tvorchestve)" ("Al-Zamakhsharī: on his life and works", *Semitskie iazyki* (Moscow, 1965), ii, pp. 542—56; B. Z. Khalidov and A. B. Khalidov, "Biografiia az-Zamakhsharī, sostavlennaia ego sovremennikom al-Andarasbani" ("A biography of al-Zamakhsharī, drawn up by his contemporary, al-Andarasbānī"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka* (Leningrad, 1979), pp. 203—12; D. A. Agius, "Some bio-bibliographical notes on Abū'l Qāsim Mahmūd b.'Umar al-Zamakhsharī", *Al-Arabiyya*, XV/1—2 (1982), pp. 108—20.

50. H. Birkeland, *op. cit.*; also Abbot, *op. cit.*

51. M. Abdus Sattar, "*Wujūh al-Qur'ān*: a branch of *tafsīr* literature", *Islamic Studies*, XVII/2 (1978), pp. 143—4.

52. J. van Ess, "Verbal Inspiration? Language and revelation in classical Islamic theology", *The Qur'ān as Text*, pp. 177—211.

53. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. Muhammad al-Rāzī (1149/50—1209) was a noted representative of Ash'arite *kalām* and the author of more than 130 works. He was born in al-Rayy, traveled widely, and died in Herat. In his works he strove to bring *kalām* closer to philosophy. In questions of *fiqh*, he was closer to Shafi'ite positions. He conducted energetic and sharp polemics with the Mu'tazilites, Hanbalites, Ismā'īlites and Karramites, at whose urging, according to tradition, he was poisoned. He spoke out against the anti-philosophy views of al-Ghazālī. Toward the end of his life, he turned away from *kalām* and went over to Sūfī views. See Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 123; J. Jomier, "Les Mafātīh al-ghayb de Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, quelque dates, lieux, manuscrits," *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, XIII (1977), pp. 253—77; *idem*, "The Qur'ānic Commentary of Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: its sources and its originality", *International Congress*, pp. 93—111; *idem*, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606 H/1210 et les commentaires du Coran plus anciens", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, XV (1982), pp. 145—72; R. Arnaldez, "Trouvailles philosophiques dans la commentaire coranique de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī", *Études philosophiques et littéraires*, III (1968), pp. 11—24; M. 'Abd al-Hamīd, *Al-Rāzī_mufassīran* (Baghdad, 1974). R. P. MacNeil's *An Index to the Commentary of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (London, 1933)), while announced and included in many bibliographies, was, in fact, never published. See M. Lagarde, *Index du Grand commentaire de Fahr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Leiden, 1997).

54. From the tenth century onward, virtually nothing was added to justifications of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*. Thus, the leader of the Egyptian modernists, Muhammad 'Abduh (d. 1905), mainly repeated earlier arguments. The Muslim theologian al-Rafī'i (d. 1937), who wrote an entire work on the concept of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, defining it as the sum of two concepts: a) the impossibility of an ordinary man's performing a miracle (*mu'jiza*) comparable to the Qur'ān; b) the centuries-long persistence of this inability. For more detail, see A. Allem, "I'jāzu-l-Qur'ān", *Islamic Culture*, VII (1933), pp. 64—82 and 215—85; G. von Grünebaum, *A Tenth-Century Document of Arab Litarary Theory and Criticism: the Section of Poetry of al-Baqillani I'jāz al-Qur'ān* (Chicago, 1950); C.-F.Audebert, *Al-Hattābī et l'inimitabilité du Coran: traduction et introduction au Bayān I'ğāz al-Qur'ān* (Damascus, 1982); Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 79—83, 231—2; I. Boullat, "'I'jāz and Related Topics", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, pp. 139—58; M. Radscheit, "'I'ğāz al-Qur'ān im Koran?", *The Qur'ān as Text*, pp. 113—24.

55. The concept of *i'jāz al-Qur'ān* is linked to the doctrine of the Qur'ān's untranslatability which was developed simultaneously by Muslim theologians: a "miracle" cannot be replicated by an ordinary man; hence, such attempts are harmful and deserving of punishment. However, translation (*tarjama*) in the sense of "commentary" (*tafsīr*) was permitted under the condition that the original text not be replaced by the commentary. These ideas retained their force until the 1920s, when the Turkish policy of "Turkization" led to the publication of Turkish translations of the Qur'ān without the original Arabic text. This practice was approved by al-Azhar in the 1930s. At present, the Qur'ān has been translated into the majority of European and Asian languages, as well as into many African languages. Moreover, a significant number of these translations were completed by Muslims. See R. Paret, J. D. Pearson, "Al-Kur'an" (section 9: Translation of the Kur'an)", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1971), v, pp. 429—32. In this connection, great efforts are made by the specially created Center for the Translation of the Qur'ān, located in Qūm. We note here a curious edition put together by a private Iranian collector (Dr. Mir Mahmoud Da'wati, *The first Sūrah of the Holy Quran Al. Fatehah translated into 70 languages* (Tehran, 1995), which contains both facsimiles of the text and bibliographic information. No less active in this regard is the Ahmadiyya Movement, which is releasing a series of translations, some into African languages, based on the English translation included in a monumental three-volume *tafsīr* (1963).

56. The specialised study of such "imitations" will aid us in moving away from a unitary understanding of the multi-faceted culture of Islam, in which an entire range of evaluations existed even in the medieval period in relation to the Qur'ān. See I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies* (London, 1971), pp. 363—5; A. S. Tritton, "The average man in early Islam", *British Society of Middle Eastern Studies Bulletin*, X (1940—1942), pp. 170—2; J. van Ess, "Some Fragments of the Mu'āradāt al-Qur'ān attributed to Ibn al-Muqaffa'", *Studia Arabica et Islamica. Festschrift Ihsan 'Abbas* (Beiruth, 1981), pp. 151—64; A. A. Dolinina, "Koranicheskie tsitaty i reministsentsii v "Makamakh" al-Khariri" ("Qur'ānic citations and reminiscences in the *Maqāmāt* of al-Harīrī"), *Islam: religiia, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 156—60.

57. Abū-l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, iii, p. 211.

58. See, for example, Ibn Taymiyya, *Usūl al-Tafsīr* (Kuwait, 1971), pp. 134—8.

59. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūtī, *Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1951), ii, pp. 180—1.

60. The tendentiousness which marks works in various genres of Muslim exegesis should undoubtedly be made the object of special study. This approach was demonstrated, for example, by A. Rippin in the course of researching fragments of a polemic over Qur'ānic "readings" (*al-qirā'āt*), see 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 (1979), pp. 107—13; and by M. Kister, who analysed on the basis of the story of Ādam the characteristics of legendary material which found its way into *tafsīr*s. See M. Kister, "Legends in *tafsīr* and *hadīth* literature: the creation of Ādam and related stories", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, pp. 82—116. The same is with M. Ayoub's article on the development of Shi'ite exegesis, see his "Study of Imāmī Shi'i *tafsīr*". The list could be extended.

In Russian Qur'ānic studies, the connection between *tafsīr*s and historical reality was convincingly demonstrated by M. B. Piotrovsky, who examined the reflection in early exegesis of Qahtānid-'Adnānid polemics (see his *Predanie*) and by S. M. Prozorov, who revealed the profound link between the development of Shi'ite exegesis and the socio-political history of Arab-Muslim society, see his *Arabskaia istoricheskaia literatura*.

61. Abū 'Alī al-Fadl b. al-Hasan b. al-Fadl al-Tabarsī was a Shi'ite *faqīh*, an expert on the tradition, and Qur'ānic commentator. He lived for many years in Meshed, where he taught and created a number of works which established Shi'ite doctrine. In 1128—29, al-Tabarsī moved to Sabzawār (North Khorasan), one of the centres of Shi'ite scholarship and propaganda. There, perhaps under the influence of Sūfī ideas, he isolated himself from social life and dedicated himself entirely to Qur'ānic commentary. A tradition asserts that the reason for this was a miraculous event: when he was 60 years old, he had a stroke, lost consciousness, and fell to the ground.

Al-Ṭabarsī awoke in the grave and began to recite the Qur'ān in a loud voice, promising in the event of his salvation to dedicate his life to its study and interpretation. He was heard and saved. The tradition also recounts that while al-Ṭabarsī was occupied with commentary on *sūra* 20:17, he had a vision in which Muhammad and Mūsā spoke with him. Al-Ṭabarsī died, having lived nearly to ninety, on the day of *'īd al-adḥā*. See O. A. Musa Abdul, "The unnoticed Mufassir shaykh Tabarsi", *Islamic Quarterly*, XV (1971), pp. 96—105; *idem*, "The Majma' al-Bayān of Ṭabarsī", *ibid.*, pp. 106—20.

