

## CONTENTS

<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i>	3
Val. V. Polosin. Arabic Manuscripts: Text Density and its Convertibility in Copies of the Same Work	3
A. R. Shikhsaidov, A. B. Khalidov. Manuscripts of al-Ghazālī's Works in Daghestan.	18
O. F. Akimushkin. On the Date of <i>al-Sihāh al-'Ajamiyya</i> 's Composition . . .	31
A. Sazykin. The Oirat (Kalmyk) Version of the "The Story of Gūsū-Lama".	33
 <i>PRESENTING THE COLLECTIONS</i>	 39
A. Muminov. The Fund of Arabographic Manuscripts in the Museum-Trust "Azret-Sulṭān" in the City of Turkestan	39
 <i>ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS AND NEW INFORMATION TECHNOLOGIES</i>	 42
G. Lezin, K. Boyarsky, E. Kanevsky, A. Popova. Programming of Texts Conceptual Treatment	42
 <i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT</i>	 50
F. Abdullayeva. A Turkish Prose Version of Firdawsī's <i>Shāh-nāma</i> in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg State University Library . . . . .	50
V. Goreglyad. The Manuscript of <i>Kankai Ibun</i> in the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies .	58
 <i>BOOK REVIEWS</i>	 68

### Front cover:

"A Ship Among the Blocks of Ice", a colour drawing from the book 2 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fol. 14a, 14.0 × 20.5 cm.

### Back cover:

"Theatre in the Capital of the Russian Empire", a colour drawing from the book 11 of the manuscript *Kankai Ibun* preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (C 191), fols. 11b—12a, 32.5 × 26.5 cm.

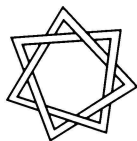
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
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## MANUSCRIPTS OF AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S WORKS IN DAGHESTAN

Daghestan, once a northern province of the Arab caliphate, maintained, despite its later decline, commercial and cultural relations with Muslim countries of the Near and Middle East for many centuries. As a result, it became a place, where works of Arabic literature were widely spread. Oriental manuscripts, documents and epigraphical materials, which survived in this region, are hardly known to specialists even in the Russian Federation and the former USSR. Comprehensive and systematic exploration of the Daghestan Republic in this respect was carried out more or less regularly during last 25—30 years. The main centre there in which Oriental manuscripts and other written documents are gathered and studied, is the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences) in Makhachkala. Its numerous yearly expeditions to *aouls* (villages), district centres, and towns bring new materials and interesting finds. However, their publications are rare, being limited to several articles and one catalogue of selected manuscripts [1], so much is to be done in the field.

A major part of the Arabic manuscripts preserved in Daghestan are those which were produced in the country itself by local students, *'ulamā'*, amateurs, and professional *kātib*s. Mostly they were copied in the last three centuries, but the tradition of their copying goes back to earlier times. The art of Daghestan masters of paper manufacturing, book copying, and book binding had its own local peculiarities. Of course, there are also Arabic manuscripts which were brought to Daghestan from other parts of the Muslim world. The oldest of them are connected with the Saljūq rule when numerous *madrasas* were founded and were flourishing. This is especially evident in the case of al-Ghazālī's works, copies of which are described in the present article.

Written sources provide evidence that many persons originating from Daghestan received education in the Saljūq Baghdād. Among them were, for instance, Abū 'Umar 'Uthmān b. al-Musaddad b. Aḥmad al-Darbandī (d. after 500), known as *faqīh Baghdād* because he lived in this city for some time, attended lectures on law by *shaykh* Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 486/1083) and was a pious *faqīh*; Abū Bakr Muhammad b. 'Ashir al-Shirwānī al-Darbandī, who studied law in the famous *madrasa* al-Nizāmīya (recorded by al-Asnawī), and Ḥakīm b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥakīm al-Khunliqī al-Darbandī, an authoritative *shāfi'ī* *faqīh*, who studied Islamic law with al-Ghazālī and lived afterwards in Bukhārā, where he died in 538/1143—44 [2]. According to

Zakarīyā' al-Qazwīnī [3], another *madrasa* al-Nizāmīya was founded in Daghestan, in the settlement of Tsakhūr. It is noteworthy that in 1987, not far from Tsakhūr (!), a manuscript copied out in 694/1295 in *madīnat al-salām Baghdād fī-l-madrasa l-Nizāmīya* was found, which contains the *Sharḥ* by Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī on *al-Tanbīh fī-l-fiqh* by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī. The Institute of History, Language and Literature in Makhachkala has in its holdings a number of other manuscripts connected in this or that way with the famous al-Nizāmīya in Baghdād and with the activity of its teachers.

This paper is limited to the available data on copies of works by al-Ghazālī. By titles are known more than 400 writings of Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī (451—505/1059—1111), the famous theologian, jurist, Ṣūfī, preacher and didactic writer, but only a dozen of those became popular and were widespread in numerous copies. First of all it is a voluminous *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* and its parts. In Daghestan there are only five writings of this author, preserved in manuscripts, which deal with *shāfi'ī* law, theology and Sufism: *Ihyā'*, *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*, with a systematic exposition of theology, *Minḥāj al-'ābidīn*, which gives a summary of the theory of Sufism and was possibly attributed to the famous author, *Bidāyat al-hidāya*, containing a short account of rules of daily life prescribed for a faithful Muslim, and *al-Wajīz* — a manual of *shāfi'ī* law.

