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*Nouvelles
Chroniques
du manuscrit
au Yémen*



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Éditorial

Nous sommes heureux d'accueillir au comité éditorial des *nCmY*, Alexander Weissenburger, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW), Vienne, et, à la tête de la revue de presse, Koen Janssen, Université de Leyde. La revue de presse présentée dans ce numéro couvre l'intégralité de l'année 2023.

Trois des articles ici publiés ont pour sujet commun des corans manuscrits et la ville de Zabīd. Annabel Teh Gallop (British Library), au terme d'un travail patient et minutieux, apporte le cas des deux premiers corans manuscrits malais dont le lien avec Zabīd peut être montré, ouvrant ainsi la voie à de futures recherches. Nous voudrions tout particulièrement saluer l'effort de Maxim Yosefi (Universités de Göttingen et Uppsala), le courage qu'il a eu d'entreprendre la traduction de l'article célèbre, mais demeuré peu accessible, d'Alexei Fyodorovich Shebunin, dont il a aussi documenté la genèse. Le projet, conçu il y a trois ans déjà, vient enfin à la lumière. Ce Coran-relique, conservé durant 48 ans à Saint-Pétersbourg, est un exemple ancien de restitution. Au-delà du lien du Coran à la péninsule Arabique, cet article devrait résonner au Yémen. Ahmad al-Masri (Université de Ḍamār, Yémen) nous offre la première contribution en arabe publiée dans les *nCmY*. Celle-ci s'attaque à l'exercice difficile d'attribution d'un texte à un auteur, qui serait, au terme de l'enquête, un historien mort au début du xi^e/fin du xvi^e s. à Zabīd.

Avec la chronique des fouilles de Šabwa, Jean-François Breton dirige le projecteur sur un aspect encore peu publié des fouilles archéologiques – hors rapports de mission : le « making of », la logistique toujours mouvante et instable qui place l'archéologue dans un rapport avec le contexte, des interlocuteurs, des personnes en général et avec le temps présent. Auteur et sujet de la chronique, l'archéologue entre à son tour dans l'histoire.

Anne Regourd

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Obituaire

Professor Wilferd Madelung (1930–2023) and His Contribution to Zaydī Studies

One of the most exciting books in Islamic Studies to be published during the 1990s was Wilferd Madelung's *The Succession to Muhammad*.¹ Coming in the wake of increasingly revisionist speculation about Islamic origins, Madelung's book offered a bold, original reading of the early Arabic sources that challenged the prevalent Western Islamicist view that Abū Bakr was the logical choice to serve as the first caliph, followed by 'Umar, 'Uṭmān, and then 'Alī. Instead, Madelung argued that there was substantial evidence from the Qur'ān and the Sunni hadith literature that 'Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, was a strong candidate for the initial post-prophetic leader (*imām*) of the Muslim community. He also introduced readers to controversial policies of the first three caliphs and the scandalous violence of Mu'āwiya's general Busr b. Abī Arṭāh, a man rarely mentioned in Western accounts of Islamic history. In short, Madelung demonstrated how uncritically most Western Islamicists adopted the Sunni view of history regarding the first five caliphs, despite copious reports found in both Sunni and Šī'ī historical sources that challenged it.

Wilferd Ferdinand Madelung was born December 26, 1930 in Stuttgart, Germany.² He was educated at Eberhard Ludwig Gymnasium and studied at Georgetown University after World War II. He moved to Cairo in 1950, where he studied classical Arabic with Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (d. 1961) at Cairo University, from which he received his BA in 1953. M.K. Ḥusayn was an expert in Fāṭimid and Ismā'īlī texts, which kindled in young Madelung a lifelong interest in all three major Šī'ī traditions. During his time as a student in Cairo, Madelung had the good fortune to develop what would blossom into a life-long friendship with the distinguished Palestinian scholar of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Professor Iḥsān 'Abbās (1920-2003). According to Professor Wadād al-Qāḍī, Madelung would teach 'Abbās German in exchange for 'Abbās teaching him classical Arabic.³ Madelung completed his doctoral thesis at the University of Hamburg in 1957 under the guidance of Bertold Spuler and Rudolph Strothmann. After serving a tour as a Cultural Attaché at the West German Embassy in Baghdad (1958–1960), he taught

¹ Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muhammad*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998.

² Short biographies of Madelung are found in *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung*, ed. Farhad Daftary & Josef Meri, New York, I.B. Taurus, 2003, pp. 5–7; and *Universality in Islamic Thought*, ed. Michael Morony, New York, I.B. Taurus, 2014, pp. xi–xii. Both books contain extensive bibliographies of Madelung's diverse publications through the year 2014. Sabine Schmidtke has prepared an inventory of his Papers at <https://albert.ias.edu/20.500.12111/8112>. The Papers themselves will be kept in The Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton NJ (Personal communication from S. Schmidtke).

³ Personal communication from Wadād al-Qāḍī.

first at University of Texas, Austin, before advancing from assistant to associate to full professor of Islamic History at the University of Chicago (1964–1978). In 1978, Madelung was named Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford and Fellow of St John’s College, and taught at Oxford’s Oriental Institute until his retirement in 1998. Madelung then served as Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Ismaili Studies in London until 2021, where he continued to make significant scholarly contributions. A *festschrift* in his honor, titled *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam*, edited by Farhad Daftary & Josef Meri, was published in 2003, and Michael Morony edited *Universality in Islam*, a collection of essays that were delivered on the occasion of Madelung becoming the 19th recipient of the prestigious Giorgio Levi Della Vida Award in Islamic Studies from UCLA’s Center for Near Eastern Studies in 2007. In 2013, Madelung was awarded the Farabi International Award by the Iranian Ministry of Islamic Guidance and Culture for his major contributions to the fields of Islamic and Iranian studies. On May 9, 2023, Wilferd Madelung passed away at the age of 92.

The scope of Madelung’s publications is breathtaking. He wrote extensively on Ismā‘īlī, Twelver, and Zaydī Šī‘a; Mu‘tazilī theology; Ibādī theology; Sunni theology; medieval Yemeni and Iranian history; and the history of the succession to Muḥammad. Most of his articles and conference papers were collected in four indispensable Variorum publications: *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*; *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*; *Studies in Medieval Shi‘ism*; and *Studies in Medieval Muslim Thought and History*.⁴ He made countless contributions to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Madelung also edited and co-edited numerous Arabic texts, several of which will be mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Madelung was described as “the first Western scholar who was able to profit from the Yemeni manuscript collections in Europe, in Egypt, and, most importantly, in Yemen itself.”⁵ In 1965, Madelung published his groundbreaking study of the Zaydī Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860) and Zaydī thought more broadly, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*.⁶ In its four richly documented chapters, Madelung covered the relation between the early Mu‘tazila and the Šī‘a; the early theology of the Zaydiyya; the teachings of Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm; and the reception of Mu‘tazilī thought among the Zaydiyya who lived subsequent to Imam al-Qāsim down until Imam Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (d. 749/1349). This book drew on an exceptional number of Zaydī manuscripts in European libraries, as only a minute number of Zaydī texts had been printed prior to its publication. It also served as the foundation for

⁴ W. Madelung, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*, London, Variorum Reprints, 1985; *ibid.*, *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, Hampshire (UK), Variorum, 1992; *ibid.*, *Studies in Medieval Shi‘ism*, ed. S. Schmidtke, Farnham, Ashgate Variorum, 2012; *ibid.*, *Studies in Medieval Muslim Thought and History*, ed. S. Schmidtke, Farnham, Ashgate Variorum, 2013.

⁵ S. Schmidtke, “The History of Zaydī Studies: An Introduction,” *Arabica* 59, 2012, p. 192.

⁶ W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1965.

many of Madelung's significant articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, about Zaydism, including "al-Rassī, al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm," "al-Hādī ilā l-Ḥaḳḳ, Abū l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā," and "al-Zaydiyya," among many others. Madelung also returned to Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm in two important later papers, both of which are included in *Studies in Medieval Shi'ism*: "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Mu'tazilism;" and "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology."⁷

Madelung's second major contribution to Zaydī Studies was his 1985 critical edition of Imam Aḥmad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh's *Kitāb al-Naḡāh*, published with the title *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibaditische Prädestinationslehre* (Treatise by Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir against the Ibādī Doctrine of Predestination). This unique text is an early Zaydī refutation of an otherwise lost tract by the even earlier Ibādī theologian named 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Baḡdādī in favor of predestination. It is one of the few surviving texts by the Yemeni Zaydī Imam al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Hādī ilā al-Ḥaḳq (d. 322/934). Madelung dates its composition between 307/919–315/927 and provides a critical edition of it based on two early manuscripts, one of which was copied 565/1170 (MS Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cod. arab. 1178) and the other of which was copied 548/1153 (MS Sanaa, Great Mosque Library, 'Ilm al-Kalām 141). He actually traveled to Sanaa in 1968 to collate his edition, which was initially based on the incomplete Munich manuscript, with the complete Sanaa manuscript. Madelung remained true to the manuscripts and did not insert any chapter headings or divisions, which makes it challenging to locate specific theological topics without reading the entire book. By contrast, Imam Ḥanafī Sayyid 'Abd Allāh inserted nineteen chapter headings of his own invention and provided a detailed topical index of the books contents (pp. 473–488) in his 2001 edition of *Kitāb al-Naḡāh*.⁸ However, 'Abd Allāh's edition is based solely on the Sanaa manuscript and makes no mention of Madelung's earlier critical edition, which must be consulted in light of the latter's use of both extant manuscripts of this text.

Madelung's third major contribution to Zaydī Studies shifted from Yemen to northern Iran, with his *Arabic Texts Concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*.⁹ This work consists of critical editions of passages from seven distinct works containing biographies of northern Iranian Zaydī Imams and their communities. While several of the biographical dictionaries from which Madelung cultivated his excerpts have been published by Yemeni scholars in recent decades, such as Imam Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī's (d. 424/1033) *Kitāb al-Ifāda* and Ḥumayd al-Šahīd

⁷ W. Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Mu'tazilism," in: *On Both Sides of al-Mandab: Ethiopian, South-Arabic, and Islamic Studies Presented to Oscar Löfgren on his Ninetieth Birthday 13 May 1988 by Colleagues and Friends*, Stockholm, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1989, pp. 39–48; and W. Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology," *Aram* 3, 1991, pp. 35–44.

⁸ Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, *Al-naḡāh*, ed. Imām Ḥanafī Sayyid 'Abd Allāh, Cairo, Dār al-āfāq al-'arabiyya, 2001.

⁹ W. Madelung, *Arabic Texts Concerning the History of the Zaydī Imāms of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gīlān*, Beirut, Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft & Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1987.

al-Muḥallī's (d. 652/1254) *Kitāb al-Ḥadā'iq al-wardiyya*, other texts, such as a letter from the Caspian Zaydī Yūsuf al-Ġilānī of Lāhīḡān to the Yemeni 'Imrān b. al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (d. after 630/1232–1233) from the year 607/1210–1211, appear only in this volume and remain exceptionally valuable.

Madelung's research into medieval Yemeni history has been an essential part of Zaydī Studies. He was one of the first scholars to read the sole surviving manuscript by a Muṭarrifī Zaydī author and clarified the history of the unique institution of the *Hiḡra* in northern Yemen.¹⁰ He also called our attention to the historical value of *sīra* literature about Zaydī Imams and the nature of land ownership and taxation in northern Yemen during the 3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries.¹¹ In 1990, he edited and published *The Sīra of Imām Aḡmad b. Yaḡyā al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh from Musallam al-Laḡjī's Kitāb Akhbār al-Zaydiyya bi al-Yaman*. Finally, Madelung's pioneering study on the relationship between Zaydism and Sufism is especially valuable by introducing readers to several Zaydī scholars, such as Imam al-Mu'ayyad bi-llāh Aḡmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 411/1021) and Ibrāhīm b. Aḡmad al-Kayna'ī (d. 793/1391), who embraced many teachings associated with ascetic Sufism.¹²

Following his retirement from Oxford University, Madelung edited and co-edited an impressive number of Šī'ī and Mu'tazilī Arabic texts, many of which were based on manuscripts preserved in Yemeni libraries. With Sabine Schmidtke, he edited Abū al-Qāsim al-Bustī's *Kitāb al-baḡt 'an adillat al-takfīr wa-al-tafsīq*,¹³ and with Schmidtke & Camilla Adang he edited Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī's *Sharḡ Ziyādat al-uṣūl*.¹⁴ Al-Bustī was a pupil of the famous Mu'tazilī scholar, al-Qāḡī 'Abd al-Ġabbār (d. 415/1024–1025) and a Zaydī in law, while Imam Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī was one of the most influential Zaydī scholars in the fields of law and hadith. Madelung further enriched our library of rare Mu'tazilī texts through his editing efforts with his former student Martin McDermott

¹⁰ W. Madelung, "A Muṭarrifī Manuscript," in: Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies (Visby-Stockholm, 1972), Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1975, pp. 75–83 [reprinted in: *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam*]; and "The Origins of the Yemenite *Hijra*," in: Alan Jones (ed.), *Arabicus Felix: Luminosus Britannicus. Essays in Honour of A.F.L. Beeston on his Eightieth Birthday*, Reading, Ithaca Press, 1991, pp. 25–44 [reprinted in: *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, see n. 4].

¹¹ W. Madelung, "The *Sīrat al-Amīrayn al-Ajallayn al-Sharīfayn al-Fāḡilayn al-Qāsim wa-Muḡammad ibnay Ja'far ibn al-Imām al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī* as a Historical Source," in: *Studies in the History of Arabia, I: Sources for the History of Arabia*, part 2. Riyadh, Riyadh University Press, 1979, pp. 69–87; and "Land Ownership and Land Tax in Northern Yemen and Najrān: 3rd–4th/9th–10th century," in: Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut, American University of Beirut, 1981, pp. 189–207 [both articles are reprinted in: *Religious and Ethnic Movements in Medieval Islam*, see n. 4].

¹² In Arabic, الكينبي. W. Madelung, "Zaydī Attitudes to Sufism," in: Frederick De Jong & Bernd Radtke (eds), *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, Leiden, Brill, 1999, pp. 124–144 [reprinted in: *Studies in Medieval Shi'ism*, see n. 4].

¹³ Abū al-Qāsim al-Bustī, *Kitāb al-baḡt 'an adillat al-takfīr wa-al-tafsīq*, W. Madelung & S. Schmidtke (eds), Tehran, Iran University Press, 2003.

¹⁴ This text was published under the title *Başran Mu'tazilite Theology: Abū 'Alī Muḡammad Ibn Khallād's Kitāb al-uṣūl and its reception*, Leiden, Brill, 2011.

and colleague Hassan Ansari of three major works by the Ḥwarizmi theologian, Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141).¹⁵ Ibn al-Malāḥimī was a Sunni scholar who adhered to the Mu‘tazilī school of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) and whose works generated vibrant discussions among the Zaydīs in Yemen during the Middle Periods of Islamic civilization.¹⁶

There are few, if any, contemporary Islamicists who can assess the full range of Madelung’s contributions to Islamic Studies. My modest goal here is to highlight his pioneering research related to the study of Zaydī Ši‘ism, which is but a small share of his extraordinary lifetime of scholarship.

Scott Lucas
(University of Arizona, Tucson)

LIBER AMICORUM

Wilferd Madelung: The Doyen of Shi‘i Studies

Ahab Bdaiwi
(Leiden University)

In the traditional Muslim discipline of *‘ilm al-riḡāl*, transmission and preservation is considered a scholarly virtue. A quick glance at the medieval *riḡāl* dictionaries shows that a student-cum-scholar who remains faithful to the ideas of his pedagogues is showered with effusive praise. Still, the disciple is rarely faulted for building and elaborating on their teacher’s ideas. At least that is how tradition works in Muslim scholarly cultures. Ideas of substantive cogency are transmitted and preserved for the benefit of posterity. However, ideas are not meant to be static, immutable, or unwaveringly rigid, for a good student-cum-scholar will go to develop their teacher’s ideas and theses—even if that entails rejection and denial of key aspects of the ideas in question. Stated differently, the arduous student-cum-scholar will gradually shift from *taqlīd* to *taḥqīq*, to become an expositor of truth and not simply one of its defenders.

In the course of my undergraduate and graduate studies and subsequent academic career I came to learn a great much from the late Professor Wilferd Madelung, who was my grand *doktorvater*. As student I was awe-struck by Madelung’s erudition, his close readings of medieval texts and canons, and his unwavering ability to see past the fog of

¹⁵ These three works are Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-Mu‘tamad fi uṣūl al-dīn*, W. Madelung & Martin McDermott (eds), London, 1991 [revised edition, Tehran, 2012]; Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Kitāb al-Fā‘iq fi uṣūl al-dīn*, W. Madelung & M. McDermott (eds), Tehran, 2007; and *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fi al-radd ‘alā al-falāsifa*, W. Madelung & H. Ansari (eds), Berlin & Tehran, 2008.

¹⁶ It should be noted that Madelung & Schmidtke also edited eleven fragments of Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s lost Mu‘tazilī theological work, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 2006.

smoke that hung over the academic study of medieval Islam. Moreover, his versatility in history, theology, philosophy, philology, and manuscripts is not only unsurpassed, but it will also never, perhaps, find expression in one scholar in the near and distant future.

As a specialist in medieval Islamic thought, I came to learn a great many things from the writings of Madelung. But it is in my capacity as a scholar of Shi'i Islam that I came to benefit most from the late professor's formidable contributions to the study of Shi'ism. Perhaps more than anything else, however, it was Madelung's daring insights and audacity to challenge the tribalistic-like methodological attitudes that gripped the academy before his emergence that inspires me the most. It was indeed Madelung who arguably single-handedly sought to rectify the intellectual ostracisation of Shi'ism in the academy.

For a long while, Western scholars found little incentive to study the Shi'i Islam. Academic scholars proffered uncritical rehashing of the dominant (Sunni) narratives and sectarian polemics. The early Shi'i sources were unknown, or when they were read, academics did not take them seriously. Nineteenth and early twentieth century orientalists inherited and accepted as true the early heresiographical and triumphalist accounts of medieval Islamic historiography; some looked askance at early Shi'ism, while others considered Shi'i traditions heretical and tendentious.

For example, with the rise of *Islamwissenschaft* by pioneering figures such as Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921), Shi'ism was seen as heretical, like Christianity in relation to Judaism. Goldziher said as much in his "Die Fortschritte der Islam-Wissenschaft in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten."¹⁷ Both medieval and orientalist accounts converged on the same persecutive: Shi'ism was viewed as theologically repugnant, a socio-political sectarian movement, and an intellectual contrarian that is antithetical to (Sunni) Islam. Subsequent Western scholarship, inspired by Goldziher, regarded Shi'ism as little representative of Islam. Shi'ism, we sometimes read, was seen as a Persian religiosity and, in other instances, a late ancient Neoplatonist spinoff.

For a long while, orientalists fronted Sunni orthodoxy and orthopraxy as normative Islam, at least before the 1960s, when Madelung—and a few others—forced a change of attitude in the academy. Thanks to Madelung, Shi'ism was now studied on its own terms. Shi'i sources were read directly—and not through secondary Sunni citations.

And while his contributions and defining intellectual moments are too many to recount here, Madelung will be fondly remembered by specialists of medieval Islamic studies as someone who transformed the field quite considerably, leaving behind a lasting legacy for many, many decades to come.

¹⁷ See Ignaz Goldziher, "Die Fortschritte der Islam-Wissenschaft in den letzten drei Jahrzehnten," in: *Gesammelte Schriften [Collected writings of Goldziher] IV*, Hildesheim, 1967, p. 448.

To Wilferd Madelung

Farhad Daftary

(The Institute of Ismaili Studies)

Professor Wilferd Madelung (1930–2023) was one of the foremost contemporary scholars of Islamic studies, to which he made countless original contributions during his distinguished academic career. As a rare instance of its kind, he not only contributed to our better understanding of aspects of Sunni Islam, but also conducted research on all major Shi'i communities, viz., the Ithna'asharis or Twelvers, Ismailis and Zaydis. In his extensive body of work, produced over six decades, he relied on a wide range of primary sources, many of which were not previously known to scholars, in addition to proposing new interpretations of the known sources.

Professor Madelung's doctoral thesis, completed in 1957, was on the early Ismailis. There, as well as in his earliest publications, he correctly identified, for the first time, the nature of the early Ismaili movement. He clearly revealed the circumstances under which the then unified Ismaili movement had split in 286/899 into two rival factions, comprised of the loyal Ismailis who acknowledged continuity in the imamate, and the dissident Qarmatis who retained an earlier belief in the Mahdship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl. Furthermore, he clarified, once and for all, the relations between the Fatimids and the dissident Qarmatis. Later, Madelung produced numerous critical editions of texts belonging to different Muslim traditions, including a number of hitherto unknown Ismaili texts, such as Ibn al-Hayṭam's *Kitāb al-Munāẓarāt* and an obscure Abū Tammām's heresiographical work entitled *Kitāb al-šağara*. Meanwhile, from his retirement at Oxford University in 1998 until his death he was affiliated with The Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, as a Senior Research Fellow. In that capacity, he provided valuable guidance to many of that institution's researchers and students. Indeed, Madelung is rightly recognised as one of the pioneers of modern Ismaili studies. He was also the moving spirit behind *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, which he co-edited with the present writer. This work of reference, published jointly by Brill and The Institute of Ismaili Studies, covers many entries on Shi'i personalities and doctrines. I had the privilege of working with Wilferd Madelung for over three decades. I can state without any hesitation that rarely has any contemporary Islamicist made as many original contributions as Wilferd Madelung to such a diversity of areas within the field of Islamic studies.

Wilferd Madelung and The Succession to Muhammad

Fred M. Donner

(University of Chicago)

In 1997, Cambridge University Press published Wilferd Madelung's book *The Succession to Muḥammad. A study of the early caliphate*,¹⁸ I think his first and only major work devoted to the period of Islam's beginnings, which was in a sense "my field," the one on which I had mainly worked. Like all of Madelung's publications, it is a consummate work of traditional scholarship, guided by his impeccable knowledge of classical Arabic and drawing on all the relevant Arabic primary sources. These he uses to construct a detailed and very readable narrative of "what [actually?] happened" in the years immediately following the Prophet Muḥammad's death in 632 CE and the emergence of the early caliphate. No student of early Islamic history can fail to benefit from Madelung's reconstruction, which offers a rich selection of fascinating episodes highlighting the events and providing memorable descriptions of the scores of key actors in them. As an added favor, we are also provided with a series of Excurses at the end of the book, each providing a close analysis of the evidence for a particular topic that is related but tangential to the thrust of the book's main narrative.

A good deal of Madelung's scholarly work focused on theology and on "sectarian" forms of Islam, particularly on Shi'ism, so the topic of *The Succession to Muḥammad*, dealing with the claim of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to the caliphate, fits in thematically with many of his other works. Despite consisting of almost 400 pages, however, this book does not seem to have had as much impact in the field of Islamic history and Islamic studies as one might have expected, given its heft, the importance of its subject, and Madelung's sterling reputation as a leading scholar of the Islamic tradition. There are, I think, several reasons for this.

One reason may be that Madelung's handling of the Arabic sources, as thorough and nuanced as it is, seems not fully have embraced the thrust of much of the robust scholarship on Islamic historiography that had been produced in the two decades before *The Succession* appeared. The book's narrative of events seems to be based on the assumption that the medieval Arabic sources could be trusted to provide a reliable record of what actors in the early caliphal drama actually said and did—an assumption that the recent historiographical scholarship had called into question. So reading this book's admittedly intriguing and sometimes gripping narrative feels a bit like stepping back into the scholarship of an earlier era, one that had greater confidence in the historicity of the Arabic sources, or maybe into the plot of a rich historical novel; it is always engaging, but one sometimes has the unsettling feeling that the narrative, in its presentation of complex and murky events, is too confident and unqualified to be trusted. Moreover, one of the greatest strengths of *The Succession to Muḥammad*—its

¹⁸ Wilferd Madelung, *The Succession to Muḥammad: A study of the early Caliphate*, Cambridge/New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

close attention to the Arabic sources—turns out also to be one of its weaknesses; it is in a way too close to its sources. Madelung presents history as almost entirely shaped by personalities and interpersonal relations—just as do the medieval Arabic texts on which he draws. There is no discussion of institutions, economic developments, or the power of ideological concepts; rather, everything is reduced to a moralistic struggle between good and evil, light and darkness, and history is shaped by and depends entirely on the personal temperament and moral character of individuals.

A second reason why *The Succession to Muḥammad* failed to have a great impact may be that it dealt with early Shi‘ism—and the way it dealt with it. Most of Madelung’s other studies of Shi‘ism had described later phenomena in Shi‘i history, which are amenable to detached, scholarly examination to show how different Shi‘i communities developed, intellectually and sociologically. This included his path-breaking 1985 study of Zaidi beliefs in Yemen (*Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*¹⁹) and several other works on Shi‘ism and editions of key medieval texts. In contrast, *The Succession to Muḥammad* focuses on the events of the first civil war (*fitna*), including those underpinning the very faith-claim upon which the whole edifice of Shi‘ism is built—‘Alī’s legitimacy to be Muḥammad’s successor and caliph. Whereas work on later Shi‘ism can simply take as a given the Shi‘ite claim of ‘Alī’s legitimacy, without needing either to challenge or to defend it, delving into the first civil war brings one right into the thick of the debates over ‘Alī’s claim to be the Prophet’s successor, making it extremely difficult for the researcher to avoid being drawn into the vortex of partisan argument. And indeed, Madelung does adopt a partisan stance, for the book is essentially an extended apology in support of ‘Alī and his claim to rule. This partisan attitude may have undermined the book’s impact among other scholars, the majority of whom have been more inclined to see the Sunni position as normative, even if they are willing to accept at face value the cogency of Madelung’s analysis. (I was once told—but been unable to confirm—that the *The Succession to Muhammad* was awarded a prize by the Islamic Republic of Iran, but was banned in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia; either claim, if true, is doubtless because of the book’s pro-Shi‘ite argument.)

Madelung’s favoritism for ‘Alī and his claim begins rather subtly, but as one works through the book it becomes increasingly obvious; at the same time, his disdain for ‘Alī’s opponents, in particular the Umayyads, becomes more and more outspoken—so that by the end, the Umayyads are depicted as thoroughly corrupt, dishonest, unscrupulous, and immoral. But the earliest reports in the Arabic sources about the *fitna*, the sources on which Madelung or any other historian must rely, were very likely first circulated within the Shi‘ite community of Kufa, perhaps as a form of consolation for the defeat of their hero and the ascent of Mu‘awiya to the caliphate, so one has to expect a lot of invective and biased allegations. In *The Succession to Muḥammad*, Mu‘awiya is

¹⁹ Wilferd Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 1965.

regularly dismissed as “personally a coward” (e.g., p. 198) and as lacking any principles other than self-interest. ‘Alī, on the other hand, is always presented as a paragon of virtue, even if he makes a few unwise decisions. But ‘Alī’s arguments in his letter to Mu‘āwiya, detailed carefully by Madelung from his sources, sound suspiciously like later Shi‘ite talking points; it is hard to believe that ‘Alī himself already had the arguments for his claim to the imamate so systematically developed (p. 194).

The book’s most negative characterizations are reserved for the Umayyad Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who is depicted as having a malign clairvoyance in his ability to foresee what the future would hold, and so plan how to deprive ‘Alī and his successors of their rightful claims. Madelung states, for example, that Marwān “... himself had sacrificed his cousin ‘Utmān when it became apparent that otherwise he, Marwān, would have to be sacrificed.” (p. 341). And later, “(...Marwān) threw his elderly cousin to the wolves in the interest of the Umayyad caliphate.” (p. 349). This assessment of Marwān’s motives comes as something of a surprise, however; when we read earlier in the book Madelung’s own narrative about the death of ‘Utmān (pp. 136–137), he describes how Marwān is almost killed defending ‘Utmān against his attackers. This does not sound, to me, like an obvious betrayal of his elderly cousin. Madelung, however, explains Marwān’s behavior as follows: “Had (...) Marwān, after wantonly bringing down the catastrophe on him [‘Utmān], been serious about preventing the enemy from reaching the old man, as he claimed in two lines of poetry, he would have been sitting with him, as ‘Utmān had asked him to do, instead of engaging in vainglorious bragging outside the palace.” (p. 138) It is not clear to me, however, exactly how Marwān’s sitting with ‘Utmān would have protected the latter against the murderers—the “wolves”—who broke into his room, better than fighting them outside the palace. Would not Marwān just have been killed too? And was Marwān really so clever and far-sighted that he arranged for himself *almost* to be killed by the “wolves,” but not quite (only seriously wounded, and saved at the last minute by his wet-nurse), in order to hide the true nature of his plan—which only came to fruition almost thirty years later? This all seems too conspiratorial and far-fetched to believe. The derision for Marwān and the Umayyads even extends to the Syrians who backed them. Madelung admits that Marwān’s scheme was “high politics,” but “The Syrians, crude soldiery that they were, might not have properly understood it.” (p. 349)

Madelung describes in lively terms the rivalry between Mu‘āwiya and Marwān and their sometimes biting comments on each other—very convenient that some sources have one Umayyad bad-mouth another. An especially choice episode occurs when Mu‘āwiya, near the end of his reign, is attempting to get people to recognize his son Yazīd as his successor, which in Madelung’s telling distressed Marwān, who coveted the caliphate for himself, or at least for his branch of the Banū Umayya. In order to thwart Mu‘āwiya’s plan, Marwān, in Medina, attempts to convince ‘Amr b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb to challenge Mu‘āwiya’s appointment of Yazīd as his successor and to claim the caliphate himself. Marwan’s discussion with ‘Amr, giving his arguments for ‘Amr and against Yazīd’s claim are, however, surreptitiously overheard by Mu‘āwiya’s daughter Ramla, who was married to ‘Amr; we are told that she eavesdropped on their confidential conversation by piercing a hole in the wall so she could listen. Having heard,

she then went to her father in Damascus—1,200 km away!—to reveal the contents of the conversation to him. Here Madelung seems to be reproducing a report by an “omniscient narrator,” who knows exactly what everyone said even in confidential exchanges. One wonders, first, just how Ramla managed to drill a hole in the wall without her husband noticing. Or did she do it in advance—in which case, what caused her to think she might need it? And who overheard what Ramla said to Mu‘āwīya in Damascus? The whole story seems exceedingly contrived, but it is reported to us as fact. On p. 328, Madelung refers to “Mu‘āwīya’s Syrian propaganda machine,” but it seems that the Kufan propaganda machine was what had Madelung’s ear.

The early Arabic sources on the first civil war were all spawned in a crucible of intensely partisan discourse, so reconstructing from these sources the actual actions and motivations of key actors in this early Islamic drama, such as ‘Alī, Mu‘āwīya, or Marwān, is a bit like trying to grasp the true character of modern American politicians by reading the attack ads of their opponents. This is, indeed, one of the main points of the recent historiographical re-examination of the Arabic sources for early Islam. We should, of course, remind ourselves that the goal of historical narration is usually to legitimize something, so we can accept that Madelung, or any other historian of the first *fitna*, might adopt the point of view that one side, or the other, had a stronger claim to be Muḥammad’s legitimate successor. Marwān, Mu‘āwīya, and others may indeed have been rough-and-tumble political actors in their day. But to assume that ‘Alī was completely innocent of all guile, while insisting that his opponents were all irredeemably sinful, seems to buy too freely into the heavy-handed partisanship of some reports. The complex schemes imputed to ‘Alī’s opponents, especially to Marwān, also tax one’s credulity. For we also know that in history many things work out for reasons that are in part—perhaps in large part—accidental, beyond the control of any of the primary participants, beyond anyone’s ability to foresee and to plan. So one would hope to find, in a historical reconstruction such as that provided in *The Succession to Muḥammad*, a picture that, even if it ultimately comes down in favor of one side, is more balanced between the strident polemics of the various parties.

Setting aside Madelung’s evident commitment to supporting one side in this historical drama, one also senses something else a bit strange in the book’s approach. Already before one begins reading, one notes his dedication of the book to the memory of his mother, “who opened my eyes to history as it really is.” This phrase makes one wonder exactly what he means, for it does not seem likely that his mother nurtured him with a kind of Rankean positivism to see history “wie es eigentlich gewesen ist;” so one suspects that something else is going on. As one reads, one realizes that Madelung’s view of history, at least of political history, is deeply cynical—a cynicism that shines through especially in his description of the machinations of the Umayyads. At one point, for example, describing Mu‘āwīya’s rapprochement with ‘Amr Ibn al-‘Āṣ, he says “[Mu‘āwīya] had come to understand that in statecraft, whenever bribery or intimidation would not reduce an opponent, murder, open or secret, was the most convenient and effective means.” (pp. 197–198). Note that this comment is not specifically about Mu‘āwīya, but reflects Madelung’s view of the essential nature of statecraft, which Mu‘āwīya’s actions only mirror. A bit further on, describing the failings of ‘Alī’s Gover-

nor of Egypt Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, he states, “Inadvertently the son of Abū Bakr had exposed himself to another example of that facetious brainwash with which the potentates of the world like to entertain their credulous subjects and lead them by their noses.” (p. 223). It seems, then, that Madelung approached his project of examining the struggle for Muḥammad’s succession already harboring a deep-seated conviction that politics—all politics—is a dirty game, and that only those who lack scruples can succeed in it. It may not have been his mother alone who taught him this; given Madelung’s personal history—born in Stuttgart at the end of 1930, and so growing up under the shadow of Hitler and the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazi party (NSDAP)—what he witnessed in his childhood and youth would have been more than enough to impart these lessons. It may have been almost the only way that decent people in Germany in those horrible years, powerless to change the policies of a brutally repressive regime, could emotionally survive what was going on. But one wonders whether holding such attitudes compromises the capacity for scholarly detachment that is needed by a historian embarking on the study of a topic as politically fraught as the first *fitna*.

There is yet another peculiarity in this book, however. After devoting hundreds of pages to providing an eloquent and thoroughly researched justification for ‘Alī’s claim to the caliphate, he concludes his narrative by examining the contradictory reports about the death of Marwān. As he is unable to prove which report is more reliable, he suggests that we adopt the one most degrading to Marwān, and closes with the Italian aphorism “*se non è vero è ben trovato*”—“even if it’s not true, at least it’s well fabricated.” So we are left, on the one hand, with a passionate and detailed narration of how ‘Alī was apparently cheated of his rightful claim by his immoral opponents, but then told, on the other, that maybe the story is not true after all, and that what we have is only a kind of fairy tale, but one that accords with his general belief that politics is dirty and that upright people who enter it will be humiliated and crushed. This leaves us, as readers, with a dilemma. Is the story of ‘Alī and his sad fate, as Madelung has presented it, one that actually provides historical evidence confirming the view that politics always involves deceit and immorality? Or, rather, has Madelung merely curated the narrative of ‘Alī and his sad fate in order to make it conform to his deep-seated conviction that all politics is dirty? The book appears to be demonstrating the former, but many hints suggest the latter.

Having said all this, it is important to state again that *The Succession to Muḥammad*, despite its one-sided presentation of events, is nonetheless a work of amazing scholarship and a rewarding book to read. It is, first of all, endlessly entertaining, not least because it retells vividly many episodes in the history of the first *fitna*, not sparing us the lurid details the sources sometimes provide. More importantly, it offers insights into the intense personal and tribal rivalries by which the leadership of the early Islamic community was riven—in its historiographical narratives, at least, and presumably also in reality. In the end, then, our judgment of *The Succession to Muḥammad* is just as Madelung said: *se no è vero è ben trovato*.

A final, personal note. When I came to the University of Chicago in 1982, I came as the successor to Wilferd Madelung, who after several years of temporizing had finally de-

cided, a year or two earlier, to accept the position of Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford. Over the years I had occasion to meet him several times, either when I was in Oxford for a conference or when he returned to Chicago for a visit (his wife continued to live in the Chicago area). He was always cordial, but impressed me as rather formal and quite reserved, even shy—not an outgoing conversationalist, but always friendly. It was therefore quite a surprise to discover, with the publication of *The Succession to Muhammad*, that under his outwardly calm and quiet demeanor, which seemed if anything completely apolitical, there evidently smoldered the ardent conviction that ‘Alī had been cheated of his rightful claim to the caliphate—perhaps the most divisively political issue in the whole Islamic tradition. He vented this indignation not by joining demonstrations or engaging in political action, but by penning the most meticulously detailed piece of scholarship ever produced dealing with the caliphate of ‘Alī. Still waters, it is said, run deep.

Wilferd Madelung, a personal remembrance

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I met Prof. Madelung for the first time during the Christmas of 2001. At this time, I was preparing my dissertation proposal. My advisor, Wadad Kadi (University of Chicago, emerita), and Dr. Paul Walker (University of Chicago, and a former graduate student of Prof. Madelung) had encouraged me to speak with him as they thought it would help me develop a suitable project for my dissertation.

I had just returned from an eight-month research trip to Yemen, where I had been avidly learning about the intellectual history of the Zaydis and collecting copies of rare Yemeni Zaydi manuscripts. Throughout this time, Madelung’s magisterial work on the intellectual history of the Zaydis, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1965), was the constant reference on this topic. This was a dense and complex work that displayed Madelung’s deep understanding of the development of Mu‘tazilī and Shī‘ī thought. In the book, Madelung traced the development and elaboration of theological doctrines over roughly 1000 years through consulting manuscripts in Berlin, Leiden, and Milan. During my visit to Yemen, I translated portions of Madelung’s book into Arabic for ‘Abd al-Karīm Ğudbān who was at the time preparing an edition of al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860)’s work.

I was around an hour late to that first meeting because of a massive snowstorm in Chicago, but Prof. Madelung and his wife greeted me kindly and welcomed me to some tea and Christmas cake in their home in Oak Park, Illinois. I feel forever in Prof. Madelung’s debt, for in that evening’s conversation, he encouraged me to work on the Letters of al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād (d. 385/995), which would become the topic of my dissertation and first book, *Licit Magic: The Life and Letters of al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād* (Leiden, Brill, 2018). He explained to me what he thought about the importance of Ibn ‘Abbād’s

court of Rayy for Islamic theology, and I returned eagerly to tell my advisor, Prof. Kadi, that this was what I would focus on.

Over the subsequent years, I met Prof. Madelung at conferences. I saw him more regularly when he was offering a graduate seminar at the University of Chicago in 2008. He graciously offered to read my first academic article, which was still in draft form, a study of Mu‘tazilī theories of repentance that I had presented at the first international Mu‘tazilī Manuscripts conference in Istanbul. While Prof. Madelung offered corrections on points of Arabic transliteration and some check marks in the margin, I was initially uncertain as to what to think about these comments. Was he convinced of my arguments? Was the article not worthy of a response or even a rebuttal? I remember meeting Paul Walker in the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago, showing him the copy, and expressing my confusion. He then explained that this was a sign of a paper Prof. Madelung approved as meeting the standard for published work, which was a great relief, and I submitted the piece shortly after that for publication.

I would later correspond with Prof. Madelung on topics related to al-Ṣāḥib b. ‘Abbād when he was working on his volume entitled, *Al-Ṣāḥib Ibn ‘Abbād Promoter of Rational Theology* (Leiden, Brill, 2016), along with Sabine Schmidtke. Madelung and Schmidtke had discovered several long fragments of Mu‘tazilī *kalām* in the Firkovitch collection in St. Petersburg and the Cairo Geniza. Based on the fragments’ elegant writing style, reflecting al-Ṣāḥib’s mastery of Arabic prose stylistics, Madelung and Schmidtke argued that Ibn ‘Abbād was the likely author. This was an astounding discovery because it demonstrated that Ibn ‘Abbād had a far deeper knowledge of what was called *laṭīf al-kalām*, which I had not seen before in his other extant Mu‘tazilī works in Arabic, which were focused on the promulgation of the basic tenets of the doctrine.

These personal remembrances regrettably touch on only a tiny fraction of Prof. Madelung’s vast oeuvre that touched upon my interests. He was a giant of our field who enabled every reader of his works to see farther.

The Journey of the silence wisdom: Wilferd Madelung and Ibadi Studies

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“Wisdom and knowledge serve to guide the wanderers;
Were there but one road wisdom would be needless.”

Teachings of Rumi: Masnavi I Ma’navi: The Spiritual Couplets of Maulana Jalalu’-d-din Muhammad I Rumi, Transl. and abridged by Edward Henry Whinfield, M.A., Ames (Iowa), Omphaloskepris, 2001, p. 453

I first came across Wilferd Madelung (26 December 1930–9 May 2023) in 1999 while I was studying for my doctorate at Durham University (1998–2001). He had retired from

Oxford's Institute of Oriental Studies in 1997, and in the course of my visits to Oxford, he learned that I had provided Patricia Crone (1945–2015) and Fritz W. Zimmermann with copies of an additional manuscript of *The Epistle of Sālim bin Dhakwān* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001), which they had used while editing the original text. While they were working on this project, Madelung had helped them read some of the more problematic sections of the text.

From the moment, Madelung and I first met at a Browns (restaurant and café) in Oxford, a long friendship began, during which I came to regard him as a colleague, teacher, as well as a friend. At that time, he was engaged in a study of the Ibadi theologian ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī al-Baġdādī (d. c. 190/806). So I introduced him to some early Ibadi manuscripts, and at the same meeting, he gave me a copy of his edition of *K. al-Naġāt* by the Zaydi theologian Nāṣir al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 325/937)—a book written in response to al-Fazārī's *K. al-Qadar/predestination*—which had been published in 1985 (Wiesbaden/Beirut, German Orient-Institute). That text had been discovered in Yemen. Although al-Fazārī's original text no longer existed, his views had been preserved through extracts of *K. al-Qadar* which were still extant along with the response to them, since there had still been a number of Ibadis living in Yemen at that time. Madelung's Introduction to his study cast new light on early Ibadi theology in Iraq during the 2nd/8th century because up to then few scholars had been aware that al-Fazārī was a pioneer of the early Islamic theology of that period, even if they had been familiar with his name. His study also gave us a new angle on the development of the Ibadi school in Iraq because al-Fazārī was originally from Kufa, not Basra, before he moved to Baghdad. Consequently, it shows how Ibadi thought evolved in both Basra and Kufa during the second half of the 2nd/8th century.