62. I. K. Poonawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 199—222; Al-Ḥabīb al-Fikkī, *al-Ta'wīl: ususuhu wa ma'anihi fī-l-madhhab al-Ismā'īlī. Qāḍī al-Nu'mān* (Tunis, s.a.); A. Nanji, "Towards a Hermeneutie of Qur'ānic and other narratives in Isma'ili Thought", *Islam and the History of Religions: Essays in* Methodology, ed. R. C. Martin (Berkeley, 1982); A. A. Semenov, "Vzgliad na Koran v vostochnom ismailizme" ("The view of the Qur'ān in Eastern Ismai'ilism"), *Iran*, I (1927).

63. Y. Marquet, "Coran et création. Traduction et commentaire de deux extraits des Ikhwān al-ṣafā'", *Arabica*, XI (1964), pp. 279—85; *idem, Philosophie des Ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (Algiers, 1975).

64. M. Allonso, "El "ta'wīl" y la hermeneutica sacra de Averroes", *Andalus*, VII (1942), pp. 127—51; I. Michot, "Le commentaire avicenniene du verse 'Puis il se fourna vers le ciel'. Edition, traduction, notes", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, XIV (1980), pp. 317—22.

65. A. V. Sagadeev, "Filosofskaia robinzonada Ibn Tufaĭla" ("The philosophical Robinsonada of Ibn Ṭufayl"), *Filosofiia zarubezhnogo Vostoka o sotsial'noĭ sushchnosti cheloveka* (Moscow, 1986), p. 56.

66. Cited from Ibn Rushd, "Oproverzhenie oproverzheniia (fragmenty)" ("Refutation of refutation (fragments)), transl. into Russian by A. I. Rubin and A. V. Sagadeev, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia mysliteleĭ stran Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka* (Moscow, 1961), p. 524.

67. Wansbrough, *op. cit.*, pp. 242—4.

68. Muhyī al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī Ibn 'Arabī (Ibn al-'Arabi) al-Ḥātimī al-Ṭā'ī (1165—1240), an extremely important Muslim philosopher and mystic. He was born in Andalusia and travelled widely in the Muslim world. Among his followers, he was venerated as "the Greatest Teacher". He left behind approximately 300 works, in which he expounded his own teaching, later known as the doctrine of the "unity of being" (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), which represents a complex mix of Ṣūfī theosophy, Muslim metaphysics, certain methods of *kalām* with elements of neo-Platonism, and gnosticism and Eastern Christian teachings. He rigorously defended the precedence of intuitive knowledge over scholasticism and rationalism. See A. Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabī in the Later Islamic Tradition : the Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (New York, 1999).

69. P. Lory, *Les commentaires ésotérique du Coran d'après 'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Kāshānī* (Paris, 1980).

70. The interpretations of Ibn 'Arabī are today widely used to ground the basic tenets of the Aḥmadiyya Movement's doctrine, which is condemned by the majority of the Muslim community. In our time, the publication of Ibn 'Arabī's works in Muslim countries has been linked with difficulties as a result of the opposition of Islamic authorities. See, for example, Maḥmūd Qāsim, "Tafsīr majhūl wa muthir li-l-Qur'ān li-l-mutaṣawwif al-kabīr Muhyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabī", *Majallāt al-Khillat* (December, 1970).

71. Nwiya, *op. cit.*; *idem*, "Le tafsīr mystique attribué à Ǧa'far Ṣādiq", *Mélanges de l'Université St. Joseph* (1968); Naṣr Ḥamīd Abū Zayd, *Falsafat al-ta'wīl: dirāsa fī ta'wīl al-Qur'ān 'inda Ibn 'Arabī* (Beirut, 1983)

72. D. Grill, "Le personage coranique de Pharaon d'après Ibn 'Arabī, *Bulletin d'études orientales*, XXIX (1977), pp. 179—87.

73. Ayoub, "Study of Imāmī Shi'i *tafsīr*", p. 183; Poonawala, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Powers, *op. cit.*, p. 126, n. 42.

74. B. T. Lawson, "Interpretation as revelation: the Qur'ān commentary of Sayyid 'Alī Muhammad Shirāzī, the Bāb (1818—1850)", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, pp. 223—56.

75. Al-Ḥusayn al-Akhdal, *Kashf al-ghiṭā' 'an haqā'iq al-tawḥīd*. Nasharahu Ahmad Baqīr Mahmūd (Tunis, 1964), p. 34. We thank A. Knysh for drawing our attention to this fragment.

76. Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Bayḍāwī, a well-known Muslim exegete, *faqīh*, and historian. He lived in Shiraz, where he was chief *qāḍī*, and in Tabriz. He followed the Shafi'ite *madhhab*. In addition to a *tafsīr*, he left behind several large works, including a work on *fiqh* which is based on al-Urmawī's (d. 1253) reworking of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*.

77. Fragments of al-Bayḍāwī's *tafsīr* were on more than one occasion reproduced in Europe for pedagogical purposes: G. R. Henzius, *Fragmenta arabica....* (Petropoli, 1828); A. F. L. Beeston, *Baiḍāwī's Commentary on sūrah 12 of the Qur'ān*. Text accompanied by an interpretative rendering and notes (Oxford, 1978); see also E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i ego tolkovaniia" ("The Qur'ān and its interpretation"), in *Khrestomatiia po Islamu*, comp. and ed. by S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1994), pp. 70—4.

78. Ibn Taymiyya, *op. cit.*, p. 93; 'Imād al-Dīn Abū-l-Fidā' Ismā'īl b. Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm* (Beirut, 1385/1965), i, p. 79. See also N. Calder, "*Tafsīr* from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr: problems in the description of a genre, illustrated with reference to the history of Abraham", in *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, eds. Hawting and Shareef, pp. 101—40; McAuliffe, *op. cit.*, pp. 46—62.

80. E. Sivan, *Radical Islam. Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven—London, 1985), p. 100.

81. Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā* (Cairo, 1909), iv, pp. 198 and 280—1. We followed the translation by E. Sivan in his *Radical Islam*, pp. 97—8.

82. W. Graham, "Those who study and teach the Qur'ān", *International Congress for the Study of the Qur'ān*. Australian National University, Canberra, 8—13 May 1980, pp. 9—28.

83. A. E. Shmidt, *'Abdal-Vakhkhāb Sha'rānī i ego "Kniga rassypannykh zhemchuzhin"* ('Abd al-Wahhāb Sha'rānī and His "Book of the Scattered Pearls") (St. Petersburg, 1914), Appendix, pp. 03 and 07.

84. See, for example, A. H. Johns, "Qur'ānic exegesis in the Malay world", in *Approaches*, ed. Rippin, p. 264.

85. Jalāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Anṣarī al-Mahallī al-Shāfi'ī (1388—1459), a noted Egyptian *faqīh* and exe-gete who taught in Cairene *madrasa*. Al-Maḥallī was not able to complete his best known work, *Tafsīr*. According to the tradition, the *Tafsīr* was completed in 1465 in forty days by his famed pupil, Abū-l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abī Bakr b. Muhammad Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khudayrī al-Shāfi'i al-Suyūṭī (1445—1505), one of the most productive authors not only of the Mamlūke era, but, possibly, in all of Arab-Muslim literature. al-Suyūṭī attempted to encompass all spheres of Muslim scholarship of his time; the list of his works runs to some 600 titles.

86. See Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn 'Abbās*".

87. F. Abbot, "A reformation in Islam?", *Bulletin of the Herry Martyn Institue of Islamic Studies*, (1963, April—June), pp. 5—24.

88. E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VIII/2. *West-Östlichen Divans* (the Qur'ān in Russia)", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/1, pp. 32—62.

89. J. Jomier, P. Caspar, "L'exégèse scientifique du Coran d'après le Cheikh Amīn al-Khūlī", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, IV (1957), pp. 269—80; *idem*, "Le Cheikh Ṭanṭawī Jawharī (1862—1940) et son commentaire du Coran", *ibid.*, V (1958), pp. 115—74; F. De Jong, "The works of Ṭanṭawī Jawharī (1862—1940). Some bibliographical notes", *Bibliotheka Orientalis*, XXXIV (1977), pp. 153—61.

90. Muḥammad 'Abduh, a prominent Egyptian theologian and public figure. He was exiled from Egypt for his participation in the 'Arabī Pāshā uprising. Upon his return, he occupied a number of extremely important posts: he headed the Administrative Council of al-Azhar, where he delivered lectures and reformed the system of education; being the grand *muftī* of Egypt, and proposed a number of fundamental reforms in Muslim legislation.

91. On new Muslim exegesis, see J. M. S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation (1880-1960)* (Leiden, 1961); J. Jomier, *Le Commentaire coranique du Manar: tendences modernes de l'exégèse coranique en Egypt* (Paris, 1954); idem, "Quelques positions actuelles de l'exégèse coranique en Egypte revelées par polemique récente", *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire*, I (1954), pp. 39—72; J. J. G. Jansen, *The Interpretation of the Koran in Modern Egypt* (Leiden, 1974).