(١) احياء علوم الدين

1. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/909). 195 fols. Size: 24.4 × 17.0 cm. 17 lines per page. Thick, light-cream, polished paper of Oriental manufacturing. Bold *naskh*. Dark brown ink, here and there light-brown. Custods on the first 13 fols. The pagination of later origin. Binding with a flap is of light-brown leather, stamped with simple lines. The condition of the MS is fine, for the exception of a few worm-eaten folios. The MS contains the following fragments of the work — one *kitāb* from *Rub' al-muhlikāt* (fols. 1b—42b):

كتاب زم الغرور وهو الكتاب العاشر

and two *kitābs* from *Rub' al-munjiyāt*. The first *kitāb* on fols. 43b—87b:

كتاب التوبة وهو الاول من ربع المنجيات

The date at the end is given as follows (fol. 87b):

وذلك تاريخ ليلة العشرين ليلة الخميس من شهر ذي القعدة  
سنة ست وثمانين وحمس ماية بمدينة السلام بغداد

20 Dhū'l-Qa'da 586 corresponds to 19 December 1190.

The second *kitāb* on fols. 88b—194b:

كتاب الصبر والشكر وهو الكتاب الثاني من ربع المنجات

It ends with the words containing the date:

واتفق فراغه في الليلة السابعة من ذي الحجة سنة ست و  
ثمانين وخمسية

7 Dhū'l-Hijja 586 corresponds to 5 January 1191.

This old manuscript was brought to the Institute from the expedition to the inner regions of Daghestan and originates from Ousisha, the village in the Akousha district, but the year of its acquisition was not fixed. In many cases dots of letters are omitted in the MS, some words are written in an unusual way. Unfortunately, the computer-program does not permit to demonstrate all the peculiarities of this and of other manuscripts.

2. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/3). 416 fols. Size: 39.5 × 28.0 cm. 40 lines per page. Thick, light-cream paper of Oriental manufacturing. Large-size *naskh*, vocalised only on several pages at the beginning. Black ink, words like *kitāb*, *bāb*, etc. are singled out in red. Text is enclosed in frame of double red rules. The custods are put throughout. Pagination was added much later. Leather binding. The condition of the MS is fine.

The MS contains the full text of the *Ihyā'* (all four *rub*'s). The endings of each *rub'*, sometimes of *kitābs* as well, are dated; for instance, we read on p. 169:

تم ربع العبادات و يتلوه في المجلد كتاب آداب الاكل هو  
الكتاب الاول من ربع العبادات فرغ من تحرير وقت العشاء  
ليلة الاثنين من شهر ربيع الاخر على يد العبد الضعيف  
الفقير الى رحمة الله وغفرانه ادريس بن احمد غفر الله لهما  
ولجميع المسلمين ... سنة ستة وتسعمائة

The month Rabī' II in 906 began on the 25th of October 1500. As mentioned on p. 341, the copying of *Rub' al-'ādār* was completed in 906, while on p. 538 it is said that *Rub' al-muhlikāt* was finished in Rabī' II 909/September—October 1503. On p. 743 the ending reads as follows:

آخر كتاب المحبة والانس والشوق

i. e. excerpt from *Rub' al-munjiyāt* was completed in A.H. 911 which began on 4 June 1505.

On p. 837 it is said:

فرغ الساطر من التسطير بحمد الله الإكرام يوم الاربعاء  
وقت العصر الثالث عشر من شهر ذي القعدة العبد الراجي  
الفقير المحتاج الى عفو الله ادريس بن احمد في قرية  
اقوشاه من قرى غازي غمق غفر الله له ولبن نظر فيه  
التاريخ اثني عشر وتسع مائة من هجرة النبي عليه السلام

13 Dhū'l-Qa'da 912 corresponds to 27 March 1507. Thus, the book had been copying during six and a half years, from 25 October 1500 till 27 March 1507.

This manuscript was acquired in 1948 at the village Akousha in the Akousha district. There is a note on p. 3:

من كتب اقوشى

The MS belonged to the mosque of this village. On p. 838 it is mentioned that *jāmi'* of Akousha possessed 147 books in 1194/1780. All of them are enumerated by titles.

Two points related to the toponymy in the colophon need an explanation. The place-name of the village (or rather the small town) — Aqūshāh (written with three dots under ق) — is now the centre of the administrative district Akousha, inhabited by the Dargin people. Three dots under the Arabic letter ق here are meant in the MS to denote an uvular aspirated affricate of the Darginian language as distinct from the usual ق. As to the place-name غازي غمق, it is the historical region Ghazikumukh, the main part of which is occupied now by the Lak district with the village Kumukh as its centre. Earlier it also bore the name Ghazikumukh or Qazikumukh.

3. The manuscript was kept in Turakari, a separated farm of the village Urari in the Akousha district, by the relatives of Husin Alibekov (sic), who died in 1980. The MS was discovered during Institute's 1988 expedition by A. Shikhsaidov, A. Isayev, and D. Gadjiyeva.

293 fols. Size: 38.5 × 27.0 cm, 27 lines per page. Yellowish paper of local manufacturing. The paper is of uneven density. Bold *naskh*. Shining black ink. Binding of Oriental manufacturing with a flap, light-brown leather with stamped lines. The condition of the MS is good for the exception of a few folios.

The copy contains the first half of *Ihyā'* and ends with the second *rub'* of the writing. In the colophon we read:

تم الكتاب من الكتب الاحيائية وهو اخر ربع العبادات ويتلوه  
في المجلد الذي يليه كتاب شرح عجائب هو الكتاب الاول من  
ربع المهلكات وهو الربع الثالث من احياء علوم الدين صنفه  
الشيخ الامام محمد بن محمد بن محمد الغزالي الطوسي ...  
وقد فرغ الكاتب من كتابته ضحوة يوم الجمعة العشرين  
من شهر الله المبارك ذي الحجة في سنة تسعمائة على يد  
اضعف عباد الله و احوجهم الى رحمة ربه الغنى هرون بن  
احمد الشيريني غفر الله عنهما

The date mentioned, 20 Dhū'l-Hijja 900, corresponds to 11 September 1495. The manuscript has been recently transferred to the village Urari, where it is kept by Tayyib Magomedov. Al-Shirīnī is a *nisba* derived from Shari, the name of a village in the Dahadayev district.