In his book *Early Muslim Dogma: A Source-Critical Study* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981), Michael Cook also found Madelung enlightening in his discussion of free will and predestination in early Islamic theology and his examination of early Ibadi *ṣiyar* epistles such as ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibād (d. 89/708)'s Letters to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65/685–86/705) and The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān (late 1st/7th century). When he first started writing about Ibadism, Wilferd Madelung approached the subject from a different angle, since (where Ibadism was concerned) his interest was initially on its spread in Iran—a topic he covered in his 1988 book *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (New-York, State University of New York Press), which included a chapter on Ibadism. However, the main theme of that book was more general in that it was largely about the religious groups in the Iranian regions during the Middle Ages. When he and I first started working together on Ibadi studies, our primary interest was in early Ibadi texts dating from the 2nd/8th–3rd/9th centuries. Michael Cook's 1981 book *Early Muslim Dogma*, which sought to take a new critical approach towards the early Islamic theological texts, came as the result of a series of discussions between himself and Josef Van Ess (1934–2021). Among other topics, these covered: 1/ an evaluation of the reliability of the early Islamic theological texts; 2/ the literary style of the early Islamic period and 3/ a review of some of the events of the First *Fitna* and the role it played in creating inter-Muslim schism. The discussion between Cook and Van Ess was basically an exchange of views on Islamic studies between two generations of

Western academics, while the publication of Cook's book coincided with the appearance of what came to be referred to in Western academic circles as the Revisionist school. That school put forward a number of new ideas on Islam's "formative" period—i.e., the seventh and eighth centuries CE—and the influence on it of neighboring non-Islamic religions—particularly on Islamic theology. In this connection, Cook took a fresh look at Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921)'s and Joseph Schacht (1902–1969)'s theories on the unreliability of the early Islamic texts. On the other hand, Van Ess and Madelung believed that, instead of developing new theories and hypotheses, the only way to produce a reliable picture of Islamic thought before the 3rd/9th century would be by identifying texts of established authenticity along with the dates when they were written, and then arranging them in chronological order under the appropriate subject headings. At that time most researchers into Islamic theology focused on the literature from the 4th/10th century—the period during which views and ideas became relatively "standardized". Most material produced by the different groups prior to that was not recognized as belonging to a specific literary genre and no precise information was available about the specifically Islamic content of the theology writings that had been discovered from the period up to the end of the 3rd/9th century. Thus the Ibadi sources were among the most important sources from Islam's early formative period, particularly in view of their contribution to the field of Muslim thought. Leading academics specialized in early Islamic creedal history—like Josef Van Ess, Wilferd Madelung, Michael Cook, Patricia Crone (1945–2015), Martin Hinds (1941–1988), and Norman Calder (1950–1998)—were particularly interested in these texts and published edited versions along with academic studies which took a different approach from that of their predecessors. This led to a revival of classical Islamic studies, while at the same time throwing new light on the Ibadi contributions; one result of this was that Oman's written histories and theological debates of the 9th and 10th centuries CE came to be seen as being among the most advanced and sophisticated in the Arabian Peninsula. This put Ibadi/Omani studies in the historical, creedal, philological, social and political fields firmly on the map. From its earliest days, Madelung and Van Ess were among the strongest supporters of the annual Ibadi conference which was organized by Professor Heinz Gaube (1940–2022), and they both attended it regularly. Along with his friend, colleague, and contemporary Van Ess, Madelung represented a significant school of thought in their generation which recognized the broad diversity of Islam and its *firaq* (groups). They both explored the wide range of early Islamic *firaq* and under Madelung's guidance a new generation of scholars appeared on the scene and produced an extensive body of research into the different aspects and trends of Islamic thought. Wilferd Madelung was a man with a mild and gentle disposition, and as our friendship developed, he introduced me to some of his fellow scholars who were working with him on Islamic theological texts—including Mu'tazilite (Sabine Schmidtke and Gregor Schwarb), Zaydi and Zāhri (Camilla Adang), Ismaili (Paul Walker and Farhad Daftary), and Twelver Shi'i (Hossein Modarresi). He also inspired numerous researchers who later became leading scholars in noted academic institutions, while contributing to scholarly publications and organizing workshops, lectures, and conferences in which he (Madelung) continued to play a pivotal role. Like a father

to the younger generation—he was generous in providing serious researchers with the benefit of his knowledge, as well as a much-loved and respected teacher, counselor, friend, and colleague.

The first collection of the Ibadi theological writings we worked on together comprised three handwritten monographs by Baṣīr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (d. c. 285/898). They were: 1/ *K. al-rasf fi tawḥīd wa-ḥadūt al-‘ālam*; 2/ *K. al-muḥāraba*; 3/ *Sīra fi Ḥal‘ al-Imam al-Salt b. Mālik* (Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 2011).

Later, we began collating Ibadi texts dating from the formative period during the 2nd/8th century, which were published by Brill, 2017, and offer a new and different view of the formative of early Islamic thought. It was during that time that we obtained the first batch of some newly discovered texts written by ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī which had been in private libraries in North Africa (Algeria-Mazab, al-‘Alī, and al-Yadar; Tunisia, al-Bārūnī) and which cast new light on the development of early Islamic theology.

Next, we edited Naḡād Mūsā al-Manḥī (d. 513/1119)’s *K. al-Akilla fi Ḥaqā’iq al-Adilla*, which is due to be published by the Oriental Institute in Beirut (see the bibliography below). It is highly significant because it was written during Eastern Ibadi theology’s “peak period”.

When I visited Madelung in Oxford, he usually took me to St. John’s College. With its beautiful gardens, the college was more than a refuge for him since he moved to Oxford from Chicago in 1978; in fact, he saw it as almost a lost piece of Paradise. There we used to drink coffee and read the daily papers, and he would reminisce about the people, friends and places he had known in the past.

The last time I met him was in 2019 before the start of the 2020 corona pandemic when I spent a week with him in Oxford and had dinner with him every evening, though it was also a sad time because he had recently lost his wife Margaret in 2018. I commented that a contemporary Arab writer (I forget who—possibly Naguib Mahfouz or Anis Mansour) had said that the key to marital happiness is for the husband to love his wife a lot but only understand her a little, and for the wife to love her husband a little and understand him a lot. Madelung thought this was an excellent observation and asked me to repeat it, which I did. He then said: “Margaret and I were the opposite of that; she loved me a lot and I understood her a lot”. Eventually, he had hoped to be buried next to Margaret, but the pandemic c-19 kept him in Oxford. He could not leave and remained in within the walls of apartment belongs to St. John and came out as ash in a bottle.



From left to right, Wilferd Madelung, Abdulrahman al-Salimi, Heinz Gaube and Josef van Ess during the International Conference of Ibadi studies in Oxford 2016 hosted by St. Antony's College.

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Wilferd in the Yemen

Paul E. Walker

(Université de Chicago)

I worked with Wilferd over so many years in several capacities, from student to colleague, meeting in a variety of times and locations (Chicago, London, Oxford, Cairo, Madrid), and collaborating on a range of editions and translations, it is now hard to remember well the exact details of each. However, one from about as long ago as our relationship concerned a trip of his to the Yemen. I was a new student in Near Eastern Languages at the University of Chicago. Wilferd was back then about thirty-eight and already possessed an impressive list of publications. The occasion I am trying now to recall was a typical faculty presentation of recent research. He gave us an account of his trip to Yemen. I believe it was his first. Typically, he was after a manuscript. What it was exactly I don’t remember but, once he gained access, he discovered that the Yemeni copy was substantially larger than one he had seen. Wilferd’s dilemma came down to a choice between visiting Yemen the country or hand copying the manuscript. He chose the latter and spent the entire trip, day and night, copying the text by hand.

Unless his intense dedication to the Arabic seems unusual, I have another incident to relate. In our most recent collaboration, *Affirming the Imamate: Early Fatimid Teachings in the Islamic West*,²⁰ for the work attributed to Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Shī‘ī, Wilferd again copied the British Library unicum by hand. He then presented it to me along with the photos of the original. I could then produce a preliminary edition based on ‘two’ manuscripts.

²⁰ *Affirming the Imamate: Early Fatimid Teachings in the Islamic West. An Arabic Critical Edition and English Translation of Works attributed to Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Shī‘i and his brother*, Edited and Translated by Wilferd Madelung & Paul E. Walker, London, I.B. Tauris in association with the Institute of Ismaili Studies, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021.

Actualités

(jusqu'à décembre 2023)

Nouvelles Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen = *nCmY*

Comment citer les Actualités ?/How to refer to the News?

Avec date/With date

CmY 18 (Juil. 2014), Actualités, <26 avril 2014>

CmY, Nouvelles séries/New Series 19 (Janv. 2015), Actualités, <Décembre 2014>, p. 25.

nCmY 10/29 (Janv. 2020), Actualités, <14 décembre 2019>, p. 22.

Sans date/Without date

CmY 18 (Juil. 2014), Actualités, <Oman. Activités de l'Organisation des Archives Nationales du Sultanat d'Oman>

CmY, Nouvelles séries/New Series 19 (Janv. 2015), Actualités, <Nouvelle série « Studies on Ibadism and Oman »>, p. 39.

nCmY 10/29 (Janv. 2020), Actualités, <*Fahāris Tāğ al-'arūs*>, p. 22.

N.d.l.R.

NCMY

2024. Nouveaux collaborateurs. Alexander Weissenburger & Koen Janssen

Alexander Weissenburger (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (ÖAW), Vienne) entre au comité éditorial des *Nouvelles Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*. Koen Janssen, Université de Leyde, est désormais responsable de la revue de presse ; il prend la suite de Sami Lagati (Institut des Sciences Politiques, Paris), toujours secrétaire des *nCmY*.

YÉMEN

2004. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan Ğār Allāh, *Tulā : iḥdā ḥawāḍir al-Yaman fī al-‘aṣr al-Islāmī : tāriḥuhā wa-ātāruhā*, Sanaa, Wizārat al-taqāfa wa-al-siyāḥa, 345 p. N° de dépôt, Autorité générale du livre à Sanaa : 913/2004.

L’auteur est professeur d’architecture et d’arts islamiques au département d’archéologie de l’Université de Sanaa. Il est également sous-secrétaire de l’Autorité générale des antiquités et des musées au Yémen.

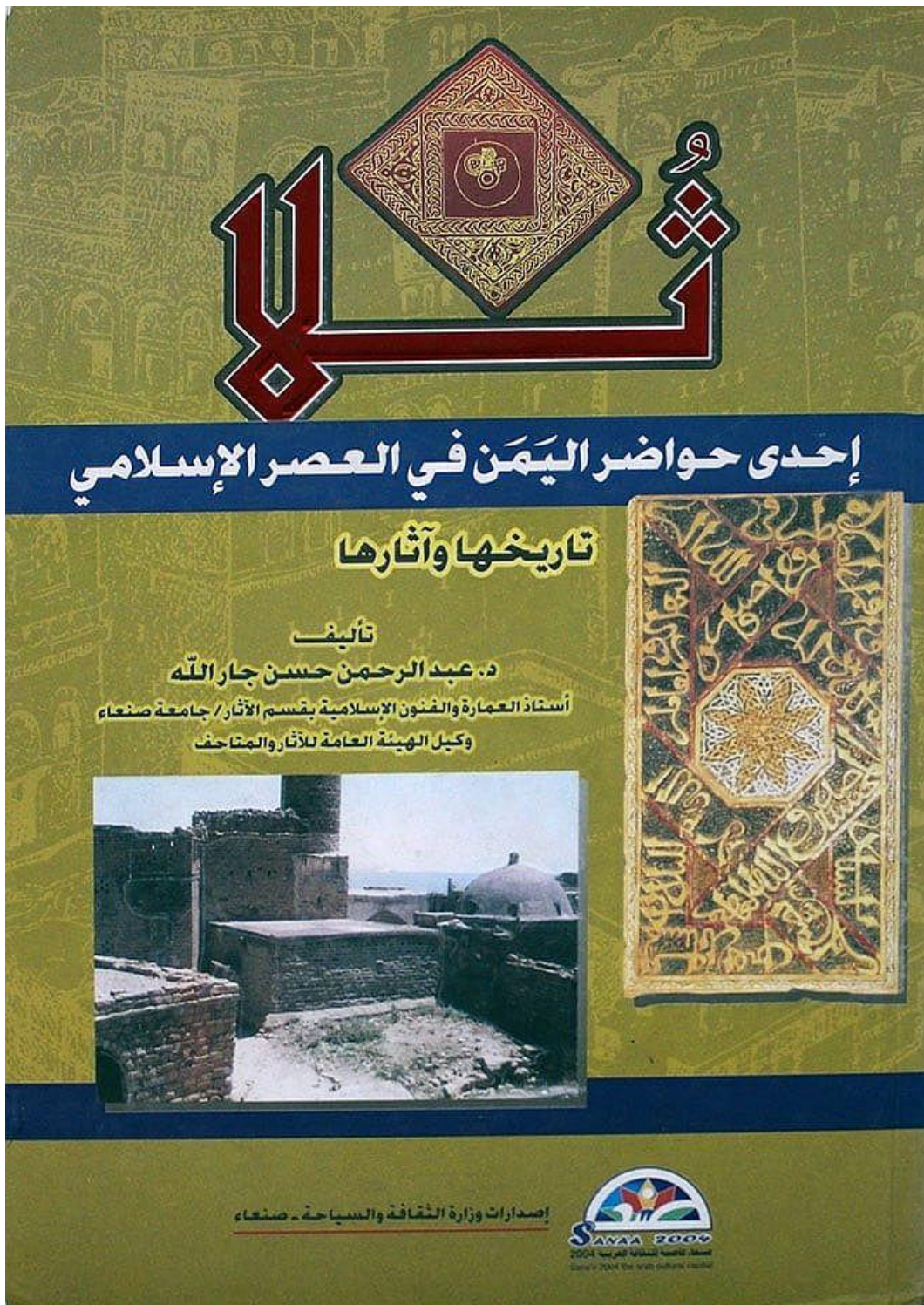
L’ouvrage explore le rôle de Tulā dans l’histoire à l’époque islamique, mettant en avant l’importance des vestiges islamiques qui enrichissent la ville. Ces vestiges témoignent des ajouts et des rénovations qui ont eu lieu tout au long de l’histoire islamique du Yémen, offrant ainsi une preuve évidente du niveau atteint par son architecture islamique, notamment dans les zones du Nord. Au fil des siècles, Tulā a joué de multiples rôles importants. Bien qu’elle ait parfois été oubliée dans les récits historiques, notamment après l’adoption de l’islam par les Yéménites, l’arrivée de l’Imam al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn en 284/897 a restauré son importance historique. La ville est réapparue avec force dans l’histoire yéménite, jouant un rôle prééminent et central lors des périodes les plus significatives et les plus difficiles. L’un des défis auxquels l’auteur a été confronté était d’obtenir des documents liés aux biens waqf ainsi que la crainte de révéler certaines irrégularités dans leur gestion. De plus, il a été difficile d’obtenir des informations concernant la ville. En effet, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan Ğār Allāh n’a trouvé que des indications simples dans les sources et les références, en particulier en ce qui concerne la dimension religieuse de certains bâtiments, absente des sources historiques. Surtout, il n’y a pas de textes fondateurs pour la plupart des bâtiments faisant l’objet de l’étude.

L’ouvrage se compose de deux parties qui abordent les aspects historiques et civilisationnels de la ville. La première partie est composée de trois chapitres. Le premier chapitre présente une étude du site et de la géologie, ainsi qu’une tentative de comprendre certaines caractéristiques de la ville avant l’islam à travers des vestiges archéologiques. Le deuxième chapitre aborde l’histoire de Tulā depuis le début de l’islam jusqu’à la fin de l’époque ottomane. Ce chapitre couvre donc la période où différents petits-États (دويلات) se succédaient au Yémen, mettant en évidence les conflits politiques de l’époque et son rôle dans ces conflits. Le troisième chapitre traite de la vie intellectuelle et éducative de Tulā. Il présente son rôle intellectuel au Yémen et mentionne des érudits qui y ont étudié ainsi que leurs œuvres. Il aborde également les lieux et méthodes d’enseignement, les programmes d’études et les membres du corps

¹ Tulā est une ville située dans le Gouvernorat de ‘Amrān, au Yémen, à seulement 45 km de la capitale, Sanaa.

enseignant. La deuxième partie est consacrée à l'étude des vestiges religieux islamiques de Tūlā, distribuée en trois chapitres. Le quatrième chapitre étudie ses édifices religieux de manière descriptive, en s'appuyant sur des études de terrain réalisées par l'auteur. Il présente une étude descriptive de quinze structures religieuses, qu'il s'agisse de mosquées, d'écoles, de dômes de mausolées ou d'oratoires pour les fêtes religieuses. Le cinquième chapitre aborde le sujet des éléments architecturaux et décoratifs des structures étudiées d'un point de vue analytique. Il est divisé en deux sections : la première section présente les éléments architecturaux tels que les plans, les entrées, les toitures, les arcs et les colonnes. Quant à la deuxième section, elle se concentre sur les motifs géométriques, végétaux et calligraphiques, en les analysant de manière approfondie. Le sixième et dernier chapitre est consacré aux tombes découvertes dans les structures étudiées. L'auteur les analyse et les étudie de manière scientifique et précise. En conclusion, l'auteur confirme que la ville de Tūlā a joué un rôle important à l'époque islamique, attirant l'attention des dynasties yéménites, en particulier depuis l'époque de la dynastie des al-Ṣāliḥiyya (204/819-532/1137). Elle était considérée comme la porte sud des régions du Nord et a résisté aux pressions extérieures. Sur le plan culturel, la ville a été un centre intellectuel et scientifique, à l'origine de nombreuses œuvres. Sur le plan architectural, Tūlā a été marquée par la construction de nombreux édifices religieux et civils qui ont influencé l'architecture zaydite. L'auteur a réalisé cinq nouveaux plans hypothétiques sur la base de l'étude de terrain qu'il a réalisée. L'étude a permis de déterminer l'âge des différents bâtiments, par exemple, la construction de la partie sud-ouest de la Grande mosquée est située entre 721/1321 et 796/1393. Le dôme nommé en référence à 'Alī b. Ḥātim, qui a régné entre 556/1161-570/1174, a été construit, selon l'étude, entre 569/1117-570/1174. La construction de la mosquée al-Ġurza remonte à une période antérieure au v^e/xi^e s, confirmant ainsi l'existence d'écoles dans la région.

Au total, ce travail permet de mieux comprendre l'histoire et l'importance de la ville de Tūlā et ouvre la voie à de futures recherches sur cette ville fascinante.



2006. Peter Rohrbacher, « ‚Wüstenwanderer‘ gegen ‚Wolkenpolitiker‘ – Die Pressefehde zwischen Eduard Glaser und Theodor Herzl », *Anzeiger der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 141/2, pp. 103–116.

In this article, Peter Rohrbacher addresses the idea of Austrian Orientalist Eduard Glaser (1855–1909) to establish a Jewish “colony” in Yemen. Inspired by the existence of centuries of Jewish settlement in South Arabia and motivated by the prospect of neither hurting the economic interests of the Ottoman Empire nor infringing on the spatial interests of the local population, Glaser, who is most famous for his pioneering research on Yemen was of Jewish descent himself, proposed a “plan of colonialization” (in Glaser’s words: *Kolonialisationsplan*) for Yemen. The plan was relayed to his compatriot Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), the founding figure of political Zionism, as well as other influential people, all of whom, however, remained unfazed by his ideas.

After introducing Glaser’s plan, the most relevant biographical details and the historical background, the article lays out the feud between Glaser and Herzl that ensued as a result of Glaser’s plan. Glaser accused Herzl, who was still undecided between Palestine and Argentine, of being unfamiliar with the social and political realities in Palestine, which was met with polemic low blows by Herzl and his supporters, accusing Glaser among other things of being a dreamer and overly assimilated and anti-Zionist Jew. Following their brief exchange of articles in the international German language press between December 1897 and February 1898, Glaser abandoned his ideas and became an open critic of Zionism.

Without trying to infer a theoretical point or wider argument, the article does not only shed light on a fascinating aspect of early Zionist debate regarding the implications of selecting a geographic location for the envisioned homeland but is also relevant for the terminology used by the protagonists, which is accessible through the extensive quotations from original sources, all of them in German. Rohrbacher not only relies on newspaper articles in publications such as the *Berliner Tageblatt*, *Die Welt: Zentralorgan der Zionistischen Bewegung* or *Dr Bloch’s Oesterreichische Wochenschrift: Centralorgan für die gesammten Interessen des Judentums*, but also makes use of Herzl’s diary entries and letters, which give additional insight into Herzl’s opinions of Glaser.

2009. Stefan Weninger, « Der Jemen als lexikalisches Ausstrahlungszentrum in der Antike », in: Werner Arnold, Michael Jursa, Walter W. Müller & Stephan Procházka (eds), *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien und Sokotra: Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 395–410.

In this article, Stefan Weninger picks up on an issue that has been mentioned, yet never conclusively investigated by scholars of the Ethiopian as well Arabic languages for more than a hundred years, namely the influence of the South Arabian languages on classical Arabic. Whereas the culturally dominant position of the South Arabia over

much of the rest of the Arabian Peninsula suggests such an influence, not much research on the topic has been conducted, the article argues.

Weninger does not set out to give a comprehensive list of expressions in classical Arabic influenced by South Arabian languages, but uses 15 examples, to prove the theorem that such an influence exists in the first place. As the two languages are at the same time so closely related, as well as, in the case of South Arabian languages, morphologically and phonologically not completely deciphered, the article focuses on a semantic and chronological analysis.

As the root consonants *ḥ-l-f*, for example, refer to the idea of vice-regency in the Sabaic language, and Qur'an 2:30 mentions Adam as *ḥalīfa* of Allāh, it stands to reason that what is meant by that term is the vice-regent of God on earth. Traditionally, in classical Arabic, however, "*ḥalīfa*" is interpreted to mean "successor". As the first caliphs' understanding of their function was more in line with the idea of the vice-regent of God—Weninger cites Patricia Crone (1945–2015) and Martin Hinds (1941–1988) as source² for this information—and it makes no sense to think of the first person on earth as a successor, it is much more likely, the article argues, that the original meaning of "*ḥalīfa*" in the Qur'an was indeed derived from the Sabaic notion of vice-regency.

The wide range of the cited material betrays the admirable erudition of the author in European scholarship on the Arabic as well as the Sabaic language and sheds light on an understudied topic, which, as becomes evident from example of the root *ḥ-l-f* above, is of relevance far beyond the field of Semitic philology.

2010. Marie-Christine Heinze, « Der Grenzproblematik zwischen dem Jemen und Saudi-Arabien », in: Conrad Schetter, Stephan Conermann & Bernd Kuzmits (eds), *Bonner Asienstudien* 4, Berlin, EB Verlag, pp. 137–178.

The border conflict between Yemen and Saudi Arabia is one of the most enduring ones of several such disputes in the region and neither war nor decades of negotiation have quelled it entirely. On nearly 40 pages, Heinze takes on the task of disentangling the dispute's intricate history and familiarize the reader with its most important aspects. Complemented by several useful maps, the article traces the conflict in both its political and societal dimensions in chronological order.

Besides various more recent contracts and agreements, such as the Memorandum of Understanding of 1995 and the Treaty of Ġidda of 2000, which could be found online, yet are not available any longer under the cited addresses, the article relies on secondary sources, mainly the works of Askar H. al-Enazy³ and Richard Schofield⁴. Not claim-

² Patricia Crone & Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious authority in the first centuries of Islam*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.

³ Askar H. al-Enazy, *The Long Road from Taif to Jeddah: Resolution of a Saudi-Yemeni Boundary Dispute*, Abu Dhabi, Emirates Center For Strategic Studies And Research, 2005.

ing to offer anything new to the study of the border dispute, the article gives a highly useful and thoroughly researched introduction that does not fail to make mention the opinions and interests of those directly affected by the border delineation negotiated in a diplomatic setting.

2012. Marieke Brandt, « Friedens-*šayḥ* und Kriegs-*šayḥ*: Der Übergang von Kriegsführerschaft bei den Banū Munebbih im Ḥuṭī-Konflikt in Nordwest-Jemen », *Anthropos* 107, pp. 49–69.

The subject of this article is the Huthi conflict viewed within its local context. More to the point, Marieke Brandt thematises the Munebbih tribe and its involvement in the dispute.

Two aspects of the tribe stand out specifically, namely the fact that it is located in the northwest of Yemen at the border to Saudi Arabia and that the tribe is highly particular in the way different people are invested with authority depending on whether the tribe is at war or not. Depending on the circumstance, the tribe is therefore represented by either a “peace-*shaykh*”, who also functions as *šayḥ* of the whole tribe (*šayḥ al-šaml*), and a “war-*shaykh*” at a lower level of tribal organisation.

The far-reaching thematic context and implications of these particularities requires Brandt to elaborate on several issues highly relevant for the understanding of the Huthi conflict in general, such as the border dispute between Yemen and Saudi Arabia, the regions tribal system as well as the history and background of the Huthi conflict itself. The article, which is largely based on Brandt’s first-hand knowledge of the Yemeni northwest, acquired from several years spent in the country, yet also draws on online news sources such as <https://www.alayyam.info/> or www.alriyadh.com, is therefore not only an investigation into the tribe if Munebbih and the way its dual form of shaykhdom plays out in the context of the first six Huthi wars but also into the local dynamics of the conflict, which is all too often viewed solely from the perspective of either the Huthi movement or the Yemeni state.

2014. Elisabeth Monamy, « Eduard Glaser der unterschätzte Orientalist. Sein Weg von Böhmen über den Jemen ins KHM », paper presented at Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Available on www.academia.edu.

In this paper, which served as the basis of a lecture given at Vienna’s Museum of Art History, Elisabeth Monamy attempts to piece together Eduard Glaser (1855–1909)’s life story, which has not yet received the same academic attention as the biographies of scholars and travellers of comparable importance. If this lack of interest is truly to blame for Glaser never receiving the same appreciation as the likes of Carsten Niebuhr

⁴ For example: Richard Schofield, « The International Boundary between Yemen and Saudi Arabia », in: Renaud Detalle (ed.), *Tensions in Arabia: The Saudi-Yemeni Fault Line*, Baden-Baden, Nomos, 2000, pp. 15–51.

(1733–1815) or Wilfried Thesiger (1910–2003), as the author suggests, has to be put into question, however. Much rather, many of the reasons lie in factors given by Monamy herself, as she recounts Glaser's life: Glaser's somewhat abrasive personality, his feud with the similarly cantankerous doyen of South Arabian Studies at the University of Vienna, David Heinrich Müller (1846–1912), as well as his lack of formal academic credentials.

The article gives an interesting overview of Glaser's life and is—undoubtedly owing to the article's intended purpose to be read out at a lecture—easy to read, yet is not edited to the highest standards. Although mentioning two of Glaser's publications in the bibliography, Monamy exclusively cites secondary sources, thus summarizing the relevant aspects of the works of scholars such as Walter Dostal (1928–2011), Peter Rohrbacher and Alfred Janata (1933–1993).

2015. Marieke Brandt, « Annäherungen an einen Konflikt: Chancen und Begrenzungen von Inter- und Transdisziplinarität in der Jemen-Forschung am Beispiel des Ḥūṭī-Konflikts », *Jemen-Report* 46, pp. 55–63.

In this overview, Marieke Brandt analyses the major academic publications on the Huthi conflict regarding their disciplinary foci. The article groups the works of scholars such as Lisa Wedeen,⁵ Abdullah Lux,⁶ Isa Blumi⁷ or Sarah Phillips⁸ into those with a historic, political, religious but also anthropological focus and discusses the respective authors' main explanation for the outbreak and persistence of the conflict as well as the shortcomings of several of the publications.

Acknowledging the need and in fact inevitability of academic specialisation, the article makes the case for the importance of inter- and transdisciplinary approaches that take into account the full complexity of the conflict, which is reflected in the diverse approaches of the academic literature on the subject.

2016. Odile Kommer, « Von ‚Söhnen‘ und ihren Erben: Persische Minderheiten im mittelalterlichen Jemen », *Jemen-Report* 47, pp. 32–35.

In her brief overview of her research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences as part of the Visions of Community (VISCUM) project, Odile Kommer introduced the reader to the study of ethnical terminology denoting people of Persian descent in al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī's (280/893–336/947), *Ṣifāt Ḡazīrat al-ʿArab* and *Kitāb al-*

⁵ Lisa Wedeen, *Peripheral Visions: Publics, Power and Performance in Yemen*, Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press, 2008.

⁶ Abdullah Lux, "Yemen's last Zaydī Imām: the shabāb al-mu'min, the Malāzīm, and 'ḥizb allāh' in the thought of Ḥusayn al-Ḥūthī", *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 2/3, 2009, pp. 369–434.

⁷ Isa Blumi, *Chaos in Yemen: Societal collapse and the new authoritarianism*, London & New York, Routledge, 2010.

⁸ Sarah Phillips, *Yemen: The Politics of permanent Crisis*, London, Routledge, 2010.

ğawharatayn al-‘atīqatayn (no specific edition is mentioned by the author) and how it helps to understand identity formation in medieval Yemen.⁹

The article leaves the question of in how far it is possible to speak of the construction of ethnical identities deliberately unanswered and looks in descriptive manner on the different terms (*abnā*, *‘ağam* und *furs*) as well as the professions and settlement structures and areas traditionally associated with the people they refer to. So whereas the article—undoubtedly owing to the fact that the article’s purpose is to introduce the research project, not its results—does not draw conclusions from the presented research, it gives an idea of the potential of the project and provides a useful overview of the history of Persian minority, based on the available secondary literature on the subject.

2017. No Editor, *Glückliches Arabien? Mythos und Realität im Reich der Königin von Saba*, Steudler Press, Basel, 113 p., ca. 60 pictures and illustrations incl. maps, landscapes and inscriptions, no index. ISBN: 978-3-905057-37-9.

This short collective volume of around 110 pages was published to complement an exhibition at the Basel Museum of Ancient Art, carrying the same name as the book, which translates to “Fortunate Arabia? Myth and reality in the Kingdom of the Queen of Saba”.

The book contains ten short contributions, written by four authors, all of them scholars in fields such as classical and ancient studies, geography and archaeology. Whereas the intended readership is certainly the interested public, not an academic audience familiar with the field of South Arabian studies, the book provides a brief overview of the comparatively elusive subject of ancient Yemen, which will certainly be of value for scholars on Yemen, not familiar with this particular timeframe.

With topics ranging from the myths around the Queen of Saba, the history of scholarship on the ancient South Arabian kingdoms from antiquity to the present over languages, irrigation techniques, political history to religion and the trade in incenses, the book provides a comprehensive introduction into several key aspects relating to South Arabian Antiquity.

Whereas the individual chapters, owing to their summary nature and the non-specialised addressees, do not contain references, the book includes a brief section on relevant academic secondary literature. In addition, a table of historic key dates and ample photographic material of archaeological artefacts and remains, inscriptions and landscapes makes the subject relatable for the public.

⁹ O. Kommer does not cite from the works directly and only indicates in the bibliography that she consulted a version of *Şifat Ğazīrat al-‘Arab* edited by al-Qaḍi Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwa’ (1903–99): *Şifat Ğazīrat al-‘Arab*, al-Riyād, Dār al-Yamāma, 1974.

2018. Joachim Gierlichs, « Drei Jahre im Jemen: Der Geologe Erich Holm von Prosch auf der Suche nach Erdöl », *Jemen-Report* 49, pp. 85–96.

Between 1954 and 1956, German geologist Dr. Erich Holm von Prosch (1909–1994) spent three years in Yemen, working for a German company prospecting oil in the Imamate. Von Prosch documented his stay in a diary as well as by way of photography with a great eye for ethnologically and historically relevant detail, thus providing a fascinating—and given the time, surprisingly unprejudiced—account of both his every day and professional lives in the country (see also Jean-François Breton, “Chroniques de Šabwa” in this issue, pp. 67–96).

After detailing the historical and political circumstances of von Prosch’s search for oil, the article uses a transcription (von Prosch wrote in shorthand) of the diary, which was prepared by a personal friend of von Prosch’s wife and which is accessible to the author, to give an impression of his and his family’s experiences—von Prosch was joined by his wife and daughter in 1955. Besides the mundane challenges of von Prosch’s work, his leisure activities and excursions to various cities and regions, Gierlichs also recounts the fascinating description of the 1955 coup attempt—including a version of the famous episode of Imam Aḥmad (r. 1948–1962) leaving his besieged palace on his own to meet his enemies head on, which he had the chance to follow closely as he was in close contact with the highest authorities of the state, including the Imam himself.

The article is accompanied by several of von Prosch’s photographs in black and white as well as in colour, which introduce the reader to another facet of his legacy as traveller. Towards the end of the article, Gierlichs mentions his plans to digitise the photographic material, organize an exhibition and publish further articles as well possibly the annotated diary itself. At least the first of these points seems to have been achieved by February 2024. One hundred and sixty-six photographs of von Prosch’s stay in the 1950s, as well as other fascinating photographs by von Prosch and others in different countries of the region are accessible under

<https://das-bild-des-orient.info>

2021. Mikhail Rodionov, “Social Restratisation in Ḥaḍramawt during the Last 25 Years: An Anthropological Outlook”, in: Najwa Adra (ed.), *Tribes in Modern Yemen: An Anthology*, Vienna, Austrian Academy of Sciences, pp. 137–144.

This collective volume explores the longevity and diversity of manifestations of tribalism in present-day Yemen. It aims to update and rethink research on tribes and tribalism in Yemen and provide new input for discussing tribalism in the contemporary Middle East.

During the last 25 years, tribes in Hadramawt have been restratified socially and shown social mobility because of political and cultural impacts such as the current conflict tearing Yemen apart and the AQAP (al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula) struggles in South Arabia. The author outlined its various features, including contexts or geographical and political information about Hadramout. The social strata system

has been broken during these years, but the rules of conformity have survived and contributed to reproducing the social rules.

https://verlag.oeaw.ac.at/produkt/tribes-in-modern-yemen-an-anthology/99200512?name=tribes-in-modern-yemen-an-anthology&product_form=2698

2022. Marieke Brandt & Alexander Weissenburger, “Ḥūthīs (Houthis)”, in: Farhad Daftary and Wilferd Madelung (eds), *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, Boston/Leiden, Brill, Following the focus of the *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, Marieke Brandt’s and Alexander Weissenburger’s entry on the Huthi movement concentrates on the movement’s ideology, especially its religious aspects. After introducing the movement, its context, history and development, the article therefore dives into a longer section on several of the movement ideological frames.

Based on primary sources, such as speeches, magazines and books by Huthi leaders and ideologues such as Ḥusayn¹⁰ and ‘Abd al-Malik al-Ḥūthī¹¹ or Ḥammūd al-Ahnūmī¹², the contribution details the movement’s approach to issues such as Zaydism—including the importance of concept of the imamate—or the importance of Iran and Western influences in the region, which manifests itself in the movement’s staunchly anti-imperialist worldview. Attempting to give an introductory overview, the article does just that and whereas no topic is treated exhaustively, it still offers insight into the understudied phenomenon of Islamist ideology.

https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/huthis-SIM_062041

2023. Nadhal Abd Jabbar, “Scholarly Endowments of Khawatin Bani Rasoul in the City of Taiz from the Seventh Century AH until the Ninth Century AH”, *Iklil for Humanities Studies* 4/4, pp. 71–86. [In Arabic].

The article discusses the role of the jurists (*fuqahā’*) in Rasūlid Yemen. Successive Rasūlid sultans held the jurists in high regard and entrusted not only judicial but also administrative positions to them. The jurists played important roles in the Rasūlid rule. The discussion is based on 24 Arabic books. For example, the Yemeni bibliographies such as *Al-‘aṭāyā al-saniyya* by al-Malik al-Afdal (d. 778/1376) edited by ‘Abd al-Wahīd ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Ḥāmidī (Sanaa, Wizārat al-ṭaqāfa wa-al-siyāsiyya al-yamaniyya, 2004), and the Yemeni chronicles such as *Al-‘uqūd al-lu’lu’iyya* by al-Ḥazraḡī (d. 812/1409) edited by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Akwa‘ (Sanaa & Beirut, Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-al-buḥūṭ, 1983) and *Buḡyat al-mustafid* by Ibn al-Dayba‘ (d. 944/1537) edited

¹⁰ For example: Ḥusayn al-Ḥūthī, *Ḥadīth al-wilāya*, Sanaa, 2002.

¹¹ For example: ‘Abd al-Malik al-Ḥūthī, *Kalimat al-Sayyid al-Qā’id ‘Abd al-Malik Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥūthī fi dīkrā al-ṣarḡa fi waḡh al-mustakabirīn*, Sanaa, Maḡlis al-Zaydī al-Islāmī, 2017.

¹² Ḥammūd al-Ahnūmī, *Tilka hiya Fātima al-Zahrā’*, Sanaa, Maḡlis al-Zaydī al-Islāmī, 2017.

by ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī (Sanaa, Markaz al-dirāsāt wa-al-buḥūt, 1979), are important sources of information about the Yemeni jurists’ lives.

<https://www.iasj.net/iasj/article/295003>

2023. Nadhal Abd Jabbar, “The Administrative Impact of Yemeni Jurists in the Rasūlid State (626–858 AD/1228 – 1454 AH)”, *Journal of Imam Al-Kadhum College* 7/4, pp. 90–113. [In Arabic].

This article clarifies how Rasūlid women, wives or mothers of the Rasūlid sultans, contributed to setting up the religious and scholarly infrastructure in Yemen. They endowed *madrāsas* or mosques throughout Yemen, especially in Ta‘izz, and this encouraged the internal travel of scholars who wanted to study there. Rasūlid sources such as *Ṭabaqāt ṣulahā’ al-Yaman* by al-Burayhī (d. 904/1498) edited by ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī (Sanaa, Maktabat al-iršād, 1994) and *Al-sulūk* by al-Ġanadī (d. 732/1331) edited by Muḥammad ‘Alī Ḥusayn al-Akwa‘ (Sanaa, Maktabat al-iršād, 1995) have enough information relating to this topic.

<https://www.iasj.net/iasj/article/298763>

2023. Helga Anetshofer, “The Turkic Word *qumız* “Fermented Mare’s Milk”: Early Historical Textual Evidence and Origin”, *Zemin* 6, pp. 34–81.

The article discusses the origin of the Turkic word *qumız* “fermented mare’s milk” in Byzantine Greek, Turkic, Sogdian, Chinese, Arabic, Persian, and Mongolian sources ranging from the 6th to 13th centuries. The author points out that the etymon of this word is Middle Persian *ḥāmiz* “a pickled meat dish” and a Semitic root *ḥmṣ* “to sour, ferment” is the origin of certain names relating to fermented, sour food and drink items in some West Asian languages. Among the various sources, the dictionary, which was composed under the supervision of the Rasūlid Sultan al-Malik al-Afḍal (d. 778/1376) during the 14th Century in Yemen, and edited and published by Peter B. Golden & Tibor Halasi-Kun, with the title *The King’s Dictionary: The Rasūlid Hexaglot. Fourteenth Century Vocabularies in Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Greek, Armenian and Mongol*, Leiden, Brill, ser. “Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 8: Uralic & Central Asian Studies”, 4, 2000, includes several words relating to milk and suggest that “Mongolian” *ayran qumız* is equivalent to “Arabic” *laban al-rimāk* “(fermented) mare’s milk”.

<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10435940>

2023. Muḥammad ‘Aṭbūš (tarğama wa-ta‘liq), « Fulklūr ‘Adan al-ṣuğrā : taqrīr istiḥbārātī yuwattiq li-baqāyā al-waṭaniyya fī ‘Adan, muntaṣaf al-qarn al-‘išrīn », murāğā’a ‘Umar al-Da‘īs, taḥqīq maydānī Yāsir ‘Alwān, *Yemen Update Online* 55, 2023, p. 1-80.

Cet article est la traduction de Oliver Henry Myers, « Little Aden Folklore », *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 44, 1944, p. 177-233.

Muḥammad ‘Aṭbūš, le traducteur de cet article, est un chercheur yéménite, diplômé du Département des relations internationales de l’Université de Virginie, Géorgie.

L’article commence par présenter l’auteur et sa femme, qui ont entrepris une étude archéologique à Aden pendant l’hiver 1946-1947, après avoir obtenu un permis du gouvernement. Ils ont étudié la colonie de Ṣabr (Laḥiğ), qui remonte à l’âge du bronze, ainsi que d’autres sites médiévaux. À Aden, l’auteur, Oliver Henry Myers (1892-1983), a également réalisé une fouille de sauvetage dans le cimetière de Bi’r Faḍl, près d’al-Šayḥ ‘Uṭmān. Myers a daté ces tombes du i^{er} et ii^e s., et a récupéré dans celles-ci un groupe de poteries vernissées, des têtes de statues et des boucles d’oreilles en or finement travaillées, qu’il a ensuite remis à Aden. Aucune information sur les résultats de ces fouilles n’a été publiée, mais nous en apprendrons probablement davantage ultérieurement.

Il est précisé que cette étude se concentre principalement sur Little Aden (District al-Barīqa), mais qu’elle englobe également et nécessairement les zones, entre autre, de Bi’r Aḥmad, Aden, Laḥiğ. L’auteur y rapporte des témoignages oculaires sur les coutumes quotidiennes, les naissances, les mariages et les funérailles, jamais relevés jusque-là, qu’il n’a malheureusement pu documenter. De même, il a commencé à dresser une carte avec les noms locaux d’importance mythologique. C’était un projet historique majeur qui n’a pu être achevé parce qu’il aurait été dupé par son informateur, un officier bédouin.

L’article est composé de neuf sections. La première section étudie le contexte naturel de la ville, tandis que la deuxième section se concentre sur le contexte archéologique à Aden. La quatrième et la cinquième section portent respectivement sur la population et la culture matérielle, la sixième section est consacrée à la vie sociale. La huitième section traite de l’histoire populaire, tandis que la neuvième porte sur la religion et les superstitions, notamment les saint patrons (Awliyā’) que sont Walī al-ğadir, al-Ḍarba [al-Ḍaraba], al-Ġarf ou Abū al-qiyāma, etc.

O. H. Myers conclut que la recherche qu’il présente est incomplète, qu’elle bénéficierait de commentaires constructifs et précise qu’il s’agit d’hypothèses, demeurant lacunaires en raison de l’absence d’ouvrages de référence. La première hypothèse, la plus évidente, est la présence de deux ou trois étapes de la religion qui ont été intégrées avec succès aussi longtemps qu’il n’y a pas eu d’ingérence wahhabite visant à semer le doute dans l’esprit des gens. Au sommet, se trouve l’Islam et la position de Dieu par rapport aux autres esprits (*arwāḥ*) peut être comparée à celle du statut de dirigeant par rapport à une personne « raisonnable » (*‘āqil*). Bien sûr, Allāh est incommensurablement plus grand, plus puissant que tous, Il jouit de respect, mais Il reste lointain. Au deuxième niveau, se trouvent les hommes dont la puissance a été purifiée à travers eux pendant leur vie et après leur mort ; leurs esprits sont plus forts que n’importe quel autre esprit, et ils sont plus proches et plus accessibles qu’Allāh lui-même. Au troisième niveau, se trouvent les djinns et les djiniyyas, qui, bien que moins puissants et beaucoup plus proches des gens, parce qu’ils peuvent être vus par eux, converser avec eux et même être commandés et certainement soudoyés, méritent moins de respect.

L'article contient plusieurs illustrations de la ville, du folklore et des rituels religieux.

2023. 'Arafāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍramī, *Ansāb qabā'il Tihāma*, Zabīd, Maktabat al-Aṣā'ira al-'ilmiya, 152 p., nombreuses ill. [1^{re} imp.].