92. See Maulana Abū-l-Kalam Azad, *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*, transl. by Syed Abdul-Latif (Bombay, 1962); see also K. Cragg, *op.cit.*, pp. 14—32; S. A. Kamali, "Abūl Kalam Azad's commentary on the Qur'ān", *Muslim World*, XLIX (1959), pp. 5—18.

93. F. K. Abott, "Maulana Maududi on Quranic interpretation", *Muslim World*, XLVIII (1958), pp. 6—19.

94. Mamadou Dia, *Essais sur l'Islam* (Dakar, 1977-1979), i—ii; Cragg, *op. cit.*, pp. 33—52.

95. S. Hawwā, *Min ajl khuṭwa ilā-l-amām* (Beirut,1979), pp. 12—3, 141, 211.

96. *Idem, Jund Allāh* (Beirut, 1977), pp. 12, 59, 205.

97. Cragg, *op. cit.*, pp. 48—9.

98. Sayyid Quṭb, *Ma'ālim fī-l-tarīq* (Beirut, 1972), pp. 196—7.

99. In the opinion of the "Takfir" group, Islam has been in a state of *jāhiliyya* since the tenth century.

100. Sayyid Quṭb (1906—1966), theoretician and ideologist for the "Association of Muslim Brothers". He was born in the town of Mushā' (Middle Egypt) into a distinguished, yet impoverished, family. Under the influence of his father, a provincial political figure linked to the "Waṭan" party of Muṣṭafā Kamīl, he gained an early acquaintance with the political problems of his time. He attended a pedagogical college, and later the institute Dār al-'Ulūm. He taught in the provinces, was an inspector in the Ministry of Education, and the author of many rejected projects to reorganise the educational system. He was a member of the "Wafd" party, but later left it, although he retained an interest in party politics until the end of the Second World War. Between 1933 and 1947 he released eleven books (mainly literary criticism, poetry, and autobiographical prose), of which two were connected with the Qur'ān. In numerous magazine and newspaper articles he proved himself to be an outstanding polemicist. Up to 1946, he was under the influence of 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād, one of the ideologists of Arab nationalism. The harsh criticism of King Fārūq's regime which Quṭb expressed in his articles led to his *de facto* exile from the country in 1946, when he was posted indefinitely to the United States. Surrounded by the American way of life and cut off from his home and familiar ties, Quṭb experienced a profound internal crisis and turned to Islam as, in his view, the only system of values capable of resisting "individualism, the mercantile West's cult of the dollar, and the communist East's militant atheism, which leads human beings to absolute degradation". His condemnation of the American way of life was couched in such harsh terms that after his return to Egypt in 1951, he was compelled to resign from the Ministry of Education. 1951 also saw Sayyid Quṭb join the "Association of Muslim Brothers". He would later call this date his second birth. One year later, he was made a member of the Association's Directorial Board (*Maktab al-irshād*) as head of the section of Islamic propaganda. The new regime, which came to power as a result of the revolution of 1952, co-operated for a time with the Association, but later broke with it; in 1953, Sayyid Quṭb spent three months in prison. The attempt on Nasser's life made by a member of the Association on 26 October 1954 led to a wave of arrests. One of the first to be arrested was Sayyid Quṭb; after torture, he was sentenced to 25 years of prison camp. It was there that he succeeded in writing, and even publishing in Cairo as a series of brochures, his noted *tafsīr, Fī zilāl al-Qur'ān*, as well as a number of other works which together made up the ideological foundation for the "Association of Muslim Brothers". In 1964, at the request of the President of Iraq, Sayyid Quṭb was freed for a short time, although he was rearrested in less than a year. After interrogation and torture, Quṭb and two of his comrades-in-arms were sentenced to death by a tribunal headed by future Egyptian President Anwār Sadāt. They were hanged on 29 August 1966.

Between 1951 and 1966, Sayyid Quṭb wrote eight works in which he developed various aspects of the ideology of "Islamic rebirth". The content of his last work, *Ma'ālim fī-l-tarīq*, a sort of political testament in which four of thirteen chapters were taken entirely from his *tafsīr*, was the reason for the author's final arrest and execution. Fanatic conviction, outstanding literary and polemical gifts, and a martyr's death made Sayyid Quṭb one of the most venerated figures in conservative Muslim circles. His works, today published in enormous editions and translated into major Western European languages, form one of the bases of contemporary Islamic propaganda.

101. O. Carré, *Mistique et politique, "revolutionary" reading of the Koran by Sayyid Quṭb, radical Muslim Brother* (Paris, 1984); A. H. Jones, "'Let my people go!' Sayyid Quṭb and the vacation of Moses", *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, I (1990), pp. 143—70.

102. Sayyid Quṭb, *Fī zilāl al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1978), i, p. 18.

103. *Al-Taswīr al-fannī fī-l-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1945); *Mashāhid al-qiyāma fī-l-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1947); *Ma'rakat al-Islām wa-l-ra'smāliyya* (Cairo, 1951).

104. This thesis forms the basis for arguments by supporters of the most extremist tendencies, who consider that the "*jāhiliyya* nature" of contemporary Egyptian and, more broadly, Muslim, society requires a rejection of contact with it, as with unbelievers, and struggle against the powers that be (Muṣṭafā Shukrī, 'Alī 'Abduh Ismā'īl). It also inspired more moderate figures, who assert that when Sayyid Quṭb spoke of Muslim countries, he meant the term *jāhiliyya* in a primarily moral and intellectual sense and never appealed to *takfir* (Yūsuf al-'Azm). The latter view is shared by Quṭb's brother, Muḥammad, who is the main publisher and interpreter of his sibling's works.

105. Quṭb, *Fī zilāl al Qur'ān*, commentary on *sūra* 5 : 44—48. We follow the translation by E. Sivan, *op.c it.*, p. 24.

106. Sivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 103—4.

107. Cf. Qur'ān, see Hawwā, *Min Ajl Khuṭwa*, p. 34, Sivan, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

108. 'Abd al-Salām Faraj, in particular, wrote of this in *The Absent Precept* (1981), see Sivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 127—8.

109. Abū-l 'Ala' al-Mawdoodi, *The Islamic Law and Constitution* (Lahore, 1977), pp. 211—2.

110. Sayyid Quṭb, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Shūrā* (Beirut, 1973), pp. 83—5; idem, *Ma'ālim fī tarīq*, p. 3; see also Sivan, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

111. Ali Shariati, *On the Sociology of Islam* (Berkeley, 1979) (translated by Hamid Algar); *idem, Marxism and Other Western Fallacies* (Berkeley, 1980) (translated by R. Campbell); *idem, The Visage of Muhammad* (Tehran, 1981) (translated by A.A. Sacheddin); *idem, Civilisation and Modernisation* (Houston, 1979). See also, Cragg, *op. cit.*, pp. 72—90.

112. See, for example, Kamil Husayn, "Le commentaire "scientifique" du Coran: une innovation absurde", trad. par P. Noury, *Mélanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Études Orientales du Caire* , XVI (1983), pp. 293—300.

113. The author possesses materials from the Fifth Conference of the Commission on Scientific Signs in the Qur'ān and Sunna (3—6 September 1993), which brought together participants from Saudi Arabia, the United States, Canada, and a number of other countries to present reports on "scientific *i'jāz*" such as "The I'jāz of the Qur'ān and Sunna in preventive medicine and microbiology". One should also include in this heading a curious attempt to see in the text of the Qur'ān a secret mathematical code based on the number 19, see Rashad Khalifa, *Quran: Visual Presentation of the Miracle* (Tucson, 1982). The appearance of such interpretations is absolutely inevitable

in a society where contemporary scientific knowledge is acquired and layered onto a traditional religious-cultural paradigm. In 1989, during a series of lectures on the Qur'ān in the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan, the author was addressed by a young Azerbaijani physicist who knew the Qur'ān only in Russian translation and proceeded to share observations which in many ways coincided with those advanced by supporters of "scientific *i'jāz*". Of the latter's existence, the young man had not the slightest idea.

114. For the English translation, see Najib Mahfuz, *Children of Gebelawi*, transl. by Ph. Stewart (London, 1981).

Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. Manuscript A 536 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, copy dated by 1519, fols. 293b—294a, 11.7×13.0 cm.

ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS
AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES

E. A. Rezvan, N. S. Kondybaev.

THE ENTRAP SOFTWARE: TEST RESULTS

In the article published in *Manuscripta Orientalia* in September 1996 [1], we declared our intention to publish test results for the ENTRAP software, a program intended for the semi-automatic analysis of hand-written script. A large Qur'ānic fragment (call number E20) [2], held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, provided us with a good material to test the software suggested. This fragment, a vertical-format codex (34.0×52.5 cm), is undoubtedly one of the most valuable early copies of the Qur'ān to have reached us. It consists of 81 folios; the text is written on a high-quality parchment and contains 39.3% of the whole text of the Qur'ān. In all, the surviving folios comprise (in full or partly) the text of forty-four *sūras* (2—11, 20, 24—39, 43—58, 70 and 71). The text of twenty-two of these is complete (*sūras* 10, 25, 31—34, 36—38, 45—57).