4. Manuscript discovered by the same expedition in 1988, in the above-mentioned Turakari. It is also kept by Tayyib Magomedov of Urari.

413 fols. Size: 36.5 × 28.5 cm, 23 lines per page. White paper of uneven density, yellowish or brownish on borders. Legible *naskh*. Shining black ink, headline words in red ink. Oriental binding of dark brown leather. Manuscript is badly damaged.

The text begins with the first *kitāb* of *Rub' al-muhlikāt* and ends as follows:

تم الكتاب و بتمامه كمل احياء علوم الدين ... وقع الفراغ من  
كتابته يوم الاثنين السادس عشر ربيع الاخر و تاريخ في  
سنة من السنين تسعمائة وثلث من هجرة سيد المرسلين

على يد اضعف عباد الله هرون بن احمد من قرية  
شيرين غفر الله لهما ولجميع المسلمين

16 Rabī II 903 corresponds to 12 December 1497. There is a record on the MS about its belonging to the main mosque of Urari:

من موقوفات الجامع مسجد الارارى

5. Manuscript fixed by us in 1984 in the private library of Magomedzapir Zakaryayev in the village Moughi of the Akousha district.

Size: 40.5 × 28.0 cm. White paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. No pagination.

The MS includes *Rub' al-ādāt*. While copying it, the scribe بن منت المهي حضر (كذا) by name mentions several dates, which testify that the process of transcribing of this MS took about half a year, from Šafar till Sha'bān 1084 — that is, from May till November 1673. There are several other MSS in the collection of M. Zakaryayev, which were copied by the same Hiḍr (sic), son of Minnat from Moughi. At the cemetery of this village, an epitaph on the grave of the scribe still exists:

صاحب القبر حضر بن منت

No date is mentioned, but it can be established approximately from the records cited with concern to the copying of al-Ghazālī's work.

6. Manuscript in the private collection of Magomedzapir Zakaryayev from Moughi includes a part of *Ihyā'* and the first half of the lexicographical work by al-Jawharī *al-Šahāh*. The name of the copyist is not mentioned, but he can securely be identified as Hiḍr, son of Minnat from Moughi.

Size: 30.0 × 20.0 cm. Thick, rough paper of local manufacturing. No pagination. Binding of leather stamped with lines.

7. Manuscript kept in the village Dibghalik of the Dahadayev district (the private collection of Sharip Musayev; d. 1980). It was inherited by his son Rajap Musayev. Previously it belonged to the mosque of this village.

Size: 28.5 × 18.4 cm. 19 lines per page. Dense, darkened paper manufactured in Daghestan. Black ink. Wide margins mostly filled with glosses and memoranda. No pagination. Binding of dark-brown leather, in good condition.

The colophon reads as follows:

قَدْ وَقَعَ الْفَرَاغُ مِنْ كُتُبَةِ جَزَاءٍ مِنْ أَحْيَاءِ عُلُومِ الدِّينِ الْمُسَمَّى  
بِذِكْرِ الْمَوْتِ لِلْغَزَالِيِّ مِنْ يَدِ الْعَبْدِ الضَّعِيفِ الْذَّالِيلِ الْمَذْنُوبِ  
الرَّاجِي إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ الْغَنِيِّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ مُحَمَّدٍ جَعَلَهُمَا اللَّهُ  
يَوْمَ الْحَشْرِ تَحْتَ الْعَرْشِ فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَسَبْعِينَ بَعْدَ الْآلِفِ  
فِي شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ شَوَّالٍ فِي يَوْمِ التَّسْبِئِ وَقَدْ عَصُرَ  
عِنْدَ مَوْلَانَا الْإِمَامِ الْكَامِلِ الْعَادِلِ الْعَارِفِ الْقَاضِي شَمَّى

The month of Shawwāl in 1079 A.H. began on the 4th of March 1669 A.D.

8. A single sheet with a note, which was discovered during the 1979 expedition of the Institute [4]:

تُنْتُ كِتَابَ ذِكْرِ الْمَوْتِ مِنْ كِتَابِ أَحْيَاءِ عُلُومِ الدِّينِ مِنْ شَهْرِ  
اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ رَجَبِ سَنَةِ اثْنَيْ وَسَبْعِينَ وَثَمَانِيَةً وَكَاتَبَهُ  
يُوسُفُ الْكَبْشِيُّ

The date mentioned is Rajab 872/January—February 1468, and the *nisba* al-Kubashī indicates an origin of the copyist from the village Koubachi (the Dahadayev district), renowned for its goldsmiths.

9. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2388). Its origin is unknown.

150 fols. Approximate size: 26.2 × 18.2 cm. 13 lines per page. Thick cotton paper of dingy-greyish colour and of uneven texture. Large-size, vocalised Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Several words and signs in red ink. Custods. No pagination. Binding of shine dark-brown leather is damaged.

The end:

تَمَّتْ كِتَابُ ذِكْرِ الْمَوْتِ مِنْ كِتَابِ أَحْيَاءِ عُلُومِ الدِّينِ قَدْ فَرَّغَ مِنْ  
تَسْوِيدِ يَوْمِ الْارْبَعَاءِ مِنْ شَهْرِ اللَّهِ الْمُبَارَكِ جُمَادِ الْأَوَّلِ فِي  
سَنَةِ سِتِّ عَشَرَ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ وَكَاتَبَهُ إِيْدَى بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الزَّهْرَهْكَرَانِي

The month of Jumādā I in 916 A.H. began on the 6th of August 1510 A.D. The *nisba* al-Zirihgirānī points to the origin of the scribe from the village Koubachi.

(٢) منهاج العابدين

1. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/1732). Besides this work (pp. 1—308), the MS includes various excerpts, sermons, *ḥadīths* (pp. 309—17), *Kitāb Ta'lim al-muta'allim* by Abū Ja'far 'Uthmān b. 'Umar al-Zarbūnī (pp. 317—41), a *qaṣīda* (pp. 342—3), *Kitāb al-ādāb al-dīniya* (pp. 344—91), *ḥadīths* (pp. 391—440).