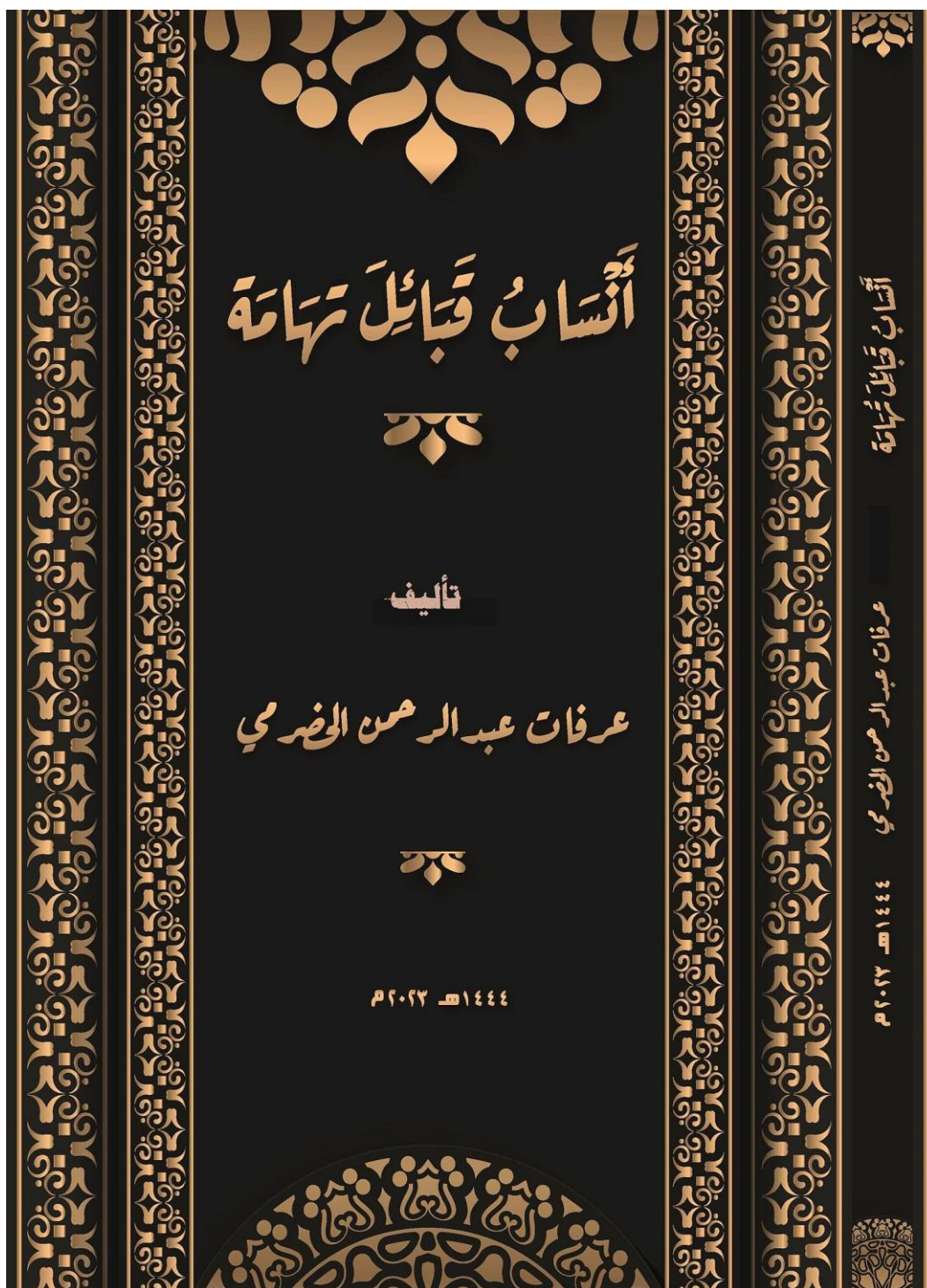
Il s'agit d'un des ouvrages les plus importants sur les généalogies des tribus de Tihāma. Il comprend une introduction de 2 pages, rédigée par 'Arafāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥaḍramī, suivie d'un chapitre unique intitulé *Mu'ǧam ansāb al-qabā'il al-tihāmiyya* (lexique des généalogies des tribus de Tihāma), qui inclut la généalogie des 'Adnān et Qaḥṭān.

Afin de rectifier les erreurs persistantes dans les généalogies des tribus de Tihāma qui circulent sur les réseaux sociaux, l'auteur a entrepris leur correction. Dans cette démarche, il s'est appuyé sur des sources et des références manuscrites et imprimées, qui ont été intégrées à sa méthodologie. Son projet inclut les points suivants :

- établir et préserver les généalogies contemporaines de manière facile et accessible ;
- recenser un grand nombre de tribus de Tihāma et diffuser leurs généalogies, en indiquant leur puissance, leur ascendance et leur continuité ;
- éviter les divergences dans les titres similaires en s'appuyant sur ce qui est mentionné dans les sources et les références reconnues ;
- rédiger un lexique par ordre alphabétique, utilisant un langage clair et accessible pour faciliter la recherche et la consultation.

Parmi les sources et les références manuscrites anciennes et inédites, figurent celles de l'éminent savant 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad *al-muṣarra'* Ma'mūn, né en 1326/1908, ainsi que des documents manuscrits attribués à Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, contenant les généalogies de certaines tribus d'al-Marawī'a et Bayt al-faqīh, dans le but de préserver ces informations de la détérioration et de leur disparition. L'auteur présente ses sources : il s'est notamment appuyé sur le manuscrit de Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mudahǧan al-Quraṣī al-Umawī *al-mutaḥawā, Al-taḥqīqāt al-'alīya fī ansāb wa-a'qāb al-qabā'il al-yamanīya. Risālat al-ūlā : Ğawāhir al-tiǧān fī ansāb Qaḥṭān wa-'Adnān li-nasābat al-Yaman : tašmalu (Ṣan'a', Ṣa'da, 'Adan, Zabīd wa-mā ḡāwarahā min al-qurā wa-al-'azal), taḥqīq* 'Arafāt 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, Zabīd, Maktabat Ḥālid Ibn al-Walīd li-al-tibā'a wa-al-našr wa-al-tawzī', 2019, 239 p., un généalogiste décédé en 895/1490, ainsi que sur d'autres sources scientifiques authentifiées, pour les généalogies des tribus de Tihāma.

Malheureusement, al-Ḥaḍramī ne fournit pas de référence complète pour les manuscrits et documents sur lesquels il s'appuie. Il se contente de mentionner le nom de l'auteur sans rendre compte de cette lacune regrettable de son appareil critique, qui ne répond pas aux normes d'une édition scientifique.



1445/2023. *Kitāb al-Dāmiġa, qaṣīdat al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Hamadānī, al-muġāb bihā al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī, bi-tafsīrihā wa-ma'ānihā, tā'lif al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb al-Hamadānī ; ḥaqqaqahu wa-'allaqa 'alayhi wa-ṣana'a fahārisahu al-Duktūr Muqbil al-Tāmm 'Āmir al-Aḥmadī*, 141-925 p., 2 t. en 1 vol. Tous droits ré-

servés à l'Arabia Felix Academy, République du Yémen, Sanaa. N° de dépôt, Autorité générale du livre, Mā'rib : 28/2023.

La première édition de ce manuscrit a été réalisée par Muḥammad b. al-Akwa' al-Ḥawālī en 1979, Le Caire, Maṭba'at al-Sunna al-muḥammadiyya, 613 p. Le présent éditeur, Muqbil al-Aḥmadī, motive son entreprise de réédition par le fait que le travail antérieur, réalisé par al-Akwa' al-Ḥawālī, serait fautif et incomplet. La lettre du texte ayant été déformée, ceci en dépit de l'affection portée par al-Akwa' à al-Hamadānī (280/893-334/946), il s'ensuit que son contenu a été dénaturé.

Fidèle à la méthode du *stemma codicum*, Muqbil al-Aḥmadī s'est assuré de lire l'original avec toute les précautions nécessaires, afin d'éliminer les erreurs des copistes au fil des générations, jusqu'à atteindre la version correcte, celle de l'auteur. Il pointe à plusieurs reprises la possibilité que des vers ou des couplets aient été insérés entre des vers non liés, dans le but de diffamer al-Hamadānī, alors décédé et dans l'incapacité de se défendre. Il s'agit par exemple de vers impliquant la malédiction subie par des compagnons du Prophète et la préférence accordée à d'autres pour la succession. Selon al-Aḥmadī, il est probable que cela ait été fait par des copistes animés par de l'hostilité et de la rancœur envers al-Hamadānī. Il dote en outre son livre de nombreux index, très complets et variés, alors que l'ancienne édition en est dépourvue.

Deux manuscrits ont été utilisés par al-Aḥmadī, ainsi qu'un troisième qui ne contenait que le texte, sans son commentaire (*ṣarḥ*) :

- le premier manuscrit se trouve dans un grand recueil, à la Bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Sanaa. C'est ce manuscrit qui a été pris comme source principale de l'étude ;
- le deuxième est également un grand recueil accessible à l'Institut des Manuscrits Arabes du Caire. Il a été photographié à partir d'un original yéménite qui faisait partie de la bibliothèque de Muṣarrāf b. 'Abd al-Karīm, à Taz ;
- quant au troisième, il a été consulté en complément du manuscrit des deux premiers volumes d'*Al-iktīl*.

Après une introduction (*al-mihād*), le 1^{er} tome (141 p.) tourne autour des questions suivantes :

- l'étude de la structure et de la date de rédaction du livre,
- l'origine du commentaire (*ṣarḥ*),
- la poésie d'al-Hamadānī mentionnée dans le commentaire (*ṣarḥ*),
- les sources du commentaire (*ṣarḥ*),
- les ouvrages d'al-Hamadānī mentionnés dans le commentaire (*ṣarḥ*),
- quelques opinions d'al-Hamadānī sur langue et la critique poétique,
- quelques opinions d'al-Hamadānī sur la grammaire (*al-naḥū*) et la prosodie,
- les observations d'al-Hamadānī, ce qu'il a vu de ses propres yeux, ce qu'il a entendu de ses oreilles, ses questions aux autres,
- la précision des références concernant les récits et les promesses de ceux qui restent derrière (دِقَّةُ الإِحَالَتِ الْمُتَعَلِّقَةِ بِالتَّذْكَيرِ بِالسَّوَالِ وَالْوَعْدِ بِالْحَوَالِفِ),

- les noms des personnalités dont al-Hamadānī a dressé la généalogie dans le commentaire (*šarḥ*),
- ceux au sujet de qui al-Hamadānī a rapporté dans son commentaire (*šarḥ*),
- les manuscrits utilisés pour l'édition et une sélection d'images de ces manuscrits,

Suit un article de Muqbil al-Aḥmadī, « Al-dawāmiġ al-ši'riyya al-Qaḥṭāniyya wa-al-ʿAdnāniyya », publié dans la revue *Maġmaʿ al-luġa al-ʿarabiyya bi-Dimašq* 88/4, 31 décembre/kānūn al-awwal 2015, p. 1021-1052, redonné ici *in extenso*.

Malheureusement, la nouvelle édition ne donne pas la référence complète des manuscrits sur lesquels elle est appuyée, y figure seul le lieu de conservation. Son auteur ne s'explique pas davantage sur cette lacune, qui peut pourtant être vue comme un défaut d'apparat critique et, partant, un manquement aux normes d'une édition scientifique en ce que celle-ci présuppose une intersubjectivité.

Le deuxième tome (925 p.) est axé sur l'édition d'*Al-dāmiġa*, suivie de 16 index :

- Index des versets coraniques
- Index des hadiths et des traditions
- Index des proverbes
- Index des noms
- Index des noms mentionnés dans les généalogies
- Index des noms, lieux et pays
- Index des poésies
- Index des poèmes complétés (en totalité ou en partie)
- Index des poèmes en vers brisés, rapides et libres
- Index des poèmes en *raġaz*
- Index des mots et des expressions omis par les lexiques
- Index des mots expliqués dans le texte
- Index des mots expliqués dans les marges
- Index des livres mentionnés par al-Hamadānī dans son commentaire sur le poème *Al-dāmiġa*
- Index des sources citées par al-Hamadānī comme références pour ses informations
- Index des sources utilisées pour l'édition et la révision.

2023. Lamya Khalidi & Marylène Barret-Audouin, « Yémen : Un fleuron du patrimoine mondial saccagé par la guerre », dans : Nicolas Teyssandier, François Bétard, Stéphane Bourdin & Françoise Gourmelon (dir.), *Atlas des sites archéologiques menacés – patrimoine à protéger*, Paris, Le Cherche Midi, p. 68-71.

Dans cet article, Lamya Khalidi (CEPAM – Culture et Environnements, Préhistoire, Antiquité, Moyen-Âge et UCA - Université Côte d'Azur) & Marylène Barret-Audouin

(expert international en patrimoine culturel – chargée de coopération pour le patrimoine culturel à l’Ambassade de France au Yémen de 2003 à 2009, et au Consulat Général de France à Jérusalem en collaboration avec le Ministère du Tourisme et des Antiquités de Palestine de 2010 à 2015), ont multiplié les publications sur l’architecture du Yémen ces dernières années, par exemple « The Destruction of Yemen and Its Cultural Heritage », *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49/4, oct. 2017, p. 735-738 (*CmY*, nouvelles séries 6/25 (janvier 2018), Actualités, p. 23).

L’article est composé de trois sections. La première section met en avant le Yémen en tant que carrefour du monde, terre d’un patrimoine plurimillénaire. Il présente la situation géographique du pays ainsi que son héritage archéologique, remontant à la Préhistoire et à la navigation de l’Homo sapiens hors d’Afrique par le détroit de Bāb al-Mandab. Il passe en revue les inscriptions sur pierre et sur bois, les statues en albâtre et en bronze, les armures, les bijoux en or et en argent, ainsi que les temples monumentaux. Il souligne également la présence d’une iconographie riche, notamment à Sanaa, Zabīd, Šibām et Mā’rib, témoignant d’une civilisation unique au monde.

La deuxième section concerne les ravages produits par la guerre sur le patrimoine. Elle mentionne le rôle de la coalition internationale menée par l’Arabie Saoudite et les Émirats arabes unis, lancée en mars 2015 avec l’accord du gouvernement yéménite en exil. Cette coalition s’est engagée dans un combat contre les Houthis, qui ont pris le pouvoir à Sanaa, ainsi que contre Al-Qaida et l’État islamique. Les auteurs rappellent que cette guerre est à l’origine de nombreuses souffrances humaines, touchant 80 % de la population, et de la mort de plus de 377.000 personnes. Elle a également conduit à la destruction de quatre sites faisant partie du patrimoine mondial, en plus des 80 autres pris pour cible, selon la liste officielle des sites yéménites touchés. Parmi eux figurent des sites archéologiques, des monuments, des musées, des citadelles, des villes et des villages. La transmission aux autorités saoudiennes de la liste des sites à éviter n’a donc pas empêché les frappes.

La troisième section porte, en guise de titre : « Faire revivre le patrimoine grâce au talent ancestral des Yéménites ». Il souligne que les Yéménites ont un fort attachement à leur patrimoine culturel, qui est une source de fierté et de cohésion sociale. En dépit des conditions difficiles du conflit, de nombreux Yéménites ont travaillé localement pour sauver et préserver leur patrimoine, tandis que des organisations internationales ont également apporté leur soutien à ces populations. Des projets d’inventaire, de documentation et de soutien aux musées sont en cours. Le savoir-faire ancestral des artisans yéménites joue un rôle essentiel dans la préservation des monuments et des sites. Pour lutter contre le trafic illicite de biens culturels, le Conseil international des musées (International Council of Museums, ICOM) a publié une liste rouge (voir *nCmY* 2/21 (Janv. 2016), Actualités, <15-16 juillet 2015, Paris, UNESCO. Réunion d’experts pour la protection du patrimoine culturel du Yémen>, p. 14.). De plus, Interpol a créé une application permettant de signaler les vols et les fouilles clandestines. En conclusion, les auteurs soulignent que la force de l’identité yéménite, liée à la beauté du pays, ne peut que triompher, car le proverbe arabe dit : « La sagesse est yéménite ».

L’article contient plusieurs illustrations de Sanaa, Tūlā’, Zabīd, Šibām et Mā’rib.

2023. Ekaterina Pukhovaia, « Sayyid, Tribal Kinship, and the Imamate in Zaydi Yemen under Imam Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 965/1558) », *Medieval Encounters* 29, pp. 442–463.

The article's abstract begins with the undoubtedly correct statement that: “[s]tudies of Zaydi Yemen tend to underline the divisions, rather than connection, between *sayyids*, descendants of the Prophet, and tribal groups in the political sphere.”¹³ Rather than denying the dividing potential of genealogical differences in the Yemeni context, the article presents the example of the biography of Imam Yaḥyā Šaraf al-Dīn (d. 1558) that attempts to bridge this division.

Written during the lifetime of the imam, the so far unpublished manuscript MS A.3.ar, Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, Nuovo Fondo by the little known writer, Ḥusayn al-‘Ulufī (d. unknown) contains a segment on the genealogy of the imam, which highlights his marriage to the daughter of a prominent tribal *šayḥ* from Ḥaḡḡāḡ. By presenting historic instances of cooperation between various tribes and the imamate, highlighting the prestige of the *šayḥ* and his lineage, including its connection to the Ismaili Šulayḥid dynasty, and by drawing genealogical connections between the two mystical forefathers of the *sayyids* on the one side and the tribes on the other—a detail the author does unfortunately not address in much specificity, the article shows how the biography was deliberately used to enhance the Imam's legitimacy beyond religious claims. Contrary to these religious claims that stress the distinction of the imam and his lineage, al-‘Ulufī's aim is to tie the imam closer to his tribal subjects by ways of genealogical connections.

7 mars 2023. Téhéran. L'agence de presse iranienne Alalam rapporte la saisie d'environ 2.000 manuscrits à l'aéroport de Sanaa et aux postes-frontières terrestres de Ḥaraḍ au Yémen.

Les manuscrits yéménites représentent un trésor précieux et font partie intégrante du patrimoine culturel et civilisationnel de ce pays, leur histoire remonte à des siècles et certains des plus anciens ont près de 1.300 ans. L'importance et la singularité de certains exemplaires tiennent au fait qu'ils ont été écrits de la main même des savants.

Cependant, ce patrimoine constitué de manuscrits, de parchemins coraniques anciens et d'imprimés, dont le nombre atteint le million, n'a pas fait l'objet d'efforts de protection durables au cours des dernières décennies. L'un des principaux facteurs en est le conflit qui sévit dans le pays depuis environ huit ans. Dans les zones sous contrôle des pays agresseurs, de nombreuses atteintes liées au pillage et au vol du patrimoine yéménite se produisent.

¹³ An exception to this can be found in: Alexander Weissenburger, « Al-Mawaddah al-Khālidah?—The Ḥūthī Movement and the Idea of the Rule of the Ahl al-Bayt in Yemen's Tribal Society », in: Marieke Brandt (ed.), *Tribes in Modern Yemen: An Anthology*, Vienna, Austrian Academy of Science Press, 2021, pp. 121–136.

Selon des responsables yéménites, le parquet a saisi environ 2.000 manuscrits à l'aéroport de Sanaa et au poste-frontière terrestre de Ḥaraḍ et les a restitués à Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt (la Maison des manuscrits) alors qu'ils étaient en route vers des pays voisins. Malgré le conflit et le blocus, les institutions yéménites chargées de la préservation du patrimoine islamique, en particulier dans la capitale Sanaa, continuent à travailler dans l'adversité à la collecte, la documentation, la numérisation, la restauration, la reliure et l'entretien des manuscrits selon des méthodes scientifiques modernes. Elles œuvrent également à donner accès aux centres culturels et institutions scientifiques au Yémen et à l'étranger, au patrimoine intellectuel et culturel yéménite, elles servent les chercheurs et étudiants qui peuvent ainsi consulter les manuscrits à des fins d'étude, de recherche et d'investigation.

<https://www.alalam.ir/news/6555638/%D9%85%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%86%D8%AD%D9%88-2000-%D9%85%D8%AE%D8%B7%D9%88%D8%B7%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D9%85%D8%B7%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%B5%D9%86%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%A1-%D9%88%D9%85%D9%86%D9%81%D8%B0-%D8%AD%D8%B1%D8%B6-%D9%88%D8%A5%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%AA%D9%87%D8%A7>

Août 2023. Al-Ymsiū Aġüstini, « Al-ṣilāt al-qadīma bayna al-‘Irāq wa-al-Yaman : mā allaḍī taqūl al-ātār al-Yamaniya ‘an bilād al-Rāfidayn », tarġama wa-ta‘līq Muḥammad ‘Aṭbūš, *Al-masār* 71, 2013, p. 65-130.

Cet article est la traduction de l'article d'Alessio Agostini, « The ‘Mesopotamian connection’. An overview about the South Arabian data relating to Mesopotamia (1st millennium BCE) », dans : Marco Ramazzotti (éd.), *The Historical and Cultural Memory of the Babylonian World: collecting Fragments from the Centre of the World*. (ARATTA, 2), Brepols, Turnhout, 2022, p. 103-122.

Alessio Agostini est professeur associé en épigraphie et langues sémitiques à l'Université de Rome « La Sapienza ». Il a été membre de la mission archéologique italienne au Yémen et y a participé en tant qu'expert en épigraphie et en archéologie. Il a également participé à des activités archéologiques à Oman et en Éthiopie. Muḥammad ‘Aṭbūš, le traducteur de cet article, est un chercheur yéménite, diplômé du Département des relations internationales de l'Université internationale de la mer Noire, en Géorgie.

L'étude vise à revoir une partie du scénario de base concernant les relations entre le Yémen et l'Iraq pour des époques anciennes en utilisant les sources historiques qui documentent les liens directs avec la Mésopotamie selon une approche à double volet, à la fois externe et interne. L'article commence par une introduction sur les relations entre la Mésopotamie et le Sud de la péninsule Arabique sur une longue période, en utilisant l'archéologie qui a elle-même contribué à clarifier certains des processus susceptibles de se produire dans le Sud de la péninsule Arabique.

L'article se compose de trois sections. La première section se situe à l'entrée dans l'ère néo-assyrienne, tandis que la deuxième se concentre sur les données du Sud de la péninsule Arabique sur la Mésopotamie (entre les xi^e et i^{er} s. avant J.-C.). La troisième section est consacrée à des remarques sur les images d'origine mésopotamienne.

Au terme de cette étude comparative des sources écrites et officielles, l'auteur conclut que le Sud de la péninsule Arabique a été en contact avec les régions mésopotamiennes pendant les périodes assyrienne et babylonienne tardives. Les influences culturelles mésopotamiennes se sont diffusées indirectement à travers des échanges commerciaux et des interactions, contribuant au développement culturel dans le Sud de la péninsule. Ces influences étrangères ont été intégrées de manière indépendante, mais ont été préservées montrant que des modèles d'origine étrangère ont persisté.

L'article est suivi de deux annexes : l'annexe A présente les textes néo-assyriens cités sur Saba', et l'annexe B présente les textes sud-arabiques cités mentionnant la Mésopotamie. Parmi les illustrations, notons les inscriptions (p. 92, 101, 106), une vue de la ville de Şirwāḥ et une carte.

N. d. (1st access December 2023 – the auction is over). Paris, Hôtel Drouot. Two prayer volumes, Sub-Saharan East Africa

Two Sub-Saharan East Africa prayer volumes were offered for sale at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, under cat. no. 263. According to the presentation, they were probably produced in Ethiopia or Yemen, during the second half of the 19th/first half of the 20th century.

“Two volumes including ‘Abd al-Jalil bin Muhammad bin Ahmed bin ‘Azum al-Muradi al-Qayrawani (d. 1553 AD), *Kitab tanbih al-anam*, on paper watermarked ‘Beyad Abu Subbak Istambuli/‘ali asili’, incomplete, 20 lines to the page, written in black with the name of God and the Prophet Muhammad in red, in brown leather binding with flap, the other volume on European watermarked paper written in black with the name of God in red or purple, in brown leather binding with flap, a note at the end stating that it was started on the first day of Shawwal and it took six days to copy, folio 36 by 25cm. and 35 by 26.5 (2)”.

The paper bearing the countermark “Beyāḍ Abū Šubbāk ištambulī ‘alī ašīlī”, which is used in one of the two volumes, is taken by the author of the presentation as indicative of the time and place of its production following Anne Regourd’s study, “Manuscrits de la mer Rouge (première moitié du XX^e siècle) : papiers Abū Šubbāk du Yémen et d’Éthiopie”, in: id. (ed.), *The Trade in Papers Marked with Non-Latin Characters. Documents and History/Le commerce des papiers à marques à caractères non-latins. Documents et histoire*, vol. 1, Leiden, Brill, ser. “Islamic manuscripts and books”, 15, 2018, pp. 81–140. Mapping the use of the Abū Šubbāk papers is the main subject of the article, which shows its use mainly concentrated in Ethiopia and Yemen, but with other potential places of consumption along the Red Sea coast, e.g. in Sudan (*CmY*, New series 8/27 (janv. 2019), *Actualités*, Marie-Geneviève Guesdon, revue de <2018. Anne Regourd (éd.), *The Trade in Papers Marked with Non-Latin Characters. Documents and History*>, pp. 14–16). Examination of the Drouot website image of one of the

two manuscripts allows one to refine the conclusion, as it looks more like an Ethiopian production than a Yemenite one (picture below).



<https://drouot.com/en/l/17499702-%E4%B8%A4%E5%8D%B7%E7%A5%88%E7%A5%B7%E6%96%87%E6%92%92%E5%93%88%E6%8B%89%E4%BB%A5%E5%8D%97>

ABOU DHABI

7-8 décembre 2022. Abu Dhabi, département de la culture et du tourisme d'Abou Dhabi. Troisième conférence sur les manuscrits d'Abou Dhabi

Cette conférence s'est tenue en coordination avec la Bibliothèque nationale Marciana du ministère italien du patrimoine culturel, la Bibliothèque universitaire de Bologne en Italie, la Bibliothèque nationale d'Espagne et la Bibliothèque royale de San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Sous le thème « Le voyage des manuscrits arabes de l'Est à l'Ouest ; L'Italie et l'Espagne comme exemple ».

Les principaux objectifs de cette conférence étaient de mettre en évidence le rôle culturel et civilisationnel d'Abu Dhabi dans le domaine de la préservation des manuscrits arabes et de documenter les liens de coopération entre Abu Dhabi et les institutions culturelles concernées par les manuscrits arabes dans le monde, notamment avec l'Italie et l'Espagne ; de souligner les échanges culturels entre l'Orient et l'Occident à travers l'histoire des manuscrits arabes, en témoignant du rôle des orientalistes ; de

Favoriser les partages de savoirs autour du catalogage, de l'édition et de l'étude des manuscrits arabes, afin de mieux comprendre les influences mutuelles entre les aires géographiques dans ce champ patrimonial.

Pendant ces deux jours, les invités ont discuté lors de leurs sessions de nombreux documents de recherche. La première journée comprenait la discussion de plusieurs axes. La session d'ouverture, présidée par Ṣalāḥ Ğarrār, ancien ministre jordanien de la Culture, avait pour thème : l'influence de la civilisation arabe sur les cultures européennes (espagnole et italienne). La deuxième session, présidée par Bilāl al-Urfah Lī, Chaire Cheikh Zayed d'études arabes et islamiques à l'Université américaine de Beyrouth et professeur invité à l'université de New York à Abu Dhabi, portait sur les liens civilisationnels et le voyage des manuscrits arabes d'Est en Ouest (Italie et Espagne). Lors de la troisième session présidée par 'Ā'īṣa 'Ubayd al-Mahīrī, expert pédagogique et chef de l'équipe d'études sociales au ministère de l'Éducation, ont été abordés les efforts de l'orientalisme italien et espagnol dans l'étude du patrimoine arabe. « Les manuscrits arabes traduits en Italie et en Espagne » était le thème de la quatrième et dernière session, présidée par Mūsā al-Huwārī, Département de l'éducation au département de la culture et du tourisme-Abu Dhabi.

La deuxième journée discutait plusieurs axes. La première session, présidée par Muḥammad Ṣāfī Mustagānimī, Secrétaire général de l'Académie de langue arabe de Sharjah, traitait des trésors et raretés des manuscrits arabes dans les bibliothèques espagnoles et italiennes. La thématique de la deuxième session, présidée par Aḥmad Ḥātīm Sulaymān, Membre du corps enseignant de la Faculté d'éducation en Sciences humaines et sociales à l'Université d'Al Ain, était : le patrimoine littéraire dans les manuscrits arabes des bibliothèques espagnoles et italiennes. Quant à la troisième session, présidée par Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad al-Musnad, Directeur du Centre du Catalogue Arabe Unifié et de la King Abdulaziz Public Library, elle était consacrée aux efforts inlassables et continus déployés à cataloguer et étudier les manuscrits arabes en Espagne. Le thème des manuscrits rares dans les bibliothèques espagnoles, conduit par Zayna al-Karakī, chercheuse spécialisée dans l'éducation et l'acquisition des compétences en communication, clôturait la conférence.

ARABIE

2013. Luc Chantre, « Le pèlerinage à La Mecque comme culture coloniale : le cas du protectorat tunisien (1881-1956) » ; *Mémoire(s), identités(s), marginalité(s) dans le monde occidental contemporain* 10. [En ligne].

L'auteur est membre du Centre de recherches interdisciplinaires en histoire, histoire de l'art et musicologie (CRIHAM) à l'Universités de Poitiers et de Limoges et Maître de conférences en Histoire contemporaine/Tempora (EA 7468) depuis 2019.

L'article explore l'organisation du pèlerinage à La Mecque par la République française pendant le Protectorat tunisien (1881-1956). L'auteur examine comment la puissance coloniale a pris en charge les pèlerins, en renforçant la protection diplomatique et sa-

nitaire, en encadrant les déplacements et en utilisant la propagande pour promouvoir le pèlerinage. L'article analyse également la contestation de cette « culture coloniale du hajj » à l'heure des indépendances.

L'article est composé de trois sections. La première section s'intitule « Existe-t-il une (culture coloniale) du hajj ? ». Dans cette section, l'auteur discute de la notion de « culture coloniale » et en propose une approche fonctionnelle. Il explore l'idée que la culture coloniale s'est transformée en culture impériale dans les années 1930, avec l'omniprésence du domaine colonial dans la société française.

La deuxième section, intitulée « L'affirmation d'une culture coloniale du hajj dans l'entre-deux-guerres », examine l'organisation du pèlerinage à La Mecque par la République française pendant les années 1930. L'auteur souligne la prise en charge globale des pèlerins par la puissance coloniale, caractérisée par une protection renforcée sur le plan diplomatique et sanitaire, un encadrement des déplacements vers les Lieux Saints et un appareil de propagande créateur de consensus.

La troisième section, intitulée « Le hajj, matrice de décolonisation ? L'émergence d'une contre-culture du pèlerinage » est divisée en deux sous-sections. La première discute des limites de l'appareil de propagande coloniale dans le contexte du pèlerinage à La Mecque. L'auteur souligne que malgré les efforts de propagande, une contestation de la culture coloniale du hajj a émergé, ce qui a finalement conduit à la fin de l'encadrement des déplacements. Et la remise en question de l'encadrement des déplacements a signé la fin de ce contrôle exercé par la puissance coloniale.

En conclusion, l'article examine brièvement les caractéristiques de la « culture coloniale du hajj » construite par la France républicaine et met en évidence les résistances et la contestation de cette culture coloniale à l'heure des indépendances.

L'article contient plusieurs illustrations, dont les sources proviennent des Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes. Les Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes (ADN) ont été utilisées comme source principale dans cet article pour retracer l'évolution de la protection sanitaire et diplomatique des pèlerins, ainsi que les mesures prises par les autorités françaises en lien avec le pèlerinage à La Mecque. Ces archives fournissent des informations précieuses sur les politiques et les actions mises en place par la puissance coloniale dans le cadre de l'organisation du pèlerinage à La Mecque pendant la période du protectorat tunisien.

<https://journals.openedition.org/mimmoc/1298>

2016. Haiyun Ma & Brendan Newlon, "Praising the Prophet Muhammad in Chinese; A New Translation and Analysis of Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang's Ode to the Prophet", in: Sarah R. Bin Tyeer & Claire Gallien, *Islam and New Directions in World Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2023, pp. 271–294.

The present volume understands Islamic literary and cultural heritages as dynamic forces, constantly enriched and enlivened by various humanistic traditions in multiple languages, spanning the lives of individuals and societies throughout history. This includes 12 chapters which are divided, after chapter 1 into four sections: "Tropes of Ori-

entalism”, “Sensory Fluctuations”, “Circulation, Translation, Rereading”, and “Secular-Non-secular”.

This article in the section “Secular-Non-secular” analyses the Chinese ode praising the Prophet Muḥammad by the Hongwu Emperor Zhu Yuanzhang (r. 1368–1398), who was the founder of Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and seemed to be a muslim according to some researchers. Under the Ming dynasty, Chinese muslims grew as a community and Islamic-related texts in the Chinese language emerged. Zhu Yuanzhang’s ode is among the earliest known texts to introduce Islam in Chinese and has a classical Chinese poetic style. The author translates it into English and analyzes its structure, phrases and meanings. Whether or not Zhu Yuanzhang declared himself as a muslim, his ode has a message: “Muḥammad is the most noble sage”.

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/abs/islam-and-new-directions-in-world-literature/praising-the-prophet-muhammad-in-chinese-a-new-translation-and-analysis-of-emperor-zhu-yuanzhangs-ode-to-the-prophet/CD77D559C092CB33CB8D765D109A8BAB>

12 décembre 2023. Paris, IISMM. Conférence de Frédéric Imbert, « Le Coran des pierres »

Frédéric Imbert, épigraphiste, Professeur des Universités (Aix-Marseille Université, Institut de recherches et d’études sur le monde arabe et musulman (IREMAM)) a parlé une nouvelle fois de ses découvertes en Arabie (voir *CmY*, nouvelles séries 0/19 (janv. 2015), *Actualités*, « Fenêtre sur... », Olga Andriyanova & Marion Breteau, <4 décembre 2014. Aix-en-Provence, Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme. Conférence sur les Nouvelles découvertes épigraphiques en Arabie Saoudite par Frédéric Imbert (Université AixMarseille/CNRS)>, p. 15-16 ; *CmY*, nouvelles séries 1/20 (juil. 2015), *Actualités*, « Fenêtre sur... », <Février-juin 2015. Aix-en-Provence. Séminaire « Sources écrites et supports matériels : Méthodologie des sciences auxiliaires pour l’histoire du monde arabo-musulman médiéval »>, p. 27). Sa communication a pris place dans le cycle 2023-2024 des conférences de l’Institut d’études de l’Islam et des sociétés du monde musulman (IISMM), ayant pour thème « La langue arabe, entre sacré et profane », en partenariat avec la Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations (BULAC).

Vidéo : <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0OarL25zP2g>

Podcast : <https://soundcloud.com/iismm/le-coran-des-pierres-f-imberty>

ARABIE SAOUDITE

2014. *Qāmūs al-adab wa-al-udabā' fī al-mamlaka al-'arabiyya al-sa'ūdiyya*, I'dād Dārat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, al-Riyād, Dārat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, 1894 p., 3 vol. ISBN : 978-6-03-812816-9.

Le dictionnaire de la littérature et des écrivains du Royaume d'Arabie saoudite est un ouvrage scientifique de référence consacré aux écrivains saoudiens. Il a été supervisé par Dārat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz. La première édition du dictionnaire, comprenant mille entrées, dont 88 consacrées à la littérature et aux écrivains saoudiens, a été publiée au Caire, Dār al-Šurūq, en 1428/2007, 640 p.

Ce dictionnaire en trois volumes documente les éléments de la scène culturelle saoudienne. Il rassemble des informations sur les écrivains des deux sexes, les institutions, les prix littéraires, les revues, les journaux, les associations et clubs littéraires, les salons du livre, les festivals, les ouvrages influents, les groupes littéraires et d'autres termes liés au mouvement littéraire dans le Royaume depuis sa fondation jusqu'en 2013.

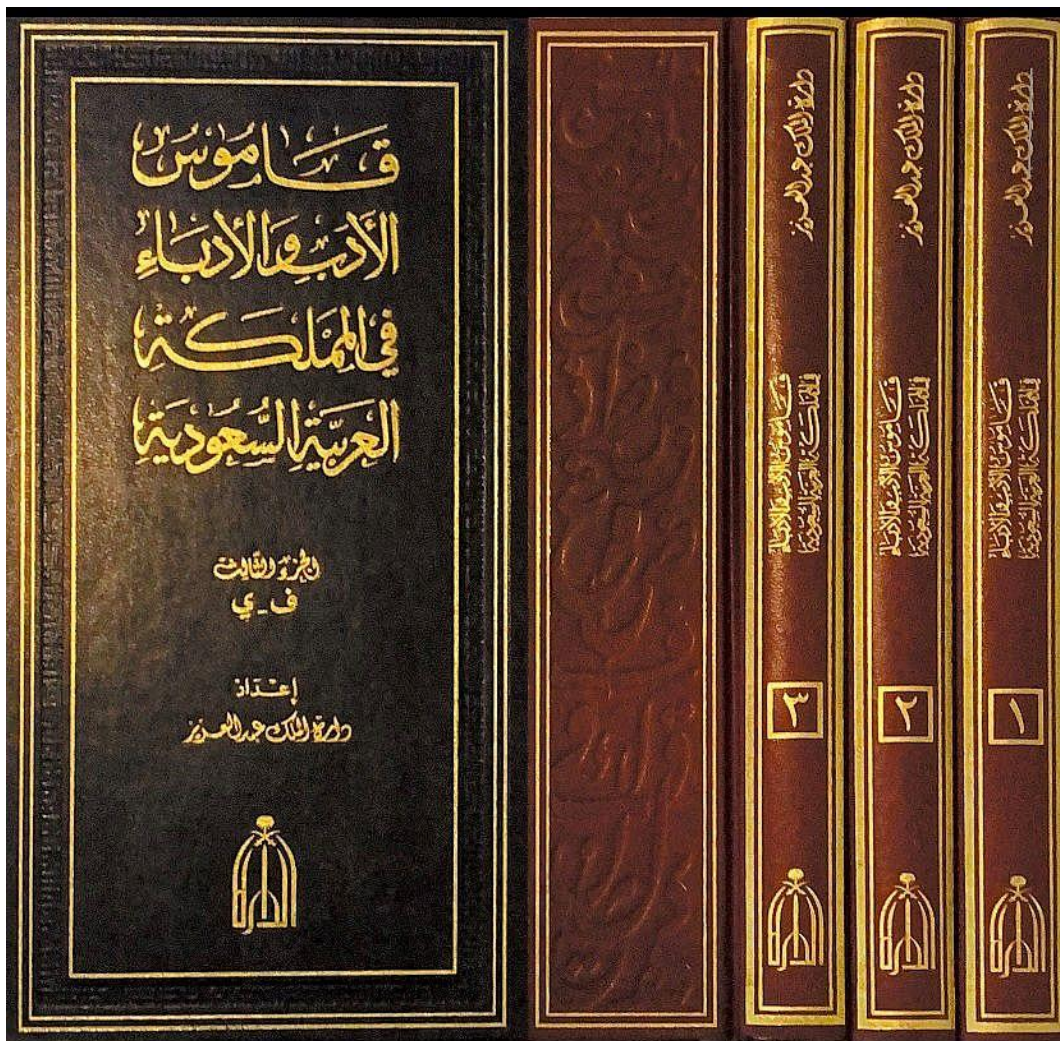
Il constitue une documentation du mouvement littéraire saoudien, retraçant l'émergence des clubs littéraires, des prix culturels, des débuts des genres littéraires dans le pays et de leurs pionniers, hommes et femmes. Il répertorie également les biographies des écrivains saoudiens, offrant un regard critique sur leurs œuvres et leur production intellectuelle, tout en décrivant les composantes du contexte littéraire et culturel saoudien.

Sa préparation a impliqué 65 spécialistes, écrivains et écrivaines issus des différentes régions d'Arabie saoudite, d'orientations intellectuelles diverses et de tous âges. Ils ont travaillé sous la supervision de Dārat al-Malik 'Abd al-'Azīz, dans le cadre des objectifs de cet organisme visant à établir des bases de données de référence sur l'histoire nationale dans ses différents aspects culturels.

Le dictionnaire se distingue par deux caractéristiques majeures :

- une attention particulière portée aux écrivains des régions qui n'avaient pas été suffisamment considérés et documentés auparavant ;
- une mise à jour régulière avec l'ajout de nouveaux noms d'individus, d'institutions, de nouveaux prix, ainsi qu'une actualisation des publications des écrivains.

Au total, 94 entrées sont consacrées à la littérature et 814 aux écrivains, dont 138 à des femmes. Les notices biographiques de 168 écrivains, hommes et femmes, décédés avant la publication, ont été incluses.



ÉMIRATS ARABES UNIS

2023. Timothy Power, Michele Degli Esposti, Robert Hoyland & Rania Hussein Kannoouma, "A Newly discovered Late Antique Monastery and Islamic Town on Sīniya Island, Umm al-Quwayn", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 52, pp. 273–284.

Sīniyya Island in the Ḥawr al-bayḍāʾ lagoon, Umm al-Quwayn has various significant archaeological remains. This article introduced a project of excavation and the preliminary results obtained by drone mapping, geomorphological investigations and geophysical prospection. The island is known to have been a populated place in the Neolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, and late pre-Islamic eras. In addition, this article shows that there were a Christian monastery founded during the mid-6th and mid-7th centuries and an Islamic mosque found in the later period. The Pax Mongolica in the

14th century and the flow of people into the island during the 18th and 19th centuries developed its Islamic town.

<https://archaeopresspublishing.com/ojs/index.php/PSAS/article/view/1644>

OCÉAN INDIEN

2008. Yasuhiro Yokkaichi, “Chinese and Muslim Diasporas and the Indian Ocean Trade Network under Mongol Hegemony”, in: Angela Schottenhammer (ed.), *The East Asian Mediterranean: Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce, and Human Migration*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 73–101.

This book is a collection of papers originally presented for the concluding conference of the research project “The East Asian ‘Mediterranean’—Maritime Crossroads of Culture, Commerce and Human Migration,” held at Munich University from November 2–3, 2007.

The present article focuses on the impacts of Chinese and Muslim diasporas in the Indian Ocean World during the 13th and 14th centuries. While Anthony Reid calls the period after the 15th century the “Age of Commerce”, the author clarifies that continuous contacts and interaction between east and west had activated both the Muslim and Chinese diasporas by way of the Mongol hegemony before the 15th century. Among the various historical sources written in Arabic, Chinese and Persian languages, the Yemeni Rasūlid documents *Nūr al-ma‘ārif* edited by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ġāzim (Sanaa, Centre français d’archéologie et de sciences sociales (CEFAS), 2003 & 2005), and the Meccan bibliography *Al-durar al-kāmina* by Ibn Haḡar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) (Beirut, Dār al-kutub, 1997–1998) should be noted. In particular, the Aden tariffs included in *Nūr al-ma‘ārif* clearly shows that during the 13th century Chinese silver was being brought to the port of Aden by Indian merchants, the *sūliyān*, and by Kīš merchants who played an initiating role in the horse trade in Aden, the Persian Gulf, Southeast India and China.

https://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/title_2340.ahtml

2009. Yasuhiro Yokkaichi, “Horses in the East-West Trade between China and Iran under the Mongol Rule”, in: Bert G. Fagner, Ralph Kauz, Roderich Ptak & Angela Schottenhammer (eds), *Pferde in Asien: Geschichte, Handel und Kultur*, Wien, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 87–97.

This book contains 21 contributions focusing on the transfer of horses between Asian regions. They are the result of a conference “Pferde in Asien” that was held in October 2006 at the invitation of the Institute for Iranian Studies of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

This article discusses the economic structure of commodity flows around Central Eurasia and the Indian Ocean from the perspective of the horse trade and related policies, the Yuan and Il-Khanid dynasties. The Yemeni Arabic documents *Nūr al-ma‘ārif* edit-

ed by Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ġāzim (Sanaa, Centre français d’archéologie et de sciences sociales (CEFAS), 2003 & 2005) and the Yemeni almanac *Kitāb al-tabšira* by the Rasūlid Sultan al-Malik al-Ašraf (r. 694/1296–696/1296) (Washington, University of Washington Press, 1994) show that Chinese silver conveyed via India to Aden could be used for purchasing horses in Aden. Further, the Kīš merchants had enormous influence over trade with China via India as well as over the trilateral trade between India, the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

https://verlag.oeaw.ac.at/produkt/pferde-in-asien-geschichte-handel-und-kultur/30218?name=pferde-in-asien-geschichte-handel-und-kultur&product_form=3016

2023. Yasuyuki Kuriyama, “*Mu‘allim in the Indian Ocean: One Type of Sailor during the Portuguese Arrival Period*”, *The Studies of Asia and Africa* 230, pp. 83–113. [In Japanese]

While the Arabic word *mu‘allim* means teacher or scholar in general, this word is also used in navigational texts to indicate a person who has navigational skills. Ibn Māğid (d. 906/1501) and Sulaymān al-Mahrī (d. 961/1554) are famous *mu‘allim* sailors in the Indian Ocean. However, the precise characteristics of *mu‘allim* sailors have not been studied. The Arabic texts such as *‘Umdat al-mahriyya* (edited by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥūrī, Damascus, n.p., 1972) and *Tuhfat al-fuḥūl* (edited by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥūrī, Damascus, n.p., 1972) by Sulaymān al-Mahrī, and *Kitāb al-fawā’id* by Ibn Māğid (edited by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥūrī, Damascus, 1971) provide what *mu‘allim* sailors should know or practice. They should have sufficient navigational knowledge and skill on the Indian Ocean in addition to being well-educated. For example, it seems Ibn Māğid understood at least 30 Arabic texts including various geographical, poetic, historical and cosmological books. This is why *mu‘allim* sailors were called “sea *‘ulamā*”. Their origins ranged from Southern Arabia or India to Zang̃. They seemed to have common navigational techniques and general oceanic knowledge. This indicates that they appeared to have been interacting with each other.