The surviving fragment reveals the hands of two copyists (we designate their hands as A and B), who divided their work into two equal parts. The first transcribed *sūras* 2—11, which makes up the first half of the Qur'ān's text, and the other — the text beginning with *sūra* 20 and further. It is, however, possible that the second scribe began his work with *sūra* 17, the beginning of which corresponds to the beginning of *juz'* 15, which starts approximately in the middle of the Qur'ānic text. The number of lines per page varies widely (hand A — from 23 to 31 lines; hand B — from 21 to 26), as does the size of letters. No sign of preliminary ruling can be seen.

Both hands of the fragment have common features with the style of the handwriting known from written texts from Cairo, Damascus, Ṣan'ā', as well as from the al-Ṭā'if's inscription dated to A.D. 677—78. The usual designation of this style is "late Ḥijāzī". Taking into account Fr. Déroche's classification, both hands can be considered as corresponding on the whole to styles B I and B II of the "early 'Abbāsid scripts" [3]. The fashion of writing medial *jīm/ḥā'/khā'*, however, corresponds mainly to style A I, according to the same classification. On the whole, the writing in our manuscript reflects a transitive phase of Arabic script development, from Ḥijāzī to later writing styles. *Alif* is usually written perpendicular to the line, although it is sometimes slightly inclined to the right. The same is with the vertical stroke of *ṭā'* and *lām*. Hand B, surer and more professional,

is characterised by a distinctly rounded end of final *jīm/ḥa'/khā'*, *'ayn* and *ghayn*, which distinguishes hand B from hand A.

The manuscript of the Qur'ān dates to the late eighth—early ninth century. It seems to demonstrate the mature stage of the development of one of the two early written styles of copying Qur'āns, closely linked to Northwest Arabia and to the region of Syrian border. A large number of the manuscript's orthographic and palaeographic features links it with the Ḥijāzī manuscripts discovered in Ṣan'ā'. They belong to the Qur'ān type designated by Estelle Whellan as "type 2" [4].

The establishing of even the smallest variance in hands can be of use for attributing Muslim manuscripts. This consideration explains our interest in the ENTRAP software. The question was whether the ENTRAP software can be used to distinguish hands' variance properly. To answer this question, hands A and B of our manuscript, very close to each other, were employed.

For our analysis, we chose different positions (from five to nine) of Arabic letters — initial, medial and final for *'ayn/ghayn* and *alif*, final — for *nūn* and *ṭā'*, medial — for *mīm*, initial — for *jīm/ḥā'/khā'*, medial — for *ḥā'*, final — for *qāf*, and the ligature *alif/lām* as they are written by the scribes of the Qur'ān. The letters were chosen at random. The analysis was conducted as follows: (i) letter images were borrowed from the scanned variant of the manuscript's text; (ii) a group of parameters was obtained for every symbol for creating a statistical model; (iii) variances for two groups of symbols, representing hand A and hand B, were established and analysed; (iv) hypothesis based on the statistical model employed was tested.

The results of our calculations are shown in *Table 1*. The analysis was conducted with the aid of statistical methods (dispersion analysis was used). We tested hypothesis H_0 that the mean values (expected values) of the measured parameters for a certain symbol will coincide with the values obtained for the same parameters of the same symbol in each of the two groups (hand A and hand B).

This means that if hypothesis H_0 fails for even one of the parameters analysed, the expected values are not equal. In other words, the probability distribution of values of a parameter is divided by the sum of the two probability dis-

tributions. These groups are different for the writing of the same symbol because they belong to different hands.

The statistical criterion was formulated in the following manner: if $F_{r-1,n-r} > C$, then hypothesis H_0 on the coincidence of the mean parameter values from different groups fails, where

F — distribution with r-1, n-r degrees of freedom

r — number of groups

n — number of copies of any symbol

C — constant from table of F-distribution under level of test value.

Mean values for all parameters of the symbol for each group are listed in *Table 2*. Three parameters were analysed:

As — degree of possible distortion

En — entropy

Ma — expected result

The test of statistical hypothesis H_0 was conducted for the following level of criterion significance: $\alpha = 0.05$, $C = 5.32$ and for $\alpha = 0.01$, $C = 11.26$ and $r = 2.0$. Results are shown in *Table 3*. Five symbols met our statistical criterion. Thanks to these symbols, we can distinguish hand A from hand B with a reasonable level of confidence.

The approach described in our previous article and realised by means of the ENTRAP software reveals the difference between very similar hands. It gives us the opportunity to identify hand-written symbols.

As is seen from *Table 2*, the approach described above can be of use for solving the problem of symbol classification as part of the task of automatic optical character recognition for hand-written texts. A statistical model employed enables us to see consistent separation of symbols by classes. Reflected in *Table 2* a powerful ICR (Intelligent Character Recognition) system could be based upon this approach.

Table 1

The results of computation

1.	Initial 'ayn				2.	Alif			
	A		B			A		B	
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter	symbol		parameter	symbol	parameter
As		186.75		185.806			189.252		189.05
En		7.319		7.664			7.078		7.006
Ma		29.825		32.574			33.528		33.537
As		186.356		184.455			189.503		189.307
En		6.989		7.33			6.976		7.03
Ma		28.575		30.631			33.065		33.636
As		185.513		186.583			188.593		189.606
En		7.416		7.346			7.442		6.876
Ma		30.508		28.939			32.858		32.438
As		184.957		186.21			189.708		189.279
En		7.511		7.514			7.06		7.076
Ma		30.883		31.74			32.652		33.889
As		186.194		186.421			189.458		189.271
En		7.503		7.309			7.055		7.052
Ma		30.234		30.808			34.073		33.752

*Continuation of **Table 1***

3.	Final nūn				4.	Middle 'ayn			
	A		B			A		B	
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter		symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter
As En Ma		188.419 7.48 35.371		188.94 6.909 31.635	As En Ma		180.264 8.126 37.332		177.062 7.938 41.906
As En Ma		187.611 7.634 35.195		187.891 7.285 32.61	As En Ma		185.442 8.06 32.964		180.92 8.107 40.422
As En Ma		188.717 7.526 34.356		189.294 7.504 35.206	As En Ma		178.272 8.306 45.113		179.057 8.133 43.881
As En Ma		188.477 7.677 37.78		187.826 7.06 28.649	As En Ma		177.5 8.037 47.437		175.051 7.913 48.414
As En Ma		188.128 7.62 34.951		188.374 7.571 34.488	As En Ma		177.845 8.123 41.481		179.262 8.086 44.646
As En Ma					As En Ma		180.804 8.134 38.554		182.596 8.229 42.547
As En Ma					As En Ma				176.906 7.995 45.003
As En Ma					As En Ma				182.127 8.095 36.98
As En Ma					As En Ma				184.687 8.041 32.267

Continuation of Table 1

5.		Ṭā'			6.		Final 'ayn		
	A		B			A		B	
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter		symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter
As		188.491		190.379			189.226		191.242
En		7.925		7.418			7.45		7.109
Ma		45.0		40.517			32.024		43.139
As		188.026		189.948			189.311		191.505
En		8.002		7.575			7.749		6.837
Ma		46.078		41.568			36.823		42.477
As		188.612		190.262			190.522		190.412
En		7.932		7.518			7.574		7.257
Ma		44.17		43.574			42.664		32.676
As		186.884		189.941			190.134		190.802
En		7.709		7.686			7.571		7.38
Ma		36.424		45.274			39.136		41.598
As		188.164		190.062			189.834		190.439
En		8.038		7.565			7.634		7.474
Ma		47.29		44.5			39.556		43.009

7.		Middle mīm			8.		Initial jīm/ḥā'/khā'		
	A		B			A		B	
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter		symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter
As		178.565		180.497			182.397		186.744
En		8.467		8.23			8.042		7.62
Ma		39.144		36.718			35.369		29.057
As		179.925		179.25			181.453		184.939
En		8.183		8.29			7.775		7.886
Ma		36.318		37.415			33.673		32.831
As		180.112		179.292			183.92		183.291
En		8.471		8.214			7.963		8.051
Ma		37.245		35.537			32.982		35.522
As		179.669		181.053			183.542		181.586
En		8.281		8.424			7.844		8.013
Ma		40.219		35.347			31.681		35.983

7.	Middle *mīm*				8.	Initial *jīm/ḥā'/khā'*			
	A		B			A		B	
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter		symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter
As		179.909		177.953	As		182.589		185.282
En		8.367		8.452	En		7.922		7.738
Ma		42.024		40.455	Ma		35.128		29.545
As					As		182.934		182.61
En					En		7.947		8.143
Ma					Ma		35.461		36.764
As					As		185.22		184.411
En					En		7.867		7.888
Ma					Ma		31.719		32.062
As					As		185.259		
En					En		7.714		
Ma					Ma		30.85		