Size: 19.5 × 14.0 cm. 14—17 lines per page. Thick, light-cream, polished paper of uneven density. Clear Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink, words like *bāb*, *faṣl*, *qāla*, *thumma* are singled out by overlining in red. The colophon is enclosed in a figured frame of two red rules. Regular custods. Recent pagination. New binding of leatherette.

The colophon reads as follows:

قَدْ فَرَّغَ مِنْ كِتَابِ مَنَاجِ الْعَابِدِينَ بَعْدَ الْعِشَاءِ الْآخِرَةِ مِنْ  
شَهْرِ رَبِيعِ الْآخِرِ فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثٍ وَتِسْعِمِائَةٍ عَلَى يَدِ الْعَبْدِ  
الضَّعِيفِ الْحَقِيرِ الْفَقِيرِ أَدْرِيسَ بْنِ أَحْمَدَ الْأَوْشَاهِي

Al-Aghūshāhī here is a *nisba* to be derived from the name of the village Akousha/Aqousha/Aghousha. The date, Rabī II 903, corresponds to November—December 1497. Copying of the *Ta'lim al-muta'allim* was finished on 2 Sha'bān 898/19 May 1493 by the same Idrīs, son of Aḥmad. There is also a note about purchasing of the MS and its donation into *waqf*:

أَمَّا بَعْدُ فَقَدْ اشْتَرَيْتُ هَذَا الْكِتَابَ بِمَالِ الْوَصِيَّةِ لِفَرْدُوسَ بِنْتِ  
شَيْخٍ عَلَى وَاقِفِهَا وَفَقَا صَحِيحًا عَلَى طُلَّابِ الْعِلْمِ مِنْ  
قَرِيَةِ أَسْبِيشِي مِمَّنْ كَانَ أَهْلًا هَذَا الْعِلْمِ ... بِشَرْطِ أَنْ يَسْتَفَادَ  
مِنْهُ فَائِدَةٌ

2. Manuscript in possession of Charak Oumarov, an inhabitant of Akousha. Participants of Institute's 1984 expedition had an opportunity to look it through cursorily.

Thick, white, slightly darkened paper. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Leather binding. On fols. 1—2 there is a biographical note concerning al-Ghazālī's learning.

The colophon:

في شهر شعبان الاعظم سنة الف وثمان و اربعين ... على  
الغزيري ابن احمد في قرية الزرهكران في المسجد  
الكبرى

The month of Sha'bān in 1048 began on the 8th of December 1638. The *nisba* al-'Azīrī seems to be derived from the name of the Darginian village Itsari of the Dahadayev district, while Zirihergeran mentioned is an older name of Koubachi.

Another note is found on the last page of the MS:

قد اشترى هذا الكتاب المسمى منهاج العابدين على بن ادم  
من ابي بكر الدنقسي بابدال منهاج الطالبين في الف  
و مائة و خمس و ثمانين

The date A.H. 1185 corresponds to A.D. 1771—72. Al-Dunqissī is a *nisba* to be derived from Duqqul. This is the Lakian name of the modern village Arakul of the Rutul district.

3. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/57).

Fols. 1—155a in a volume contain also the *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān* by al-Ghazālī. Size: 29.3 × 20.2 cm. 18 lines per page. Thick, light-cream, polished paper of local manufacturing and of uneven texture. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. The first 5 folios and 6 folios at the end contain excerpts from various works. Leather binding with a flap.

The title on the first page:

كتاب منهاج العابدين الى الجنة من تاليف الشيخ الإمام حجة  
الاسلام ابي حامد بن محمد بن محمد الغزالي الطوسي ما  
كتبه الامام محمد بن سلمان

After the colophon there is a note of an owner written in different hand:

هذا من كتب محمد كدل كتبه الفقير حبيب

The last name, Ḥājīrī, is given here in the Avarian form — Hajiyaw.

4. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2379).

Thick, glossy, light-cream paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. Regular custods. No pagination. Colophon is enclosed in the coloured frame of white, blue and black rules:

قد فرغ من كتاب منهاج العابدين الى الجنة بعد ظهر من  
شهر ذو القعدة في سنة ست و ستين بعد الف من هجرة  
النبي على يد ... محاد بن سل الوكلى في مدرسة ملا محمد  
بن محمود

Dhū'l-Qa'da in 1066 A.H. began on the 21st of August 1656 A.D. Sulla (from Sulaymān, with a tick above the letter "س") is a name met among the Lakians. A *nisba* mentioned is connected with the place-name Wikhli (it is written with 3 dots under the letter "ك"), which is the name of a village in the Kulin district of Daghestan.

5. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/60).

295 fols. Thin, shining, white, factory-made paper. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. No pagina-

tion. Damaged Oriental binding of brown leather, with stamped lines. A flap, back cover and a few folios at the beginning are missing.

Copying of the MS was finished on 24 Rajab 1069/ 15 April 1659 in a village al-Khumayd (?), or possibly Himeydi, not far from Derbent. The name of the scribe is erased. There is a note of the owner of the MS:

و صاحبه مرز بن عمر بن علي بن محمد

The last 6 folios are filled with various notes, *ḥadīths* and prayers.

6. Manuscript in the private library of Abdulla Abbasov of the village Gapshima, fixed by the 1979 expedition of the Institute.

The colophon:

قد طبقت على المحبرة باتمام هذا الكتاب ... في وقت العشاء  
في ليلة الخميس من اول شهر الله المبارك ذو الحجة في  
مسجد عُرْد عند استاد محمد ابو صبيح في سنة سبع  
و ثمانين و الف من هجرة النبي

Dhū'l-Hijja in 1087 A.H. began on the 4th of February 1677. The village Ourada still exists in the Shamil district of Daghestan.