OMAN

2023. Johann Buessow, Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf, and Nasser Al-Saqri, *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīṭ. The City Wall of Bahla as a Case Study for the Organisation of Communal Tasks in Central Oman on the Eve of Modern State Administration, 1967–1977*, Berlin, EB Verlag, ser. “Bonner Islamstudien”, 47, 125 p. ISBN: 9783868934397.

In their publication *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīṭ. The City Wall of Bahla as a Case Study for the Organisation of Communal Tasks in Central Oman on the Eve of Modern State Administration, 1967–1977*, Johann Buessow, Michaela Hoffmann-Ruf, and Nasser Al-Saqri present the reader with intriguing new findings on aspects of local communal management in an oasis town of central Oman. Their study deals with a period when oasis towns underwent far-reaching political, social and economic transformation before and after

the so-called Omani Renaissance, *nahḍa*, initiated by Sultan Qaboos bin Said when he superseded his father Said bin Taimur as Sultan of Oman.

Larger oasis settlements in central Oman were traditionally composed of several residential quarters, *ḥāra*, pl. *ḥārāt*. Before the era of the so-called Omani Nahda, those were characterised by their relative administrative independence from central authority.¹⁴ The management of their social and economic affairs was largely conducted through local institutions and stakeholders, namely the community of shareholders in the traditional water irrigation system, *falağ* and the *the daily* meetings of a quarter's or tribal clan's adult male population in their reception hall, *sabla*. Tribal sheikhs, religious scholars, judges, and other notables steered their communities in an ongoing consultation process, such as through *sabla* meetings.

The administration of the entire oasis town including its central institutions, such as the fort, congregational mosque and market, the public treasury, *bayt al-māl*, land holdings, and the peaceful and smooth interaction of the different town parts was managed by the Governor, Wali. Usually, a high-ranking and respected personality from outside the town, the Wali was assigned by the Government and on his part had considerable independence in the allocation of public funds within his wilayat. This is exemplified by the much-acclaimed actions of Abū Zayd al-Riyāmī, Bahla's Wali from 1916–1945¹⁵ whose governorship and wall management has been presented in a sub-chapter of the study on *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīt*.¹⁶

¹⁴ J. E. Peterson, *The Emergence of Post-Traditional Oman*, 2005, p. 7.

¹⁵ M. Limbert, *In the Time of Oil, Piety, Memory and Social Life in an Omani Town*, 2010, p. 25.

¹⁶ Pp. 41–42.



View of a part of the Bahla town-wall in its ruinous condition in the early 1990s. Photo: Georg Popp.

Thus far most information on the role of communal institutions in the functioning of oasis towns' socio-economic life has been gathered through ethnographic and historical research in the field and through documentation of the material culture of the oasis towns and their *ḥārāt*. The *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīt* study stands out in two ways. It deals with communal management on a supra-*hara* level, and it taps into archival sources as a potentially rich yet, at least regarding pre-modern communal institutions in Oman, hitherto little-explored and until recently hardly accessible source of information. As pointed out by the authors the increasing availability of archival documents through the work of Oman's National Records and Archives Authority (NRAA) which was established in 2007, opens a new field for respective research.

The present publication investigates a document preserved in the manuscript collection of the Ministry of Heritage and Tourism,¹⁷ an accounts book dealing with the communally administered maintenance of a roughly six km long section of Bahla's town wall. The study is complemented by research into a 16th-century Ibadhi legal text manuscript from Bahla authored by 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mu'izz al-Bahlawī¹⁸ and the discussion of the wall's history and related events, the earliest of which is said to be the unsuccessful siege of Bahla by a Persian army from Shiraz numbering 4,500

¹⁷ Formerly Ministry of Heritage and Culture.

¹⁸ 'Umar al-Bahlawī (1077/1666–1667), *Minhāj al-'adl*, vol. 2.

fighters during their four-months long occupation of Nizwa, in the year 674/1276¹⁹. The event had been noted in Sirhān b. Sirhān al-Izkawī's early 18th century work *Kašf al-Ġumma*,²⁰ in Ibn Ruzayq's *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*,²¹ and in an almost identical form in al-Ma'walī's (d. 1777) work *Qiṣaṣ wa-aḥbār ġarat fi 'Umān*.²² In this context, the reviewer would like to point out an inscription from Bahla recording the same event with some variation and further details. The inscription²³ had been inked onto one of the pillars²⁴ of the old congregational mosque next to Bahla Fort. Similar to the *Kašf al-Ġumma* and al-Ma'walī's accounts, it describes an army of 4,500 raiders led by Faḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Dāyia and Šihāb al-Dīn Mas'ūd devastating Nizwa's Al-'Aqr settlement. The inscription from the mosque however notes that the Persian troops besieged Bahla for four months without being able to enter it which eventually led to a peace agreement between both sides. The notion of a siege of that duration would only make sense if there had already been a fortified town-wall strong enough to withstand such a prolonged siege.

Defensive fortifications have been a crucial element of the built urban heritage in central Oman's oasis towns. Usually circumvallating the individual residential quarter, *ḥāra*, pl. *ḥārāt*, town walls, fortified gates, towers and sentry walks have been the shared responsibility of the settlement's inhabitants, whether composed of only one or of several tribes. This is exemplified in a 1748 document from Manah's Harat al-Bilad, the central Omani oasis town's largest, multi-tribal and well-fortified quarter. The document *waṭīqat al-ṣulḥ wa-al-taqṣīm*, reproduced in al-Ġahwārī,²⁵ laid down the results of a meeting of Manah's tribal leaders with Imām Aḥmad b. Sa'īd and his judges held in the Šarāh mosque in Manah specifying the agreement on how the supervision, responsibility and maintenance of various sections of the town walls, of fortresses, towers and gates were entrusted to the different tribes of the quarter.²⁶

The case of Bahla's massive, roughly 12 km long town wall is unique in Oman as, instead of enclosing a residential quarter it circumvallates the entire oasis with its many individual *ḥārāt*, palm groves and seasonally cultivated fields, *awābī* along with the central institutions of fort, market and congregational mosque.

¹⁹ The 2014 edition of al-Ma'walī's *Qiṣaṣ wa-aḥbār*, p. 180, specifies the date of the Persian arrival in Nizwa as 15 Dū al-Qa'da 674/5 May 1276.

²⁰ E. C. Ross, *Annals of Oman*, 1874, p. 31.

²¹ G. P. Badger, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, 1871, p. 36.

²² M. Al-Ma'walī, *Qiṣaṣ wa-aḥbār ġarat fi 'Umān*, 2013.

²³ The inscription is one of 63 inscriptions on the mosque's pillars that have recently been documented and deciphered by al-Sayfi, *Al-ḥulal al-sundusīyya min al-kitābāt al-masġidīyya*, 2019, pp. 69–70, fig. 54.

²⁴ The 24 pillars arranged in six rows which support the mosque's roof had over the centuries been periodically replastered with gypsum plaster. Wherever newer layers are partially chipped off, the inscriptions on older layers are revealed.

²⁵ N. al-Ġahwārī, "Ḥārāt al-Bilād fi wilāyat Manḥ", 1997, pp. 99–103.

²⁶ B. Mershen, "Settlement Space and architecture in South Arabian Oases", 1998, pp. 202, 206; N. al-Ġahwārī, "Ḥārāt al-Bilād fi wilāyat Manḥ", 1997, pp. 23–26.

The account book *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīṭ bi-Sufālat Bahla* lists the works, expenditures and accounts balances relating to the town wall and its associated landed properties, *amwāl*, consisting of palm groves, the produce of which generated the income for the maintenance of the wall without specifically designating them as *waqf* holdings.

The document covers a period of 10 years from 1967 to 1977, that is from the final years of the reign of Sultan Said bin Taimur to the first six years of the reign of Sultan Qaboos bin Said, who ascended the throne in 1970 and set off the country's fast-paced far-reaching modern transformation. *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīṭ* thus studies an urban community's management of its city wall during a period of transition from the community's relative self-reliance and independence to its becoming firmly embedded into centralised authority²⁷ and hence more closely supervised by government bodies. The authors demonstrate that these changes also pertain to Bahla's town wall and its associated landed properties, when after the establishment of the Ministry of Awqaf and Islamic Affairs in 1975 (later Ministry of Endowments and Religious Affairs), those came under the latter's jurisdiction and scrutiny, and balances were subsequently signed off by ministry officials rather than local witnesses.

The authors point out changes in the nomenclature designating the land holdings whose proceeds were used for financing the upkeep of the wall, with the explicit mention of the term *waqf* only occurring in the account book since 1975 while earlier lists talk of *amwāl*, here denoting date palm groves. Drawing on parallels from 12th to 14th century *Bilād al-Šām*, the authors discuss the possibility of therewith associated changes in land tenureship from previous communal assets to *waqf* holding.

They raise the question of whether the landed properties *amwāl*, associated with the town wall, could originally have constituted a category of communal property holdings that is different from *waqf* holdings, possibly similar to the *maṣāliḥ*, literally 'common interest', properties. *Maṣāliḥ*, known from 12th and 14th-century Damascus, were subject to less stringent regulations than *awqāf* and thus more flexible to handle. Acknowledging the lack of attestation of such an additional category of communal land in the respective Ibadhi legal works, the authors demonstrate that the concept would fit well with Omani communities' self-reliance in running their affairs with minimal dependence on the state treasury, a stance that is shown to have been promoted in a juridical manuscript *Minhāğ al-ʿadl*, written by the local 16th-century scholar ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahlawī.²⁸ The authors refer to the section of his work that discusses the upkeep and management of a town wall, stressing the importance of referring to local precedents and customs, and relying on communal consensus rather than on governmental decisions. The reason that Bahlawī's discourse about *amwāl* governed according to local custom in the interest of the local community, while not explicitly specifying or naming, implicates the existence of a third category of land assets besides *bayt al-māl* and *waqf* holdings.

²⁷ M. Limbert, *In the Time of Oil*, 2010, p. 37.

²⁸ ʿUmar al-Bahlawī, *Minhāğ al-ʿadl*, vol. 2.

It also seems noteworthy that *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīt* accounts book does not make any reference to the wall's defensive function, nor does it yield any clues on responsibilities and expenses regarding the supervision and guarding of the wall and especially its gates. Should we assume that those were under the responsibility of a different team, possibly documented in a separate register? Or had the motives for the wall's upkeep by the late 1960s already shifted from securing the fortification to maintaining a mainly nostalgic value?

Upon his ascent to the throne, Sultan Qaboos pushed for a far-ranging development scheme, the so-called Omani Renaissance, *nahḍa*. It promoted Oman's transformation into a nation-state with centralised government institutions overseeing the advancement of physical and social infrastructure in all regions of the Sultanate, including the enforcement of law and order and the maintaining of public security through the forces of the Royal Oman Police (ROP). Commonly associated with this transformation is the narrative of pre-1970 tribal anarchy versus post-1970 enlightenment²⁹ and security, and consequentially the redundancy of urban defenses since the early 1970s.

The Sultanate's profound transformation in the 1970s had however been precluded by significant developments associated with oil prospection in 1954³⁰ and the discovery of oil deposits during the 1960s.³¹ After the death of Imām Muḥammad al-Ḥalīlī in 1954, Sultan Saïd bin Taimur, after a hiatus of 84 years since the fall of the Government of 'Azzān b. Qays in 1871, was able to achieve the reunification of interior and coastal Oman into the single political unit of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in 1955.³² In 1959 the Ġabal al-Aḥḍar revolt and with it the Imamate, with which many of Bahla's inhabitants had sided, ended with the victory of the Sultan's troops and British soldiers.³³ With the cessation of major tribal disputes³⁴, the defences had lost their practical function, as can be gleaned from the fact that they stopped being manned, as was the case in Al Hamra after the early 1960s.³⁵ In 1962-1964, the first oil wells were struck in Yibal, Natih, and Fuhud.³⁶ In 1964, plans were made for building a pipeline between the oil fields and the Gulf of Oman³⁷ and the first oil shipment was exported in 1967.³⁸ The interior was no longer an isolated territory. Pushed by oil exploration, the camel

²⁹ A. Sachedina, *Cultivating the Past, Living the Modern. The Politics of Time in the Sultanate of Oman*, 2021, p. 14.

³⁰ M. Q. Morton, *In the Heart of the Desert*, 2006, p. 159.

³¹ Ch. Eickelman, *Women and Community in Oman*, 1984, pp. 221-222; M. Valeri, *Oman Politics and Society in the Qaboos State*, 2009, p. 72; J. E. Peterson, *Oman in the 20th Century*, 2016, p. 85.

³² R. G. Landen, *Oman Since 1856, Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society*, 1967, pp. 414, 422.

³³ R.G. Landen, *Oman Since 1856, Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society*, 1967, p. 422.

³⁴ D. Eickelman, "Counting and Surveying an 'Inner' Omani Community, Hamra al-'Abriyin", 1991, p. 258.

³⁵ D. Eickelman, "Counting and Surveying an 'Inner' Omani Community, Hamra al-'Abriyin", 1991, p. 258.

³⁶ M. al-Kindi, "Oil and Gas Exploration in the Isolated Hajar Mountains", 2019, p. 879.

³⁷ R. G. Landen, *Oman Since 1856, Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society*, 1967, p. 424.

³⁸ F. Boudier & A. Nicolas, "Geology of the Isolated Hajar Mountains", 2019, p. 817.

tracks of the past gave way to truck routes, including that connecting Nizwa with Fahud and al-Buraymi via Bahla and Ibri.³⁹

Clearly in 1967, the first year covered by examined *Sūr al-Muḥīt* accounts book, tribal warfare and internal strife between imamate and sultanate were matters of the past. And so would have been the defensive significance of the town wall. A photo taken by John Wilkinson in 1965⁴⁰ shows the Wali of Bahla, Sheikh ‘Alī bin Ḥamad al-Ma‘walī, in a portly posture next to Bahla Fort,⁴¹ with Bahla’s great wall as an imposing backdrop landmark, so to speak the “emblem of the town”,⁴² and still of great symbolic significance but presumably no longer of functional use. Ten years later a film crew invited to produce a film about Oman five years into Sultan Qaboos’ reign visited Bahla and marvelled at the mud-brick wall around the entire town with all its date gardens and fields, as a fortification that was “once” heavily guarded.⁴³

³⁹ R. G. Landen, *Oman Since 1856, Disruptive Modernization in a Traditional Arab Society*, 1967, p. 423.

⁴⁰ J.C. Wilkinson, *Oman 1965*, 2008, p. 78.

⁴¹ During that time Oman’s forts were still being used as the seat of the Government, residence of walis and in other governmental functions.

⁴² “*Al-‘unwān*, as it was called by Abū Zaid al-Riyāmī, Bahla’s famous Wali during the first half of the 20th century; M. Limbert, *In the Time of Oil*, 2010, p. 29; J. Buessow et al., *Sūr al-Muḥīt*, 2023, p. 41.

⁴³ M. Darlow & R. Fawkes, *The Last Corner of Arabia*, 1976, p. 98.



View of a restored section of the Bahla town-wall in early 2023. Photo: Maria Popp.

Despite having long outlived its original objective of maintaining the town's defences, the communal institution managing Bahla's town wall persisted into the late seventies, as evidenced by the entries in the accounts book. To some extent, this might be explained by the evolvement of Bahla's town wall into a symbolic and emotive landmark that nevertheless "still evoked a sense of a protective barrier"⁴⁴ between Bahla's urban communities and outsiders, between the protected urban realm and the outside.

In Halbwachsian terms⁴⁵, the communally undertaken preservation of Bahla's town wall, albeit no longer serving its original defensive objectives, makes sense as it is this

⁴⁴ While described by M. Limbert, *In the Time of Oil*, 2010, pp. 32–33, for Bahla in the late 1990s, such transformation of meaning might have already been underway at the start of the *Al-Sūr al-Muḥīṭ bi-Sufālat Bahla* accounts book in 1967.

⁴⁵ M. Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, 1980, p. 139.

“familiar spatial framework in which the collective memory”, in this case of Bahla’s inhabitants, “unfolds” and contributes to a sense of identity.

The question however arises whether the communal institution would have persisted for so long, after having lost its original purpose, had the *amwāl* associated with the wall not been either original purpose-bound *waqf*, respectively been ‘waqfised’ as suggested by Buessow, Hoffmann-Ruf and Al-Saqri.

Following the definition of institutions as “organizations of people that carry out objectives using regularized practices and norms, labor, and resources,”⁴⁶ future textual and oral history investigations could shed further light on the intriguing topic of the evolution of community institutions and their objectives in response to the changing socio-political and economic contexts.⁴⁷

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⁴⁶ J. Holland-Lulewicz et al., “An Institutional Approach in Archaeology”, 2020, p. 1.

⁴⁷ D. Vorbach & J. Ensor, “Autonomous Change Processes in Traditional Institutions: Lessons from Innovations in Village Governance in Vanuatu”, 2022, p. 174.

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2023. Yohei Kondo, “*Ibādī Discussions on the Requirements for Salvation*”, in: Kazuo Morimoto, Kie Inoue, Junichi Ono & Makoto Sawai (eds), *Perspectives from within and beyond Islam: Studies in Honor of Professor Shigeru Kamada*, Kyoto, Nakanishiya Publishing, pp. 403–424. [In Japanese]

This collective volume commemorates the 70th birthday of Professor Shigeru Kamada, who has studied Islamic mystical thought, especially a form called *‘irfān* or *ḥikma* developed in *šī‘a* Islam, and the interpretation of Islamic sacred texts.

This article explains what *‘ibādī* people in Oman has discussed who should be saved and finally go to paradise. The Omani *‘ibādī* mystical books such as *Bayān al-šar‘* by Abū Bakr al-Kindī (d. 1162) (Muscat, Wizārat al-turāt al-qawmī wa-al-ṭaqāfa, 1984–2010) and *Al-ağwiba al-mağribiyya* by Nāšir Ğā‘id al-Ḥarūšī (d. 1846) (edited by Aḥmad Sālim al-Ḥarūšī, Muscat, Dākirat ‘Umān, 2017) provides enough information about the topic. The author concludes that there were two different theories of salvation held by *‘ibādī* people in Oman. The traditional one shows that only *‘ibādī* people should be saved and other muslims will be punished with hell. After the 19th century, however, Omani *‘ibādī* people met the Western Impact, and came to emphasize the common practices of Islam and call on Muslims to reject sectarian partisanship and sympathies. As a result, their new theory of salvation shows that all Muslims can be saved except for partisans. In this context, *‘ibādī* people are not a minority group but also part of a majority Muslim group.

<https://www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/faculty/kamada/>
<https://www.nakanishiya.co.jp/book/b623568.html>

6 juillet 2023. Bochum, Ruhr Universität Bochum. Conférence de Nasser Al-Saqri, « The history of *falaj* water management in Northern Oman »

Nasser Al-Saqri (Sultan Qaboos University, Mascate) a donné une conférence à l’Université de la Ruhr, Bochum, intitulée « The history of *falaj* water management in Northern Oman » et résumée ainsi :

« Until the late 20th century, practically all agricultural activities in Oman depended on irrigation through highly complex water management systems, the so-called *aflaj* (sg. *falaj*). For their functioning and maintenance, these systems require well-organised

cooperation between many actors in a given oasis community. The lecture offers an introduction to Oman's *aflaj* as a key factor for understanding the country's social and cultural history. »

<https://ercloop.hypotheses.org/679>

13 juillet 2023. Berlin, Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO). Bourse accordée à Nasser Al-Saqri

Nasser Al-Saqri (Sultan Qaboos University, Mascate) a bénéficié d'une bourse de deux mois au Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO), à Berlin, pour poursuivre ses travaux sur les systèmes d'aménagement de l'eau (*aflāġ*, sing. *falaġ*; voir l'entrée ci-dessus).

<https://www.zmo.de/en/events/tba-nasser-al-saqri>

REVUE DE PRESSE / PRESS REVIEW

This Press review will give a thematic overview of the news regarding Yemeni manuscripts in 2023. The first part will deal with the smuggling of manuscripts and with news that deals with the damaging and destruction of manuscripts. After that, the article will review the news with regards to manuscripts and international relations. The last part deals with initiatives to preserve and restore manuscripts. Although there is some overlap, these are the three main themes that could be distinguished in the news regarding Yemeni manuscripts.

As a result of the current situation in Yemen, different Yemeni newspapers interpreted situations and events differently, or often in precisely opposite ways. An overview of the political orientation of the newspapers is given in the *Revue de Presse* of last year's edition of this journal⁴⁸:

Newspapers linked to the Government, and President Rashad Muhammad al-Alimi:

- *26 September News* (<https://www.26sepnews.net/>)
- *ʿAden al-Ġad* (<https://www.adengad.net/>)
- *Al-Mašhad al-Yamanī* (<https://www.almashhadnews.com/>)
- *Ḥabar News Agency* (<https://www.khabaragency.net/>)
- *Al-Mašdar Online* (<https://almasdaronline.com/>)

Newspaper affiliated to the Southern Transitional Council (STC):

- *Al-Ayyām* (<https://www.alayyam.info/>)

Newspapers affiliated to the Houthi Government:

⁴⁸ Sami Lagati, "Revue de presse," *Nouvelles Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* 16/35, January 2023, p. 70.

- *Sabā Net* (<https://www.saba.ye/ar>)
- *Al-Tawra* (<https://althawrah.ye/>)⁴⁹

SMUGGLING, DAMAGE AND DESTRUCTION

As a result of the unstable political situation in Yemen due to the civil war, many historical artifacts in Yemen are being smuggled out or threatened with damage or destruction. In particular, the newspapers that are linked to the Government and President Rashad Muhammad al-Alimi constantly remind their readers of these practices. *Aden al-Ġad* ends many of their articles that deal with material heritage of Yemen by mentioning that many manuscripts are looted and trafficked to the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Israel. This practice can also be observed in *Al-Mašhad al-Yamanī*, who also mention Germany as one of the countries to which Yemeni manuscripts are smuggled.⁵⁰ In *Al-ayyām*, affiliated to the Southern Transitional Council (STC), the same sentiment can be observed.⁵¹ These newspapers directly and indirectly blame the Houthis for the increase in manuscript trafficking. They blame it either on the situation created by the Houthis, or directly accuse the Houthis themselves of illicitly trading in manuscripts and other antiquities. By contrast, news of manuscript trading and smuggling is almost completely absent from the Houthi-affiliated newspaper *Sabā Net*. The same goes for the *Al-tawra*, a news platform that was turned into a pro-Houthi newspaper, after the Houthis captured it.⁵² These newspapers carry more reports on the initiatives to preserve and protect Yemeni manuscripts (see below). Another event connected to smuggling which is referred to in various articles about manuscripts or the trade in Yemeni antiquities, is the smuggling of the oldest Yemeni Torah to Israel, in 2016.⁵³

⁴⁹ Afrah Nasser “The Yemen War, Media, and Propaganda,” Atlantic Council, May 3, 2017, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/the-yemen-war-media-and-propaganda/>.

⁵⁰ Among others: “حضر موت تغذي منظمة الغذاء العالمي بالفنون والتراث والإرث الحضاري,” *Aden al-Ġad*, March 21, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/673381>; “السفارة اليمنية تستعيد 4 قطع أثرية من الشرطة البريطانية,” *Aden al-Ġad*, June 20, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/688210>. “في مؤتمر دولي عقد بالصين. الحكومة : ” ممارسات ميليشيا الحوثي تهدد المعالم الحية والآثار التاريخية في اليمن,” *Al-Mašhad al-Yamanī*, April 28, 2023, <https://almasdaronline.com/articles/273323>; “عرض مجسم نسائي يمني نادر للبيع عبر الإنترنت,” *Al-Mašhad al-Yamanī*, October 15, 2023, <https://www.almashhadnews.com/264976>.

⁵¹ Among others: “ضبط شخص حاول تهريب مخطوطات أثرية بالمهرة,” *Al-ayyām*, May 7, 2023, <https://www.alayyam.info/news/9EFZK30I-IDL7XE-9CD3>.

⁵² Afrah Nasser, “The Yemen War, Media, and Propaganda,” Atlantic Council, May 3, 2017, <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/the-yemen-war-media-and-propaganda/>.

⁵³ For example: “مزداد في إسرائيل يعرض 15 قطعة من آثار اليمن المهربة للبيع,” Hābar News Agency, September 11, 2023, <https://khabaragency.net/news196800.html>; “الحوثيون يعثون بآثار اليمن ويهربونها إلى إسرائيل كونها لا ” “تعييمهم! (صورة)” *Al-Mašhad al-Yamanī*, June 29, 2023, <https://www.almashhadnews.com/257957>.

January 5, 2023, ‘Aden al-Ġad – Yemeni antiquities victim of Houthi practices and the increase of poverty.

Inhabitants of multiple regions in Yemen have observed an increase in the looting of archeological sites. The Houthi authorities are accused of being complicit in these practices. According to these inhabitants the Houthis play a role in the trafficking and smuggling of antiquities and manuscripts.⁵⁴

May 7, 2023, ‘Aden al-Ġad – The border police at Šaḥan arrest a person trying to smuggle historic manuscripts.

The police in Šaḥan, al-Mahrah Governorate—bordering Oman—arrested a person who tried to cross the border with two ancient Hebrew manuscripts. The manuscripts were written in an ancient “Abyssinian Aksumite script”, and contained an image of a cross. The police said the person was trying to hide the manuscripts in his car.⁵⁵

June 8, 2023, ‘Aden al-Ġad – Police in Wadi Hadramawt arrested a suspect who tried to smuggle ancient manuscripts.

A smuggler was arrested in Say’ūn, in the Governorate of Hadramawt. He was trying to smuggle six manuscripts. The manuscripts were estimated 359 years old and dealt with topics like Qur’anic sciences, jurisprudence, grammar and *tafsīr*.⁵⁶

June 24, 2023, *Habar News Agency* – Houthis accused of digging for archeological artifacts.

Habar News Agency, a government-affiliated newspaper, accused the Houthis, who claimed to be digging tunnels under old Sanaa to repair telecommunication lines, of secretly digging for archeological treasures, like old manuscripts.⁵⁷

October 29, 2023, ‘Aden al-Ġad – Traffickers who tried to smuggle manuscripts stopped.

In October two smugglers were arrested in the al-Mahra Governorate. One of them held Omani nationality. Details on the manuscripts were not given, but according to the article the police found rare, ancient, Yemeni manuscripts.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ “آثار اليمن ضحية تواطؤ الحوثيين واتساع الفقر” *Aden al-Ġad*, January 5, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/659080>.

⁵⁵ “الشرطة بمنفذ شحن تضبط شخصا حاول تهريب مخطوطات أثرية” *Aden al-Ġad*, May 7, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/680260>.

⁵⁶ شرطة الدوريات وأمن الطرق بوادي حضرموت تضبط متهم حاول تهريب مخطوطات أثرية وتضبط آخرين بحوزتهم “مادة الحشيش المخدر” *Aden al-Ġad*, June 8, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/686297>.

⁵⁷ “الحوثيون يوسعون حفريات شبكة أنفاق تحت صنعاء بإشراف خبراء إيرانيين ومن حزب الله” *Habar News Agency*, June 24, 2023, <https://www.khabaragency.net/news192647.html>.

MANUSCRIPTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 22, 2023, *Al-mašdar Online* – The Government returns 77 Yemeni artifacts and lends them to an American museum for two years.

In February an announcement was made that the United States would return 77 artifacts to Yemen. The artifacts were intercepted at the Philadelphia International Airport in 2022. Among the 77 artifacts were 11 folios from ancient Qur'ans. Some of the folios dated back to the 8th century. They were found in 1972 in the Great Mosque of Sanaa. The artifacts will not return to Yemen immediately. Due to the current situation in Yemen, they will remain in the United States for at least the next two years. They will be displayed in the Smithsonian's National Museum of Asian Art in Washington.⁵⁹

May 12, 2023, *Sabā Net* – A Yemeni delegation at the International Bookfair in Teheran.

In May a delegation of the Houthis was present at the International Bookfair in Teheran. The Houthi lieutenant Ḥusayn al-Ḥūtī was one of the Yemeni representatives at the bookfair. The Houthi-affiliate newspaper *Sabā Net* writes that the Ambassador of Yemen in Tehran opened the Yemeni wing on the fair. At the bookfair the history and culture of Yemen was showcased. Among the books that were presented were ancient manuscripts, as well as *Taysīr fī al-tafsīr*, by the Houthi scholar Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥūtī (1926–2010). Other manuscripts presented were not mentioned by title.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ "وزارة الداخلية: إيقاف تهريب مخطوطات أثرية وأجهزة تشويش الطائرات المسيرة والاتصالات" *Aden al-Gad*, October 29, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/708608>.

⁵⁹ "الحكومة تستعيد 77 قطعة أثرية ومخطوطة من الولايات المتحدة وتعيدها أحد المتاحف لعامين" *Al-mašdar Online*, February 22, 2023 <https://almasdaronline.com/articles/269371>; the return of the artifacts was also mentioned by several non-Yemeni newspapers, among others: Oscar Holland, "US repatriates 77 looted artifacts to Yemen—but the Smithsonian will house them for now," CNN, February 22, 2023, <https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/us-repatriation-looted-artifacts-yem-en/index.html#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20has%20repatriated,11%20folios%20from%20early%20Qurans;Smithsonian%20to%20display%2077%20looted%20artefacts%20from%20Yemen%20in%20shared%20stewardship%20agreement,> *The Art Newspaper*, February 22, 2023, <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2023/02/22/smithsonian-national-museum-asian-art-yemen-repatriation-loot>; "USA returns to the custody of the Yemeni authorities 77 looted artifacts," *Emirates* 24/7, February 22, 2023, <https://www.emirates247.com/entertainment/events/usa-returns-to-the-custody-of-the-yemeni-authorities-77-looted-artifacts-2023-02-22-1.702163>.

⁶⁰ "سفير اليمن في طهران يفتتح الجناح اليمني المشارك في المعرض الدولي للكتاب" *Sabā Net*, May 12, 2023, <https://www.saba.ye/ar/news3239762.htm>; The Government affiliated newspaper *Al-Mašhad al-Yamani* also reported about this event: "المعرض الدولي للكتاب" بالعاصمة الإيرانية "صور وملازم حسين الحوثي في المعرض الدولي للكتاب" *Al-Mašhad al-Yamani*, May 13, 2023, <https://www.almashhadnews.com/254982>.

August 22, 'Aden al-Ġad – Omani scholar visits Hadramawt for a series of lectures.

In August, the Omani scholar Sālim al-Kaṭīrī, Director of the Zuffār Library for Manuscripts, visited Hadramawt for a series of historical and cultural lectures.⁶¹

MANUSCRIPT LAW AND OTHER RESTORATION AND PRESERVATION PROJECTS

January 8, 'Aden al-Ġad – Al-Sa'īd Cultural Library in Ta'izz reopened.

In January, the al-Sa'īd Cultural Library in Ta'izz reopened after a restoration. The library has some rare manuscripts in its collection.⁶²

February 9, 2023, 'Aden al-Ġad – Ṭayba Foundation is praised for their role in preserving Yemeni manuscripts.

In February, the Ṭayba Foundation opened a third workshop for the conservation and repair of manuscripts in the city of 'Attaq. The foundation works on preserving historical manuscripts and Qur'anic parchments. The Vice President of the University of Ṣabwa and the Director of the Bureau of Culture praised the Foundation for their role in preserving manuscripts.⁶³

March 2, 2023, Sabā Net – The Authority of Antiquities of the Ḍamār Governorate receives 195 artifacts, including 4 Qur'anic manuscripts.

In March, the branch of the Authority of Antiquities of the Ḍamār Governorate, in South-Western Yemen, received 195 historical artifacts in the city of al-Ḥadā'. Among the artifacts were four Qur'anic manuscripts. The call for historic artifacts was part of an initiative by the local authorities to preserve Yemeni material heritage, and to create awareness of the importance of these artifacts for the history of Yemen.⁶⁴

March 14, 2023, Al-tawra – The final draft of the Manuscript Law was passed.

The Government in Sanaa passed the Manuscript Law. With this law the Parliament wants to increase its efforts to collect and preserve Yemeni manuscripts and heritage. This year the Parliament voted for the final draft. As part of the law, there will be harsher punishments for persons involved in the smuggling of antiquities and manu-

⁶¹ "الباحث العماني سالم الكثيري يزور حضرموت ويلقي محاضرات ثقافية وتاريخية" 'Aden al-Ġad, August 22, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/697304>.

⁶² "مكتبة السعيد الثقافية بتعز تعيد فتح أبوابها بعد إعادة ترميمها" 'Aden al-Ġad, January 8, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/659534>; also see: Anne Regourd, "L'inventaire du fonds manuscrit de la fondation Hā'il Sa'īd (Ta'izz)," *CmY* 7, 2009.

⁶³ "نائب رئيس جامعة شبوة ومدير مكتب الثقافة يشيدان بدور مؤسسة طيبة في صيانة وترميم المخطوطات" 'Aden al-Ġad, February 9, 2023, <https://www.adengad.net/news/665250>.

⁶⁴ "فرع هيئة الآثار بدمار يتسلم 195 قطعة أثرية من مواطنين في الحداء" Sabā Net, March 2, 2023, <https://www.saba.ye/ar/news3226917.htm>.

scripts. The law makes a distinction between a smuggler and a person who owns a manuscript and takes it abroad to restore the manuscript.⁶⁵

March 18, 2023, *Sabā Net* – First exhibition of Qur’anic manuscripts held in the Great Mosque of Sanaa.

The first exhibition of Qur’anic manuscripts was held in the Great Mosque of Sanaa. The exhibition was organized by the Kefl Foundation⁶⁶, in cooperation with the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt (EN: House of manuscripts) and the Great Mosque library. It was funded by Al-hay’a al-‘amma li-al-awqāf (EN: The General Authority of Endowments) and Al-ḡam‘iyya al-ḥayriyya li-ta‘līm al-Qur’ān al-Karīm (EN: the Charitable Organization for Teaching the Holy Qur’an). The exhibition was opened by a member of the Houthi Supreme Political Council (SPC). This event was another initiative to stress the importance of Yemeni history. At the exhibition various manuscripts from the 1st/7th until the 14th/20th century⁶⁷) were displayed. There were 39 paper manuscripts and 26 parchment manuscripts on display.⁶⁸

May 17, 2023, *26 September News* – National Museum of Yemen in Sanaa reopens

The Minister of Culture, ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Kibṣī, announced that the National Museum in Sanaa will reopen its doors to visitors, starting on May 20, on the occasion of International Museum Day. During a press conference on International Museum Day the minister drew attention to the bombing and damaging of museums in Yemen in recent years, like the bombing of the Dāmār Regional Museum. He stressed the role the Government in Sanaa played in protecting and preserving museums, as well as their role in documenting museum collections. He also pointed out that 4 museums in Yemen are still open and welcoming visitors, despite the ongoing conflict. There will be 3 exhibitions in the National Museum. The first one will display approximately 800 artifacts that were seized and recovered between 2006 and 2023. The second exhibition will display artifacts from the Ḡawf Governate. The third exhibition will show pictures of looted artifacts displayed in international museums and auctions.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ “مجلس النواب يصوت على مشروع قانون المخطوطات بصورته النهائية” *Al-tawra*, March 14, 2023, <https://althawrah.ye/archives/796717>.

⁶⁶ On the Kefl Foundation: <https://www.facebook.com/kefl.yemen/>.

⁶⁷ The fourth century AH ends in 1979 CE.

⁶⁸ “محمد علي الحوثي يفتتح المعرض الأول للمخطوطات القرآنية بصنعاء” *Sabā Net*, March 18, 2023, <https://www.saba.ye/ar/news3229481.htm>; also see: “Quran Manuscripts Exhibition Opens in Yemen,” International Quran News Agency, March 19, 2023, <https://iqna.ir/en/news/3482860/quran-manuscripts-exhibition-opens-in-yemen>; “Quran Manuscripts Exhibition underway in Yemen,” The International Media Center, March 20, 2023, <http://imhussain.com/english/worldpress/7050>.

⁶⁹ “إعادة فتح المتحف الوطني بصنعاء من يوم السبت” *26 September News*, May 17, 2023, <https://www.26sep.net/index.php/local/57224-2023-05-17-13-34-20>; also see: Mohammed Hamoud, “In

pictures: Sana'a National Museum reopens after a decade," *Middle East Eye*, June 6, 2023, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/discover/pictures-sanaa-national-museum-reopens-after-decade>.

Articles

CHRONIQUES DE ŠABWA (1975-2002)

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Résumé

La mission archéologique française a travaillé à Šabwa, capitale antique du Hadramaout, de 1975 à 2002, avec de nombreuses interruptions dues aux conditions sécuritaires dans la région. Le passage de la République Démocratique et Populaire à la République du Yémen, après l'unification en mai 1990, a entraîné des évolutions notoires tant dans les structures socio-économiques que dans l'organisation des travaux de la mission à Šabwa. La capitale du Gouvernorat de Šabwa, 'Ataq, a, elle aussi, connu une évolution rapide, d'une simple bourgade en 1975 à une petite ville dans les années 2000. La chronique tente de rendre compte, par le menu du quotidien, de ces changements à Šabwa et dans sa région, en s'appuyant sur les archives de la mission archéologique.

Abstract

Chronicles of Šabwa

The French archaeological mission worked in Šabwa, the ancient capital of Haḍramawt, from 1975 to 2002, with many interruptions due to security conditions in the area. The transition from the People's Democratic Republic to the Republic of Yemen after its unification in May 1990 led to notable changes in both socio-economic structures and the organization of the work of the mission in Šabwa. The capital of Šabwa Governorate, 'Ataq, also experienced rapid change, from a simple village in 1975 to a small town in the 2000s. Drawing on the archives of the French archaeological mission, this chronicle attempts to recount these changes in Šabwa and its region through everyday events.

الخلاصة

حوليات شبوة الأثرية

عملت البعثة الأثرية الفرنسية في شبوة، العاصمة القديمة لحضرموت، منذ عام 1975 إلى عام 2002، مع انقطاعات عديدة بسبب الأوضاع الأمنية في المنطقة. أدى التحول من الجمهورية الديمقراطية الشعبية إلى الجمهورية اليمنية، بعد التوحيد في مايو 1990، إلى تطورات ملحوظة في كل من الهياكل الاجتماعية والاقتصادية وفي تنظيم عمل البعثة في شبوة. كما شهدت عاصمة محافظة شبوة عتق تطوراً سريعاً من بلدة بسيطة في عام 1975 إلى بلدة صغيرة في العقد الأول من القرن الحادي والعشرين، ويحاول هذه الحوليات سرد هذه التغيرات من خلال الحياة اليومية في شبوة ومنطقتها، استناداً إلى أرشيف البعثة الأثرية.

Mots-clefs

République Démocratique et Populaire du Yémen (RDPY) — Yémen — Šabwa — tribus d'Arabie du Sud — architecture

Keywords

People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY) — Yemen — Šabwa — South Arabian tribes — Architecture

الكلمات الرئيسية

جمهورية اليمن الديمقراطية الشعبية — اليمن — شبوة — قبائل الجنوب العربي — الهندسة المعمارية

I. Chronique

Décembre 1975

Nous quittons 'Ataq, la capitale du 4^e Gouvernorat qui deviendra plus tard le Gouvernorat de Šabwa. S'estompe derrière nous cette bourgade récente¹, son souk dominé par une forteresse (*huṣn*), abandonnée par son Amīr ou Sulṭān depuis la nationalisation de ses terres, et son sordide Dār al-Ḍiyāfa gouvernemental.

Premier arrêt forcé au check-point de Ḥayd al-Qayma. Un militaire endormi abaisse nonchalamment la corde, étonné de ces *farangīs* sur le plateau arrière d'une Land Rover hors d'âge. Peut-être nous considère-t-il comme une équipe d'ingénieurs chinois construisant la route vers Ḥabbān ou comme ces Allemands de l'Est chargés de la sécurité ?

Cent-cinquante kilomètres d'errance vers le nord entre dunes et *wādīs* asséchés, sous un ciel bas, si gris qu'il masque à l'Est les escarpements des hauts-plateaux. Laisant sur la droite au large de 'Ayāḍ, les mines de sel de Ḥayd al-Milḥ, nous roulons droit vers le piton noir d'al-'Uqla, où nous récupérerons des militaires.

Le sable fait place aux limons des anciens réseaux d'irrigation. Au loin déjà les collines de Šabwa ceintes d'une muraille barrent l'horizon, les contrastes se précisent, la glaise tapisse les fonds des ruisseaux. Passée la tour de garde, le sol blanchit et le vertige vous saisit au bord des mines de sel². Là tout en bas, un ouvrier cogne au pic la paroi étincelante de coups réguliers, le sel tombe en pluie. Les galeries s'enfoncent sous la terre [Ill. 1].

¹ 'Ataq ne figure pas notamment sur la carte de H. von Wissmann, *Southern Arabia. Part of Aden Protectorate from Shuqrā to al-Shihr and Baihān to Hadramaut*, 1957.

² Les mines de sel, se situent dans la dépression d'al-Sabḥa, à une altitude moyenne de 703 m. Ces mines de sel sont attestées au moins dès le x^e s. dans al-Hamdānī (D. H. Müller, *Al-Hamdānī's Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, 1968, p. 87, 23, 25, 89). Voir aussi A. Grohmann, « Mineralvorkommen und Bergbau in Südarabien », 1917, p. 333.



Ill. 1. L'une des mines de sel à Šabwa. Cliché Thomas James Abercrombie, 1985, p. 494.

Il est grand temps de se diriger vers les éperons de grès. D'en haut, du sommet de Qārat al-Ḥadīda, culminant à 748 m³, se détachent trois villages à l'horizon⁴. Le

³ Cette crête de collines dominant la plaine d'une cinquantaine de mètres a-t-elle inspiré Pline l'Ancien quand il écrit : « À peu près au centre du pays sont les Atramites, tribu des Sabéens dont la capitale, Sabota (Šabwa) est bâtie sur une haute montagne... » ? (Pline, *Histoire Naturelle*, 2002, p. 52). Pour la topographie du site voir J.-F. Breton, « Le site et la ville de Shabwa », 1992.

premier en arrivant de ‘Ataq, al-Maywān, à l’ouest, et sa dizaine de maisons regroupées autour de la mosquée Ibn Yūsuf. À l’est, al-Ḥaḡar, le domaine de la tribu des Āl Barīk, occupe l’éperon des maisons en ruine surplombant l’enceinte antique. Au centre, dénommé Maṭḥana, le sous-clan des Āl Brahīm, fraction des Āl Rabī‘, se partage le hameau. Mais la plupart des habitants sont d’anciens esclaves des Āl Barīk affranchis.