9.	Middle *ḥā'*				10.	*Lām/alif*			
	A		B			A		B	
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter		symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter
As		182.894		182.116	As		184.853		184.899
En		8.186		8.242	En		7.668		7.621
Ma		32.722		34.252	Ma		33.391		34.238
As		181.683		183.628	As		185.097		188.705
En		8.26		8.269	En		7.734		7.294
Ma		34.505		32.903	Ma		33.581		32.596
As		182.153		182.593	As		185.621		186.849
En		8.074		8.198	En		7.605		7.42
Ma		32.602		32.496	Ma		32.199		31.488
As		182.88		181.884	As		184.874		185.997
En		8.102		8.239	En		7.55		7.502
Ma		31.371		34.365	Ma		31.938		31.925
As		182.214		180.939	As		186.154		186.605
En		8.074		8.024	En		7.723		7.561
Ma		31.938		33.017	Ma		31.878		31.099

Continuation of **Table 1**

11.				Final *qāf*					
	A		B		A		B		
	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter	symbol	parameter	
As En Ma		188.538 6.999 28.849		189.591 7.202 27.071		189.777 7.183 28.578		189.41 7.136 26.031	
As En Ma		189.001 7.388 28.851		189.621 7.175 28.224					
As En Ma		188.567 7.153 29.863		188.71 7.028 27.966		189.744 6.911 29.152		186.507 7.326 27.346	

Table 2

Mean values of symbols

	Symbol	Hand	Number	As	En	Ma
1		A	5	185.954	7.3476	30.0050
	Initial *'ayn*	B	5	185.895	7.4326	30.9384
			10	*185.925*	*7.3901*	*30.4717*
2		A	5	189.303	7.1222	33.2352
	Alif	B	5	189.303	7.0080	33.4504
		All	10	*189.303*	*7.0651*	*33.3428*
3		A	5	188.270	7.5874	35.5306
	Final *nūn*	B	5	188.465	7.2658	32.5176
		All	10	*188.368*	*7.4266*	*34.0241*
4		A	6	180.021	8.1310	40.4802
	Middle *'ayn*	B	9	179.741	8.0597	41.7851
		All	15	*179.881*	*8.0953*	*41.1326*
5		A	5	188.035	7.9212	43.7924
	Ṭā'	B	5	190.118	7.5524	43.0866
		All	10	*189.077*	*7.7368*	*43.4395*
6		A	5	189.805	7.5956	38.0406
	Final *'ayn*	B	5	190.880	7.2114	40.5798
		All	10	*190.343*	*7.4035*	*39.3102*
7		A	5	179.636	8.3538	38.9900
	Middle *mīm*	B	5	179.609	8.3220	37.0944
		All	10	*179.623*	*8.3379*	*38.0422*

Continuation of **Table 2**

Symbol		Hand	Number	As	En	Ma
8	Initial *jīm/ḥā'/khā'*	A	8	183.414	7.8843	33.3579
		B	7	184.123	7.9056	33.1091
		All	15	*183.769*	*7.8949*	*33.2335*
9	Middle *hā'*	A	5	182.365	8.1392	32.6276
		B	5	182.232	8.1944	33.4066
		All	10	*182.298*	*8.1668*	*33.0171*
10	*Lām/alif*	A	5	185.320	7.6560	32.5974
		B	5	186.611	7.4796	32.2692
		All	10	*185.965*	*7.5678*	*32.4333*
11	Final *qāf*	A	5	189.125	7.1268	29.0586
		B	5	188.768	7.1734	27.3276
		All	10	*188.947*	*7.1501*	*28.1931*

Table 3

Results of analytical treatment

(for $\alpha = 0.05$, C = 5.32 and $\alpha = 0.05$, C = 11.26)

Symbol			As	En	Ma
3	Final *nūn*	$F_{1.8}$	0.31846	**5.9701**	**5.37534**
		$\alpha = 0.05$	—	+	+
		$\alpha = 0.01$	—	—	—
5	*Ṭā'*	$F_{1.8}$	**42.6509**	**26.3858**	0.11159
		$\alpha = 0.05$	+	+	—
		$\alpha = 0.01$	+	+	—
6	Final *'ayn*	$F_{1.8}$	**10.7735**	**9.92659**	0.9074
		$\alpha = 0.05$	+	+	—
		$\alpha = 0.01$	—	—	—
10	*Lām/alif*	$F_{1.8}$	3.70392	**6.93993**	0.2451
		$\alpha = 0.05$	—	+	—
		$\alpha = 0.01$	—	—	—
11	Final *qāf*	$F_{1.8}$	0.30403	0.23913	**15.24**
		$\alpha = 0.05$	—	—	+
		$\alpha = 0.01$	—	—	+

Notes

1. E. A. Rezvan, N. S. Kondybaev, "New tool for analysis of handwritten script", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/3 (1996), pp. 43—53.

2. E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VI. Emergence of the Canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), pp. 13—54.

3. F. 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, II.

4. E. Whellan, "Writing the word of god: some early Qur'ān manuscripts and their milieu", pt. I, *Ars Orientalis*, XX (1990), pp. 119—23, figs. 19—22.

T. A. Pang

A MANCHU MANUSCRIPT ON ACUPUNCTURE

The Manchu collections in Europe are mostly presented by the historical and administrative documents or Manchu translations of Chinese philosophical and literary texts. However, almost all collections include also Manchu texts on medicine, though not so numerous. The collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is no exeption. Materials on medicine here, which comprise texts on smallpox, gynaecology, anatomy and acupuncture (most of them translations from Chinese) are found in the collection [1].

Manchu texts on medicine rarely draw attention of the European manchurists. We may refer only to extensive studies of the "Manchu Anatomy" compiled by the Jesuit Domenic Parrenin [2] and the single article on a Manchu document on acupuncture by Michael Weiers devoted to a short fragment from an unknown medical text [3]. The scarcity of research in this field encouraged me to present to the scholarly audience a rare manuscript on acupuncture from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection. The manuscript attracted my attention not only because of Manchu explanations for acupuncture it contains. It is also interesting by its superb illustrations.

The manuscript (call number B 92mss) was first described by M. P. Volkova who gave the Manchu title of the text as *Sabsire sûiha sindara arga jen dzyu ci fan* and rendered it in Russian as *Объяснение мест [на теле] для акупунктуры* ("Description of Points [on the Body] for Acupuncture") [4]. This Manchu title in the Catalogue compiled by M. P. Volkova was later corrected by M. Gimm as follows: "Als 4. Wort des Titels ist *ferguwecuke* einzufügen" [5]. But, in effect, the only Manchu title indicated on the first folio of the manuscript is *Sabsire sûiha sindara ferguwecuke argan* ("Wonderful Methods for Applying Moxa and Acupuncture"). We find also the Russian transcription of the Chinese title and the Russian title of the writing on the white label glued to the blue cover of the manuscript — *Чжэнь-цзю-ци-фань. Изображение фигуры человека с показанием для иглоукалывания и моксы (рукопись на маньчжурском языке)* ("*Chzhen-tsu-tsi-fan.* Description of the Human Body with Acupuncture and Moxa Marks Indication (a Manchu Manuscript)"). Though the title of the manuscript mentions both acupuncture and moxa points, the text itself deals solely with the application of moxa *sûiha.* The manuscript bears neither the name of the author nor date.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the text represents a Manchu translation of the Chinese original, which, however, demands further identification. The manuscript comprises 52 pages (27.0×23.0 cm); 11 lines per page. The pages are glued together in such a fashion that two pages make one folio with Chinese pagination in black ink on *verso.*

The text could be divided into three parts: 1) list of diseases and points to be used for their healing (fols. 1—27); 2) illustrations annotated (fols. 28—50); 3) medicine prescriptions (fols. 51—53). The first part has also subdivisions like *Weihe nimere hacin* ("Section on tooth pain") (fol. 1); *Fucihiyara hejere hacin* ("Section on coughing and laboured breathing") (fol. 2); *Bethe gala nimere hacin* ("Section on ache in hands and legs") (fol. 10); *Taran waliyara hacin* ("Section on strong sweating") (fol. 11); *Šahûrun derbehun de bethe nimere hacin* ("Section on cold and sweaty legs") (fol. 12). Each subdivision includes a list of points in Manchu transcription of their Chinese equivalents; it has also references to pictures in the second part of the manuscript and some short comments as well. The lists are followed by instructions on how many times moxa should be applied on a certain point when healing a certain disease.

But interesting as the manuscript is for the study of medicine literature, it deserves even more attention for its exellent illustrations. There are 23 colour depictions of male figures. All of them but one are numbered in Manchu (*ujui nirugan, jai nirugan,* etc.). The 22nd picture and the next one, with no number, I allot number 23 (it seems that the author considered the two to be a single one), are placed between the 3rd and 4th pictures, which is possibly the result of the latest restoration of the manuscript. The 23rd picture shows a naked body with points indicated along spine, on the head, left hand and leg.