7. Manuscript in the private collection of Tajidin Tavkayev of the village Kulija in the Kaytak district, fixed by the 1968 expedition.

Thick, white paper of local manufacturing. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink.

Colophon:

تمت الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب منهاج العابدين من يد العبد  
الضعيف نكو بن شربوط في مدرسة مولانا الإمام  
الفاضل الكامل افضل الفاضلين اشرف المحققين المعظم  
بالعلم والعقل عمر قاضي في قرية جقي في يوم الاثنين  
وقت الضحى في شهر الله المبارك جماد الاخر التاريخ الف  
و ثمانون وثمانية من هجرة النبي

Jumādā II in 1088 A.H. began on the 1st of August 1677.

8. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/1766).

194 fols. Size: 20.6 × 14.5 cm. Thick, polished, yellowish paper of uneven texture. Daghestani vocalised *naskh*. Black ink, several words are singled out in red or silver ink. Regular custods. Worn out leather binding.

The work contains also *Kitāb a'lām al-hudā* (fols. 195—224) and a note on buying of a plot (fols. 225—226).

Colophon (fol. 194b):

قد فرغ هذا الكتاب منهاج العابدين يوم الاحد في شهر ربيع  
الاخر كتبه حسن ابن علي كشي ... التاريخ الف اربعة ثمان  
سنة

The month of Rabī' II in 1084 A.H. began on the 16th of July 1673.

9. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/318).

147 fols. Size: 26.9 × 18.7 cm. 14 line per page. Thick, white, slightly yellowed paper of local manufacturing in a very bad condition. Legible Daghestani script. Black ink.

Regular custods. Leather binding with a plain stamping, left lid missing.

Colophon (fol. 145a):

قد وقع الفراغ من تحرير النسخة الشريفة المسماة بمنهاج العابدين إلى الجنة يوم السبت قبل الزوال في شهر ربيع الاخير على يدى العبد الضعيف محمد بن ابي بن ابي بن حسين في مدرسة هُزْدَل في قرية على قليج عند استاذنا الامام الفاضل الكامل في العلوم مل محمد بن عمر من قرية زِدَى ... في تاريخ سنة الف و تسعون و ثلث

The month of Rabī II in 1093 A.H. began of the 9th April 1682.

هُزْدَل، بثلاث نقط فوق زاء — و ثلاث نقط تحت لام، زِدَى بثلاث نقط فوق زاء — which are nowadays the Avarian villages Gh'otsal and Tsada in the Khunzakh district. Last folios (145b—147b) are filled with various citations, *hadiths*, and notes on buying and selling.

10. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/58).

143 fols. 23.0 × 14.5 cm. 18 lines per page. Thick, smooth, yellowed paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Binding with a flap is of dark-brown stamped leather. The first page contains birth-dates and notes from 1188/1774—75 till 1246 1830—31.

There is also a notice as follows:

صاحبه و مالكه الحسن بن محمد المنتمى الى الاقوشى

At the end of the MS we find a simple statement: *qad tamma*, without naming the copyist, but he is very likely to be Muhammad, son of Salmān, mentioned in No. 4. The last 3 folios are filled with an untitled text, the end of which reads as follows:

قد تم الكتاب المسمى بطف المعان (؟) من يد بحدن الاقوشى

The name Bagand mentioned here is very popular among the Darginians.

11. Manuscript in possession of Malla Magomedov from Gapshima in the Akousha district.

Thick, white, slightly yellowed paper. Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink.

The end:

قد وقع الفراغ من تسويد تحرير منهاج العابدين بيد الحقير ... محمد بن محمد الغموقى في شهر الله المكارك صفر في ليلة السبت وقت ثلث الليل

The MS bears no date, but most likely it dates back to the eleventh/seventeenth century. There is a note: كتب من مسجد الطنطى where Tanti is the name of a Darginian village in the Akousha district.

12. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2465).

About 150 fols. Size: 19.5 × 16.0 cm. 11 lines per page. Thin, shining, white European paper. Black ink. No pagination. No binding, the first folios are missing.

The end:

تمت الكتاب من يد ... محمد علي بن محمد بن علي بن عمر ابن مل غفر الله ... في مدرسة مولانا امام ... دَمَد بن علي

... في قرية هجلى في ناحية قرخى تميت الكتاب ... المسماة بمنهاج العابدين صاحبه ومالكه محمد علي بن محمد في قرية ارهال في ناحية بصرخى في يوم ثلث في شهر الله المبارك ربيع الاول بعد صلوة الظهر

"Hjly" is the village Ghotchob in the Tcharodin district, *nāhiya* denoting here a community, or union of rural communes. "Qrkx" or "Qrākh" is situated in the same district, and "Bşrkhy" (with 3 dots under "ب" and "ص") is the settlement of Tleyserukh in the Tlarotin district.

٣) الوجيز

1. Manuscript in the private collection of Magomed-zapir Zakaryayev from Moughi in the Akousha district.

Thick, greyish Oriental paper. Binding of stamped leather.

The title:

صاحب هذا الوجيز محمد بن ملا علي بن الد كتاب الوجيز صنفه الامام ... الغزالي

Some "Books" (*kitābs*) of the work are followed by dating notes by the scribe, the first one preceding the *Kitāb al-bay'*:

تم ريع الاول من عبادات لباب الوجيز يوم السبت في اخر وقت الظهر في اثني عشر يوم من شهر شوال من شهور رحمة سنة تسع و سبعمائة

Many points of the letters are omitted. Another note goes after the *Kitāb al-farā'id*, preceding *Kitāb al-nikāh*:

تم ريع الثاني وهي نصف من لباب الوجيز في اول وقت العصر من يوم الاثنين وست عشرين يوم من شهر سوال من شهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة على يد العبد الضعيف الى رحمة ربه اللطيف احمد بن ابراهيم ابن خليل المعروف كاكَا ابن عبد الرحمن ابن ادريس رحمة الله