Chaque village exprime sa foi dans ses mosquées respectives : celle de Maywān bâtie en 1279/1862, berceau de la tribu Rabī‘ī, avec ses salles d’ablutions et le mausolée de Sālim b. Ibrāhīm⁵ [Ill. 2] ; la mosquée de Bā-Šamla à Maṭḥana, édifiée avec des blocs de remploi, présente sur son mur sud-ouest la dédicace de construction suivante : « Lundi du mois fitrat (= šawwāl) 16 après 300 après 1000 », soit 1316/1899⁶. Au sommet de la colline de Ḥaḡar, la grande mosquée est associée à la tombe de Muḥammad b. Barīk (Āl Barīk). Les Āl Barīk, se disant Šarīf, descendants du Prophète, méprisent les habitants de Maywān, et encore plus les ‘Abīd, descendants d’esclaves.



Ill. 2. Le village de Ma‘wān et sa mosquée Ibn Yūsuf. Cliché Jean-François Breton, 1978.

⁴ La description la plus complète de ces lieux, suite à une visite effectuée en 1936, revient à H. St. J. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters, being a Record of Travel in Southern Arabia*, 1939, p. 85-106. En 1940 R. A. B. Hamilton faisant une courte halte à Šabwa écrit :

« Two small villages, little more than clusters of mud huts, form the modern village of Šabwa. This is the *menzil* of the Bareiki (al-Barīk) family, who tend the shrines of their two saintly ancestors and are thus known as Sheikhs. The two saints are comparatively modern and are named Muhammad and Yusuf. The Bareiki are poor in everything but alliances, having a large number of protective treaties with their neighbours as far afield as Ma‘īn itself. » (R. A. B. Hamilton, *The master of Belhaven. The Kingdom of Melchior Adventures in South West Arabia*, 1949, p. 131)

Quelques années plus tard, Harold Ingrams, de passage à Šabwa, décrit ainsi le site : « I found the ruins of Šabwa depressing in their uncared-for desolation » (H. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles*, 1966, p. 344).

⁵ La dédicace de construction sur un panneau de bois est celle-ci « A été daté le jour jeudi et le 2 du ‘Achour l’année 9 et 70 l’année après 200 et mille », soit 1279 AH ou mars 1863. Texte inédit relevé par la mission archéologique française.

⁶ Texte relevé par H. St. J. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters, being a Record of Travel in Southern Arabia*, 1939, p. 93.

Et partout des petites maisons cubiques de brique claire d'où surgissent femmes, enfants et chèvres [Ill. 3]. Ça piaille, ça court derrière une poule, ça se cache à peine derrière des voiles colorés, ça s'étonne en silence. L'accueil est réservé, faute d'être cordial⁷. En 1950, Šabwa avait encore la réputation d'abriter des bandits de grand chemin⁸.



Ill. 3. Enfants à Šabwa. Cliché Jean-François Breton, 1978.

Jacqueline Pirenne, alors directrice de la mission, fière d'avoir obtenu pour la France la concession de la fouille, nous guide non sans enthousiasme⁹. Arpenter l'antique capitale du Hadramaout, c'est faire d'abord le tour de sa muraille, s'arrêter devant l'unique tour visible, Dār al-Kāfir, coiffée d'un fortin en brique crue où pendent, à l'intérieur, de vieux fusils poussiéreux, longer les courtines jusqu'à la grande porte septentrionale et repérer quelques assises parementées. Du parcellaire urbain, émerge une centaine de soubassements d'édifices de pierre, dominés par l'unique bâtiment, fouillé par Robert Alexander Benjamin Hamilton et ses soldats en 1938¹⁰ [Ill. 4].

⁷ Cet accueil diffère de celui que les habitants de Šabwa réservèrent à Hans Hellfritz qui fut chassé par eux lors de sa visite en 1936 (H. Hellfritz, *Au royaume de Saba. Le pays sans ombre*, 1936, p. 288-301).

⁸ W. Phillips écrit : « We drive across the plain north of forbidden Shabwa. The Karab tribe, some sections of which control most of Shabwa, consists of nomads who wander over an area of several hundred square miles. They had been known to attack trespassers, far from the town itself » (W. Phillips, *Qataban and Sheba. Exploring Ancient Kingdoms on the Biblical Spice Routes of Arabia*, 1955, p. 49).

⁹ J. Pirenne amassait déjà autour de Šabwa des matériaux qu'elle allait en partie publier en 1977 sous le titre « La maîtrise de l'eau en Arabie du Sud antique. Six types de monuments techniques ».

¹⁰ R. A. B. Hamilton, « Six weeks in Shabwa », 1942, p. 107-123 ; R. A. B. Hamilton, *The Master of Belhaven*, 1949, p. 159-164. Celui-ci concluait après la fouille : « (...) these buildings, with their massive stone fronts, had neither doors nor windows. They were not built for living men. No children were born behind these blind white walls, or played in the dust outside them. They were the dwellings of the dead and Šabwa was a holy place and a city of tombs. » (R. A. B. Hamilton, *ibid.*, 1949, p. 161).



Ill. 4. Bâtiment fouillé par Robert Alexander Benjamin Hamilton.
Cliché Mission archéologique française de Šabwa, 1977.

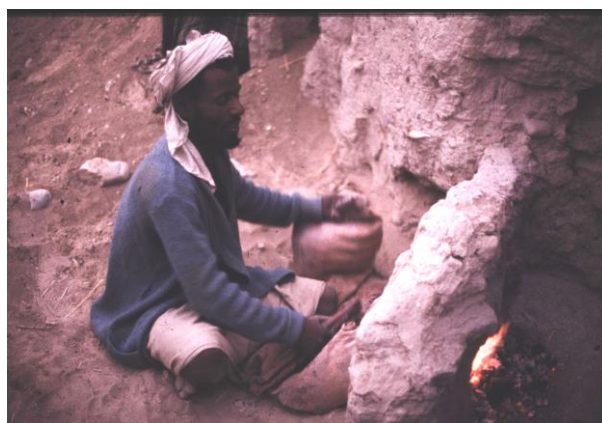
Enfin, au sommet de la rue principale, quatre bases de piliers font l'objet de toutes les interprétations. Les uns y ont vu un temple dédié à Ishtar, à Astarté ou encore à Siyān, le dieu principal du Hadramaout, accolé à l'épithète *dū-Alīm*, et les autres, après fouille, plutôt un édifice civil orné d'une statue de bronze colossale et de statues équestres¹¹.

Mahdī b. Našir, le gardien, nous accompagne, son béret vert vissé sur la tête, un guide prévenant, mais un peu filou. 'Ayda, un peu plus riche que ses voisins, fait grincer son moulin à sésame deux fois par semaine. Mabrūk enfin, épicier à ses heures, trône derrière quelques pneus, des bonbons, des boîtes de *fūl mudammas*, des sacs de sorgho, des socs d'araires, des *zanābil* (couffins) et des cigarettes Radfān, mais il est surtout caravanier.

Muḥsin, le forgeron, accroupi au milieu de la rue de Muṭannāt [Ill. 5], souffle sur les fers des marteaux que deux voisins viennent chercher pour se rendre dans les mines de sel. À trente mètres sous terre, les coups réguliers de leurs fers fichés à l'extrémité d'une badine creusent des sillons blancs. Il leur faudra ensuite les séparer du bitume à coups de marteau, remplir les sacs, les hisser par de très étroites marches, les charger sur des chameaux¹². Si la mine est propriété collective, les mineurs, la plupart d'anciens esclaves affranchis, empochent un salaire pour le creusement, la mise en sac et le transport. La caravane de cinq chameaux est prête, Mabrūk quitte Šabwa pour le Hadramaout, il faut cinq jours pour atteindre Say'ūn. Au souk de cette ville, le seul sel disponible provient de Šabwa.

¹¹ Ce bâtiment, fouillé de 1975 à 1978, est désormais publié sous le titre « Le grand temple » (J.-F. Breton & Ch. Darles, « Le grand temple », 1998).

¹² Voir J.-F. Breton, « Salt routes in South Arabia and Around the Red Sea », 2021, p. 158-161.



Ill. 5. Forgeron. Cliché Jean-François Breton, 1976.

La vie dans ces villages n'est rythmée que par les crues épisodiques du Wādī 'Irma aux mois de mars et d'août, et par les tornades de l'été. Les paysans éphémères courent derrière leurs araires de bois pour semer quelques graines de sorgho. Leur quotidien semble assez misérable et leur économie, de troc.

Rareté monétaire que la fouille des Français vient temporairement compenser. En 1975, la paye journalière est fixée à 1 Dinar (égal à 1 Livre Sterling soit 8,5 nouveaux Francs ou 1,30 euro), mais les bédouins utilisent le mot « *guinā* » pour le dinar. En 1980, Aden décrète un salaire journalier de 5 dinars (soit 6,45 euros). Les ordres d'Aden s'appliquent à la lettre à Šabwa et le budget de la mission française en prend un coup. À titre compensatoire, 'Abd Allāh Muḥayriz, Directeur du Centre yéménite de Recherches culturelles, de l'Archéologie et des Musées (al-Markaz al-yamanī li-al-buḥūṭ al-ṭaqāfiyya wa-al-aṭār wa-al-mataḥif) fait subventionner deux semaines de fouilles supplémentaires.

Comment expliquer cet état des lieux ?

Il faut remonter aux années 1970. Après l'indépendance du Yémen (1967) et la création de la République populaire du Yémen (30 novembre 1967) puis son évolution en une République démocratique populaire du Yémen (1^{er} décembre 1970) (RDPY)¹³, un certain nombre de propriétaires terriens ou de chefs de tribus de la région de Šabwa émigrent vers l'Arabie saoudite. Cette dernière finance alors quelques raids contre la nouvelle République « marxiste ». Šabwa se trouve alors sur la ligne frontière avec al-'Abr (à 80 km au Nord) protégeant les accès à la vallée du Hadramaout. Il est vrai que la « ligne Ḥamza », tracée par H. St. Philby vers 1936, assez vague, délimitait plus ou moins une vaste zone triangulaire formée par les villes de Āl Buqa', Mā'rib et Āl Wadī'a. Les raids aux frontières, l'œuvre de l'« Army of National Deliverance, Hadramaout and Mahra, South Arabia » organisés par l'Arabie saoudite, sont toutefois sans grand lendemain. Pour surveiller ces frontières de dunes, les pilotes russes des

¹³ Pour ces changements politiques, voir H. Lackner, *People's Democratic Republic of Yemen: outpost of socialist development in Arabia*, 1985.

MIG 17 décollent parfois de ‘Ataq. Le 30 novembre 1970, l'appellation de « République démocratique et Populaire du Yémen » devient officielle.

Pour surveiller les frontières, des militaires patrouillent de nuit comme de jour. Mais ils tentent aussi d'intercepter les fugitifs, victimes ou déçus du socialisme, qui tentent de rejoindre la République du Yémen. Notre cuisinier, originaire de Ibb, s'est ainsi fait attraper de nuit et ramener dans son restaurant à ‘Ataq. Une alternative : rejoindre Bayhān puis la ville frontière de Ḥarīb et, de là, filer au nord-ouest, vers Mā’rib.

Mais surtout le gouvernement d'Aden tend à fixer ces populations semi-nomades d'agriculteurs-pasteurs. Tâche délicate tant ces populations et leur bétail suivent les points d'eau au gré des rares orages.

À Šabwa, les autorités fondent une petite école, nomment un instituteur en résidence et promettent une extension des classes ... qui ne viendra jamais. Trente gamins assis par terre font face à un tableau noir cimenté sur les briques. Les livres ne sont pas nombreux. L'hymne national au petit matin puis les récitations résonnent sur la place d'al-Mīdān. Les enfants plus âgés, à partir de 12 ans, que l'on ramasse par camions, sont logés dans des pensionnats à ‘Ataq ou à ‘Irma [Ill. 6]. Évidemment, il n'y a ni eau, ni électricité, ni moyens de communication, la « ville » la plus proche, ‘Ataq, est à 3 heures de route, et le téléphone le plus proche, à 4 heures au sud de Šabwa, à Nišāb.

Traditionnellement les villageois récupèrent de l'eau saumâtre dans les deux puits, Dīban et Ḥiswā¹⁴ dans le lit du Wādī Mišar, au pied de Ḥuṣn al-Mā’ ; cette eau sert aussi à abreuver le petit bétail¹⁵. À partir de 1980 un camion-citerne militaire assure assez régulièrement le remplissage d'eau des chambres à air. Un infirmier fait des tournées de temps à autre à l'école et dans les environs et un autre distribue des pilules contraceptives. Enfin, le Ma'mūr (Sous-Préfet) de la petite ville de ‘Irma assure l'application des règlements administratifs et des dispositifs sécuritaires ; ses visites à Šabwa sont l'occasion de longues rencontres avec les habitants de la ville, qu'il appelle « *badūs* ».

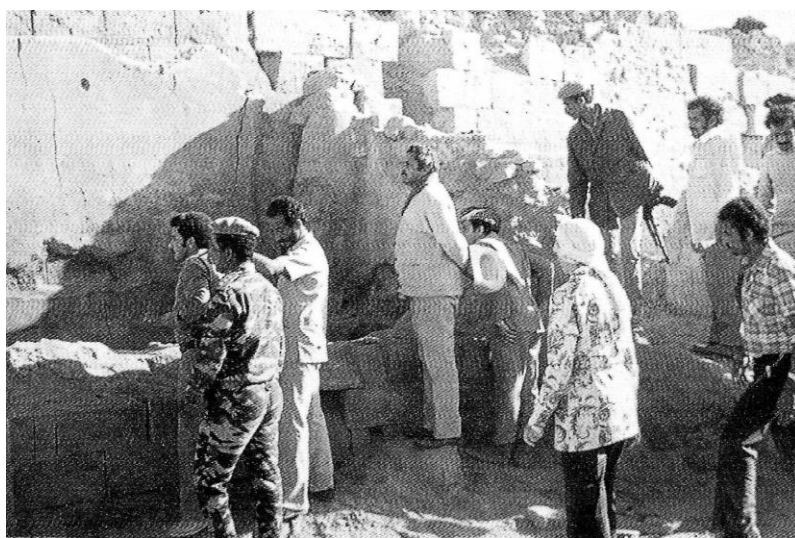
¹⁴ Pour une description de ces puits, voir H. St. J. Philby, *Sheba's Daughters, being a Record of Travel in Southern Arabia*, 1939, p. 103-104.

¹⁵ Ce puits était définitivement ensablé en 1980 et un nouveau puits fut creusé sur une éminence voisine.



Ill. 6. Ramassage scolaire dans les environs de ‘Ataq. Cliché Jean-François Breton, 1976.

L’archéologie et Šabwa en particulier participaient à cette politique générale d’emprise sur la région. Un premier colloque scientifique international sur la civilisation yéménite fut organisé à Aden du 22 au 27 février 1975. Jacqueline Pirenne y présenta les résultats de la première campagne de fouilles à Šabwa (janvier-février 1975). En février 1976, Sālīm Rubay‘a ‘Alī, Chairman of the Presidential Council, celui-là même qui avait promulgué en mars 1970 la loi n° 13 sur les Antiquités et les Musées, déterminant notamment les conditions des fouilles et des prospections (Partie V), se rend en personne à Šabwa [Ill. 7]¹⁶.



Ill. 7. Le président Sālīm Rabī‘ ‘Alī, Chairman of the Presidential Council, en visite à Šabwa en février 1976. Cliché Mission archéologique française de Šabwa.

¹⁶ En 1978, il sera assassiné sur les ordres de ‘Alī Nāšir Muḥammad à Aden. Ce dernier sera à son tour renversé lors des violents combats de janvier 1986 à Aden. Voir brièvement J.-F. Breton, « Aden, la ville qui est un volcan », 1987, p. 227.

La plus ancienne lettre officielle classée dans les archives de la mission française (ci-jointe [Ill. 8, a, b], datée du 8 mars 1975, adressée par Muḥammad Saʿīd Salūmī, Directeur des Antiquités d'Aden, à Jacqueline Pirenne, lui prodigue félicitations et encouragements. Il ajoute la nomination de ʿAyda b. Šāliḥ, responsable des fouilles (pour 50 Livres Sterling par an) et d'un gardien, Maḥdī b. Nāšir, recommande la création d'un musée et autorise l'exportation temporaire de monnaies en France pour étude.

8⁵ th March , 1978

M . E . The Governor ,

Attaq
Fourth Governorate ;

After Compliments ,

Re : Dr.J.Pireennes recommendations
regarding the archaeological
site of SHABWA

When Dr.J.Pireenne visited shabwa she has revealed her great intrest in the area and has recommended the necessity of its protection and the care that should be given to the area by the local authorities and the efforts that should be paid to maintain the areas historical nature .

Dr.Pireenne suggested that the following steps should be taken which will assist in the achievement of the above purposes;

- (1) To maintain the nature of the buildings in the area and to forbid the use of any other building materials like cement, zine and stones which may deform the beautiful natural scenery of the city. sun - dried bricks should only be used.
- (2) To appoint a person to watch the archaeological sites and excavations and keep away the mediers who excavate for their private benefit or for the purpose of trading with the archaeological objects . We , as a Department and Dr.J.Pireenne who is responsible for excavation have agreed to appoint a citizen from shabwa named Aidah Bin Saleh as a watch man for the sites and the exavations carried out by the mission and have instructed him to prevent every one who intends to excavate during the absence of the department or the french mission . Dr.J.Pireenne agreed to pay him £50/- annually until their task is finished in our country .
- (3) As there is no doubt a museum at present in shabwa which contains a number of the archaeological objects that were excavated and becuse the museum should be given care and be kept clean continously and open for the visitors , there should be

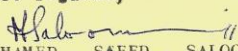
III. 8, a.

-2-

a person who will perform all these duties and , therefore , we have agreed with Dr.Pirenne to appoint Mr.Mehdi Bin Nasser to assume these duties , he is fit and capable to carry out these duties temporarily and will be paid £40/- annually by the french mission until the new museum is built with the assistance of the french mission then a permanent curator shall be appointed and shall be paid by the ministry of culture and tourism.

- (4) The appointment of Mr.Salem obaid as an in charge for the excavations and who will also enlighten the population with the importance of the antiquities and archaeological sites and stop them from using the archaeological objects for their own houses or for their personal use (Trade) He will also help the above two persons .
- (5) Dr.Pirenne kindly request you to send to us the coins found in H.ALBARIRAH (If Possible) which we intend to send to her for the necessary studies and analysis at the national centre of coins studies in France , These coins of course will be sent back to us when the analysis is finished together with the studies which shall be published in the volume on SHABWA - 1975.
- (6) Finally and on behalf of all the members of the french mission working in shabwa Dr.Pirenne and the department of antiquities wish to thank you sincerely for your personal cooperation and the help extended by the sub - governor and the representative of the ruling party in the fourth government and every person who extended help in achieving the success of this huge and fruitful project .

with my best regards,


MOHAMED . SAEED . SALOOMI

Director of Antiquities and
museums.

C C : Dr.J.Pirenne .

Sub - Governor of Irmah .

Permanent sec of ministry of culture and tourism

Director of the ministers office .

Ill. 8, b.

Ill. 8, a et b. Lettre de Muhammad Sa'ïd Salūmī à M^{elle} Jacqueline Pirenne, 8 mars 1975.

Il y eu des débats sur la localisation du futur musée de Šabwa : musée sur site ou dans la capitale du Gouvernorat de 'Ataq ? C'est la seconde solution qui sera retenue. On retrouvera dans les archives de 'Ataq les plans des architectes français annotés en russe.

En 1980, ‘Alī Nāšir Muḥammad, Président de la République, s’y rend, passe en revue les écoliers [Ill. 9], inaugure le musée ainsi que le phare de béton surmonté d’un griffon ailé – copie fantasmagique d’un chapiteau du palais royal de Šabwa¹⁷ [Ill. 10]. Sa lampe-tempête électrique illumine le sable. Les postes d’Aden émettent alors une série de timbres collector sur Šabwa [Ill. 11].



Ill. 9. Défilé des écoliers en 1980 à ‘Ataq. Cliché Jean-François Breton.



Ill. 10. Pylône de béton à l’entrée de ‘Ataq. Cliché Mission archéologique française de Šabwa, 1984.

¹⁷ Chapiteau publié par J. Dentzer-Feydy, « Le décor sculpté en pierre », 2023, p. 151, ill. 24-26.



Ill. 11. Émission de 4 timbres dédiés aux monuments de Šabwa, 18 Novembre 1987.

1990

Retour à 'Ataq quelques mois après l'unification (22 mai 1990), quand la République Démocratique et Populaire et la République Arabe du Yémen forment la République du Yémen. La ville a changé, l'asphalte déroule ses quelques kilomètres d'avenues bordées de boutiques, de villas aux *qamarīyyas* (vitreaux colorés à la mode de Sanaa), de bureaux et d'hôtels. Une odeur flotte, celle du pétrole. Prospectée par les Russes, dès 1980, la région renferme surtout des gisements de gaz. D'énormes machines creusent le sillon du futur gazoduc qui aboutit à Bālḥāf, et le logo de TOTAL apparaît bientôt. Oubliées les errances dans les dunes pour rejoindre Šabwa, une piste balisée y mène désormais et les derricks dessinent des ombres métalliques sur les ruines.

Disparus, les Cubains qui organisaient les milices populaires. Replié à contre-cœur, le drapeau à l'étoile rouge sur fond bleu. Lentement remplacés, les billets de la South Arabian Currency Authority de 1, de 5 dinar [Ill. 12] et de 500 fils au profit des 100, 50, 20 ryals. Les billets au boutre sur fond du Ġabal Šamsān d'Aden, imprimés par Thomas de la Rue, font place aux vues de la forteresse d'al-Qāhira de Taz ou du barrage de Mā'rib. En 1996 apparaissent les billets de 200 ryals décorés d'un bas-relief en albâtre du musée de Sanaa, puis, en 2009, les billets de 250 ryals avec la mosquée de Ġami' al-Šāliḥ de Sanaa. En 1998, ce sont les billets de 1.000 riyals qui signent les dévaluations successives. Modifiée, la caserne de l'ancienne armée « socialiste » de 'Ataq au profit de supérieurs venus du Nord. Lors des longues après-midi autour de bottes de *qāt* désormais abondantes, on discute d'arrangements militaires, de conflits liés à la « privatisation » des terres confisquées par l'ancien régime et de prébendes. Un nouvel aéroport ouvre une ligne directe avec Sanaa par la compagnie Yemenia. Il est loin le temps où un vieux DC3 d'Alyemda Airlines ne reliait Aden qu'à Bayḥān al-Qaṣab (Beihan Airport), le seul aéroport civil de tout le Gouvernorat de Šabwa. En bout de la piste en terre, gît encore l'épave d'un avion définitivement endommagé le 17 septembre 1975. Fermée enfin, la boutique discrète, à l'écart du souk, qui vendait de nuit des bières Sira brassées à Little Aden. Le cinéma en plein air qui proposait des films

égyptiens, russes, mais aussi des western-spaghetti ou des Louis de Funès, a fermé ses portes, celui de Bayhān aussi.

Pour certains le changement est amer, ils ne goûtent guère cette intrusion des Nordistes, dont la conception de l'État est différente mais dont les investissements paraissent toutefois profitables. À la limite de la ville, des parpaings cernent les nouvelles acquisitions de parcelles de terrains soit par des « Nordistes » soit par les Yéménites expulsés d'Arabie saoudite suite à la première guerre du Golfe (1990).



Ill. 12. Billet d'un dinar de la RDPY, soit la paye journalière à Šabwa en 1975. Cliché Jean-François Breton.

2002

Nous reprenons, en septembre 2002, les fouilles à Šabwa dans un contexte nouveau.

Étrange, plus personne n'habite le village. Des cadenas partout et des fenêtres obstruées. Les habitants, du moins ceux qui en avaient les moyens, se sont établis dans les champs, parfois en bordure d'un canal antique. D'autres ont suivi leur bétail en quête de points d'eau. Les puits n'ont pas été entretenus, l'un, dans le lit même du Wādī 'Atf, est comblé. D'autres enfin ont émigré vers le Nord du Yémen, en Arabie saoudite ou dans le golfe Arabo-persique. On croise quelques rares pick-up et un tracteur neuf. Au loin apparaît une nouvelle mosquée blanche de chaux et, encore plus loin, vers le forage de Milḥ Ma'qāh, à 15 km au Nord, une station-service et une petite épicerie, tenue par l'un de nos anciens ouvriers. Celui-ci a délaissé la mine de sel toute proche. Des jeunes gens sont partis travailler non loin sur les champs pétroliers comme conducteurs, guides ou agents de sécurité. Satisfaits d'un salaire régulier, ils édifient des baraques d'adobe et achètent des pick-up.

Dans la vieille ville, la fouille consiste à entreprendre un sondage stratigraphique au cœur de la ville afin de préciser ses origines et son développement. Une vingtaine d'ouvriers sont requis et les négociations commencent. Fini le temps où les autorités établissaient des listes et où les salaires étaient fixés par Aden.

Le 4 septembre 2002, les négociations pour la mise en œuvre de la fouille commencent. Surgissent alors de derrière les villages de Šabwa, mais aussi des dunes, des vallées environnantes et des hameaux du Wādī 'Irma, des *šayhs*, des paysans enrichis et des opportunistes [Ill. 13 et 14]. Trois de ces délégués sont de Šabwa même : l'un de

la tribu des Āl Barīk (document n° 2, n° 1 : Mabruk ‘Umar), l’autre de la tribu des Āl Rabī‘ (avec Mahdī b. Nāšir ‘Umar, le gardien), et le troisième du clan des ‘Abd al-Qawī (tribu des Āl Rabī‘, n° 2 : Muḥammad Šāliḥ Mubārak) ; quant aux autres (n° 5 à 9) leur autorité locale nous échappe. Mais il a fallu toute la diplomatie et la patience de Muḥsin al-Zabīdī, Directeur général de la branche du Gouvernorat de Šabwa de GOAMM¹⁸, pour aboutir à un accord commun.

En fait, ces « délégués » sont présents pour veiller à l’embauche d’ouvriers de leur propre parti et contrôler la durée des travaux, mais surtout obtenir une compensation financière (7.000 riyals par personne, soit environ 250 euros). Hormis les trois premiers, de Šabwa-même, les autres disparaissent aussi vite qu’ils sont arrivés et ne reviendront plus jamais sur le chantier.

¹⁸ GOAMM= General Organization for Antiquities, Museums and Manuscripts.

II. Documents

A. Document 1⁹.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ضرب فويح البربر الجاهلي ٤٠٠٩ هـ

بنا و١ على كوجيوات الرضخما نظما فقه سبوه والمهنة على كوجيوات
 الزعيم الما شذ على مملد به صباي رئيس الجمهورية والقاصد بالتعاون
 مع البيعتات الأثرية وحماية الأثار في المنطقة وبعد وصول البيعة لبيعتة
 أي صديقه سبوه لأستعينا فاعملنا في الموقع وحضور مدير عام الأثار بالحفاظ
 تم الاتفاق بين مدير عام الأثار ورئيس البيعة الفرنسية للتفتيش على الأثار
 وبين مندوبين من الأصال في المنطقة والذين تم إختيارهم على الأثر :-

- ١- عدد إعمال عشر من عامل فقط
- ٢- إختيار العامل في اليوم ٥٥ ريال ثمنا شذ برل فقط .
- ٣- مدة العمل لا تقل عن عشرة من يومين ويحسب بصفة إعمال
- ٤- وقت العمل من السادسة والنصف صباحا وحتى إواجه ظهرنا .
- ٥- تكون للصان فترة راحة لا تقل عن ثلاثون دقيقة .
- ٦- لا تفتح الجميع على أن عمل الأثار والحفاظ عليها بحمل فطير يوم الجميع
 وعلى الكل التعاون في حمايتها وصيانتها
- ٧- على رئيس البيعة دفع مكافأة للمندوبين مقابل ما يبذلونه من جهد
 في سبيل إخراج عمل البيعة والحفاظ على الأثر

هنا ما تم الاتفاق على عليه بين الجميع وعليه التمسك .

١- ربيع صالح عمر قبيديان ٢ - صبحو لري عمر كبريه

٢- على بن سالم الجبرو

٣- محمد بن ناصر عمر كبريه

٤- صابرة الحمد عمر كبريه

٥- محمد بن ناصر عمر كبريه

٦- محمد بن صالح كبريه

٧- محمد بن ناصر عمر كبريه

٨- علي بن ناصر عمر كبريه

٩- عبد الله ناصر عمر كبريه

عونا فراسوا برتوقول

A. Regourd

Ill. 13. Accord pour l'ouverture de la fouille en date du 4 septembre 2002.

⁹ Transcription et traduction des documents arabes, Anne Regourd.

Texte arabe

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2. حررت في يوم الأربعاء الموافق ٢٠٠٢/٩/٤ م
3. بناداً على توجيهات الأخ محافظ محافظة شبوة والمبينة على توجيهات
4. الزعيم القائد علي عبد الله صالح رئيس الجمهورية والقاضية بالتعاون
5. مع البعثات الأثرية وحماية الآثار في المنطقة وبعد وصول البعثة الفرنسية
6. الى مدينة شبوة لأستئناف عملها في الموقع وبحضور مدير عام الآثار بالمحافظة
7. تم الاتفاق بين مدير عام الآثار ورئيس البعثة الفرنسية للتنقيب عن الآثار
8. وبين مندوبين من الأهالي في المنطقة والذي تم إختيارهم على الآتي :
9. ١. عدد العمال عشرون عامل فقط.
10. ٢. إيجار العامل في اليوم ٨٠٠ ريال ثمانمائة ريال فقط.
11. ٣. مدة العمل لا تقل عن عشرون يوماً وبحسب ضرور في العمل.
12. ٤. وقت العمل من السادسة والنصف صباحاً وحتى الواحدة ظهراً.
13. ٥. تكون للعمال فترة راحة لا تقل عن ثلاثون دقيقة.
14. ٦. إتفق الجميع على أن عمل الآثار والحفاظ عليها عمل وطني يهم الجميع
15. وعلى الكل التعاون في حمايتها وصيانتها.
16. ٧. على رئيس البعثة دفع مكافأة للمندوبين مقابل ما يبذلونه من جهد
17. في سبيل إنجاح عمل البعثة والحفاظ على الآثار.
18. هذا ما تم الاتفاق عليه بين الجميع وعليه التوقيع.
19. ١. ربيع صالح عمر هبيليان
٢. مبروك عمر عبد ربه
- (التوقيع)
- (التوقيع)
20. ٣. علي بن سالم الجرو
٤. صادق احمد عبد الله المشيحي
- (التوقيع)
- (التوقيع)
21. ٥. مهدي بن ناصر عمر الربيعي
٦. محمد بن صالح مكيرمان
- (التوقيع)
- (التوقيع)
22. ٧. عمر بن سعيد نجيب
٨. عنظة بن مبارك سويلم
- (التوقيع)
- (التوقيع)
23. ٩. عبد الله ناصر منصر²⁰
- جون فرانسوا بریتون
- خير الله محسين الزبيدي
- (التوقيع)
- (التوقيع)

٢٠٠٢/٩/٤١ م/٢١

²⁰ Il n'y a pas de signature sous ce nom.

Traduction

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux

Couché sur le papier le mercredi correspondant au 4/9/2002²²

Étant donné les directives du Gouverneur (*Muḥāfiẓ*) du Gouvernorat de Šabwa, qui s'appuient sur les directives du Commandant en chef (*al-Za'im al-Qā'id*) 'Alī 'Abd Allāh Šāliḥ²³, Président de la République, qui stipulent la coopération avec les missions archéologiques et de protection des antiquités dans la région et suite à l'arrivée de la Mission française dans la ville de Šabwa pour reprendre son travail sur le site et en présence du Directeur Général des Antiquités dans le Gouvernorat, un accord a été passé entre le Directeur Général des Antiquités et le Chef de la Mission française pour les fouilles archéologiques (*al-Bi'ta al-fransiyya li-al-tanqīb 'an al-ātār*), ainsi qu'entre les délégués des tribus (*al-Āhālī*) dans la région, qui ont été choisis comme suit :

1. Le nombre de personnes employées sur les fouilles ne dépasse pas vingt ;
2. Le salaire par jour d'un employé ne dépasse pas 800 riyals, huit cents riyāls²⁴ ;
3. La durée du travail n'est pas inférieure à vingt jours selon les conditions de travail ;
4. Le temps de travail va de six heures et demi du matin jusqu'à une heure de l'après-midi ;
5. Les employés ont droit à un repos d'au moins trente minutes par journée ouvrée ;
6. Toutes les parties s'accordent sur le fait que les travaux touchant aux antiquités et à leur conservation représentent une œuvre nationale, concernant tout le monde, et qu'il est du devoir de chacun de coopérer à leur protection et à leur préservation ;
7. Il appartient au Chef de la Mission de rétribuer les délégués en contrepartie de leurs efforts afin de faire de la mission un succès et afin que les antiquités soient conservées.

C'est ce sur quoi les différentes parties sont tombées d'accord et ce qu'elles ont accepté de signer,

²¹ Date insérée dans la signature.

²² Les dates du calendrier grégorien sont suivies de « milādī » dans l'original. Cette précision n'a pas été reproduite.

²³ 'Alī 'Abd Allāh Šāliḥ (21 mars 1947-4 décembre 2017) a été Président du Yémen unifié du 22 mai 1990 au 27 février 2012.

²⁴ Somme exprimée en chiffres et en lettres. Dans les trois documents, en dehors des tableaux, les sommes sont uniquement exprimées en lettres.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Rabī Šāliḥ ‘Umar Habīliyān
(signature) | 2. Mabruk ‘Umar ‘Abd Rabbih
(signature) |
| 3. ‘Alī b. Sālīm al-Ġarrū
(signature) | 4. Šādiq Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh al-Muṣay‘ī
(signature) |
| 5. Mahdī b. Nāšir ‘Umar al-Rabī‘ī
(signature) | 6. Muḥammad b. Šāliḥ Makīrmān
(signature) |
| 7. ‘Umar b. Sa‘īd Naḡīb
(signature) | 8. ‘Anza b. Mubārak Suwaylam
(signature) |
| 9. ‘Abd Allāh Nāšir Munaššar | |

Ġūn Frānsuā Brītūn²⁵
(signature)

Ḥayr Allāh Muḥsayn al-Zabīdī
²⁶/4/9/2002\ (signature)

²⁵ I. e. Jean-François Breton.

²⁶ Date insérée dans la signature.

B. Document 2

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 حرر بتاريخ ٢٨/٩/٢٠٠٢ م

كشف بوضوح المكافحة المدفوعة من قبل بعثة الأثرية الفرنسية للندوة من
 المعتمد من قبل قبائل مدينة شبوة ومن يمثلونهم وتعتبر هذه المكافحة مساهمة
 هي الثابتة للمندوبين في هذا الموسم والمواسم القادمة بغض النظر أن
 طالت الفترة أم قصرت وأن كثر أعمال أو قلوا فالبعثة ملزمة بهذه المكافحة للندوة
 أثناء فترة العمل في كل موسم قادم مقابل ما تقدمه للندوة من تسييلات للبعثة وتسييلات

الرقم	إسم المندوب	المبلغ	التوقيع
١	مبارك عمر عبد ربه ركنه	٧,٠٠٠	
٢	محمد صالح مبارك مكي مان	٧,٠٠٠	
٣	علي سالم الجرو	٧,٠٠٠	
٤	مهدي ناصر عمر الربيعي	٧,٠٠٠	
٥	موسى صالح عمر هبيليان	٧,٠٠٠	
٦	صالح احمد عبد البر المشيخي	٧,٠٠٠	
٧	عمر بن محمد بن نجيب	٧,٠٠٠	
٨	عظيم مبارك سوييم	٧,٠٠٠	
٩	عبد ربه ناصر منصور	٧,٠٠٠	
	الإجمالي	٦٣,٠٠٠	

٢٨/٩/٢٠٠٢ م

Ill. 14. Tableau récapitulatif des rétributions versées par la Mission archéologique française aux délégués accrédités par les tribus de la ville de Šabwa et leurs représentants, 4 septembre 2002.

Texte arabe

1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
2. حرر بتاريخ ٢٨/٩/٢٠٠٢ م
3. كشف يوضح المكافأة المدفوعة من قبل البعثة الأثرية الفرنسية للمندوبين
4. المعتمدين من قبل قبائل مدينة شبوة ومن يمثلونهم وتعتبر هذه المكافأة سبعة ألف ريال
5. هي الثابتة للمندوبين في هذا الموسم والمواسم القادمة بغض النظر إن
6. طالت الفترة أم قصرت وإن كثر العمال أو قلوا فالبعثة ملزمة بهذا المبلغ لكل مندوب
7. أثناء فترة العمل في كل موسم قادم مقابل ما يقدمه المندوب من تسهيلات للبعثة وترتيب العمال.

الرقم	إسم المندوب	المبلغ	التوقيع
١	مبروك عمر عبد ربه ركنه	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / آل بريك
٢	محمد صالح مبارك مكيرمان	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / آل عبد القوي
٣	علي سالم الجرو	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / الكرب
٤	مهدي ناصر عمر الربيعي	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / آل ربيع
٥	ربيع صالح عمر هبيليان	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / آل هبيليان
٦	صادق احمد عبد الله المشيعي	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / المشايعة (sic)
٧	عمر بن سعيد بن نجيب	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / آل نجيب
٨	عنظة مبارك سويلم	٧,٠٠٠	(التوقيع) / العبيد
٩	عبد الله ناصر منصر	٧,٠٠٠	(توقيعاً) / آل منصر (آل عمر)
	الأجمالي	٦٣,٠٠٠	ثلاثة وستون ألف ريال فقط

(التوقيع) ٢٠٠٢/٩/٢٧ م

مدير عام ٩/٢٨

Traduction

Au nom de Dieu, le Clément, le Miséricordieux

Couché sur le papier à la date du 28/9/2002

Tableau récapitulatif des rétributions versées par la Mission archéologique française (al-Bi'ta al-ātāriyya al-fransiyya) aux délégués accrédités par les tribus (*qabā'il*) de la ville de Šabwa et leurs représentants. Cette rétribution de sept mille riyals est fixée pour les délégués de cette saison et de celles à venir, que la période soit longue ou courte ou que le nombre des employés augmente ou diminue. La Mission est obligée

²⁷ Année dans la signature.

de régler ce montant à chaque délégué durant la période de travail de chaque saison à venir en contrepartie des facilitations (*tashilāt*) apportées par le délégué à la Mission et à l'organisation des employés.

N°	Nom de l'envoyé	Somme	Signature
1	Mabrūk 'Umar 'Abd Rabbih Raknah	7.000	(signature) / Āl Barik
2	Muḥammad Šāliḥ Mubārak Makīrmān	7.000	(signature) / Āl 'Abd al-Qawī
3	'Alī Sālim al-Ġarrū	7.000	(signature) / Al-Kurb
4	Mahdī Nāsir 'Umar al-Rabī'	7.000	(signature) / Āl Rabī'
5	Rabī' Šāliḥ 'Umar Habiliyān	7.000	(signature) / Āl Habiliyān
6	Šādiq Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh al-Mušay'i	7.000	(signature) / al-Mušā'i'a (sic)
7	'Umar b. Sa'īd b. Naḡīb	7.000	(signature) / Āl Naḡīb
8	'Anza b. Mubārak Suaylam	7.000	(signature) / al-'Ubayd
9	'Abd Allāh Nāšir Munaššar	7.000	(2 signatures) / Āl Munaššar (Āl 'Umar)
	TOTAL	63.000	Soixante trois milles riyals

²⁸/2002 \ (signature)

Directeur général 28/9

²⁸ Année dans la signature.

C. Document 3²⁹


كشفت باسماء المراسم المؤقتة من قبل البعثة الفرنسية
 للتفتيش عن الآثار في مدينة شبوة القديمة وبالأشهر لمدة ستة أشهر
 من قبل البعثة بموجب العقد الموقع معهم مع رئيس البعثة وذلك
 اعتباراً من أول يونيو ٢٠٠٤ وحتى ٣١/١٢/٢٠٠٤ بواقع ستة آلاف ريال شهرياً.

الترقيم	الاسم	يونيو ٢٠٠٤	يوليو ٢٠٠٤	أغسطس ٢٠٠٤	سبتمبر ٢٠٠٤	أكتوبر ٢٠٠٤	نوفمبر ٢٠٠٤	ديسمبر ٢٠٠٤	الإجمالي	التوقيع
١-	حسان بن سالم عبد ربه	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٤٥,٠٠٠	
٢-	صالح مرزوق علي الكرمي	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٤٥,٠٠٠	
٣-	محمد صالح مبارك مكيضان	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٦٠٠٠	٤٥,٠٠٠	
	الإجمالي	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٢٦,٠٠٠	

حذر هذا لكشف بتاريخ ٢١/١٢/٢٠٠٤ من قبل مديرها في شبوة
 العامة لدى شارع المناصف بمحافظة شبوة ورئيس البعثة الفرنسية
 للتفتيش عن الآثار في مدينة شبوة *

توقيع مدير البعثة الفرنسية
 في شبوة

توقيع رئيس البعثة الفرنسية
 للتفتيش عن الآثار في شبوة



Ill. 15. Récapitulatif des noms des gardiens temporaires employés par la Mission française pour les fouilles archéologiques.

²⁹ Document 3 ne commence pas avec la *basmala*.

Texte arabe

1. كشف بأسماء الحراسة المؤقتة من قبل البعثة الفرنسية
2. للتنقيب عن الآثار في مدينة شبوة القديمة والأشهر المدفوعة لهم
3. من قبل البعثة بموجب العقد الموقع معهم ومع رئيس البعثة وذلك
4. إعتباراً من أول يونيو ٢٠٠٢ م وحتى ٢٠٠٢/١٢/٢١ م بواقع ستة آلاف ريال شهرياً

الرقم	الأسم	يونيو ٢٠٠٢	يوليو ٢٠٠٢	أغسطس ٢٠٠٢	سبتمبر ٢٠٠٢	أكتوبر ٢٠٠٢	نوفمبر ٢٠٠٢	ديسمبر ٢٠٠٢	الأجمالي	التوقيع
١	حسن بن سالم عبد ربه	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٤٢,٠٠٠	(التوقيع)
٢	صالح مرزوق علي الكريني	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٤٢,٠٠٠	(التوقيع)
٣	محمد صالح مبارك مكيرمان	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٦,٠٠٠	٤٢,٠٠٠	(التوقيع)
		١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٨,٠٠٠	١٢٦,٠٠٠	

5. حرر هذا الكشف بتاريخ ٢٠٠٢/٩/٢١ م من قبل مدير عام فرع الهيئة
6. العامة للآثار والمتاحف بمحافظة شبوة ورئيس البعثة الفرنسية
7. للتنقيب عن الآثار في مدينة شبوة #

8. توقيع مدير عام فرع الهيئة
 9. شبوة
 10. خير الله محسين الزبيدي (التوقيع)
 11. (الختم)
- توقيع رئيس البعثة الفرنسية
للتنقيب عن الآثار شبوة
(التوقيع)

Traduction

Récapitulatif des noms des gardiens temporaires employés par la Mission française pour les fouilles archéologiques (al-Bi‘ta al-fransiyya li-al-tanqīb ‘an al-ātār) dans la ville antique de Šabwa, et des mois qui leur ont été payés par la Mission en vertu du contrat signé avec eux et avec le Chef de la Mission, et cela du premier juin¹ 2002 jusqu’au 21/12/2002 à raison de six milles riyals par mois.