The pictures are drawn in black Chinese ink and coloured in different water-colours. Interesting, all images appear to depict the Manchus: profiles and views from behind allow us to see a typical Manchu cord on the heads. Almost all figures are showed dressed in Manchu gown and girdled by a belt. Their footwear is also Manchu. The figures are depicted either sitting on a Chinese stool (sometimes at the table) or standing. The male images are placed in the middle of the folded folios, with vases with flowers, Chinese mushrooms, or the symbols of longevity depicted below. The points for applying moxa are indicated on
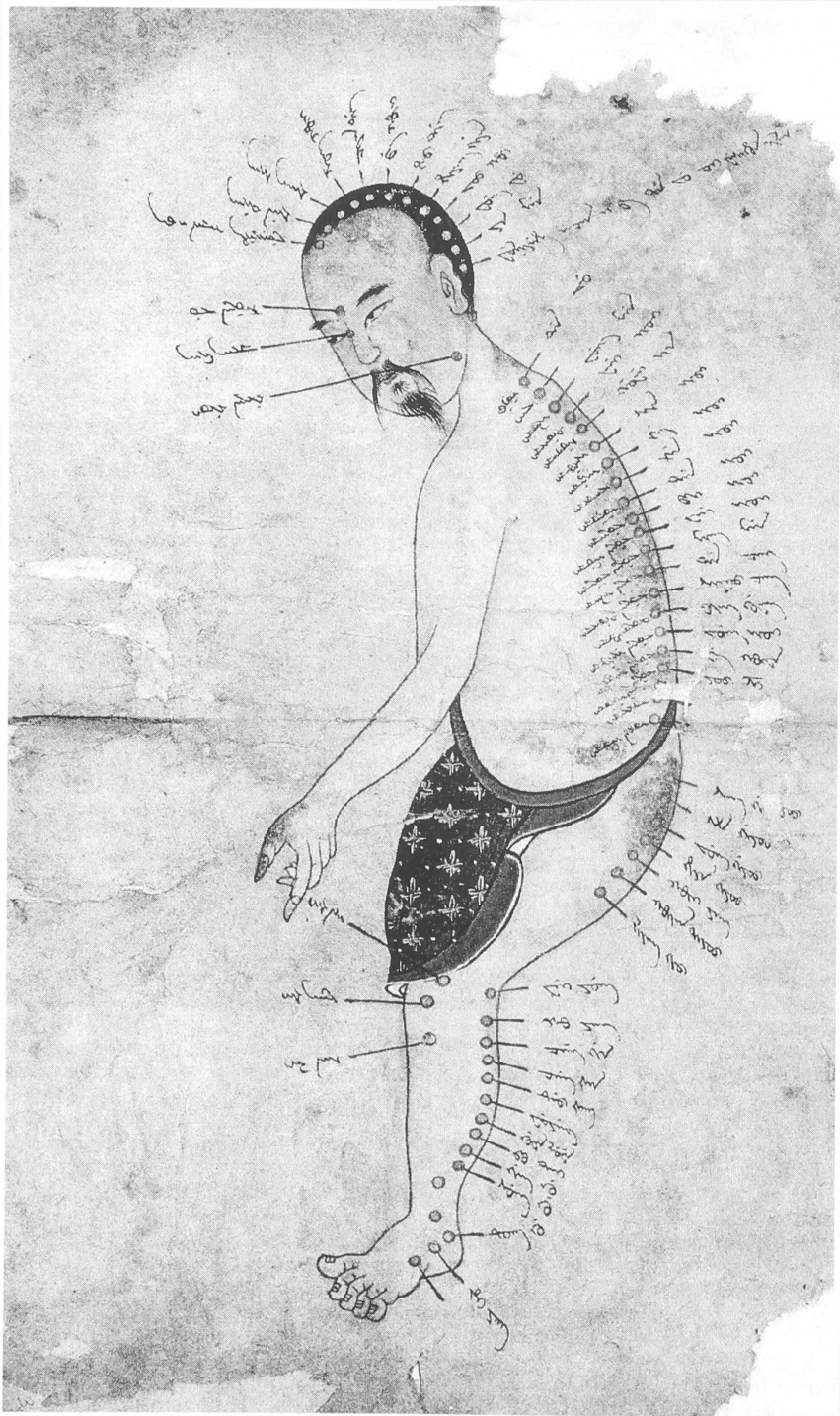
Fig. 1

Fig. 2

each figure and are accompanied by the explanation. As was mentioned above, the Chinese names of the acupuncture points are given in Manchu transcription and should be read as usual from left to right. Chinese long measures are given in Manchu transcription: *ts'cun* (Chin. *cun* — 3.3 cm) and *fon (*Chin. *fen* — 3.3 mm). Some pictures are provided with Chinese characters written on a peace of rice white paper glued next to the Manchu word. These should be read in Chinese manner, from right to left.

To give an idea of what kind of information is found in the pictures, we may refer to the first illustration — *ujui nirugan* — on fol. 28 (see back cover of the present issue). A male figure sitting at the table and dressed in a Manchu gown is shown there. Three acupuncture points are indicated on his head (*šang sing, šuwei gu, giyan gui*) and one, lacking the name, on the finger. The Manchu annotation to the first point runs: *šang sing. waitan ci wesihun duin ts'un-i ba inu* ("The point *šang sing* is four *cuns* above the eyebrow"); to the second point: *šuwei gu. buya juse elhe hahi golohojoro oci ilan sûiha sindambi. sûiha be maise-i ajige belhei gese obumbi. šan-i dergi funiyehe acan-i ba emu ts'un sunja fon-i ba inu* ("The point *šuwei gu*. If a child is suddenly frightened in his sleep, apply moxa three [times]. [Moxa powder] should be equal in size to a small grain seed. The point is one *cun* [and] three *fens* above the ear, [on the line] where the hair starts to grow"); to the third point: *giyan gui. buya juse weihe jombi. angga neirakû ojoro huhun simime muterakû ojoro oci. ilan sûiha sindambi. sûiha be maise ajige belhei gese obumbi. Šan-i fusihûn tuheke afahaci fusihûn ilan fun-i ba-i muliyan ašašara (sic.) ba inu* ("The point *giyan gui*. If a child's tooth comes through, and [the child] is not able to open [his] mouth and to suck, apply three moxa. It must be moxa powder equal in size to a small grain seed. The point is three *fens* below the ear's lobe on a moving curve of the jawbone". The name of the acupuncture point on the right hand finger is lacking, though provided with the following explanation: *ere be. buya juse dobori songgoro oci emu sûiha sindambi. sûihabe maise-i ajige belfei gese obumbi. dulimbai simhun-i dube inu* ("This [place]. When a child is crying at night, apply one moxa. [The quantity of] moxa powder must be equal in size to a grain seed. [The point] is on the tip of the middle finger"). Explanations accompanying other pictures are similar to those described above.

In the third part of the manuscript, dealing with the prescriptions of different Chinese medicines, all components are given in Manchu transcription. Likewise, Manchu equivalents of the Chinese measures of weight are present: *jiha* for Chinese *qian* (3.7 gr) and *yan* for Chinese *lian* (37.3 gr). The prescriptions offered are invariably followed by the indication of how to use the medicine, which is a common practice in Chinese healing. We read, for example: *sain nure de ebeniyefi erin dari omimbi* ("to drink mixed with good wine every day"), fol. 51, or *okto omire ucuri halhûn jaka be baitalarakû* ("not eat hot food when taking the medicine"), fol. 52.

As was already mentioned, the manuscript under discussion is a Manchu translation of a Chinese original. The translation is not free from spelling mistakes, e.g., the word *amtan* is written instead of *emte* ("one each") or *emken* ("one"); *ašašambi* instead of *aššambi* ("to move"), *fon/fun* for the classical Manchu *fuwen* ("a Chinese measure *fen*"), and some other. In our manuscript the word *arga* ("method") is given as *argan/arhan*, which is probably

a "colloquial" form of *arga* like in the second part of the word *dasargan* ("a prescription"; *dasambi* — "to cure" — plus *argan>arga* — "a method"). The other "colloquial" form of the word is *ulunggu* instead of *ulenggu* ("navel").