A note preceding the *Kitāb al-jirāh*:

تم ريع الثالث من لباب الوجيز وهو ثلثان في وقت الظهر يوم الثلاثاء ستة يوم من شهر دى القعد من سهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة (؟)

At the end:

و قد تم ريع الرابع ليكون تمام اربعة الارباع من كتاب الوجيز في يوم الخميس وقت الظهر في خمسة عشر يوم من شهر دى القعدة من شهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة على يد ... احمد بن ابراهيم ابن خليل المعروف ابن عبد الرحمن ابن خليل بن دويراي (دونراي؟) ادريس

The final note by the copyist:

... يوم الخميس في خمسة و عشرين من شهر رمضان و اتمت يوم الخميس في خمسة عشر يوم من دى القعدة من شهور حجة سنة تسع و سبعمائة صاحبه ايضا كاتبه احمد ابن ابراهيم ابن خليل المعروف كاكَا القيصرى

Notice of the owner of the MS:

هذا الكتاب المبارك الشريفة الى اضعف العباد و احوج

الناس الى رحمة الله تعالى الياس بن اسماعيل في تاريخ  
سنه من شهر المبارك ربيع الاول ثلاثه و اربعين و سبعمانه

Throughout his work the copyist gives the dates corresponding to 15 and 25 March, 7 and 16 April of 1310 A.D., while owner's notice is dated by 4 August 1342.

The MS comprises also an historical note of 21 lines concerning the events in Daghestan in the late fourteenth century and connected with the name of Tīmūr (Tamerlan) [5]:

بيان ليوم ليوم الغد فان الامير على بالجاه تيمور لين دخل  
الى قري دركه بالحاربة العامة فخصع رقاب الامم لشوكة  
عظيمة فقهر الناس و المال و قتل الرجال و النساء و اقام  
الحكام و الامرا على القري و النواحي و اقام من بينهم  
وليا على قرية موحة دحه بن بغ و دفع هذا الكتاب بيده  
ليحكم به بين الناس بالعدل و الانصاف في يوم الثلث من  
شهر (٩) هذه السنة ٧٩١

The year A.H. 791 began on the 31st of December 1388, but Tīmūr was **not** in Daghestan that year. Probably the copyist has mistakenly put 791 instead of 797. In the margins of another Arabic MS, containing *Kanz al-rāghibin fī sharḥ Minhāj al-tālibin*, there is a note about coming of Tīmūr to Daghestan. In it the year 797 is mentioned [6], which may confirm our assumption [7].

2. Manuscript in the private collection of Magomed Sulaymanov. It was fixed by Institute's 1980 expedition.

Size: 29.0 × 20.0 cm. No pagination.

Colophon:

... في شهر جمادى الاول في يوم الخامس و هو يوم  
السبت كتبه الفقير المحتاج الى عفو الله تعالى محمد بن  
سليمان تاريخ سنة ثمان مائة و اثنين من هجرة النبي و قد  
تمت كتاب الوجيز محمد بن سليمان بعد ما قد فرغ من  
كتاب الوجيز وقت الظهر قد كتب ثلاثة اشهر

8 Jumādā I 802 mentioned here corresponds to 6 January 1400.

3. There is also information about a manuscript, copied by Shaykh al-Mālik b. Mūsā al-Dāghistānī in 848/1444—45 — see M. Gaïdarbekov, "Khronologicheskie vypiski po istorii Dagestana" ("Chronological excerpts on the history of Daghestan") — in archives of the Institute (Fund 3, No. 1/236, vol. IX, p. 19).

#### ٤) جواهر القرآن

1. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/745).

The work in question occupies 165 folios of the total 170. Size: 29.5 × 20.6 cm. 16 lines per page. Thick, polished, slightly yellowed paper of local manufacturing. Legible Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. Binding with a flap is of plain stamped leather.

The title in the MS:

هذا كتاب المسمى جواهر القرآن

The end:

قد فرغ من تحرير هذا الكتاب و اسوداده ... أحمد بن محمد  
بن شعبان الاغوشي ... في سنة الف و اربعمائة و ثمانين

The year A.H. 1084 corresponds to A.D. 1673—74.

2. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/57, fols. 155b—276b; see above — *Minhāj*, MS No. 3).

The title in the MS:

كتاب جواهر القرآن صنفه الغزالي لما كتبه محمد بن سلمان  
بن حج (يعني حاجي) عمر

The end:

من يد ... محمد ابن الملك الكوكبان الكريمان سلمان  
ورزمك (أو ورزمل بثلاث نقط على لام) ... عند استاذنا  
ومولانا الامام الهمام عبد القادر بن علي ... في تاريخ سنة  
غمنو ١٠٩٦ قد تم في قرية كرتي

The month of Dhū'l-Qa'da in 1056 A.H. began on the 9th of December 1646. Karata is an Avarian village in the Ahvah district. Muḥammad, who copied two works by al-Ghazālī, was, as recorded by local experts on Arabic literary tradition in Daghestan, a son of Salmān, 'ālim from Kudali, and grandson of ḥājī 'Umar, qāḍī of Karata.

3. Manuscript in the private library of Abdulla Abbasov from Gapshima, fixed by Institute's 1979 expedition.

Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink. No pagination. Undated. Copied by تكي ابن سلطان في قرية ملكي في مدرسة سليمان. Mulebki is the name of a Darginian village.

4. Manuscript in the collection of the mosque of Argvani in the Gumbet district, fixed by Institute's 1980 expedition. A local copy of the work. Undated, though the MS looks fairly new. The name of the scribe is missing.

5. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/2392).

Size: 18.1 × 19.2 cm. 14 lines per page. Thick, polished, light-cream paper of local manufacturing and of uneven density. Daghestani vocalised *naskh*. Black ink. Regular custods. No pagination. Binding with a flap, of dark-brown stamped leather, with cartouches; the front cover is lacking.