N°	Noms	Juin	Juillet	Août	Septembre	Octobre	Novembre	Décembre	Total	Signature
1	Ḥasan b. Sālim ‘Abd Rabbih	ryal 6.000	ryal 6.000	ryal 6.000	ryal 6.000	ryal 6.000	ryal 6.000	ryal 6.000	ryal 42.000	(signature)
2	Šāliḥ Marzūq ‘Alī al-Kurbī	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	42.000	(signature)
3	Muḥammad Šāliḥ Mubārak Makīrmān	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	6.000	42.000	(signature)
	Total	18.000	18.000	18.000	18.000	18.000	18.000	18.000	126.000	

Ce récapitulatif a été couché sur le papier à la date du 21/9/2002 par le Directeur Général de la branche de l’Organisme général des antiquités et des musées (al-Hay’a al-‘amma li-al-aṭār wa-al-mataḥif) du Gouvernement de Šabwa et le Chef de la Mission française pour les fouilles archéologiques (al-Bi‘ta al-fransiyya li-al-tanqīb ‘an al-ātār) dans la ville de Šabwa #

Signature du Directeur général de la branche de l’Organisme,
Šabwa
Ḥayr Allāh Muḥsin al-Zabīdī (signature)
(tampon)

Signature du Chef de la Mission française pour les fouilles archéologiques (al-Bi‘ta al-fransiyya li-al-tanqīb ‘an al-ātār), Šabwa
(signature)

¹ Jour du mois et mois exprimés en lettres dans le document.

III. Épilogue

Les ouvriers ne sont plus les mêmes, tous ceux avec lesquels nous avons fouillé le palais royal entre 1975 et 1985 ont pris leur « retraite »². Désormais, sont enrôlés leurs fils, leurs neveux ou leurs cousins, plutôt indisciplinés, maniant peu la pelle et encore moins la balayette. Ils sont tous armés, et les kalachnikovs s'entassent dans le vestiaire de la fouille. Quant à leurs salaires journaliers, ils sont sans cesse remis en question pour une tâche plus ou moins difficile ; les pauses s'éternisent, les prières également.

Une main obscure a distribué ou vendu très bon marché des armes individuelles. L'escouade des militaires, envoyée par le Gouverneur de 'Ataq, juchée sur son *taqm* (auto-mitrailleuse), reste à l'écart, ne souhaitant pas s'affronter aux ouvriers en cas de litige. Mal nourris et sous-payés, ces soldats ne tardent pas à manifester leur mécontentement et prennent un jour les Français en otage pour réclamer leur dû. Au terme de deux jours de négociations avec leurs autorités³, leurs indemnités arrivent enfin, accompagnées de leurs caisses de boîtes de fèves (*fūl*).

Le document 3 plus tardif, récapitule les noms des trois gardiens temporaires employés par la Mission archéologique française pour les fouilles et les mois qui leur ont été payés par la Mission en vertu du contrat signé avec le chef de Mission, le 1^{er} juin 2002, à raison de 6.000 riyals par mois. Ceux-là s'ajoutent au salaire du gardien engagé en 1976, Mahdī b. Nāšir, et seul ce dernier est présent sur le site. Jusqu'en 2019, il assure son service et, depuis, son fils lui succède. Celui-ci pourra-t-il épargner Šabwa des « événements » en cours ? Nul ne le sait. « Dust in the lion's Paw » comme l'écrivait Freya Starck⁴.

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² Le palais royal a fait l'objet d'une publication récente. Voir J.-F. Breton (sous la dir.), *Fouilles de Šabwa VI. Le palais royal*, 2023.

³ Rappelons que, depuis le début de la fouille, seule la radio des militaires permettait de joindre 'Ataq.

⁴ F. Starck, *Dust in the Lion's Paw. Autobiography 1939–1946*, 1961.

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ZABĪD AND MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE 'JAWI' MALAY WORLD

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Abstract

For many centuries, Muslim pilgrims and scholars from all over Southeast Asia who travelled to the Arabian Peninsula were known as the 'Ġāwa', after the island of Java, earning the *nisba* al-Ġāwī, 'the Jawi'. After crossing the Indian Ocean they would often visit Zabīd in Yemen, a great centre of learning where many eminent scholars from the Malay world spent long periods of time, including 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī and Yūsuf al-Maqassārī in the 17th century. This article introduces two Qur'an manuscripts from Southeast Asia, in the Sulawesi diaspora geometric style, exemplifying the close Jawi-Zabīdī connections. The first Qur'an, dated 1692, now held in a mosque in Permatang Damar Laut in Penang, Malaysia, was copied by a scribe from Rawa, Sumatra, living in Zabīd; the other Qur'an, dated 1740 and now held in the provincial museum in Riau in Indonesia, was written, perhaps in Sumatra, by a Zabīdī scribe.

Résumé

Zabīd et des manuscrits du monde malais 'Jawi'

Pendant de nombreux siècles, les pèlerins et les érudits musulmans de toute l'Asie du Sud-Est qui se rendaient dans la péninsule Arabique étaient connus sous le nom de « Ġāwa », du nom de l'île de Java, ce qui leur a valu la *nisba* al-Ġāwī, « le Jawi ». Après avoir traversé l'océan Indien, il leur arrivait de visiter la ville de Zabīd au Yémen, un centre d'enseignement important, où des érudits du monde malais, nombreux et éminents, passèrent de longues périodes. C'est le cas de 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī et de Yūsuf al-Maqassārī, au xvii^e s. Cet article présente deux manuscrits coraniques d'Asie du Sud-Est, dans le style géométrique de la diaspora Sulawesi, illustrant les liens étroits entre Ġāwī et Zabīdī. Le premier Coran, daté de 1692, aujourd'hui conservé dans une mosquée de Permatang Damar Laut à Penang, en Malaisie, a été copié par un scribe de Rawa, Sumatra, vivant à Zabīd ; l'autre Coran, daté de 1740 et aujourd'hui conservé au musée provincial de Riau en Indonésie, a été écrit, peut-être à Sumatra, par un scribe zabīdī.

الخلاصة

زيد والمخطوطات من العالم "الجاوي"، جنوب شرق آسيا لقرون عديدة، كان الحجاج والعلماء المسلمون من جميع أنحاء جنوب شرق آسيا الذين سافروا إلى شبه الجزيرة العربية يُعرفون باسم (جاوي)، نسبة إلى جزيرة جاوة، مما أكسبهم نسبة الجاوي. وبعد عبور المحيط الهندي، قام بعضهم بزيارة مدينة زيد في اليمن، أحد أهم مراكز العلم في اليمن، حيث قضى العديد من العلماء البارزين من علماء الملايو هناك فترات طويلة من الزمن. وهذا هو حال عبد الرؤوف السنكيلى، ويوسف المقساري في القرن السابع عشر. يعرض هذا المقال مخطوطتين للقرآن الكريم من جنوب شرق آسيا، تميزتا بالتمط الهندسي للمغترين السلواويسيين، مما يجسد الروابط الوثيقة بين الجاوي والزيدى. تم نسخ المصحف الأول، الذي يرجع تاريخه إلى عام 1692 م، والمحفوظ الآن في مسجد في فرماتغ دامر لاءوت في فولو فينغ، ماليزيا، بواسطة ناسخ من راوا، سومطرة، كان يعيش في زيد. أما

المصحف الآخر، الذي يرجع تاريخه إلى عام 1740 م والم محفوظ الآن في متحف مقاطعة ريو في إندونيسيا، فيما كتبه ناسخ زيبيدي في سومطرة.

Abstrak

Zabīd dan naskah dari dunia Melayu 'Jawi'

Selama berabad-abad, para jemaah haji dan ulama yang berasal dari seluruh pelosok Asia Tenggara yang mengadakan perjalanan panjang ke tanah Arab, dipanggil orang 'Ġāwa' berdasarkan nama pulau Jawa, dengan dinisbai al-Ġal-, al-Jawi. Setelah pelayaran lama menyeberang Samudera Hindia, banyak yang singgah di kota ilmuwan Islam yang terkenal, Zabīd, di negeri Yemen, termasuk beberapa ulama Nusantara yang terkemuka, termasuk 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī dan Yūsuf al-Maqassārī pada abad ke-17. Artikel ini membahas dua naskah mushaf al-Qur'an Nusantara, bergaya geometrik perantauan Sulawesi, yang mewakili perhubungan Jawi-Zabīd yang begitu erat. Salah satu mushaf, yang disalin pada tahun 1692 oleh seorang juru tulis berasal dari daerah Rawa di Sumatera, sekarang disimpan di masjid kampung Permatang Damar Laut di Pulau Pinang, Malaysia. Mushaf yang satu lagi, bertarikh tahun 1740, disimpan dalam koleksi museum propinsi Riau di Indonesia, disalin oleh seorang juru tulis berasal dari Zabīd.

Keywords

Zabīd – 17th century – Jawi – Qur'an – Malay – Southeast Asia – Sulawesi – Riau – Penang – Rawa

Mots-clés

Zabīd – xvii^e s. – al-Ġawī – Coran – Malais – Asie du Sud-Est – Célèbes/Sulawesi – Riau – Penang – Rawa

الكلمات الرئيسية

زيد – القرن السابع عشر – الجاوي – القرآن – الملايو – جنوب شرق آسيا – سولاوسي – ريو – قولو فينيغ – راوا

Kata kunci

Zabīd – abad ke-17 – Jawi – Qur'an – Melayu – Asia Tenggara – Nusantara – Sulawesi – Riau – Pulau Pinang – Rawa

I. Southeast Asian scholars in Yemen

On the basis of archaeological evidence and references in Arabic geographical works, Muslim traders and navigators were certainly present in Southeast Asia from the early centuries of Islam,¹ long before the acceptance of the faith by the ruler of Samudra-

¹ See G.R. Tibbetts, *A study of the Arabic texts*, 1979, for Arabic texts mentioning Southeast Asia from the 9th century CE. For documentation on the Belitung shipwreck off Sumatra in ca. 830 of a ship, built or repaired in Oman, on its return voyage from Tang China, see M. Flecker, "A Ninth-Century AD Arab or Indian Shipwreck", 2001.

Pasai in Northern Sumatra in the 13th century CE initiated a wave of conversion across the archipelago. When Southeast Asians began to journey to the Arabian Peninsula to perform the Hajj pilgrimage, usually in combination with trading missions or to study in the Ḥaramayn, the long journey across the Indian Ocean involved multiple stops and sojourns, on the Indian Coromandal or Malabar coasts and also at the southern ports of Yemen before proceeding up the Red Sea to Jeddah.

In the Hijaz, all Muslims from Southeast Asia, originating from islands thousands of miles apart, from Sumatra to Sumbawa and Sulu, and from different ethnic groups with a variety of mother tongues ranging from Acehnese to Javanese and Bugis, were subsumed under the generic label in Arabic for those originating from the island of Java, the 'Ġāwa'. This earned them the *nisba* or epithet al-Ġāwī, 'the Jawi', both employed by others and themselves. Their *lingua franca* of Malay was termed in their own writings *bahasa Jawi*, 'the Jawi language', though today Jawi is generally used to refer to the extended form of the Arabic alphabet (with five extra letters) used for writing Malay.²

One of the earliest known occurrences of this *nisba*, al-Ġāwī, in the Arabic textual record (for it necessitated a note on its correct spelling) is to a person named Abū 'Abd Allāh Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Ġāwī, "a great and famous *ṣayḥ* in the city of Aden", placing connections between the Malay world and Yemen as far back as the early 13th century.³

More abundant sources are available from the 17th century onwards, when some of the greatest Jawi scholars from the Malay world spent long periods studying in Yemen en route to the Ḥaramayn, notably in Zabīd, one of the great centres of learning of the Muslim world.⁴ Among the most prominent Jawi scholars was 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī (ca. 1024/1615–1105/1693), born at Singkel on the southwest coast of Aceh.⁵ In 1641 he departed for Arabia, studying along the hajj route at Doha, Yemen, Jeddah and finally at Mecca and Medina. After 19 years in the Arabian Peninsula al-Sinkīlī returned to Aceh in around 1661 during the reign of the first queen, Sultanah Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Syah (r. 1051/1641–1086/1675), and compiled the first known complete commentary on the Qur'an in Malay, the *Tarġumān al-mustafīd*, based on the *Tafṣīr al-Ġalālayn*.⁶

Al-Sinkīlī spent a considerable period in Yemen studying mainly in Bayt al-Faḳīh and Zabīd, but also with teachers in Mawza', Muḥa, al-Luhayya, al-Ḥudayda and Ta'izz:

² Full diacritics are used for Arabic words in transliteration and the names of Southeast Asians in the Arab world, but not for toponyms or for Malay words or Muslim names in Southeast Asia.

³ R.M. Feener & M.F. Laffan, "Sufi Scents", 2005, p. 186.

⁴ R.M. Feener, "'Abd al-Samad in Arabia", 2015, p. 267.

⁵ On 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Sinkīlī see P.G. Riddell, "Abdurrauf Singkili", 2007; A. Azra, *The origins of Islamic reformism*, 2004, pp. 70–86.

⁶ P.G. Riddell, *Transferring a tradition*, 1990.

“Among his teachers in Zabid were ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Khaṣṣ; Amin b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Mizjājī, who was also a teacher of Muḥammad al-Qushāshi; and ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-‘Adanī, whom al-Sinkīlī calls the best reciter of the Qur’an in the region. He also came into contact with the prominent Zabidi or Yemeni scholars such as ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Khaṣṣ, the Mufti of Zabid; Sayyid al-Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ahdal; Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizjājī, a celebrated Naqshbandī shaykh (d. 1074/1664), who was also a teacher of al-Maqassārī; Qāḍī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muṭayr (d. 1086/1675); and Aḥmad Abū al-‘Abbās b. al-Muṭayr (d. 1075/1664). Most of these scholars, especially of the Ahdal and Mizjājī families, as we have shown, played an important role in linking scholars in the networks.”⁷

Another eminent Southeast Asian Jawi figure who shared a teacher in Zabid with al-Sinkīlī was Muḥammad Yūsuf al-Maqassārī (1037/1627–1111/1699).⁸ Yūsuf was born in Makassar in South Sulawesi, and perhaps is best known globally today for his role in developing Islam in South Africa after his exile there by the Dutch, and where he died in 1699. Al-Maqassārī left Sulawesi in 1644, journeying first to Banten and Aceh, and thence to Gujarat and Yemen. In Yemen he studied mostly in Zabid, with Sayyid ‘Alī al-Zabidī and Muḥammad b. al-Waḡīh al-Sa’dī al-Yamanī, in addition to Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizḡāḡī⁹ mentioned above. Al-Maqassārī then moved on to the Ḥaramayn, where he studied at the same time as al-Sinkīlī.¹⁰

A century later, another famous Jawi scholar, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī, the renowned Malay interpreter of al-Ġazālī (d. 505/1111), arrived in Zabid around 1791. In Zabid he taught many students, particularly of the Ahdal and al-Mizḡāḡī families,¹¹ and

⁷ A. Azra, *Origins*, p. 74.

⁸ On Yūsuf al-Maqassārī see A. Azra, “al-Maqassārī”, 2020; A.C.S. Peacock, *Arabic literary culture in Southeast Asia*, 2024, pp. 157–181; M. Feener, “Shaykh Yusuf and the appreciation of Muslim ‘Saints’ in modern Indonesia”, 1999. Two important Indonesian studies are Abu Hamid, *Syekh Yusuf: seorang ulama, sufi dan pejuang*, 1994, and N. Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf al-Taj al-Maksari*, 1996.

⁹ Locally pronounced Mizḡāḡī, with hard ‘g’.

¹⁰ A. Azra, *Origins*, pp. 89–90.

¹¹ Scholars of both families were enough famous to merit inclusion in the great bio-bibliographic dictionaries of authors of Arabic writings; see e.g. the multiple entries in the index of ‘U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muḡam al-mu‘allifīn Tarāḡim muṣannifī al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, s.d. The al-Ahdal scholars have a specific entry in the *EP*, see O. Löfgren, “Al-Ahdal”. Their reputation as scholars has therefore been maintained over several centuries: *al-qāḍī al-‘allāma* Yaḥyā Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥāliq b. ‘Alī b. al-Zayn b. Muḥammad Bāqī al-Mizḡāḡī (d. 10 muḥarram 1304/9 October 1886) was Mufti of Zabid, see M. Zabāra, *A‘immat al-Yaman bi-al-qarn al-rābi‘ ‘aṣar li-al-ḥiḡra*, 1405/1984, pp. 78–79. The renown of Mizḡāḡī scholars found its way as far as China, where they became the eponymous *ṣayḥs* of a *ṭariqa*, as shown by Florian Sobieroj in, among other publications, “Reflections of Yemeni Sufi masters in Sino-Arabic Manuscripts: Lines of transmission and symbolism”, 2022. Ma Mingxin Wiqāyatullāh (1719–1781), the founder of the Ġahriyya Sufi order, is said to have had as teacher Ibn Zayn al-Mizḡāḡī (p. 131); further on, in section III, within the discussion around the Ġahriyya saintly lineage (*silsila*) on the basis of Chinese sources (pp. 150sq.): “The fourth-generation master is [‘Abd al-]Bāqī [al-Mizḡāḡī] [...]; the fifth-generation master is Zayn and the sixth is ‘Abd al-Ḥāliq. The above Chinese researchers all agree that the seventh-generation master is the son of the fifth master, and also the *nisba* published by Yang confirms that Ibn Zayn is the son of Zayn [al-Mizḡāḡī]”; the fourth-generation master, ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Zayn al-Mizḡāḡī al-Zabidī al-Taḥiyyatī, died in 1074/1663–1664, and the discussion in the sources re-

including Waḡīh al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1835),¹² who later occupied the post of Mufti of Zabīd. Waḡīh al-Dīn al-Ahdal evidently considered al-Palimbānī one of his most important teachers, and included him in his dictionary, *Al-naḥs al-yamānī wa-al-rūḥ al-rayḥānī*.¹³

A recently published 18th-century biographical dictionary, *Nuzhat riyāḍ al-iḡāza al-mustaṭāba*,¹⁴ compiled by another member of the al-Mizḡāḡī family in Zabīd, Abū al-Zayn ‘Abd al-Ḥaliq b. ‘Alī al-Mizḡāḡī (1141/1729–1201/1786), mentions six scholars with the *nisba* al-Ḡāwī. In addition to al-Sinkīlī and al-Maqassārī, these are ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ḡāwī and ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḡāwī who received *iḡāza* from Muḥammad Bāqī al-Mizḡāḡī; Ḡalāl al-Dīn al-Ḡāwī, who taught in the mosque erected by the author’s uncle Muḥammad b. al-Zayn b. Muḥammad Bāqī al-Mizḡāḡī, the construction of which had been supported by funds from Palembang; and the author’s own teacher Maḥmūd b. Sarnī al-Ḡāwī.¹⁵

This overview of some of the most important Islamic scholars from Southeast Asia who spent time in Yemen indicates the formative role of Zabīd in Jawi scholastic networks from at least the 17th century onwards, right up to the present day.¹⁶ An indication of the continuing intimacy of Southeast Asian and Zabīd scholars in the Ḥaramayn itself is reflected in an unusual source: a letter of 1850 sent in Mecca on behalf of ‘Ḡāwa’ pilgrims performing the Hajj to Hasib Pasha, Ottoman Governor of the Hijaz, expressing their gratefulness to him for suspending some charges. The letter, which accompanies a long laudatory illuminated acrostic poem in Arabic, bears ten signatures and seals, all with *nisba* which indicate their specific origins (in addition to the ubiquitous al-Ḡāwī).¹⁷ Eight are from Southeast Asia, from places as diverse as Banten

volves around the figure of the second-generation master as the potential founder of the Naqšbandiyya (pp. 152–153, and n. 118, 154–155; n. 4 and the attached citation in the present article; on ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. al-Zayn al-Mizḡāḡī al-Taḥiyyatī, see Muḥammad al-Amīn Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar fi a’yān al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘aṣar*, 1985, vol. 2, p. 283). Sobieroj concludes, “The two Arabic panegyric texts, *Muḥammad* and *Madā’ih*, recited by the adherents of the Ḡahriyya order in their liturgy, are believed to have been handed over to the founder of their order, Ma Mingxin, by his last Yemeni teacher (Muḥammad) Ibn Zayn al-Mizḡāḡī when he left him in Zabīd departing for China as his missionary” (pp. 169–170).

¹² ‘U.R. Kaḥḥāla, *Mu’ḡam al-mu’allifīn. Tarāḡim muṣannifī al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, s. d., vol. 5, p. 140.

¹³ A. Azra, *Origins*, p. 116; M. Feener, “Abd al-Samad in Arabia”, 2015, which includes an English translation of al-Ahdal’s *ṭabaqat* entry on al-Palimbānī. B. Haykel, “al-Ahdal, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān”, 2007.

¹⁴ Abū al-Zayn ‘Abd al-Ḥaliq b. ‘Alī b. al-Zayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Zayn al-Mizḡāḡī, *Nuzhat riyāḍ al-iḡāza al-mustaṭāba bi-dīkr manāqib al-mašā’ih Ahl al-riwāya wa-al-iṣāba*, 1418/1997–1998. Al-Hibšī cites 24 other books by the same author, see ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Hibšī, *Mašādīr al-fīkr al-islāmī fi al-Yaman*, 2004, pp. 39, 79–80, 161, 269, 356–357, 398, 452, 588.

¹⁵ MAPESA, “Ulama-ulama Jawi”, 2016.

¹⁶ In the 2000s, the *ṭalībīn al-‘ilm* were still travelling to Zabīd, some of them from Indonesia. For generations, families of scholars host them in their *ribāts*, dedicated to the teaching of visiting students and equipped for their stay. The maintenance is usually financed by *waqf*. See A. Regourd, “Zabīd, des lettrés et des manuscrits”, 2016, pp. 281–282.

¹⁷ I.H. Kadı & A.C.S. Peacock, *Ottoman-Southeast Asian Relations*, 2020, v. 2, pp. 260–265; the seals are catalogued in A.T. Gallop, *Malay Seals*, 2019, p. 711.

in West Java, Palembang, Sambas on the west coast of Borneo, and Wajo in South Sulawesi, and they are joined by two from Zabīd: *šayḥ* Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Zabīdī, and *šayḥ* 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Zabīdī [Fig. 1].



Fig. 1. Signatures and seals of two Zabīd scholars, *Šayḥ* Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Zabīdī and *Šayḥ* 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Zabīdī (both on the left), on a letter sent on behalf of Southeast Asian pilgrims performing the Hajj to the Ottoman Governor, 1850. Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, BOA I.DH 211/12286.

Within Southeast Asia itself, while Zabīd is certainly present in the imagination there are not many traces of this relationship in the manuscript record. Therefore, the main aim of this article is to introduce two important Qur'an manuscripts from the Malay world, one dated 1692 and the other 1740, both of which are illuminated in the Sulawesi diaspora geometric style, and bear colophons linking their scribes to Zabīd.

II. Sulawesi diaspora geometric style Qur'ans

Some preliminary contextual information will help to amplify the significance of these two manuscripts. Although many thousands of Islamic manuscripts from Southeast Asia are known, including over a thousand Qur'an manuscripts, the very great majority—perhaps as many as 90%—date from the 19th century.¹⁸ Little quantitative research has yet been done on the chronology of production of manuscripts in the Malay world, but older assumptions that this pattern of distribution is mainly due to the problems of survival of organic materials in the tropical climate can no longer pass

¹⁸ For a broad survey of the art of the Islamic book in Southeast Asia, and an introduction to regional styles of illumination, see A.T. Gallop, "Islamic manuscript art of Southeast Asia", 2005.

unchallenged. Despite the undoubted handicaps of high humidity and temperature (compared to the arid conditions of the Middle East), there is an increasing body of evidence of paper and palm leaf manuscripts that have survived for two to three centuries, or more, in local collections throughout the archipelago. Rather, there are hints that accessibility to and perhaps cheaper availability of European paper—the preferred writing support for manuscripts in Arabic script—may be the key factor in the very great increase in the production of manuscripts in the Malay world in the 19th century, along with pedagogical developments.¹⁹ In this context, manuscripts from the Malay world dating from before the mid-18th century can certainly be regarded as 'early', and take on a special significance in the study of the writing traditions of Islamic Southeast Asia.

Another important consideration is that colophons with information on the identity of the scribe or owner of the manuscript, and date and location of copying, are relatively rare in Southeast Asian manuscripts, and even more so in Qur'ans. Of over a hundred mainly 19th-century Qur'ān manuscripts from Aceh, only one or two have colophons (although a few more have short *waqf* inscriptions in Malay which can help to locate the book), and the situation is similar for Qur'an manuscripts from the East Coast of the Malay Peninsula. The consistent exception to this pattern is Qur'an manuscripts originating from, or linked to, the island of Sulawesi, which often bear detailed colophons in Arabic.

Both the Qur'ans copied by Zabīd scribes presented here belong to the small early corpus of "Sulawesi diaspora geometric style" Qur'ans, so-named for the strongly geometric outline of the illuminated frames, with combinations of straight vertical, horizontal and diagonal lines, and circles and part-circles.²⁰ Such double frames are generally found at the beginning and end of a Qur'an, and sometimes in the middle [Figs 5, 8, 16]. Other characteristic artistic features of this style are the multiple rectangular frame bands around the surah headings in the decorated frames, and the writing in reserved white on coloured ground of the surah headings. However, Qur'ans in this group are also linked by textual features such as an abundance of paratexts, with variant *qirā'āt* readings in the margins, copious additional texts before and after the main Qur'anic text, often including multiple *du'ā' ḥatm al-Qur'ān* at the end and, most crucially, lengthy colophons in Arabic. As indicated by the name of this group, these Qur'ans do not only originate from the island of Sulawesi, but from areas associated with Bugis and Makassar diasporas all over the archipelago. To date 13 Qur'ans in this group have been located, dating from the late 17th and 18th centuries, of which the two Zabīd-linked manuscripts are amongst the earlier ones, marked as Q4 and Q6 in the map in Fig. 2.

¹⁹ As suggested by the work of Nile Green on South Asia, cf. N. Green, "The uses of books", 2010, pp. 3–5.

²⁰ A.T. Gallop, "Migrating manuscript art", 2024.

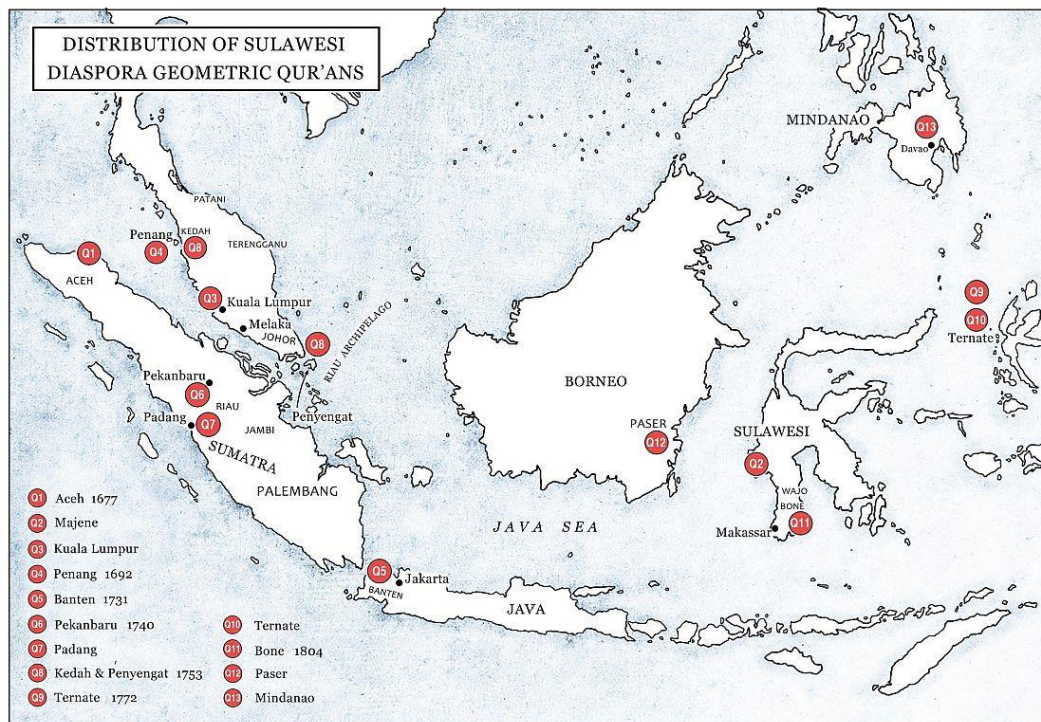


Fig. 2. Map showing distribution of Sulawesi diaspora geometric Qur'ans of the 17th and 18th centuries (from Gallop 2024); Qur'ans Q4 and Q6 are discussed in this article.

III. Qur'an of 1692 held in Permatang Damar Laut, Penang

Gallop was first alerted to the existence of this manuscript in about 2017 through an old blog post in Malay by Abu Luqman of 27 April 2010, entitled 'Allah hu Akbar, Miracles of Quran'. He described how, when sitting out a rainstorm in the al-Qahhar Mosque at the village of Permatang Damar Laut, at Bayan Lepas at the southern end of the island of Penang, Malaysia, he was shown a Qur'an manuscript. According to a mosque official, Pak Ngah Shuhaimi, the Qur'an, said to date from 1690, was written by a *ṣayḥ* from Indonesia named 'Haji Abdul Rahman Rawa' (sic), and was already present in the mosque at the time of the establishment of Penang (in 1786). Abu Luqman was told that the Qur'an was discovered floating in the sea by a fisherman named Pak Tam Yin, who brought it to the mosque and showed everyone that despite its immersion in the sea, miraculously none of the text of the Qur'an had washed away. The Qur'an was at one point stolen, but due to its blessings (*baraka*) was recovered, and has since remained in the mosque to the present day.

The photographs of the Qur'an published by Abu Luqman on his blog showed what was certainly an early Sulawesi diaspora geometric style Qur'an. However it was

only in 2022 that good images became available, when Elsa Clavé²¹ was in Penang. She very kindly visited Masjid Kampung Permatang Damar Laut at Gallop's request, and with the permission of the custodian, took photographs of the Qur'an, including of the colophon.²²

Despite damage to the first page, this Qur'an is complete, with two pairs of illuminated frames, at the beginning and the end [Figs 5, 8]. As is typical for the earlier sub-group of 17th century examples of Sulawesi diaspora geometric style Qur'ans, there is no outer border around the edges of paper, and the palette is dominated by red and blue.²³ The internal pages have 15 lines per page written in strong black ink, set within text frames of ruled lines (from inside to out) of red-black-thick yellow-blue-blue ink. Verse markers are black circles coloured in red. Sūrah headings are in red ink, set in ruled frames [Fig. 7]. The start of a new thirtieth part of the Qur'an or *ǧuz'* is indicated with the first line in bold ink, and an impressive stacked calligraphic inscription in red ink in the margin giving the number of the *ǧuz'* [Fig. 6]; parts of each *ǧuz'* are also marked with marginal ornaments, as are *rukū'* with the letter 'ayn, indicating thematic sections of the text for recitation. As in all Sulawesi style Qur'ans, there are numerous marginal annotations, including of variant *qirā'āt* readings.

After the end of the Qur'anic text is a two-page spread with salutations and the colophon set in a roundel, giving the date of completion of copying as Friday 10 [dū] al-ḥiǧǧa 1103/23 August 1692, and naming the copyist as Ḥaǧǧ 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad, from Rawa (*balad al-Rāwī*), of the Shafī'i school of law, and living in Zabīd (*Zabīd maskanan*) [Figs 3, 9]. This is followed by 11 pages of prayers, ending with a decorative tailpiece, but with no further colophon [Fig. 10].

1. وكان الفراغ من نسخ هذا الختمه (هكذا) المباركه
2. من يوم العرفة من يوم الجمعة قبل الظهر عشر يوم من شهر الحج من
3. شهور سنة ثلث ومائه والفر من الهجرة النبويه على صاحبها افضل الصلوة
4. والسلام بخط الفقير الحقير المعروف بالذنب والتقصير الراجي عفو ربه القدير
5. الفقير حج عبد الرحيم ابن محمد بلد الراوي الشافعي مذهبا ومدينة زبيد مسكنا
6. غفر الله له ولوالديه ولمن قرأ فيها ولمن نظر اليها ولمن قابلها << تاريخ /... >>²⁴ اسبع مقاري ٥
7. ولوالديهم اجمعين انه هو الغفور رحيم

²¹ Dr. Elsa Clavé is Junior Professor in Austronesian Studies at Universität Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens.

²² It should be clarified that the authors have not personally seen the Permatang Damar Laut Qur'an manuscript, and the description is based on about 60 photographs kindly provided by E. Clavé, which showed all examples of illumination, a selection of text pages, and all preliminary and end pages with paratexts. Unfortunately the measurements of the folios are not available, nor any information on watermarks or other characteristics of the paper.

²³ A.T. Gallop, "Migrating", pp. 17-19.

²⁴ Symbols /... are standing for text parts which are not on the main line; symbols <<...>> are standing for deletions by the author of the text.

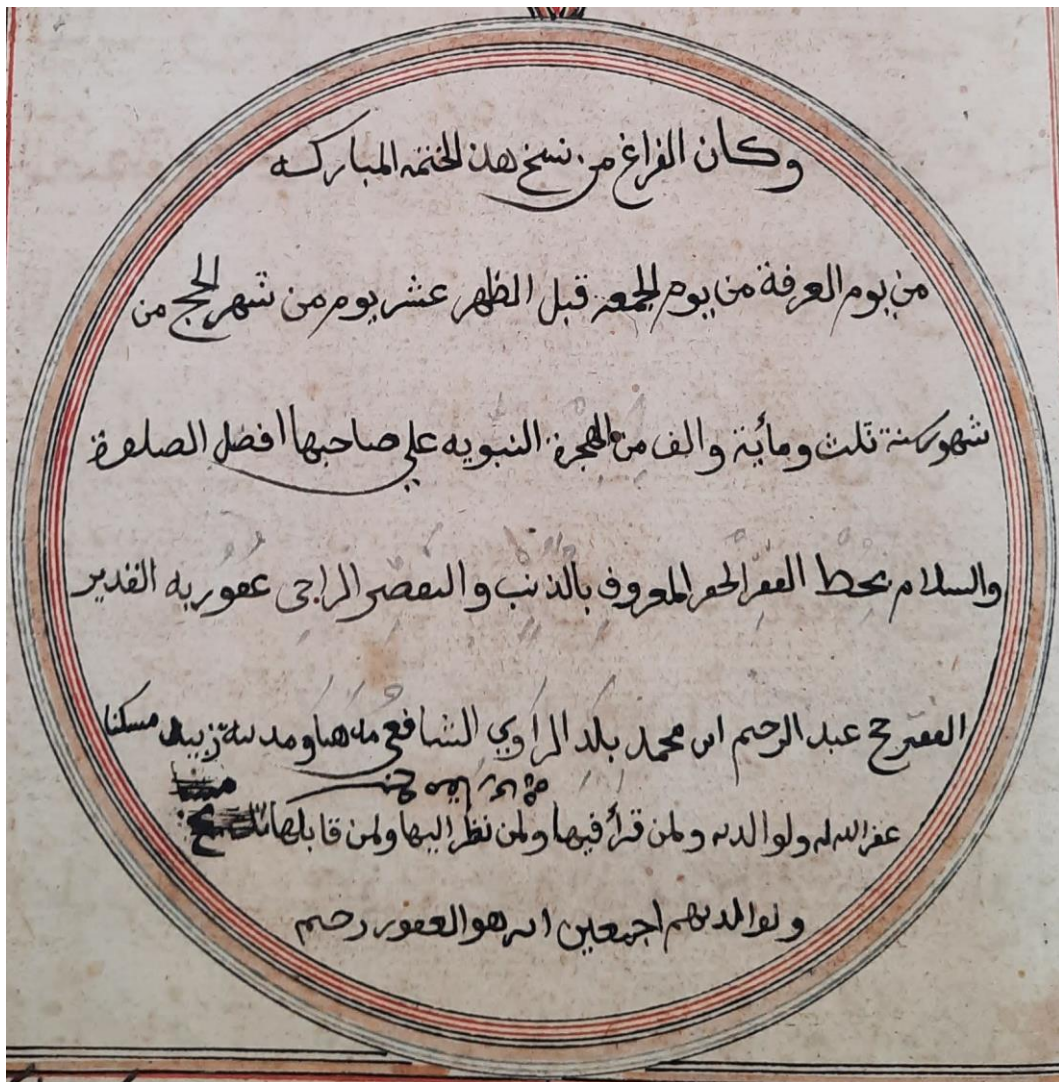


Fig. 3. Colophon of the Qur'an dated 1692 written by Ḥaḡḡ 'Abd al-Rahīm, from Rawa (in Sumatra), but living in Zabīd. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

Rawa is a district in the Mandailing region of North Sumatra²⁵, and in Sumatra the toponym is often written as Rau or Rao after the Minangkabau equivalent term.²⁶ The reformist Padri wars of the early 19th century, battling traditionalist beliefs and practices across West Sumatra, led to the devastation of Rawa lands as the Padris retreated to the north of the Minangkabau region, forcing many Rawa to emigrate to east Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.²⁷ In both these areas, the Rawa were renowned

²⁵ From the dictionary definition of *rawa*, r-a-w, in R.J. Wilkinson, *Kamus Jawi*, 1985, p. 318.

²⁶ These comments on the Rawa are largely based on A.C. Milner, "A note on 'The Rawa'", 1978.

²⁷ Further to Milner 1978, C.W. Watson, "Rawa and Rinchi", 1982, proposed that some of the 'Rawa' migrants in the Malay Peninsula may have originated from Rawang in Kerinci, to the south of Minangkabau in Sumatra, pointing out also that the general meaning of *rawa* in Malay is swampy land, suggesting the toponym could carry broad implications.

for their Islamic religiosity.²⁸ Furthering that scholarly association, one of the ten notables in Mecca mentioned above who signed the letter to the Ottoman Governor of the Hijaz on behalf of the Southeast Asian pilgrims was named “Muḥammad Ṣalīḥ b. Muḥammad Murīd al-Rāwī al-Sammāni al-Ġāwī” (his signature and seal are pictured on the right in Fig. 1).

The manuscript has evidently been quite recently rebound in a modern maroon buckram binding, with the pages trimmed (sometimes cropping the marginal annotations), and with the spine lettered in gold: AL-QURAN AL-KARIM / MASJID AL-QAHHAR / PERMATANG DAMAR LAUT BAYAN LEPAS. However, a few other manuscript fragments can be found in this manuscript, and presently some are bound in while others are encased in melinex and tucked into a sleeve on the inside back cover; unfortunately in the renovation and rebinding of the manuscript the original codicological context of these fragments has been lost. The paper of all these fragments appears to be different from that of the main Qur'an. There are at least four folios from another Qur'an in a fine hand [Fig. 11], with two folios loose and two bound in to the end of the volume (pages visible contain *Sūra* 2, “al-Baqara”, v. 177–179, 210–220 and *Sūra* 5, “al-Mā'ida, v. 19–24). There are also two further folios in a small rounded hand, one bound in to the beginning, with notes on *taǧwīd*, and a loose folio, now in melinex, which bears a colophon confirming the collation (*al-muqābala*) of the *muṣḥaf* with the date of 7 ramaḍān 1104/12 May 1693 in Zabīd, and giving the name of the scribe as ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizǧāǧī al-Zabīdī (his town of origin) al-Ḥanafī (his school of law) [Figs 4, 12]. It is not known for certain if this colophon, given below, refers to the few folios of the Qur'an found alongside.

1. وكان الفراغ من مقابلة هذا المصحف الكريم وقت الضحى
2. سابع شهر رمضان سنة 1104 بمدينة زيد المحمية حرسها الله تعالى
3. بالامن والأمان كتبه الفقير الى الله تعالى عبد الله بن عبد الباقي
4. المزجاجي الزبيدي بلدا الحنفي مذهبا غفر الله له ولوالديه
5. ولمشايجه في الدين ولجميع المسلمين والمسلمات والمؤمنين المومنات
6. الاحيا منهم والاموات وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم

²⁸ A.C. Milner, “A note”, 1978, p. 147.

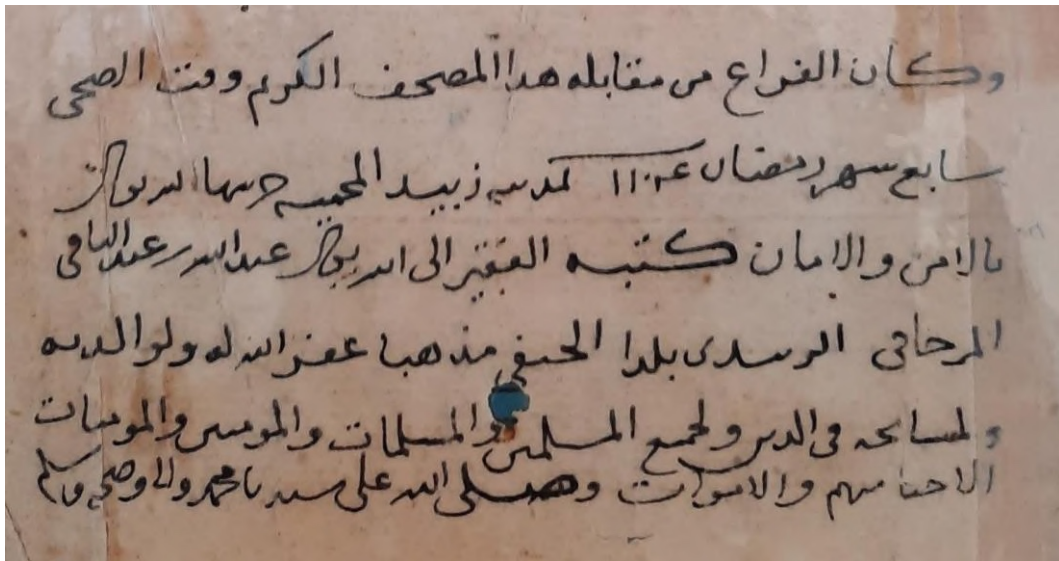


Fig. 4. Colophon for the collation of a Qur'an, dated 1693, written by 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Mizgāgī, of Zabid. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

Inside the Qur'an are some other documents, including a photocopy of a statement, handwritten in Malay in Jawi script in 2006, by Haji Ahmad Fadzilah b. Haji Omar, the chairman of the mosque committee of Permatang Damar Laut, about the origins of the Qur'an manuscript [Fig. 13]:

"Khazanah mushaf al-Qahhar

Masjid al-Qahhar ada menyimpan sebuah al-Qur'an tulisan tangan yang dianggarkan berusia 200 tahun. Al-Qur'an tersebut mengikut cerita daripada orang2 tua, dijumpai oleh seorang nelayan yang bernama Pak Tak Yin. Ketika sedang menjala ikan tiba2 beliau terlihat satu benda yang bersinar2 terapung2 dipermukaan laut. Pak Tak Yin terus menghampirinya ternyata ia adalah sebuah al-Qur'an. Mengikut lejeda al-Qur'an yang hanyut itu 7 buah semuanya dan yang ditemui oleh Pak Tak Yin itu salah satu daripadanya. Maka dengan itu al-Qur'an tersebut digelar al-Qur'an Pak Tak Yin sehingga ke hari ini.

[In roman script:]

Tertulis pada Al Quran ini tarikh tahun hijrah 1104H. Mengikut kiraan Al Quran ini berusia 323 tahun atau TM 1683. [With some calculations converting the hijrah date.]

The precious Qur'an of al-Qahhar

Al-Qahhar Mosque holds a hand-written Qur'an estimated to be 200 years old. According to the tales of the old folks, this Qur'an was found by a fisherman named Pak Tak Yin. As he was casting his fishing net, he suddenly saw something shiny floating on the surface of the sea. He approached it, and saw that it was a Qur'an. According to the legend, there were seven floating Qur'ans in total, and the Qur'an that Pak Tak Yin got was one of them. And so that is why the Qur'an has come to be known as 'the Qur'an of Pak Tak Yin' to this day.

Written in the Qur'an is the hijrah date of 1104 H, and so according to calculations this Qur'an is 323 years old, from 1683 of the Christian era (sic)."