The other feature of this Manchu translation is that the Manchu numerals are given with plural suffix *-ta* indicating distributive numerals with a meaning of quantity. This form is mostly employed when the number of moxa application is mentioned in the first part of the text where symptoms and acupuncture points to be activated are discussed. This suffix is connected with indication of what quantity of moxa is to be applied on one point: *ilan bade aici sunjata aici nadata sûiha sindambi* ("apply in three places either five or seven moxa") (fol. 13). Recommendations in this form are scattered through the text. Actually, only a certain quantity of moxa powder is applied on one point in one time. Perhaps, indication cited relates to the whole course of treatment. In this particular case, it may concern five or seven times (or days) of moxa application. Normally in these cases the words *jergi* or *mudan* ("time") are used. The quantity of moxa is also indicated in the following form: *nadan sûiha sindambi* ("apply seven moxa") (fol. 14) or *ilan sûiha sindambi* ("apply three moxa") (fol. 28). In one place instead of *ilata sûiha sindambi* we read *ilan da sûiha sindambi* ("to apply three moxa"). Here *da* may have been used as a noun classifier for long objects such as cones, bunches, candles, cigarettes etc. [6]. If so *ilata* could be a written form of *ilan da* (similarly to *argan/arhan* discussed above). In one case suffix *-ta* is evidently used by mistake: *ulunggu-i fejergi emu ts'un sunjata fon-i babe* ("a point 5 *fen* [and] 1 *cun* below the navel") (fol. 14).

It is worth noting that a variant of this text is kept at the Manuscript Department of the Oriental faculty library of St. Petersburg University (call number Мд 248) [7]. The manuscript in two fascicles (fasc. 1, 19 fols.; fasc. 2, 15 fols.; 38.3×22.0 cm; 12 lines per page) has a Manchu title — *Sabsire sûiha sindara arga* ("Methods for Applying Moxa and Acupuncture"). The blue paper cover of the manuscript bears also a Chinese title — *Fanyi zhengjiu shu*. The text is arranged as in usual Manchu book: it is written on both sides of folia (fasc. 1). The annotated illustrations are placed in the second fascicle. The pictures are roughly done in black ink, displaying no artistic skill. Judging from the images themselves, especially from the manner in which the faces are depicted, the artist is a European or maybe even Russian. The illustrations lack additional decorative elements like vases with flowers as we find in the Institute copy. On the 1st blank folio of the 1st fascicle and the 14th folio of the 2nd there is a Russian date (*1820 год*), which hints at a Russian owner or even the copyist of the manuscript. Sometimes explanations accompanying the pictures are more detailed, than in the Institute copy, and there are more acupuncture points indicated on the figures.

The second fascicle opens with a picture of a male figure, shown from behind, with six acupuncture points on his back and a text under the common title *Sûiha sindara ninggun ba* ("Six Points for Applying Moxa"). The Institute copy has only the title; neither text nor pictures are present. Since the University manuscript comprises some additional material in comparison with our copy, illustrations being almost identical, one can suppose that both n:anuscripts derived from one Manchu original. The copyist of the Institute manuscript has omitted some acupuncture points and their description, being guided by his own considerations.
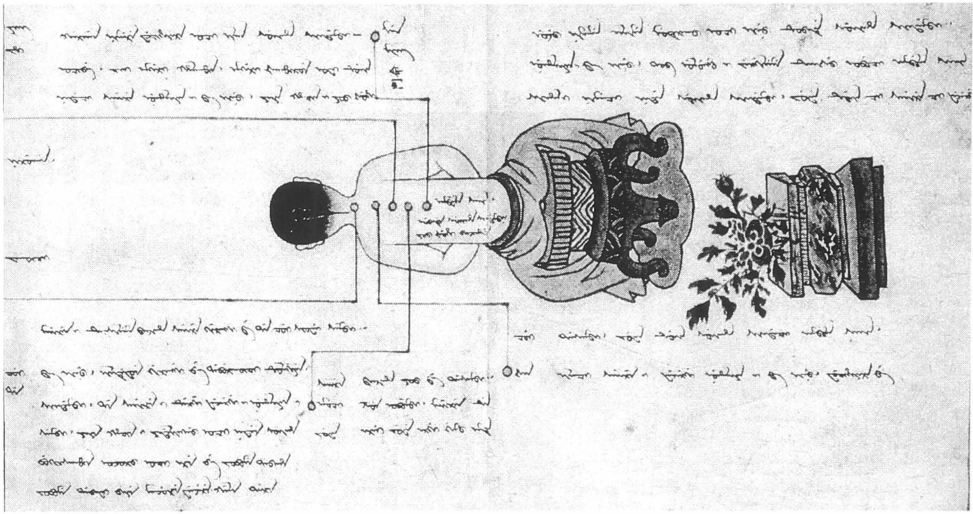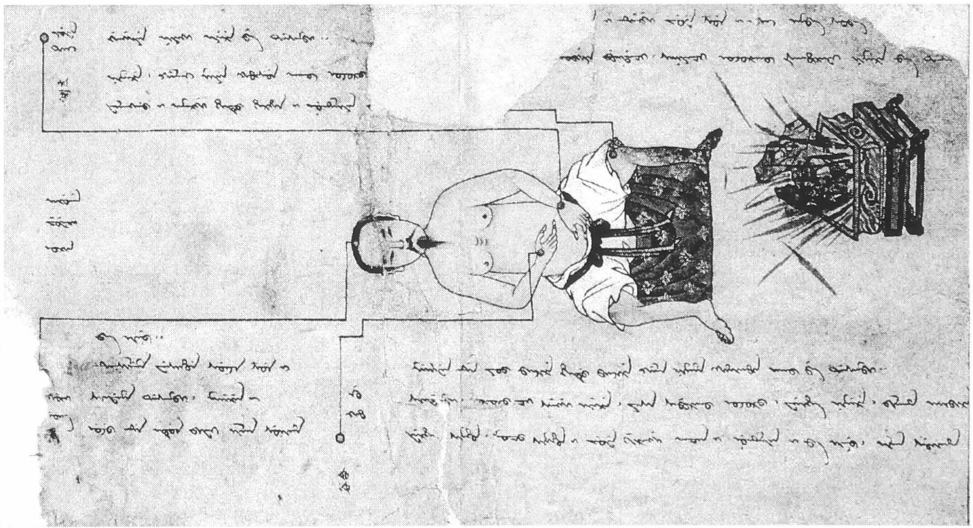
Fig. 4

Fig. 3

The colloquial character of the text suggests its primarily practical use. Apart from its value as a medical guide, the text of the manuscript is a valuable source for the study of spoken Manchu. But what makes the Institute copy especially interesting is its fine illustrations which represent a rare example of the Qing dynasty Manchu painting.

Notes

1. M. P. Volkova, *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of Manchu Manuscripts in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia, USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1965), pp. 101—7, Nos. 199—205; also, *idem, Opisanie man'chzhurskikh ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Manchu Blockprints in the Institute of Oriental Studies, USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 1 (Moscow, 1988), p. 57, Nos. 108 and 109.

2. For bibliography, see the recent work by H. Walravens, "Medical knowledge of the Manchus and the Manchu Anatomy", *Acts de la 37e PIAC. Chantilly, 20—24 juin 1994*, ed. M.-D. Even (Paris, 1996), pp. 359—74. — Études mongoles et sibériennes, 27.

3. M. Weires, "Fragment einer Anweisung zur Moxibustion oder Akupunktur in mandschurischer Schprahe", *Heilen und Schenken. Festschrift für Günter Klinge zum 70. Geburgstag*, eds. H. Franke and W. Heissig (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 139—44. The fragment was kept in Marburg (signature Ms. or. fol. 1593-7) and described by W. Heissig in his *Mongolische Handschriften. Blockdrucke. Landkarten* (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. 79, No. 122.

4. See Volkova, *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh rukopiseĭ*, p. 106, No. 213 (MS B 92).

5. M. Gimm, "Zu den mandjurischen Sammlungen der Sowjetunion. 1. Nachträge zum Handschriftenkatalog von M. P. Volkova", *T'oung Pao*, LIV/4—5 (1968), p. 307.

6. I. I. Zakharov, *Grammatika man'chzhurskogo iazyka* (Grammar of the Manchu Language) (St. Petersburg, 1879), p. 94.

7. Cf. edition cited in note 5 where this manuscript is discussed under its old call number F 8.

Illustrations

Front cover:

Fragment of the drawing demonstrating acupuncture points which should be applied when healing back pain and a half-body paralysis. *Sabsire sûiha sindara ferguwecuke argan*, manuscript B 92 mss in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, illustration 13, fol. 42, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Back cover:

Drawing of a male figure with acupuncture points which should be applied when healing child's night crying and tooth-ache. The same manuscript, illustration 1, fol. 28, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. General drawing showing acupuncture points on the head, back and left leg. The same manuscript, illustration with no number, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Fig. 2. Drawing showing a male figure with acupuncture points indicated on hand and legs for healing pain breast, *splenitis, diarrhea*, general weakness and lack of appetite.

Fig. 3. Drawing demonstrating health-stimulating acupuncture points and points for healing pain in knees and hands. The same manuscript, illustration 22, fol. 31, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Fig. 4. Drawing showing a male figure from behind with indicated acupuncture points for healing weakness in hands and back, as well as for healing back pain and coughing. The same manuscript, illustration 8, fol. 37, 27.0×46.3 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

Seishi Karashima. *A Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra*. Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 1998, 695 pp. — Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica, I.