The title in the MS:

كتاب جواهر القرآن وكتاب الاربعين الامام ... الغزالي الطوسي  
لما كتبه ... محمد بن فلان الوري العموقي

The end:

قد فرغ العبد الضعيف ... محمد من وري من ناحية الغمقي  
... في اخر ايام العشرين من شهر المبارك ذي حجة المنخرط  
في سلك شهر سنة تسع و ثمانين و الف من هجرة سيد  
المرسلين ... عند استاذنا مولانا الامام الهمام ملي محمد بن  
قاضي شعبان العبودي الاواري في مدرسته

The month of Dhū'l-Hijja in 1089 A.H. began on the 14th of January 1679. The village Uri at present enters the Lak district. Molla Muḥammad was the son of Sha'bān (d. 1077/1666—67) from Oboda, the famous 'ālim in Daghestan, who founded his own *madrasa* where later many widely known 'ulamā' studied.

There is also a note on fol. 1a:

من موقوفات حسن محمد لمسجد الجامع الاراري

Urari is the name of a Darginian village in the Dahadayev district.





يعبر عن السبب الذي أوقع الموافقة بين الطبع وبين الفكر الذي هو سبب  
 الخير توفيقاً إذا التوفيق هو التأييد من الله عز وجل ومنه العلم الذي هو طاعة نافعة  
 في الآخرة وقد ورد في الحديث طويل أنما علمي من نبي أسرف قال لعلي كرم الله وجهه  
 يا أبا عبد الله أوصني أوصني قال علمي من نبي أسرف قال لعلي كرم الله وجهه  
 علم الجفا والعمر والعقل والشكر فحفظ الحظ والحق وجهه بالباطل ومقت  
 العلم أو من علم نبي الذي ومن عظماء عن النبي وعنه أمان فالحكمة الحسنة  
 والتدنية وبذلك من الله تالم بالحق ع فماد كرم الله وجهه فالتفضل فالتفضل  
 عن القدر وهذا القدر في التوفيق فاذ كان الصبر كذا من آداب  
 التوبة فلا بد من الصبر فذكر في كتاب مفرد إن شاء الله تعالى ع  
 آخر كتاب التوبة بملوه كتاب الصبر والشكر إن شاء الله

الحمد لله رب العالمين حمدًا وإياك نبت طيبًا باركًا بيه وحمل السعيات  
 التي على المصطفى وعلى أصحابه وآله وأخيه وخلفاء الراشدين  
 إلى الأبد والصدور عظماء وفروع من التوفيق وعلى الخير وعلى الأمانة  
 والعزوة والأصول السالمة والنافع المصطفى والحققة والحمد لله  
 والشكر لله باسم ما يفيهم بأمرهم بالحلم أعفوا هذه الذنوب  
 وكاتبه وختمه بالخبر وأمره بالله وبغضه واستأذنه وحجابه  
 أقربا به وكذا في آخره وعن جميع المسلمين ولله التأييد والعون والموفق  
 من شهر ربيع الأول سنة ١١٩٠ هـ

1190 2 H. 3

Fig. 2

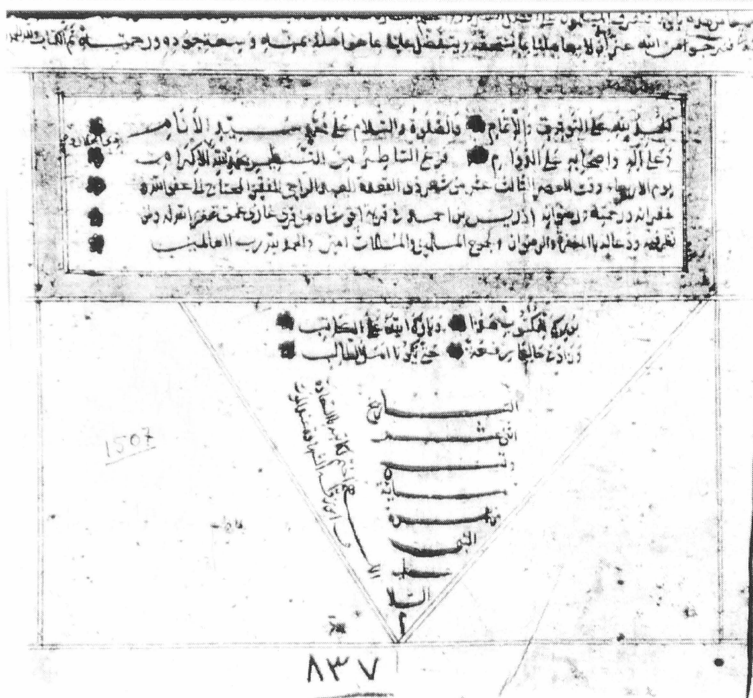


Fig. 3







Fig. 5



Fig. 6 (continuation)

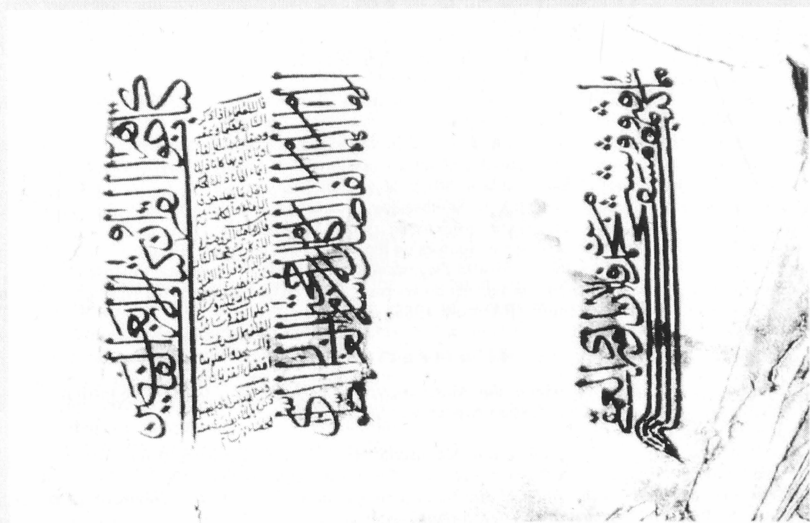


Fig. 6

6. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, No. 1/416).