Fig. 5. Illuminated frames at the start of the Qur'an, 1692. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.



Fig. 6. The start of *ḡuz*' 25 (*Sura* 41, "Fuṣṣilat", v. 47). Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.



Fig. 7. *Sūra* 107, “al-Mā’ūn” to *Sūra* 112, “al-Ihlaš”. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

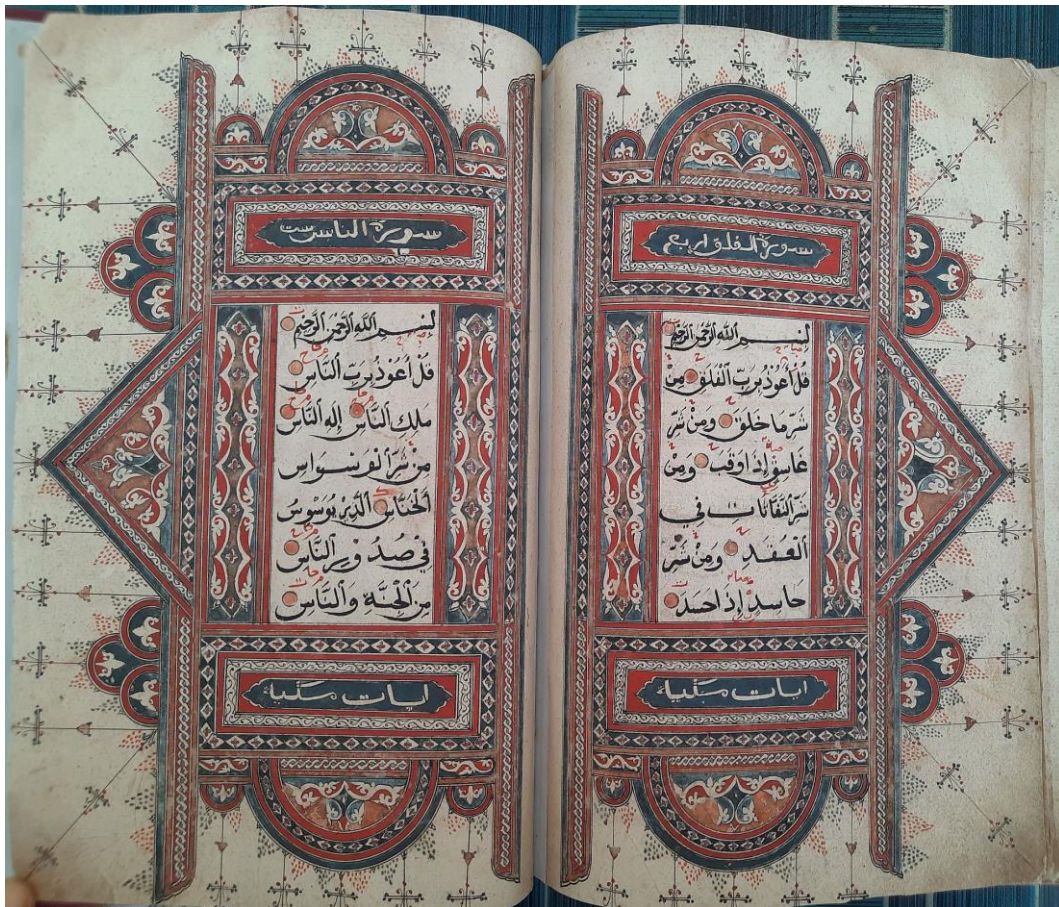


Fig. 8. Illuminated frames at the end of the Qur'an, 1692. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

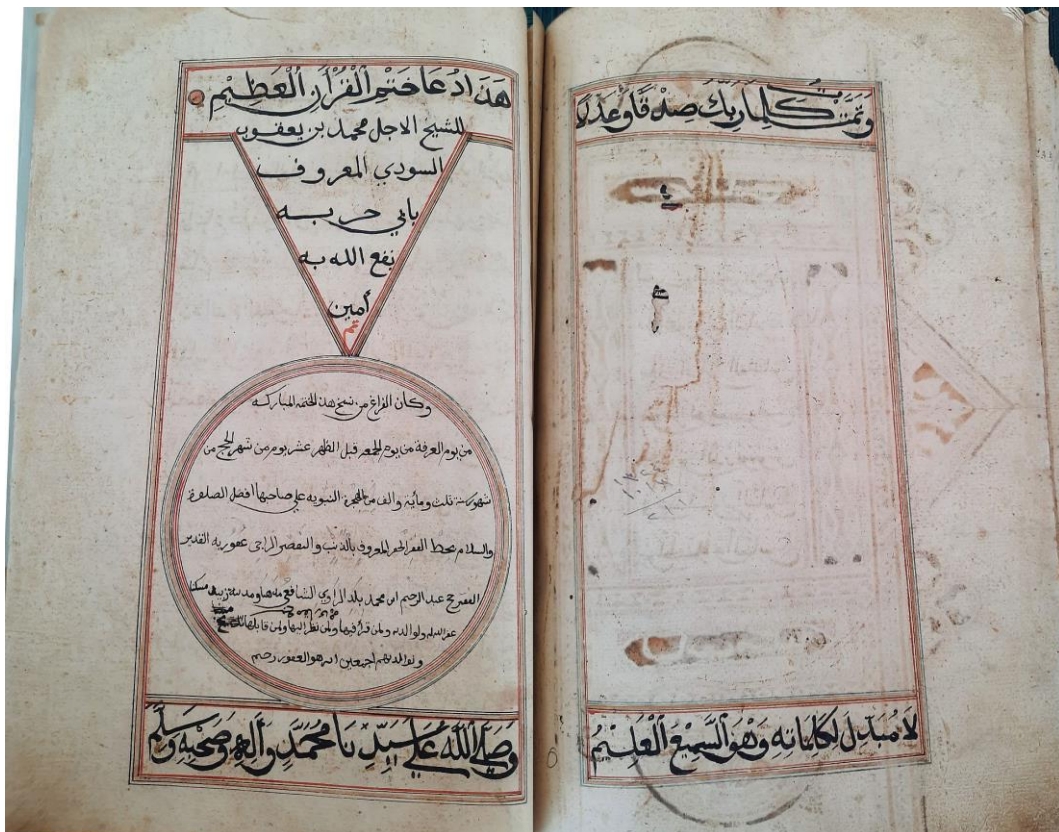


Fig. 9. Colophon of the Qur'an dated 1692 with *taṣliya*, and start of the prayer on completion of the Qur'an (*du'ā' ḥatm al-Qur'an*) of Muḥammad Ya'qūb al-Sūdi. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.



Fig. 10. Decorative tailpiece at the end of the prayers. Just visible is the next folio bound in, from a different Qur'an, containing *Sūra* 2, "al-Baqara", v. 177–179. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

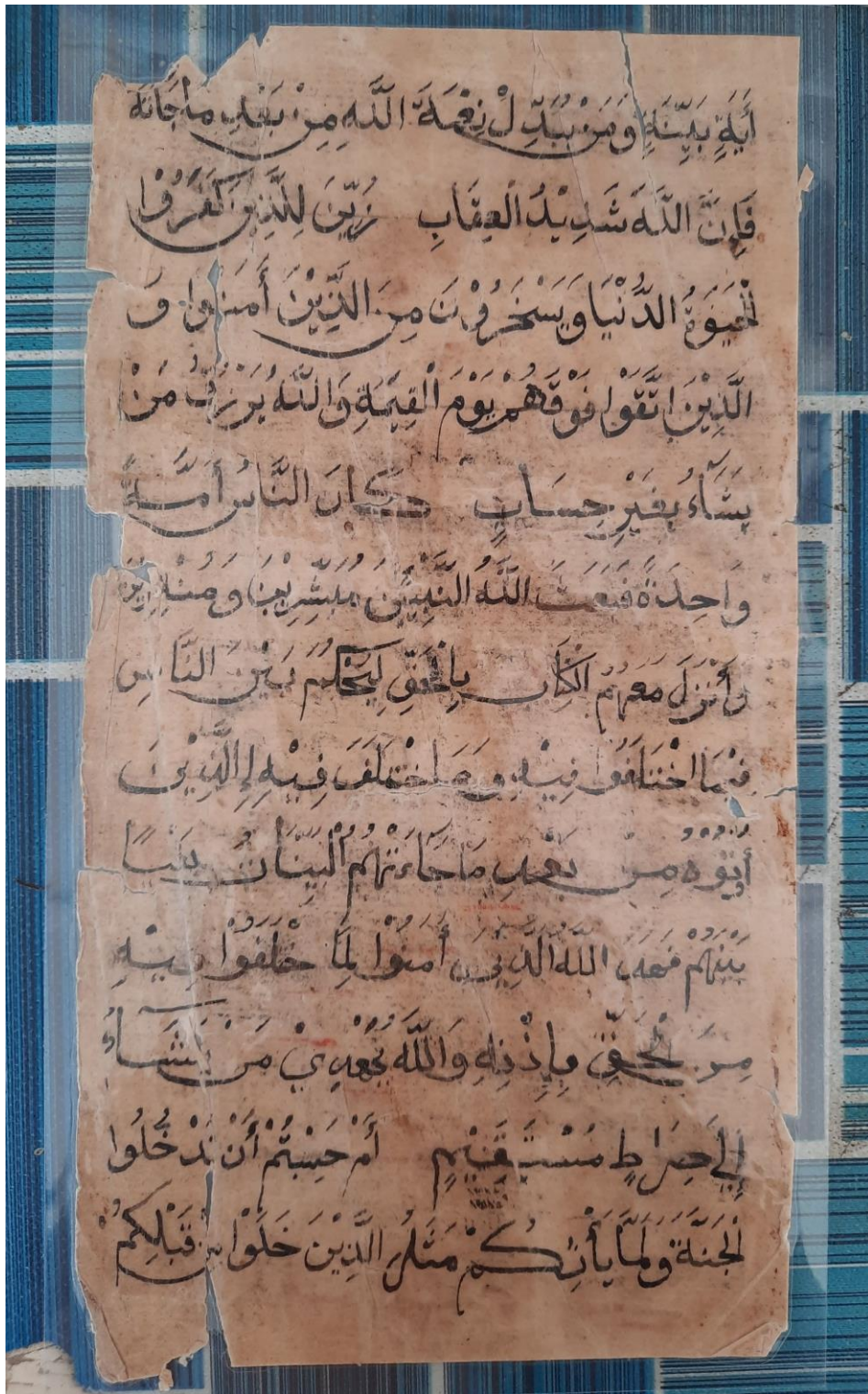


Fig. 11. A single folio with Qur'anic text, *Sūrah* 2, "al-Baqara", v. 210–224. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

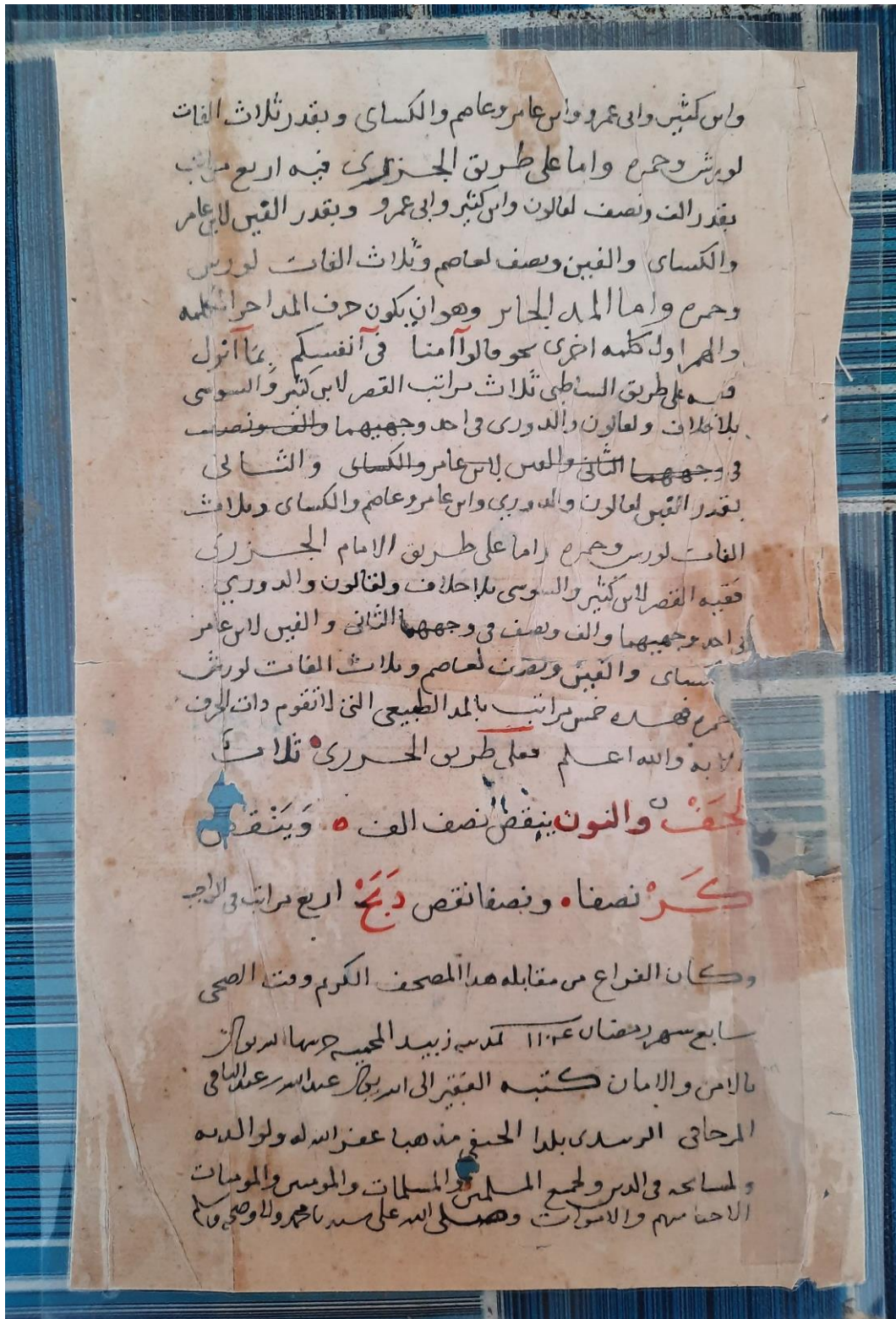


Fig. 12. A single folio with a colophon on completion of the collation of the Qur'an by 'Abd Allāh al-Mizgāḡī, of Zabīd, dated 1693. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

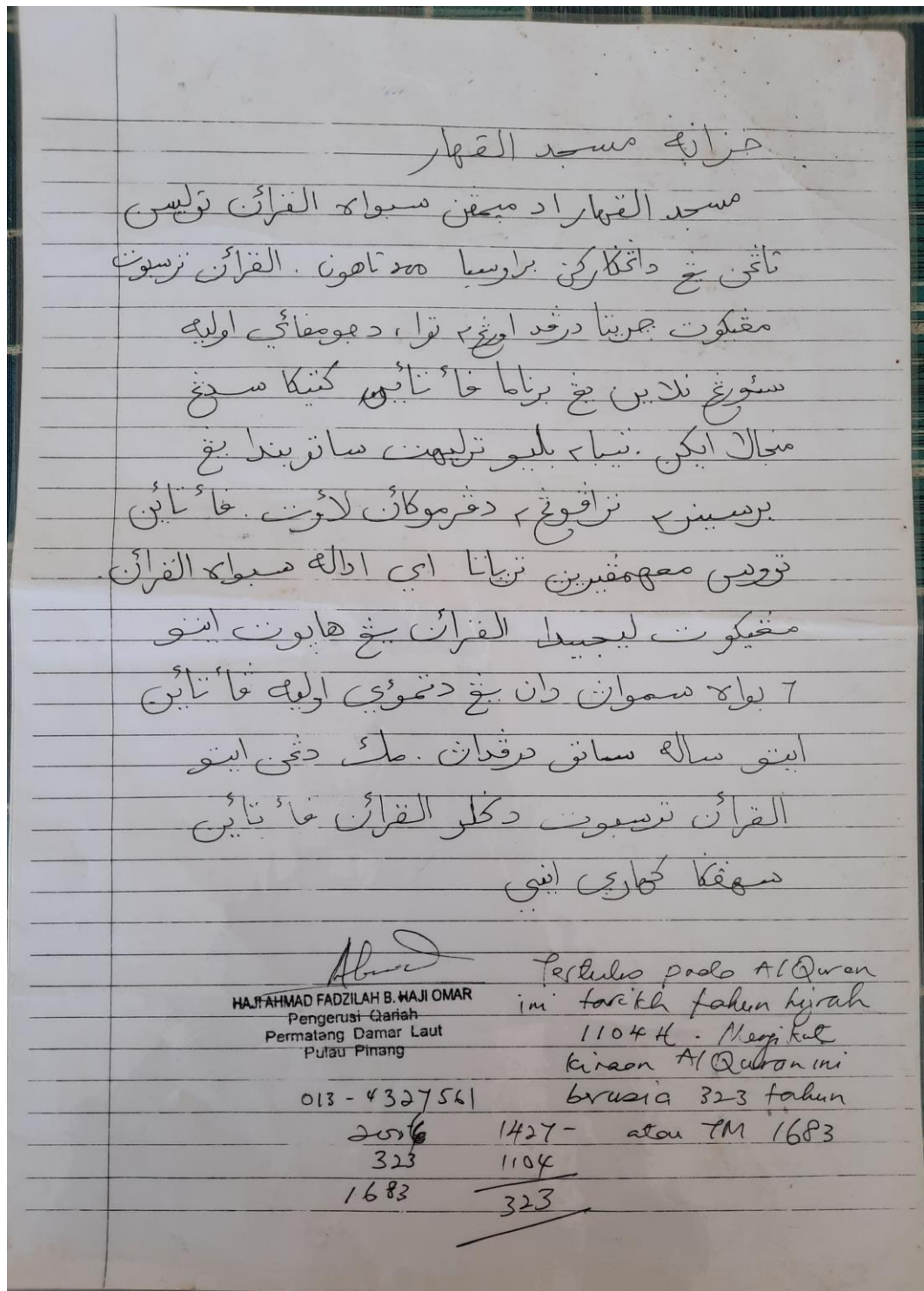


Fig. 13. Story of the origins of the Qur'an, by Haji Ahmad Fadzilah, chairman of the mosque committee, 2006. Masjid Permatang Damar Laut.

IV. Qur'an of 1740 held in Pekanbaru, Riau

This Qur'an manuscript is held in the Museum Sang Nila Utama (MSNU, shelfmark 07.001.2017), the provincial museum in Pekanbaru, the capital of Riau province, Sumatra, Indonesia, where Gallop was able to inspect it personally on 26 November 2018. At the end of the Qur'an is a pair of very typical Sulawesi diaspora geometric illuminated frames, coloured in red, blue and black, with the reserved white of the background paper playing a prominent role in the palette [Fig. 16]. As found in 18th century examples of this school, there is an outer illuminated border hugging the edges of both facing pages.

The Qur'an is written on laid European paper, with chain lines and an indistinct watermark, measuring 32 × 21 cm. Each page of the Qur'an has 13 lines of text, written in thick black ink, set in ruled frames (from inside to out) of red-black-thick red-black-black lines. The margins are full of variant *qirā'āt* readings written diagonally in red and blue ink. Sūrah headings are set in ruled frames and written in blue ink, as is the place of revelation, with the number of verses in red ink [Fig. 17]. The divisions of the text into *ǧuz'* and parts thereof are marked prominently: each new *ǧuz'* is heralded with the first line written in bold, with a more elaborate verse marker than normal, and in the margin there is a striking calligraphic composition in red ink stating the number of the *ǧuz'*, infilled with red and blue dots [Fig. 18]. Subdivisions of each *ǧuz'* into half, quarters and eighths are also marked with an elaborate *āya* marker and a marginal ornament inscribed with the name of the division, with other marginal ornaments inscribed with 'ayn signify *rukū'*.

At the end of the Qur'an is a *taṣṭiḥa* followed overleaf by the colophon, set in a decorated triangular frame, giving the date of completion of copying as Thursday 4 ḡumāda al-ūlā 1153/28 July 1740, and the name of the scribe as Ibrahīm (sic) b. Aḡmad b. al-Āmīn al-Ḥalīl, of the Shafī'i school of law, Zabīd being his country and the place he was born in (*al-Zabīdī baladan wa-mawlidan*) [Figs 14, 19]. The text of the colophon is given below:

1. تم المصحف الكريم بحمد الله وعونه وحسن توفيقه
2. ضحى يوم الخميس المبارك 4 شهر جادى الأولى احد شهر
3. سنة 1153 على يد العبد الفقير الى ربه الملك الجليل
4. ابراهيم (هكذا) بن احمد بن الأمين الخليل نسبا الشافعي
5. مذهبا الزيدي بلدا ومولدا عفا الله عنه
6. وغفر له لوالده ولمشائخه في الدين
7. واحبابه وجميع المسلمين امين
8. والمحمد لله رب
9. العالمين



Fig. 14. Colophon of the Qur'an, dated 4 ġumāda al-ūlā 1153/28 July 1740 (note the old 'Eastern' form of the numeral 5) by Ibrahīm (sic), from Zabīd. MSNU 07.001.2017.

This is followed by 13 pages of prayers, followed by a second colophon set within a decorated triangular undulating frame coloured in red, written on Friday, 11 ġumādā al-ūlā 1153/4 August 1740, showing us that it took him a week to copy these prayers [Figs 15, 21]:

1. تم الدعاء المبارك ضحى يوم الجمعة المبارك
2. لعله 11 شهر جمادى الأولى سنة 1153
3. والحمد لله رب
4. العالمين ○



Fig. 15. Colophon at the end of the prayers, dated 11 ġumādā al-ūlā 1153/4 August 1740, with salutations.
MSNU 07.001.2017.

The beginning of the manuscript is missing, and the Qur'anic text begins in the middle of *Sūra* 3, "Āl 'Imrān", v. 82. This page is quite worn and discoloured, suggesting it had served as the first page of the manuscript for quite some time. However, in 2017 the Endangered Archives Programme project EAP1020/3 digitised a few manuscripts belonging to Mr Abdul Latif Hasan, in Bangkinang, Kampar, a small town about 60 km

west of Pekanbaru. This collection included a fragment, EAP1020/3/2, consisting of just six folios from a Qur'an, which can be identified as originating from the same Qur'an in the MSNU.²⁹ The contents of the six folios or 12 pages are as follows, with two gaps in the sequence: f. 1: *Sūra* "al-Baqara", v. 278–283; [a gap of 1 folio]; ff. 2–5: *Sūra* 3, "Āl 'Imrān", v. 7–49; [a gap of 1 folio]; f. 6: v. 61–73. After a further gap of one folio, this fragment joins up with the MSNU Qur'an.

A few years later, in February 2021, a Facebook page in the name of Nasprizal Alfarizki, of Bangkinang, published an image of a bifolium recognizably from a Sulawesi diaspora geometric style Qur'an. This bifolium in fact fills the two gaps in the sequence digitised by EAP1020/3/2, as it contains *Sūra* 2, "al-Baqara", v. 283–*Sūra* 3, "Āl 'Imrān", v. 7, and v. 49–61 [Fig. 22]. Unfortunately the remaining missing pages of this Qur'an, including the opening pages which almost certainly would have displayed a set of illuminated frames similar to those at the end, have not yet been found.

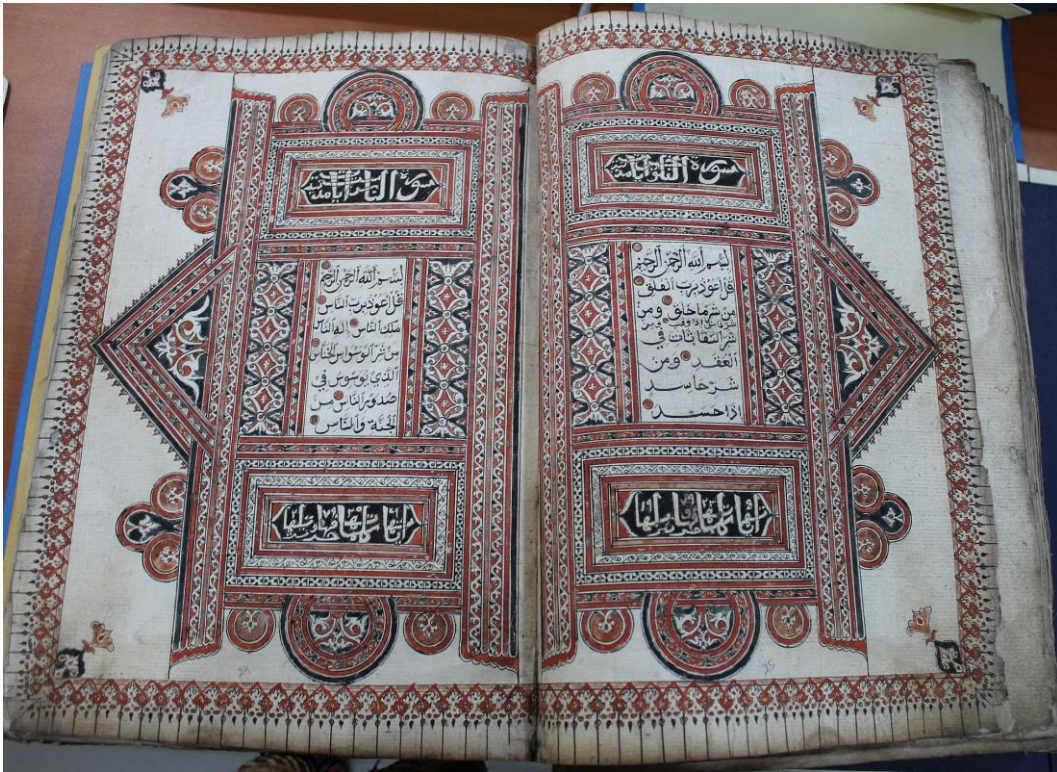


Fig. 16. Illuminated frames at the end of the Qur'an. MSNU 07.001.2017.

²⁹ <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1020-3-2>



Fig. 17. Beginning of Sūrah 31, “Luqman”, with variant readings annotated in the margins. MSNU 07.001.2017.



Fig. 18. The start of gūz' 20, placed here at Sūrah 27, “al-Naml”, v. 56. MSNU 07.001.2017.



Fig. 19. Colophon page by Ibrahim (sic), from Zabid, with *taṣliya*. MSNU 07.001.2017.



Fig. 20. Start of 13 pages of prayers on completion of the Qur'an, *du'ā' ḥatm al-Qur'an*. MSNU 07.001.2017.



Fig. 21. Colophon to the prayers, followed by *taṣṭiḥ*. MSNU 07.001.2017.



Fig. 22. Bifolium from the beginning of the Qur'an, showing (right) last verse of *Sūrah 2*, "al-Baqara", v. 286 and beginning of *Sūrah 3*, "Al 'Imrān", v. 1-7, and (left), v. 49-54. From the Facebook page of Nasrizal Alfarizki, Bangkinang, 26 Feb. 2021.

V. A tale of two Qur'ans

Presented above is the first full description of two Qur'ans from Southeast Asia with Zabīd connections, which testify to the intertwining of Southeast Asian scholarly circles and Yemeni scribal networks. One Qur'an was copied by a scribe from Rawa in Sumatra in 1692, possibly in Zabīd. It is currently held in the Malay world, along with other manuscripts written by Zabīdī scribes, and certainly brought from Yemen. The other Qur'an was written by a Zabīdī scribe in 1740, perhaps in Sumatra, near to where the Qur'an is currently held in the provincial museum in Riau. Neither Qur'an states precisely the location of writing, but there are hints in the verbal forms used in the colophons. The Sumatran scribe is living in Zabīd (*Zabīd maskanan*), suggesting the Qur'an was copied there. In the other Qur'an, Ibrāhīm (sic) describes himself as coming from, and having been born in, Zabīd (*al-Zabīdī baladan wa-mawlidan*), this full phrasing perhaps less likely to have been used if he was in Zabīd at the time of writing.

So few Southeast Asian Qur'an manuscripts are known from this relatively early period, from the late 17th century to the first half of the 18th century, that our understanding of book production has to be pieced together, slowly and painstakingly, from a close study of the constituent elements of extant manuscripts.

The illuminated frames in both manuscripts are in a recognizably Southeast Asian idiom, in the distinctive Sulawesi diaspora geometric style, and as such form part of a cluster of strikingly similar Qur'an manuscripts found in different parts of the Malay Archipelago over a period of 150 years. It is perhaps significant that in the 1692 Qur'an, copied by a Sumatran scribe in Zabīd, the illuminated frames were definitely created at the same time as the copying of the manuscript, as the pages are contiguous and the Qur'anic text flows seamlessly from the penultimate suras on a 'normal' text page, onto the two facing illuminated pages containing the final two suras, "al-Falaq" and "al-Nās", and then onto the double colophon pages with salutations. It need not be surprising to find such a Malay-world aesthetic in a Qur'an created so far from Southeast Asia, for in an earlier study it was shown that manuscripts illuminated in distinctively 'Acehnese' and 'Patani' styles were created in the Hijaz in the 19th century by scribes from those respective regions.³⁰ However, in the 1740 Qur'an copied by a Zabīdī scribe, the illuminated double frames enclosing *Sūra* 113, "al-Falaq" and *Sūra* 114, "al-Nās", which are blank on the reverse of each folio, have been created by another hand—doubtless Southeast Asian, and probably also responsible for writing the text—and then inserted into the already textually complete Qur'an, thus duplicating the presence of the final two sūrahs.³¹

³⁰ A.T. Gallop, "An Acehnese style", 2004, p. 210.

³¹ A comparison with the other Qur'an manuscripts in the Sulawesi diaspora geometric style reveals that in addition to the Pekanbaru Qur'an (Q6), four others, labelled as Q8, Q9, Q10 and Q12 in A.T. Gallop, "Migrating manuscript art", 2024, have illuminated double frames blank on the reverse which were created by the same scribe/artist, and added to the Qur'an manuscripts.

Apart from the lavish double frames, the many other smaller decorative elements—from the compass-drawn round coloured verse markers, to the marginal ornaments marking textual divisions, and the calligraphic *ǧuz'* markers—are all broadly similar to those found in other Southeast Asian Qur'an manuscripts, even of a later period. Hardly any artistic resonances can be seen in a comparison with contemporaneous Yemeni Qur'an manuscripts,³² except for a very few elements. The first is the wavy outline of decorated tailpieces in both manuscripts [Figs 10, 21], which is not usual in Southeast Asia, but very common in Yemeni manuscripts.³³ Another, textual, feature is the shadowing or rubricating with red ink of bowls or horizontal ligatures of certain letters, especially in salutations [Fig. 15]. However, it is the graphic presentation of benedictions and salutations—set in ruled panels, at the top or bottom of pages [Figs 9, 19, 21]—which is certainly unusual for Southeast Asia, and may conceivably derive from Yemeni prototypes.³⁴

The main codicological aspect where we can be certain of Yemeni impact is palaeographical: in the handwriting of the 1740 Qur'an copied by a scribe from Zabīd. The hand is indeed bold and characterful, and written with quite a thick nib, and does bear similarities with other Yemeni Qur'an manuscripts seen [Fig. 23]. The ink is especially distinctive: it is very strong and black but wonderfully stable, with no hint of any degrading associated with the presence of iron-gall. The 1692 Qur'an, written by the Sumatran scribe in Zabīd, uses a similar strong black ink and relatively wide nib [Fig. 24].

Both these Qur'ans were found in Southeast Asia. It is hoped that one day manuscripts might be found in Zabīd itself left by some of the many Jawi scribes and scholars who journeyed across the Indian Ocean to this great city of Islamic learning.

³² Comparisons have been made with digitised Yemeni Qur'ans held in Leiden and at Princeton, and digitised by HMML.

³³ Examples can be seen within the selection of images available in: A. Regourd (dir.), *Catalogue cumulé des bibliothèques de manuscrits de Zabīd*. 1. *Bibliothèque 'Abd al-Rahman al-Hadhrami*, fasc. 1, 2006, mss m/h 7/5, p. 194, 7/9, p. 196, 14/2, pp. 200–201, 19, pp. 204–205; fasc. 2, 2008, mss m/h 49, p. 201, 50, p. 202.

³⁴ As commented in A.T. Gallop, "Qur'an manuscripts from Southeast Asia", 2023, pp. 13–17.



Fig. 23. The hand of Ibrahīm (sic) of Zabīd, in the Qur'an of 1740.

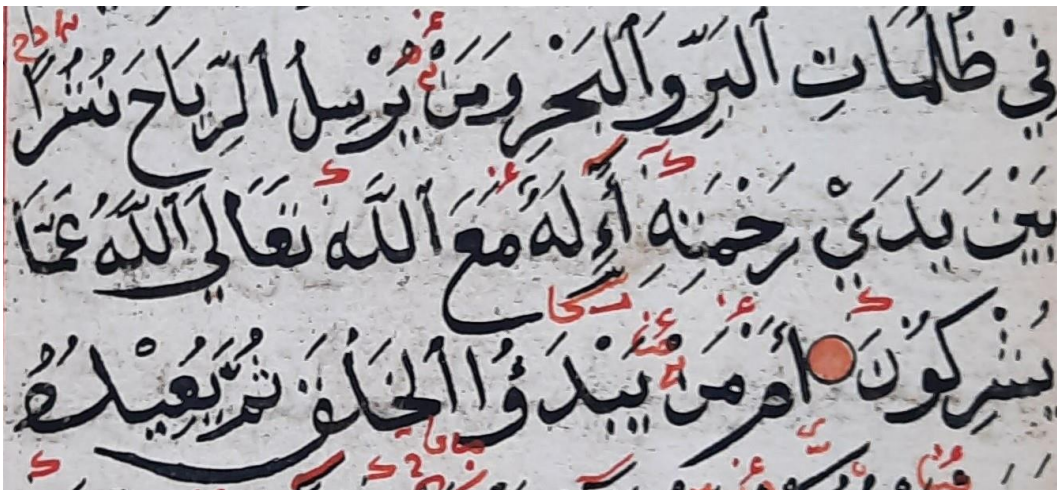


Fig. 24. The hand of Ḥağğ 'Abd al-Raḥīm from Rawa, Sumatra, in the Qur'an of 1692 copied in Zabīd.

Acknowledgements

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**IRAQ – SAMARKAND – ST. PETERSBURG – TASHKENT:
THE HISTORY OF THE “‘UṬMĀN QUR’ĀN”/SAMARKAND CODEX
AND ITS EXTENSIVE DESCRIPTION¹**

Author

Alexei Fyodorovich Shebunin (1867–1937)

Introduction, edition, annotation, indices & translation

Maxim Yosefi

(University of Göttingen & University of Uppsala)²

Abstract

The article provides a detailed description of the Kufic manuscript of the Qur’ān, known as the “Samarkand Codex”, the “Samarkand Kufic Qur’ān”, and the “Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān”. The author of the description pays attention to the manuscript’s history, its external appearance, content, evolving writing style throughout the manuscript, division into *sūras* and *āyas*, as well as the spelling system. Additionally, the article describes later-added decorative elements and traces of manuscript restoration. It is supplemented with illustrative tables accompanied by detailed commentary. The edited and annotated English translation of the article also includes illustrations placed throughout the text to facilitate the understanding of the descriptions.

Résumé

Iraq – Samarcande – Saint-Petersburg – Tachkent : histoire du « Coran de ‘Uṭmān »/codex de Samarcande et sa complète description

L'article fournit une description détaillée du manuscrit kufique du Coran, connu sous le nom de « Codex de Samarcande », le « Coran coufique de Samarcande » et le « Coran de ‘Uṭmān ». L'auteur de la description accorde une attention particulière à l'histoire du manuscrit, à son apparence externe, à son contenu, à l'évolution du style d'écriture tout au long du manuscrit, à la division en sourates et versets, ainsi qu'au système d'orthographe. De plus, l'article décrit les éléments décoratifs ajoutés ultérieurement et les traces de restauration du manuscrit. Il est complété par des tableaux illustratifs accompagnés de commentaires minutieux. La traduction anglaise éditée et annotée de l'article comprend également des illustrations placées tout au long du texte pour faciliter la compréhension des descriptions.

¹ Original reference: Alexei F. Shebunin, “Kuficheskiy Koran Imperatorskoy St. Peterburgskoy Publichnoy Biblioteki/ Куфический Коран Императорской С.-Петербургской Публичной библиотеки” [The Kufic Qur’ān from the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library], 1891. [In Russian]. The manuscript Qur’ān, known today as “the Samarkand [Kufic] Qur’ān”, and referred to also as “the ‘Uṭmān Qur’ān”, “the Samarkand codex”, and “the Tashkent Qur’ān” was housed in the St. Petersburg Public Library for 48 years: from the late 1869 until December 29, 1917. [N. o. the Ed.].

² I wish to express my gratitude to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) for its support of my fellowship (DAAD PRIME) at the University of Göttingen and Uppsala University, during which, among other things, this edited translation was completed. [N. o. the Ed.].

الخلاصة

العراق – سمرقند – سانت بطرسبرغ – طشقند: تاريخ “مصحف عثمان”/مخطوطة سمرقند ووصفها الشامل تقدم المقالة وصفاً مفصلاً لمخطوطة القرآن الكريم، المحفوظة بسمرقند المعروفة باسم “مخطوطة سمرقند”، و”بمصحف عثمان”، وهي مكتوبة بالخط الكوفي، يولي الكاتب اهتماماً خاصاً بوصف المخطوطة: تاريخ نسخها، ومظهرها الخارجي، ومحتواها، وتطور أسلوب الكتابة طوال المخطوطة، وتقسيمها إلى سور وآيات، وكذلك نظام الإملاء. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، تصف المقالة العناصر الزخرفية التي تمت إضافتها لاحقاً وآثار الترميم الذي أجري للمخطوطة. وتأتي المقالة مكملةً لجداول توضيحية مصحوبة بتعليقات مفصلة. تتضمن الترجمة الإنجليزية المحررة والمشروحة للمقالة أيضاً رسوم توضيحية موضوعة طول النص لتسهيل فهم الوصف.

Аннотация

Ирак – Самарканд – С.-Петербург – Ташкент: история “Корана Османа”/Самаркандской рукописи и ее подробное описание

В статье подробно описана древняя кувическая рукопись Корана, известная как “Самаркандский кодекс”, “Самаркандский кувический Коран” и “Коран Османа”. Автор изучает историю манускрипта, его внешний вид, содержание, стиль письма, систему деления на суры и аяты, а также особенности правописания. Кроме того, в статье описываются декоративные элементы, добавленные позднее того времени, когда была выполнена рукопись, и следы реставрации манускрипта. В приложении даны иллюстративные таблицы с подробными комментариями. Редакторский английский перевод статьи содержит иллюстрации, расположенные по ходу текста для лучшего понимания описаний.

Keywords

Manuscript Qur’ān — St. Petersburg — Kufic Qur’ān — the Samarkand Qur’ān — the Tashkent Qur’ān, the Qur’ān of Uṭmān — the Samarkand codex

Mots-clés

Manuscrit du Coran — Saint-Pétersbourg — Coran Koufique — le Coran de Samarcande — le Coran de Tachkent — le Coran de Uṭmān — le codex de Samarkand

الكلمات الرئيسية

مخطوطة القرآن الكريم — سانت بطرسبرغ — القرآن الكوفي — مصحف سمرقند — مصحف طشقند — مصحف عثمان — كتاب سمرقند

Ключевые слова

Рукописный Коран — Санкт-Петербург — Кувический Коран — Самаркандский Коран — Ташкентский Коран — Коран Османа — Самаркандский список

Introduction to the English translation (by Maxim Yosefi)

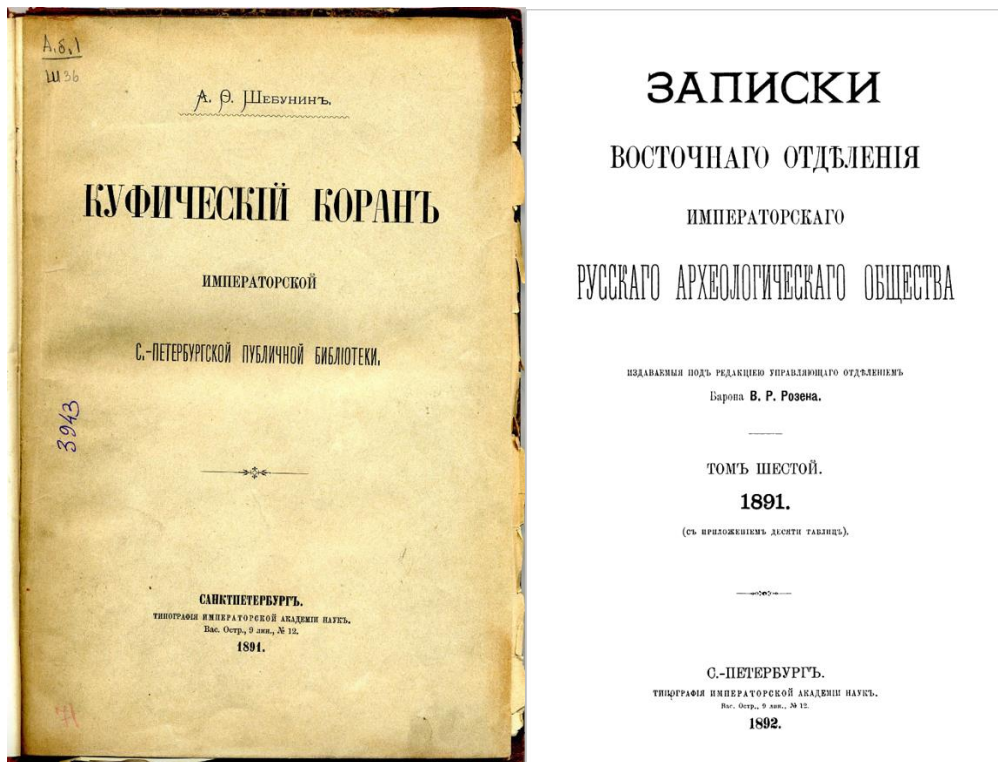
The original title of Alexei Shebunin’s detailed description of the Samarkand Qur’ān reads “The Kufic Qur’ān of the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library”. By 1890, when

the author was working on the description of this renowned codex, it had already been housed in St. Petersburg for twenty years. At that time and even eleven years later, referring to one of the most ancient surviving Qur’ānic manuscripts as “the St. Petersburg Qur’ān”,³ Shebunin could not anticipate that his country would fall in October 1917, after which the manuscript would return to Samarkand and eventually become famous as the Samarkand Qur’ān or Samarkand Codex. Although the relic has found its present home in Tashkent (and is even sometimes called “the Tashkent Qur’ān”), the latter titles are unquestionably fitting, given that the manuscript plausibly has been kept and worshipped in Samarkand since the fifteenth century CE.

Since the manuscript was revered by Muslims for centuries as the legendary Qur’ān of the third Rightly Guided Caliph ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān (r. 644–656 CE), it is often referred to as the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān. According to tradition, the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān was not only inscribed by the hand of the Righteous Caliph but also bears stains of his blood, as he was assassinated while reading his copy of the holy book. Shebunin concludes that, most likely, the copy was inscribed in the early second century of the Hiġra in Iraq. Its script is early Kufic: with a straight final ۞ and the final ۞ written on the line. It has almost no diacritical marks, but, importantly, some of them are occasionally inscribed, specifically in the form of cut-off tips of the tops of the letters. Among the first four copies of the Qur’ān made during the time of ‘Uṭmān (the Medinan Qur’ān, the Damascene and the Basran copies made from the Medinan one, and the Kufan copy made from the Basran one), the Samarqand Codex has the least number of orthographic discrepancies with the Basran copy. As discussed further, even before Shebunin, and even within the Muslim community, there was scholarly opinion expressed that the Samarkand manuscript could not possibly belong to ‘Uṭmān. Nevertheless, without a doubt, Shebunin extensively described one of the oldest surviving handwritten Qur’āns in the world. The object of his study represents immense historical, cultural, and religious value, thus making his description a priceless contribution to Qur’ānic studies.