The book under review is one of the first to appear in the newly created series *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica*. The series owes its appearance to the efforts of two major specialists — Yuichi Kajiyama and Akira Yuyama whose names are well-known in the world of Oriental studies and serve as a guarantee that the series will be not only scholarly, but interesting. We find evidence of this in the book by Seishi Karashima under discussion here.

The "Lotus Sūtra", which forms the basis for Sieshi Karashima's research, is one of the early Mahāyāna *sūtras*. The original version arose in India, most likely in the Sanskrit language, at the beginning of the Christian era. Since that time it has enjoyed special authority among Buddhist followers of the Mahāyāna. Proof of this is found in the large number of translations into Eastern languages (Chinese, Tibetan, Tangut, Uighur, Mongolian, Oirat, Korean, Japanese) and numerous manuscript copies of its various versions made in the first millenium A.D. on the territory of Duanhuang, East Turkestan and North-West China (including the Tangut state of Xi Xia in the eleventh—twelfth centuries, where xylograph editions of the *sūtra* were undertaken).

The earliest translation of the *sūtra* was made into Chinese in approximately A.D. 286 by Dharmarakṣa, who was responsible for a large number of translations from Sanskrit. About 70 translations of the most important Mahāyāna works have survived. Dharmarakṣa was one of the first Chinese translators to acquaint the Far Eastern world with such works as the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Daśabhūmikā-sūtra*, *Lalitavistara*, and collections of *jātakas*.

Later, in A.D. 403, the "Lotus Sūtra" was translated into Chinese by another translator, Kumārajīva. The translation gained an enormous popularity and this version was used to translate the *sūtra* into Tangut, Uighur, Korean, and Japanese. Kumārajīva's translations were also well-known in Europe and served as the basis for translating the *sūtra* into European languages.

In this work, Seishi Karashima attempts to highlight the question of this extremely popularity of the "Lotus Sūtra", basing his investigation on the Chinese translation made by Dharmarakṣa. He focuses mainly on the language of Dharmarakṣa's translation. The scholar analyses a number of vernacularisms and neologisms employed by Dharmarakṣa but, with few exceptions, absent in dictionaries of the classical Chinese language. Seishi Karashima comes to the con-

clusion that Dharmarakṣa tested his translation against a Central Asian Sanskrit version, translating phrase for phrase and word for word. In this initial period of Chinese readers' familiarisation with Buddhist texts, he was often compelled to create new terms for the translation of Sanskrit terms unknown to readers or to borrow Daoist or Confucian terms which distorted and encumbered the difficult Buddhist text.

The aim of Seishi Karashima's work is to determine the medieval Chinese lexicon, which has largely been lost by the present day, to investigate one of the first stages of the Mahāyāna's emergence, and, finally, to describe the principles which guided early Chinese translators in their work with Sanskrit texts and to evaluate their contribution to the formation of the Tripitaka in the Chinese language.

The work is structured as a dictionary. Seishi Karashima isolated approximately 4,000 words in the Dharmarakṣa translation as the basis for his dictionary. In selecting words, the author strove to exclude those which had already entered Chinese classical literature before Dharmarakṣa, although this was not always an easy task to make such selection. The rarest words, the usage of which is of special interest in the Buddhist context, were still included in the dictionary.

Entries are structured as follows: (i) term in Chinese character(s); (ii) Hanyu Pinyin Latin transliteration; (iii) English translation; (iv) indication of the word's location in the text of the Dharmarakṣa translation according to various editions; (v) the Sanskrit equivalent according to the Kern—Nanjio edition and the Central Asian version; (vi) contexts of usage with reference to various editions (the author provides a new lay-out for all texts of the Dharmarakṣa translation); (vii) the equivalent in the Kumārajīva translation with reference to its location in the text.

The dictionary's four indices are helpful when searching terms. These are: Hanyu Pinyin System Index; Four-Corner System Index; Radical Index; and Japanese Reading System Index.

The author has completed a titanic task which not only aids linguistic investigations but provides important material on the history of the Buddhist canon's translation from Sanskrit into Chinese. Moreover, the dictionary can be used as a practical reference to identify Chinese fragments of the "Lotus Sūtra" from Dunhuang.

Seishi Karashima hopes to undertake the work on early Chinese translations of other *sūtras*. Such work would be of great use for the study of how texts from another culture were translated into Chinese. The issues involved may include literal translation or paraphrase, translation with commentary, calcing of proper names and specialised terms, the development of original terminology and its eventual acceptance.

Seishi Karashima's stimulating work has made a major contribution to the study of the "Lotus Sūtra" and is an important resource for further work. Seishi Karashima deserves our thanks for his excellent study.

M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

Tatiana A. Pang and Giovanni Stary. *New Light on Manchu Historiography and Literature: the Discovery of Three Documents in Old Manchu Script.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998, III, 340 pp.

This publication presents to scholarly view three hitherto unknown Manchu texts dating to the first half of the seventeenth century and containing valuable information about Manchu rulers of the conquest period. These texts — one block—print and two manuscripts — are kept in the Musée Guimet (Paris) under call numbers 61624, 61625 and 61626.

The book consists of the description of the manuscripts and the block-print, study of the texts (pp. 1—52) and their facsimile (pp. 53—340). Manuscripts 61625 and 61624 present variants of the same text containing essays and historical episodes from the Chinese and early Manchu history. The texts were carefully collated by the authors to indicate textual divergences. The transliteration is given in the introduction (pp. 21—46). In the authors' view, these texts were not intended to serve bureaucratic—administrative purposes only and can be qualified as literary works too. Some translations of the prophetic passages are also provided to prove this assertion (pp. 18—19). As to the block-print 61626, it contains episodes from the Chinese and early Manchu history, which are for the most part conveyed through the speech of Nurhaci who tries to prove to the Chinese Emperor that the mandate of Heaven has shifted to him. The authors make assumption that this text represents "the earliest specimen of a Manchu block-print" (p. 50). All the three texts reflect the formative period of the Manchu writing when its differentiating from its original Mongolian base began, which makes the texts even more valuable for linguistic and palaeographic research.

As is convincingly shown in the introduction, the historical value of the texts is determined by the fact that some events relating to the lives of Manchu rulers are narrated here in much more detail. Besides, the narration is more vivid than in later official historical compilations made for the Manchu court. Especially interesting are descriptions of attempts upon the life of Nurhaci undertaken by his relatives; the authors conclude that there were six such attempts in all. Some military campaigns' descriptions differ from those by later historiographers. The authors made translation of a large portion of text to prove that "Hong Taiji" was a personal name and not a title of Nurhaci's eighth son (pp. 11—3). The facsimiles are fine, making the texts easily legible.

The scholars in Manchu, Chinese and Central Asian studies would welcome this publication which is a valuable contribution to the corpus of available texts on the emerging of the Manchu state.

V. Uspensky

Dan Martin (in collaboration with Yael Bentor). *Tibetan Histories: a Bibliography of Tibetan—Language Historical Works.* London: Serindia Publications, 1997, 296 pp.

This exceptionally informative work aims to collect all information about existing or known historical literary sources in the Tibetan language available by the end of the millennium. Prof. Dan Martin dedicates his book to the Tibetan people and to the memory of A. I. Vostrikov (1902—37). When comparing Vostrikov's *Tibetan Historical Literature*, published in Moscow only in 1962, with the work by Dan Martin it becomes obvious that great progress has been made in the field of Tibetan studies since the scholar's death. In the last few decades thousand of volumes of Tibetan texts have been published in various forms in different countries, and Tibetological journals (some even in the Tibetan language) and computer databases of Tibetan texts have appeared. To search through all these materials, which are sometimes difficult to have access to, much effort must be made by a modern researcher. Therefore, Dan Martin's book is an invaluable research tool in searching materials needed.

The historical works described in the book number altogether 702 entries arranged in chronological order, the latest work dated 1996. Among the entries are found not only Tibetan works seen by the author as well as those about which information is available only from the old Tibetan sources or modern publications. All kinds of literary texts, traditionally regarded as historical writings, are included in the bibliography with a few exceptions: biographies and autobiographies, descriptions of monasteries as well as such specialised works as *thob yig* and *gsan yig* are excluded. Basic information on the author and contents of a specific work are given followed by a list of scholarly publications devoted to its study and reference to catalogues of Tibetan works if possible. In case of a controversy concerning authorship, chronology, etc. of certain Tibetan historical writing, the author provides his own approach to the problem or valuable hint.

For scholars who have devoted themselves to the study of a limited number of Tibetan written texts, especially those relating to a specific period, it would be not a difficult task to criticise Dan Martin's book for possible lack of exactitude or incompleteness of information in a certain entry. In my opinion, this is not a drawback for such kind of edition: had it been otherwise, it would mean that no further research in this field of Tibetology is needed. For everyone familiar with the ocean of Tibetan writings, this admirable book by Dan Martin will serve a kind of compass.

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