142 fols. Thick, white paper of local manufacturing. Clear Daghestani *naskh*, partly vocalised. Black ink; singled out words are overlined or encircled in coloured ink. Broad margins are filled with numerous notes. Recent pagination. Binding with a flap, of dark-brown stamped leather, with cartouches; the front cover is lacking.

A note on the title-page:

من كتب الحقيق تراب الاقدام محمد بن القاضي شعبان  
الغودى صاحبه محمد القاضي

Colophon on fol. 140a:

قد وقع الفراغ من كتابة هذا الكتاب المسمى بجواهر القرآن  
العبد الحقيق محمد بن قاضي شعبان عبد استادي و  
مولاي الامام الفاضل ... محمد بن محمد من قرية مقرخي

The date of copying, 1069 A.H., is written in figures and letters. The year 1069 A.H. began on the 29th of September 1658. The place-name Mqrkhy might be probably identified with the village Mugurukh in the Charodin district.

7. Manuscript in the holdings of the Institute (Fund 14, 1 2386).

Size: 26.0 × 20.0 cm. 13 lines per page. Thick, light-cream paper of local manufacturing. Clear Daghestani *naskh*. Black ink, several words are singled out in red ink.

Regular custods. No pagination. Binding of stamped leather, with cartouches. The front cover and a few folios at the beginning are missing.

Not all of the words in the colophon are legible, only these ones:

قد وقع الفراغ من تسويد جواهر القرآن المنسوب البحر  
المحيط المشهور بالغزالي ... في شهر الله المبارك ذي القعدة  
عند استادنا مولانا الامام الفاضل الكامل العالم ذا العلوم  
كلها ... بن محمد شوقي (?) من يد العبد الحقيق الفقير اقل  
التقوى ...

Judging from the paleographical features, the MS may be dated to the eleventh/seventeenth century.

٥ بداية الهداية

Manuscript in the private collection of Abdulla Abbasov from Gapshima (see above *Minhāj*, MS No. 6).

The title on fol. 1a:

كتاب بداية الهداية صنفه الامام الغزالي

The end:

... [تم] الكتاب في يوم الثلاثاء في شهر الله المبارك محرم  
سنة ثمان وثمانين و الف من هجرة النبي

The month of Muḥarram in 1088 A.H. began on the 6th of March 1677.

## Notes

1. A survey of the Oriental, mostly Arabic MSS, in Daghestan see in M. Saidov, "Dagestanskaia literatura XVIII—XIX vv. na arab-skoi iazyke" ("The eighteenth—nineteenth centuries Daghestani literature in Arabic"), *Trudy XXV Kongressa vostokovedov* (Moscow, 1963), II, the same in Arabic: Muḥammad Sa'īd ibn Jamal al-Dīn, "al-Ādāb al-'arabiya fi Daghīstān" in *Majallat kulliyat al-adab of the Baghdad University* (1963), No. 6. See also *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta istorii, iazyka i literatury Dagestanskogo filiala A.N. SSSR* (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Daghestan Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. I (Moscow, 1977), and G. G. Gamzatov, M.-S. Saidov, A. R. Shikhsaidov, "Sokrovishchnitsa pamiatnikov pis'mennosti" ("A treasure-house of script"), *Ezhgodnik iberisko-kavkazskogo iazykoznaniiia*, vol. IX (Tbilisi, 1982), pp. 203—23.

2. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Leipzig, 1867), II, p. 478.

3. Zakariya Ben Muhammad Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's *Kosmographie*, Zweiter Theil. Die Denkmäler der Länder, hrsg. von F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848), p. 405.

4. A. R. Shikhsaidov, M.-S. Saidov, T. M. Aitberov, A. A. Isaev, G. M. Orazayev, G. M. Mirzamagomedov, "Itogi arkhograficheskoi ekspeditsii" ("The results of an archeographical expedition"), *Materialy sessii, posviashchennoi itogam ekspeditsionnykh issledovaniĭ v Dagestane v 1978—1979 gg. Tezisy dokladov* (Makhachkala, 1980), p. 41 (a preliminary report).

5. Russian translation of this note was published by A. R. Shikhsaidov, "Arkheograficheskaia rabota v Dagestanc" ("Archeography in Daghestan") in *Izucheniie istorii i kul'tury Dagestana: arkheograficheskii aspekt* (Makhachkala, 1988), p. 12.

6. *Vostochnye istochniki po istorii Dagestana* (Oriental Sources on the History of Daghestan) (Makhachkala, 1980), p. 110.

7. On sojourn of Timūr's armies in Daghestan, see *Istoriia Dagestana* (The History of Daghestan) (Moscow, 1967), I, pp. 207—9; also *Istoriia narodov severnogo Kavkaza s drevneishikh vremen do konca XVIII v.* (The History of the Northern Caucasus Peoples from Earliest Times up to the End of the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow, 1988), I, pp. 214—7.

## Illustrations

Fig. 1. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Manuscript No. 1/909 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), fol. 1b.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 87b.

Fig. 3. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Manuscript No. 1/3 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), colophon.

Fig. 4. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. Manuscript preserved in the village Dibrghalik of the Dahadayev district (the private collection of Sharip Musayev; d. 1980), colophon.

Fig. 5. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Minhāj al-'ābidin*. Manuscript No. 1/57 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

Fig. 6. Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-Gazālī, *Jawāhir al-Qur'ān*. Manuscript No. 1/2392 in the holdings of the Institute of History, Language and Literature (the Daghestan Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), the title folio and the last page containing colophon.