Completed in February 1891, Shebunin’s description of the Codex was published in the same year as a separate print. In 1892, it was reprinted in the sixth volume of the Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society, where works presented at the society’s meetings in 1891 were collected (see ill. 1).

³ In the article of 1891, A. F. Shebunin refers to the Samarkand Codex as “The Kufic Qur’ān of the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library” (in the title) and “our Qur’ān” (throughout the text). Eleven years later, in the article “The Kufic Qur’ān of the Khedival Library in Cairo” (1902), Shebunin references the Samarkand Codex as “the St. Petersburg Qur’ān”.



Ill. 1. In the photo on the left—the cover of the separate print of Shebunin’s article “The Kufic Qur’ān of the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library” (1891). On the right—the cover of the sixth volume of the *Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society* (1892), in which the article was reprinted.

To the reader of this article 133 years later, it is evident that it was executed at a very high professional level and required extensive preparation in the field of Arabic manuscript work, meticulousness, and tremendous effort. That is why, when we correlate this work with Shebunin’s biography, two things immediately strike us. First, it turns out that this impeccably executed description of one of the oldest known manuscripts of the Qur’ān in the world was carried out by a 22-year-old young man—a recent graduate of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at St. Petersburg University (Shebunin turned 23 in December 1880, just a couple of months before the completion of the description). Second, it appears that this impressive work was done as a hobby or noble mission rather than as part of official scholarly work or an academic career. At the time of its creation, Shebunin had already entered service in the Training Section of Oriental Languages of the First Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (located in St. Petersburg, which was then the capital of the Russian Empire). He worked on the manuscript description in his free time while serving in the foreign ministry and awaiting his first diplomatic assignment abroad. This eloquently attests to the level of the St. Petersburg School of Arabic and Islamic Studies in the late nineteenth cen-

tury under Baron Viktor Romanovich von Rosen⁴ (1849–1908), especially in terms of manuscript work.

Baron Rosen was Shebunin’s professor of Arabic at St. Petersburg University in the second half of the 1880s. Reportedly, he supported the Faculty graduates willing to enter a diplomatic career and even used his connections to help them get a job in the Ministry. At the same time, Rosen was even more willing to support those students who decided to dedicate themselves to scholarship and academic work. Apparently, he found it difficult to support Shebunin in just one aspect. The professor saw in the student a future prominent diplomat, but did not want to lose in him a scholar. Therefore, even if recommending Shebunin for diplomatic service, he definitely encouraged him to devote his free time to the study of Arabic manuscripts, especially since the young man was expected to be serving in countries where he would have access to them. Rosen could have been the inspiration for the idea of starting this work already in St. Petersburg and specifically with the Samarkand Codex. At that time, Rosen not only worked as Professor and Chair of Arabic but also stood at the head of the Oriental Section of the Russian Imperial Archaeological Society. As we read on the cover of the sixth volume of the Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Society, in which Shebunin’s article was reprinted, it was “published under the editorship of the Director of the [Oriental] Section [of the Archaeological Society] Baron V.R. Rosen”. Another source of inspiration could have been Professor Vasily Dmitrievich Smirnov (1846–1922),⁵ a Turkologist, who served as the head of the Department of Oriental Books at the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library. Around the time when Shebunin was working at the Public Library on the description of the Samarkand Codex, he became Smirnov’s son-in-law, and naturally received support from him.

The circle of people who ultimately assisted the young researcher with materials is truly impressive. Thus, the eminent archaeologist Nikolai Ivanovich Veselovsky (1848–1918)⁶ provided him with copies of documents related to the acquisition of the

⁴ Born in Reval (now Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, which at that time was administered by the Russian Governorate of Estland) and educated in St. Petersburg and Leipzig (where he became close friends with his fellow student Ignatz Goldziher, 1850–1921), Baron Rosen held various positions throughout his career. He served as Professor and Chair of Arabic at St. Petersburg University from 1885 to 1908, during which time he also held the position of Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Languages from 1893 to 1902. Additionally, he was Director of the Asiatic Museum (now the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts) of the Russian Academy of Sciences from 1881 to 1882, Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1900, and Director of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society from 1885 to 1908.

⁵ In addition to serving for almost half a century as the head of the Department of Literature in Eastern Languages at the Imperial Public Library (from the early 1870s until the beginning of the 1920s), Professor Smirnov also taught Turkish language, literature, and the history of Turkey at the Department of Turkish-Tatar Literature of the Faculty of Oriental Languages from 1873 until the end of his life in 1922.

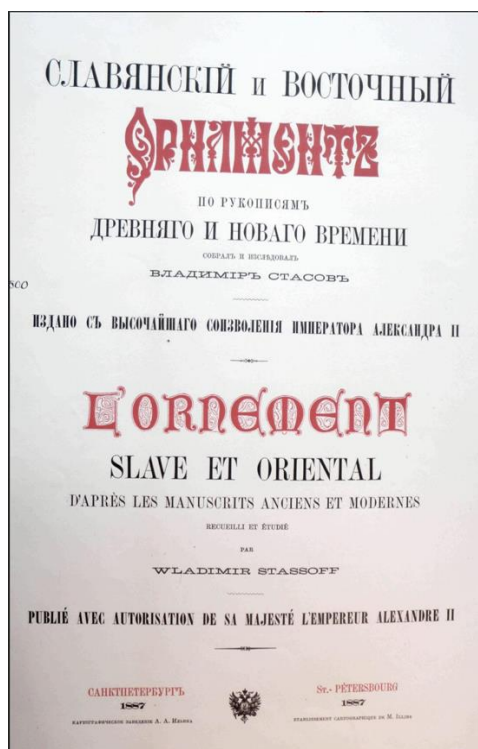
⁶ An eminent archaeologist and orientalist with expertise in the ancient history of Central Asia, Nikolai Ivanovich Veselovsky served as a professor at St. Petersburg University since 1890 and was a corresponding member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences since 1914. Veselovsky was a pioneering figure in excavating Afrasiab, the oldest part of Samarkand, as well as notable kurgans in Southern Russia and Ukraine. The most noteworthy among these kurgans are Kelermes, Kostromskaya, and Solokha, all associated with the Scythians, along with the Maikop kurgan representing the Early Bronze Age Maikop

Samarkand Codex. The major pioneer in the archaeological study of Samarkand, Veselovsky was the most relevant figure who could clarify the circumstances of the acquisition of the Qur’ān, for in late 1869, when the manuscript was transported from Turkestan to St. Petersburg, he collected information about the history of this treasure for a document entitled “On the search of antiquities in the Zeravshan District [of Turkestan]”. The mentioned Professor Vasily Smirnov assisted Shebunin by finding in Turkic sources information on ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Uṭmān al-Bulgārī al-Ūtiz-Īmānī (d. 1250/1834), the person who, reportedly, restored the Samarkand Codex at the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār *madrasa* in Samarkand by inscribing some lost parts and correcting the damaged script. When Shebunin needed photographs of examples of writing and orthography from other ancient manuscript Qur’āns, Baron Rosen obtained for him a photograph of a fragment of the Meccan Qur’ān, which was taken by the Russian consul in Kashgar, to whom this fragment was demonstrated by one of the pilgrims. When Shebunin needed selected facsimiles of the Paris Codex, Vladimir Vasilievich Stasov⁷ (1824–1906), the leading Russian art critic and art historian of the second half of the nineteenth century, specially made and brought them for him from France. Before Shebunin, Stasov, an outstanding expert in the history of ornaments, studied the colorful decorations of the Samarkand Qur’ān (added somewhat later than the text was written), engaged himself in their dating, and even included some colored figures in his album “Slavic and Eastern ornament according to manuscripts of ancient and modern times” (1887).⁸ All of this suggests that a detailed description of the Samarkand Codex, which the scholarly world could have expected for at least 20 years by that time, was poised to become a significant event in the realms of culture and science, inspiring great enthusiasm.

culture of the Northern Caucasus. Veselovsky and his team discovered some of the finest examples of Scythian art and gold jewelry, including the world-famous Solokha comb.

⁷ The son of the famous Russian architect Vasily Petrovich Stasov (1769–1848), Vladimir Vasilievich Stasov was an art and music critic, art historian, bibliographer, archivist, and public figure. Since 1856, he worked at the Imperial Public Library, where, among other pursuits, he studied the history of decorative ornaments through Eastern manuscripts. Since 1859, he was an honorary free member of the Imperial Academy of Arts. Since 1900—an honorary academician in the field of fine literature at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

⁸ V. Stasov, *Slavianskiy i vostochniy ornament po rukopis’am drevniago i novago vremeni* [Slavic and Eastern ornament according to manuscripts of ancient and modern times], 1887.



Ill. 2. Vladimir Stasov’s album on the history of ornament, which he studied through decorative elements in Eastern and European manuscripts, including the Samarkand Codex.

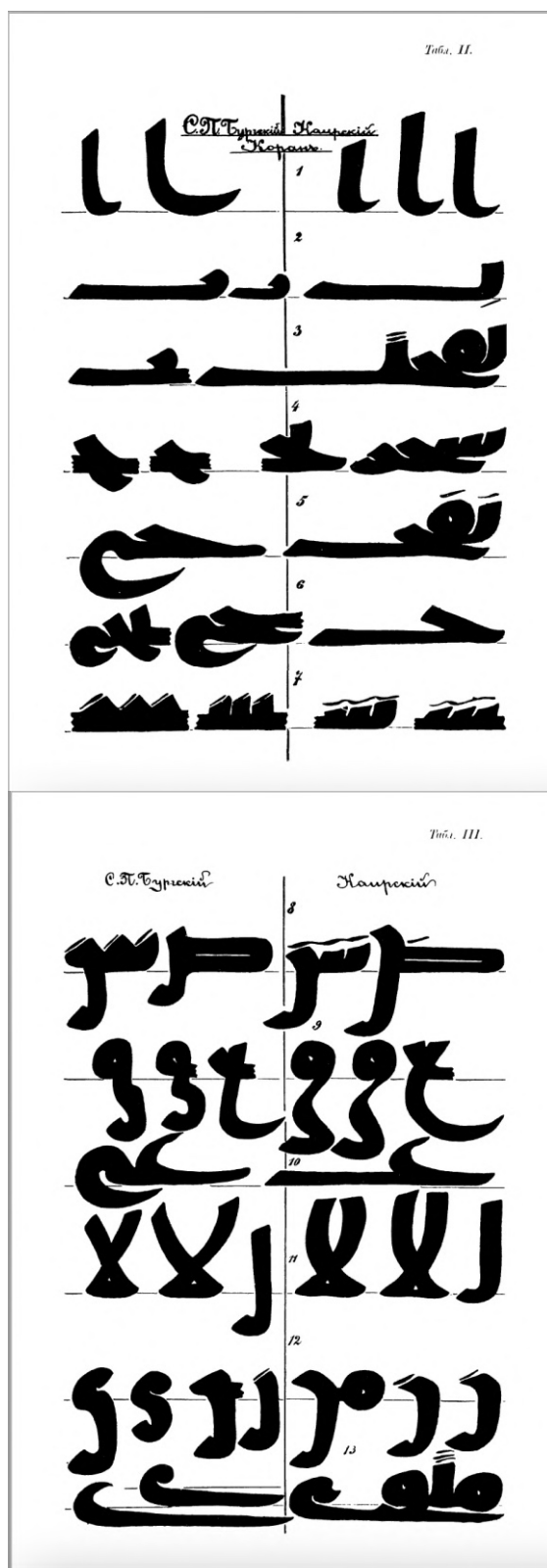
Let us briefly outline Alexei Shebunin’s life trajectory. He was born in Kronstadt, a fortress located on Kotlin Island in the Gulf of Finland, 30 km (19 mi) west of St. Petersburg, into a very affluent family. His father owned a steamship company. After graduating from the Faculty of Oriental Languages, he served in the First Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only for a short time. Soon after his marriage to the daughter of Professor Smirnov, Nina, he was assigned to serve as the secretary of the Russian Consulate in Trabzon (historically known as Trebizond). From there, he was promoted to the Russian Consulate General in Cairo, where he served until around 1896. Due to the sympathies displayed between his wife and the first secretary of the Consulate General, Andrey Shcheglov, Shebunin requested to be transferred to the central office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in St. Petersburg, which ultimately marked the end of his stay in the Arab East, as it turned out, forever. Ten years later, Shebunin’s wife eventually wished to end their relationship for Shcheglov’s sake. Due to the code of honor prevailing among Russian nobles at the time, this led to a duel between Shebunin and Shcheglov. In 1906, after the duel, fortunately resulting in no fatalities (Shcheglov was wounded, while Shebunin was unharmed), and divorce, Shebunin was appointed to serve at the Consulate General on the island of Crete. He soon got married for the second time. Later, he also served in Constantinople.⁹

⁹ The tragic story that influenced Shebunin’s biography is briefly described in the memoirs of his niece, Irina Elenevskaya, published in Russian in exile, in Stockholm, in 1968. The mentioned story had another

Apparently, his diplomatic service left him very little time for manuscript studies. Moreover, as we can see from the list of cities where he served, only Cairo was located in the Arab East. In the context of the history of Qur’ānic studies, this location is noteworthy for Shebunin’s biography. Here, the diplomat described the local Kufic Qur’ān from the Khedival Library. The article appeared eleven years after the description of the Samarkand Qur’ān—in 1902, in the fourteenth volume of the *Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Archaeological Society* published by Rosen.¹⁰ The Samarkand Qur’ān played a significant role here. Shebunin already had experience working with the ancient Kufic Qur’ān, and while working with the Cairo Qur’ān, he referred to the Samarkand Qur’ān for comparison, including comparing the script (see Ill. 3).

er consequence: it ended the diplomatic career of Andrey Shcheglov, who, by that time, had already been the envoy of Russia to Romania, and previously to Bulgaria. In 1915, several of Elenevskaya’s interlocutors expressed confidence that Bulgaria would not have entered the war against the Entente if Andrey Shcheglov, who was friendly with the Bulgarian Tsar Ferdinand, had remained as the Russian ambassador there.

¹⁰ A. F. Shebunin, “Kuficheskiy Koran Khedivskoy Biblioteki v Kaire” [The Kufic Qur’ān of the Khedival Library in Cairo], 1902. [In Russian].



Ill. 3. Tables comparing the script of the Samarkand Codex (in the left column on each page) and the Cairo Codex (in the right column on each page). As can be seen from the captions, Shebunin refers to the Samarkand Qur’ān as the St. Petersburg Qur’ān.

During the First World War, Shebunin was seconded with a secret mission to Thessaloniki, Greece. Before the October Revolution of 1917 and the fall of the Russian Empire, he also served in Rome and Paris. As of November 1917, when the Bolshevik-issued Decree on the Abolition of Estates and Civil Ranks came into effect, Shebunin served in the rank of Active State Councilor (Deystvitelny statsky sovetnik). This was a civil rank of the 4th class (equal to Major-General in the army), which gave the right of hereditary nobility, and its holders were addressed as “Your Excellency”. After the October Revolution of 1917, in Paris, Shebunin headed the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the White government in exile, Sergei Dmitriyevich Sazonov (1860–1927), and then Mikhail Nikolayevich von Giers (1856–1924). Later, he moved to the south of France. Since 1929 he was a member of the auditing commission of the Orthodox Brotherhood of St. Anastasia *the Pattern Maker* in Menton. In 1937, considered the most terrifying year of repression in Soviet Russia, Shebunin passed away in Nice, where he was buried in the Russian cemetery of Caucade.

Since the way of the Samarkand Qur’ān to the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg was illuminated by Shebunin in his own introduction to the detailed description of the manuscript, let us turn to the time the manuscript spent in St. Petersburg. The fact established by Shebunin that the Samarkand Codex cannot be the legendary Qur’ān of Uṭmān may have been recognized in the 19th century by some Muslims. After all, the first to establish that the Samarkand Qur’ān was never in the hands of Uṭmān was the Tatar scholar Šihāb al-Dīn Marḡānī (1818–1889), whose “Book of Useful Information on the Affairs of Kazan and Bulgar” (*Kitāb Mustafād al-aḥbār fī aḥwāl Qazān wa-Bulḡār*) Shebunin references regarding the restorer of the Samarkand Qur’ān, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Uṭmān al-Bulḡārī al-Ūtiz-Īmānī. In the eyes of the Muslim scholar, the fact that it is not specifically the Qur’ān of Uṭmān did not diminish the value of the Samarkand Codex as one of the oldest manuscripts of the Holy Book of Islam. During the years the Qur’ān was in St. Petersburg, it remained a relic for Muslims, who specifically came to the Public Library of St. Petersburg to see it. As follows from Shebunin’s introduction, in 1890–1891, he observed that the Qur’ān remained an object of pilgrimage. The participants of the All-Russian Congresses of Muslims, held in 1906 and 1914 in St. Petersburg, visited the Public Library to see the relic.¹¹

¹¹ R. Bekkin & R. Shigabdinov, “Prishlos’ ustupit’ vooruzhennoy sile...’ (Kak bibliotekari ne hoteli vozvrashat’ musulmanam Koran Osmana)” [‘I had to yield to armed force...’ (as librarians did not want to return the Qur’ān of Uṭmān to the Muslims)], 2017, p. 51. [In Russian].



Ill. 4. The main building of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg, in which the Samarkand Kufic Qur’ān was housed between the late 1869 and December 29, 1917. The library was established in 1795 by Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796) and is presently known as the National Library of Russia.

In 1905, fifteen years after Shebunin’s description, Director of the Museum of the Archaeological Institute, Vasily Ivanovich Uspensky (n.d.), and St. Petersburg textile merchant Semion Ivanovich Pisarev (n.d.) contributed to the study of the Kufic Qur’ān of the Imperial Public Library. They published a facsimile of the Samarkand Codex that was printed from the reinked copy of the manuscript. Interestingly, despite the Qur’ān having been in St. Petersburg for thirty-five years with no anticipation of its return to Samarkand, the publication of 1905 is titled “The Samarkand Kufic Qur’ān”. In small print, it is added: “According to tradition, written personally by the third Caliph Uṭmān (644–656), currently housed in the Imperial St. Petersburg Public Library. Published by the St. Petersburg Archaeological Institute, V. I. Uspensky, and S. I. Pisarev (facsimile)”. The manuscript was published in the form of a full-size (the original text occupies the area of 50×44 cm) giant folio, almost to the natural size of the original leaves measuring 68×53 cm. Out of 50 copies printed, Pisarev sold 25. Five copies were presented to royal persons: the Russian Emperor Nicholas II (r. 1894–1917), the Turkish Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II (r. 1876–1909), the Persian Shah Muḏaffar al-Dīn Šāh Qāğār (r. 1896–1907), the Emir of Bukhara ‘Abd al-Aḥad Ḥān (r. 1885–1911), and his heir ‘Ālim Ḥān (r. 1911–1920). ‘Abd al-Aḥad Ḥān and ‘Ālim Ḥān were, respectively, the fifth son and the grandson of Muḏaffar b. Naṣr Allāh (r. 1860–1885), during the reign of which ruler the Bukharan Emirate came under the protectorate of the Russian Empire (1868), while the Samarkand Codex was taken to St. Petersburg (1869).



Ill. 5. The first and second title pages of the facsimile edition of Uspensky and Pisarev, 1905 (source: Virtual exhibition of the National Library of Russia).



Ill. 6. October 16, 1986. Participants of the International Islamic Conference “Muslims in the Struggle for Peace” from the United Arab Emirates examine Uspensky and Pisarev’s facsimile of the Kufic Qur’an (source: Russian Information Agency Novosti).

Only a few copies of Pisarev’s facsimile have survived to this day. Four of them are kept in the State Museum of the History of Religion in St. Petersburg. Other surviving copies are stored in the office of the St. Petersburg Cathedral Mosque, in the Central Spiritual Administration of Muslims of Russia (in the city of Ufa), in the Columbia University Library (New York), in the Museum of Islamic Civilization in Sharjah (UAE), in the State Museum of the History of the Timurids (Tashkent), and in the Tatar-Muslim community of the Nizhny Novgorod region (Russia). In the 1940s, the Columbia University’s copy was studied by Arthur Jeffery and Isaac Mendelssohn. Based on it and referencing Shebunin’s article, they wrote on the peculiarities of the spelling

of the Samarkand Codex.¹² Owing to Shebunin’s article, they concluded that during the preparation of the ink copy of the text from which the facsimile was made, the craftsmen working on the project of Pisarev and Uspensky (Jeffery and Mendelssohn could think this was Pisarev himself) unintentionally introduced some textual errors.¹³

In 1906, at the St. Petersburg printing house of Ilyas Murza Boragansky (1852–1942), it was planned to publish a reduced-size edition of the Samarkand Qur’ān, but eventually only *Sūrat Yā-Sīn* was published in such form. The original text, reproduced with the restoration of losses in the inner field but without colorful verse separators, is framed with an ornate border. At the bottom of each page, the text of the same excerpt is provided in modern Arabic script, along with its Tatar translation. The edition enabled Tatar Muslims to read *Sūrat Yā-Sīn* in ancient Kufic script and understanding what exactly is written on each page.¹⁴



Ill. 7. The first page of Boragansky’s edition of *Sūrat Yā-Sīn* (source: Virtual exhibition of the National Library of Russia).

¹² I. Mendelssohn, “The Columbia University copy of the Samarqand Kufic Qur’an”, 1940, pp. 375–378; A. Jeffery & I. Mendelssohn, “A Variant Text of the Fatiha: The Orthography of The Samarqand codex”, 1943, pp. 175–195.

¹³ A. Jeffery & I. Mendelssohn, “A Variant Text of the Fatiha: The Orthography of The Samarqand codex”, 1943, p. 176.

¹⁴ O. V. Vasilyeva, “Samarkandski Koran v publichnoy biblioteke (1870–1917)”, 2017.

After the October Revolution of 1917, the Kufic Qur’ān, like Shebunin himself, was destined to leave St. Petersburg (from 1914 to 1924 the city’s name was Petrograd). Already between the February and October Revolutions of 1917 (during the period of the Russian Provisional Government), discussions took place regarding the transfer of the Qur’ān to believers. In March 1917, Muslim soldiers from the Preobrazhensky Regiment (stationed in St. Petersburg/Petrograd) attempted to access the library to retrieve the Qur’ān but were dispersed by order of the Provisional Government. In October 1917, that is, right after the Bolsheviks took power, Usman Tokumbetov, Deputy Chairman of the All-Russian Muslim Military Council (Šūrō), informed the Public Library that Muslim organizations in the country had approached the new authorities with a demand to allow the retrieval of the Qur’ān so that it would be returned to believers. Negotiations with Muslim leadership on behalf of the Public Library were conducted by the Arabist Alexander Schmidt (1871–1939), one of Baron Rosen’s closest disciples, who taught Arabic at St. Petersburg University and was responsible for oriental manuscripts of the Public Library. From a report compiled by Schmidt on December 29, 1917, after the Qur’ān had been eventually retrieved, it is known that the aim of the negotiations with Muslim organizations was not to prevent the transfer of the Qur’ān (which was evidently inevitable) but to prevent its haphazard, unauthorized removal, which could have resulted in damage of the relic.¹⁵

Already in 1917 Muslims from Turkestan had demanded the transfer of the Qur’ān to Samarkand, but the relic would spend several more years in Ufa before being relocated. In early December 1917, the Regional Congress of Muslims of the Petrograd (i.e. St. Petersburg) National District demanded the return of the Qur’ān to Muslims. The Congress decided that the Qur’ān should be handed over to the National Parliament (*Millī Meġlis*) elected one month earlier in Ufa (now the capital of Bashkortostan), where the Central Muslim Spiritual Board of Russia was located. A corresponding petition was sent to the Council of People’s Commissars (the Government of Soviet Russia), headed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924). In several days the Soviet government granted the petition, deciding to transfer the Qur’ān immediately. The order was signed, among others, by Lenin (as head of the Government) and Iosif Visarionovich Stalin (1878–1953, as People’s Commissar for Nationalities). The technical transfer of the Qur’ān was to be carried out by the People’s Commissariat for Education, the successor to the Russian Ministry of National Enlightenment, which received the Qur’ān in the late 1869. On December 29, 2017, the day when the order for the transfer was signed by the People’s Commissar of Education Anatoly Lunacharsky (1875–1933), the Qur’ān left the library.

¹⁵ The detailed history of the transfer of the Qur’ān from the Public Library to Muslims is described by Rinat N. Shigabdinov, “A. E. Schmidt i Koran Osmana: vozvrashenie musulmanskoj sviatyni v kontexte politiki, nauki i religii” [A. E. Schmidt and the Qur’ān of Uṭmān: The return of a Muslim holy relic within the context of politics, science, and religion], 2018, pp. 247–265. The appendix to the article contains correspondence accompanying the transfer of the Qur’ān, including Alexander Schmidt’s report.

On that day (January 11, 1918, according to the Gregorian calendar),¹⁶ a group of Muslim political and military leaders, accompanied by a small cavalry detachment, arrived at the building of the Public Library (which had already been renamed by the Bolsheviks from “Imperial” to simply “Russian Public Library”). After negotiations between the Muslim leaders and library staff, who urged the visitors to postpone the transfer to ensure proper conditions, the Qur’ān was actually taken under the threat of weapons. To avoid a clash in the manuscript collection, which posed a threat to many monuments simultaneously, the library staff refused to call an armed detachment to prevent the seizure of the Qur’ān. The Samarkand Codex was handed over to the Muslim delegation in the display case. It was taken together with it, was moved to the building of the Executive Committee of the All-Russian Muslim Council in Petrograd. From there, in January 1918, the relic was transported in a special train carriage to Ufa, where it came under the control of the National Parliament.

Since 1922, the Turkestan Committee for Museums and Monument Preservation, and later the People’s Commissariat for Education of Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, repeatedly raised the issue of returning the Qur’ān to the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque in Samarkand. Finally, on July 25, 1923, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (the highest legislative, executive, and supervisory body of state power) issued a resolution “On the transfer of the Qur’ān, taken from Turkestan by the tsarist government, to the disposal of Muslims of Turkestan”. In 1924, the Samarkand Qur’ān was transported from Ufa to Tashkent, and from there to Samarkand, to the mausoleum of Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār. Since 1941, it has been kept in the Museum of the History of the Peoples in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, for the second time in the 20th century, the question of transferring the relic to believers arose. In 1989, the Samarkand Qur’ān was returned to Muslims and is currently housed in Tashkent, in the manuscript library of the *Hazrati Imam (also known as Hastimom) complex*. When exhibited in the Mui Muborak Madrasah within the complex, visitors could see both the original and its facsimile edition.

¹⁶ In Russia, the Julian calendar has been replaced as the civil calendar by the Gregorian calendar on 1/14 February 1918.



Ill. 8. The Samarkand Qur’ān in the manuscript library of the Hazrati Imam complex, Inventory No. 1 (above) and on display at the exhibition in the Muiy Muborak Madrasah of the complex (below) (sources: Wikipedia and the Virtual exhibition of the National Library of Russia).



Ill. 9. The Hazrati Imam complex (above) and the Muiy Muborak Madrasa (below) in Tashkent (sources: Wikipedia and the Virtual exhibition of the National Library of Russia).



Kamil Tursunaliyev, head keeper of the Museum of History examines the Osmania Koran.

Ill. 10. Kamil Tursunaliyev, the Chief curator of the Museum of the History of the Peoples of Uzbekistan, is examining the Samarkand Qur’ān. Photo from the magazine *Uzbekistan Today* 10, 1976 (source: Virtual exhibition of the National Library of Russia).



Ill. 11. A page from the Samarkand Qur’ān, *Sūra* 7, “al-A‘rāf”, v. 34–36
(source: Virtual exhibition of the National Library of Russia).

Twelve lines on the page read:

وَلِكُلِّ أُمَّةٍ أَجَلٌ فَإِذَا جَاءَ		For each community there is an appointed term. When arrives
أَجْلُهُمْ لَا يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ	1.	their time, they can neither delay
وَنَ سَاعَةً وَلَا يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ	2.	it for an hour, nor advance.
مُؤَن □ يَبْنِي آدَمَ	3.	(34) O children of Adam!
إِذَا يَأْتِيَنَّكُمْ رُسُلٌ	4.	When come to you messengers
مِنْكُمْ يَقُصُّونَ عَلَيْكُمْ	5.	from among yourselves, reciting to you
آيَاتِي فَمَنْ اتَّقَنِي	6.	My revelations—whoever shuns evil
وَأَصْلَحَ فَلَا خَوْفٌ	7.	and mends their ways, there will be no fear
عَلَيْهِمْ وَلَا هُمْ	8.	for them, nor will they
يَحْزَنُونَ □ وَالَّذِينَ	9.	grieve. (35) But whoever

كَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِنَا وَ	10.	denied Our revelations and
اسْتَكْبَرُوا عَنْهَا	11.	denounced them,
أُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ	12.	those are the residents
النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ		of the Fire, therein they will dwell forever. (36)

In his article, Shebunin meticulously describes the manuscript’s appearance, its contents, script and spelling peculiarities, colored rosettes, and bands of decoration. The most extensive and detailed section is the one about the spelling peculiarities of the Samarkand Codex. The English translation of Shebunin’s article provided below has undergone some editing in terms of text rubricating, tabular presentation of material, addition of original spelling reproduction, and inclusion of script illustrations taken from the original’s appendices and available pictures of folios.

When reading Shebunin’s text, it is important to remember that the Qur’ānic verses are referenced according to Flügel’s edition,¹⁷ where the numbering of verses may differ from the reader’s edition. Another characteristic of Flügel’s edition is its spelling, which is closer to modern standards. This is convenient when Shebunin illustrates the spelling peculiarities of the Samarkand Qur’ān in comparison to standard Arabic. However, these spelling peculiarities of the Samarkand Qur’ān may not distinguish it from other codices’ spellings, upon which many standard editions such as Muṣḥaf al-Madīna al-Nabawiyya and Muṣḥaf Ḥafṣ, as well as major digital resources like quran.com and quranonline.net, are based. In other words, the spelling peculiarities of the Samarkand Qur’ān relative to standard spelling and Flügel’s edition may not be unique compared to the majority of the modern editions of the Qur’ān. For example:

	Vocalized spelling in Flügel’s edition	The spelling of the Samarkand codex	Vocalized spelling in the majority of contemporary editions, based on spelling in ancient codices that coincides with that of the Samarkand codex
Q 42:50	وَرَاءَ	ورای	وَرَايَ
Q 20:130	آنَاءِ	انای	ءَانَايَ
Q 6:5	أَنْبَاءِ	اسوا	أَنْبَاوَا
Q 38:20	نَبَأًا	سوا	نَبَاوَا

¹⁷ G. L. Flügel, *Corani Textus Arabicus*, 1834. Reprinted several times down to 1922.

Unlike Flügel’s and Shebunin’s texts that mark the *madda* when conveying both *’ā* and *ā’* (e.g., *وَزَّآء* in the table above), in our translation, we only mark the *madda* when conveying *’ā* (as in *آء*). Also, unlike Shebunin’s text, in our translation, we only add the suspended *alif* where the *alif* of elongation is not prescribed in the line (Shebunin often uses the suspended *alif* as a diacritic before the *alif* of elongation, which we do not observe even in the available editions of Flügel).

Baron Victor von Rosen, who inspired Shebunin to write the article, the translation of which we are publishing below, maintained the Western European academic tradition in St. Petersburg. At the same time, he was among the leaders of the so-called “Russian” party in the Academy of Sciences. This implied promoting Oriental Studies relevant to the history of Russia, and since Samarkand in the 19th century found itself in Russian Turkestan, the description of the Samarkand Codex fit into this concept. Another characteristic of the Russian party in the 1880s, however, was the promotion of publications in Russian rather than in German or French, the major languages of scientific publications in the 19th century. This characteristic did not benefit the study of the Samarkand Codex, as its only detailed description, published in Russian, turned out to be inaccessible to most researchers. In the 1940s, Shebunin’s Russian-language article was extensively used by Jeffery and Mendelssohn, who could not do without it for their articles, and therefore had to find a way to read it. Nevertheless, if this work had been published in one of the Western European languages, it would undoubtedly have been a huge aid to the study of the history of the Qur’ān and Qur’anic manuscripts in the late 19th, 20th, and early 21st centuries. We hope that it can become so now. Since the Samarkand Codex continues to attract the attention of researchers, Shebunin’s work has definitely not lost its relevance in the last 130 years.

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1. An Introduction (by Alexei Fyodorovich Shebunin)

In the Manuscript Department of the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library,¹⁸ a perhaps very ancient manuscript copy of the Qur’ān is stored, which was presented to the Library by the Governor-General of Turkestan, General Adjutant von Kaufmann.¹⁹ He

¹⁸ Established in 1795 by Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796), presently the National Library of Russia. [N. o. the Ed.].

¹⁹ Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufmann (1818–1882) served as the first Governor-General of Turkestan, overseeing the western part of Turkestan within the Russian Empire. These Central Asian territories constituted the Russian Governor-Generalship of Turkestan, often referred to as “Western Turkestan” and “Russian Turkestan”. The Governor-Generalship encompassed the oasis region to the south of the Kazakh Steppe but excluded the protectorates of the Emirate of Bukhara and the Khanate of Khiva. The Governor-Generalship was officially established under Konstantin von Kaufmann in 1867, two years after the onset of the Russian conquest of Western Turkestan. Its capital was Tashkent. [N. o. the Ed.].

sent it from Samarkand to St. Petersburg on the 20th of October 1869,²⁰ along with a letter addressed to the Minister of National Enlightenment²¹ and an accompanying note compiled from the words of two local ‘*ulamā*’.²² Here are copies of these documents:²³

- 1.1. On the acquisition of the manuscript Qur’ān. Accompanying letter by the Governor-General of Turkestan Konstantin von Kaufmann to the Minister of Public Enlightenment of the Russian Empire Dmitri Tolstoy, which was attached to the manuscript of the Qur’ān when sent from Samarkand to St. Petersburg

[From:]

The Governor-General of Turkestan
The Office [of the Governor-General]

The Department²⁴

24th October [5th November] 1869

[Registered in] the travel journal No. 182
The city of Samarkand

To Sir Minister of the National Enlightenment.

[Major-General Alexander Abramov], the head of the Zeravshan Okrug (i.e. District)²⁵ has presented to me [a manuscript copy of] the Qur’ān written on parchment in a Kufic Script, without diacritical and vocalization marks, which was stored in Samarkand in the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār²⁶ Mosque. Major General Abramov has added that, being aware

²⁰ On November 1, according to the Gregorian calendar. The Julian calendar in Russia was replaced by the Gregorian calendar on February 1 (Julian calendar)/February 14 (Gregorian calendar), 1918. [N. o. the Ed.].

²¹ Count Dmitri Andreevich Tolstoy (1823–1889) stood at the head of the ministry in 1866–1880. [N. o. the Ed.].

²² The two ‘*ulamā*’ (i.e., men learned in Islamic doctrine and law) are mentioned further as Mullah ‘Abd al-Ḡalīl and Mullah Mu’īnī-Muftī. [N. o. the Ed.].

²³ Here, Shebunin makes a footnote: “These copies were provided to us by N.I. Veselovsky.” On Veselovsky, see n. 6 above. [N. o. the Ed.].

²⁴ Judging by the date (four days after the Qur’ān with the attached letter and note had been sent) and the city (Samarkand), “Department” (Rus. Otdelenije) most likely refers to the local Department of the Ministry of National Enlightenment. This department facilitated the dispatch of documents to the Minister, Count Dmitry Tolstoy, in St. Petersburg. [N. o. the Ed.].

²⁵ Major-General Alexander Konstantinovich Abramov (1836–1886). In 1869, when von Kaufmann wrote the letter, the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan comprised three oblasts (provinces): Syr Darya, Semirechye Oblast, and the Zeravshan Okrug. The latter included Samarkand. By 1887, the Zeravshan Okrug had become part of the newly formed Samarkand Oblast, which roughly corresponds to most of present-day central Uzbekistan and northwestern Tajikistan. [N. o. the Ed.].

²⁶ Naṣīr al-Dīn ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār (1404–1490, Samarkand), more popularly known as Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār, a Ḥanafī Mātūrīdī member of the Golden Chain of the Naqṣbandī Ṣūfī spiritual order of Central Asia. The

of the great significance the Qur’ān has for Muslims, who consider it as an inviolable thing, he commissioned the head of the Samarkand Department [of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan], Podpolkovnik Serov²⁷ to collect preliminary data on whether this Qur’ān could be purchased by us without any offence of one’s religious feelings. The ‘*ulamā*’ of the [Ḥawāḡa] Aḥrār Mosque and the nobility of the city responded that: 1) This Qur’ān, although constantly stored in the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque, is not owned by it, but by the treasury and thus belongs to the Emirs of Bukhara; 2) at present, this [manuscript copy of the] Qur’ān has no significance for Muslims and for the Mosque as well. In the past, though long time ago, it gathered numerous worshippers around it, but recently it was being merely worshipped by the Emirs of Bukhara when they visited Samarkand; and 3) there is already no one who can read this Qur’ān, and therefore it remains out of use for many years. Consequently, having received the book, Major General Abramov made from his side a one-time donation of 500 kokans (100 rubles), with which Samarkand clergy were absolutely pleased.

In view of bibliographical significance that the book may have for all the learned world, I make haste to present to Your Illustrious Highness²⁸ the purchased Qur’ān with an attached note that has been compiled, per my order, from the words of the ‘*ulamā*’ of the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque: Mullah ‘Abd al-Ġalīl and Mullah Mu‘īnī-Muftī. It explains the origins of this manuscript Qur’ān as well as the way it went to the Aḥrār Mosque. I humbly beg Your favorable order, Kind Sir, to donate this book, together with the note from me, to the Imperial Public Library.

Signed: General-Adjutant von Kaufmann 1.

Sealed: Chief Executive of Office, Major General Gomzin.

Correct: Clerk Diakov.

Ṣūfī term Ḥawāḡa or Ḥwāḡa (Pers.: خواجه), often spelled in English as Hodja, is used as a title of Master.

[N. o. the Ed.].

²⁷ The rank of Podpolkovnik corresponds to lieutenant colonel. In 1865, following the Russian troops’ takeover of Tashkent, Vassilij Rodionovich Serov (1829–1901) was appointed as the city’s commandant. By 1867, he was leading Russian counter-intelligence in Turkestan. [N. o. the Ed.].

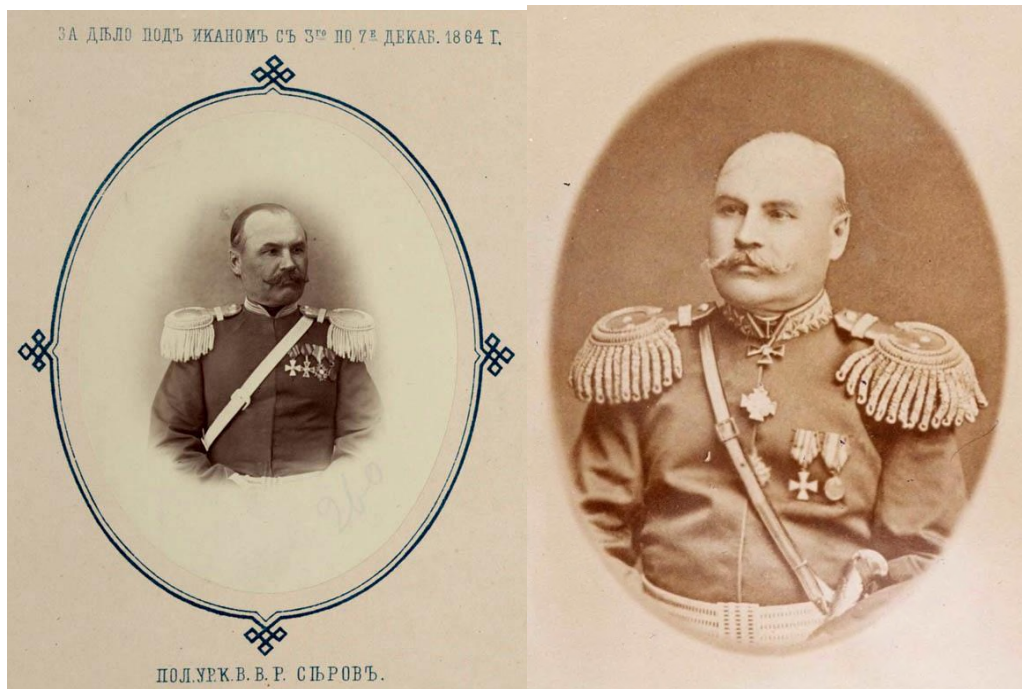
²⁸ Rus. “Vashe Siyatelstvo”—the form determined for addressing Princes and Counts. Von Kaufmann’s addressee, the Minister of National Enlightenment Dmitri Tolstoy, is a Count. [N. o. the Ed.].



Ill. 12. General-Adjutant Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufmann in 1869 served as the General-Governor (head of the Governor-Generalship) of Turkestan. He decided to transfer the seized manuscript Qur’ān to the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg. The portrait on the right was painted by the influential Russian painter Konstantin Yegorovich Makovsky (1839–1915) in 1866.



Ill. 13. Major-General Alexander Konstantinovich Abramov in 1869 served as the head of the Zeravshan District (which included Samarkand) of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan. He was responsible for the removal of the manuscript Qur’ān from the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque. The portrait on the right was painted by the portrait master Ivan Alexeevich Tyurin (1824–1905) no earlier than 1882. Abramov served in Central Asia since 1862. In the same year, while participating in the capture of the Kokand fortress of Pishpek, he sustained a severe head injury and was compelled to cover his head with a leather cap for the rest of his life.



Ill. 14. Podpolkovnik (corresponds to lieutenant colonel) Vassilij Rodionovich Serov, who in 1869 stood at the head of the Samarkand Department of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan. According to Konstantin von Kaufmann, he was commissioned by Alexander Abramov to negotiate with the *‘ulamā’* of the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque and the nobility of Samarkand on whether the manuscript Qur’ān could be purchased by the Russians. In the photo on the left, he holds the rank of colonel in 1872. In the photo on the right, he holds the rank of major general around 1883–1889.

1.2. Note on the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān, compiled by Alexander Kun²⁹ from the words of the *‘ulamā’* of the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque: Mullah ‘Abd al-Ġalīl and Mullah Mu‘īnī-Muftī

According to Mullah ‘Abd al-Ġalīl and Mullah Mu‘īnī-Muftī, serving at the Medrese of the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque in Samarkand, the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān was received in the following way: some four hundred years ago, in Tashkent, there lived a *pīr*³⁰ Ḥawāḡa ‘Ubayd Allāh,³¹ named Aḥrār (dedicated to God).³² His father, Ḥawāḡa Maḥmūd [b.

²⁹ Alexander Ludwigovich Kun (1840–1888) graduated from St. Petersburg University with a degree in the Faculty of Oriental Languages. As an Islam specialist, he served in Turkestan from 1868 to 1882, initially as an assistant to von Kaufmann and later as the organizer of the local education system. [N. o. the Ed.].

³⁰ In a footnote, Shebunin explains the term *pīr* as “the master, the prior of a monastic order”, implying the *ṣayḥ* of a Ṣūfī religious order. [N. o. the Ed.].

³¹ In a footnote, Shebunin adds that, according to the composition *Raṣaḥāt*, Ḥawāḡa ‘Ubayd Allāh was born in the year 806 AH (i.e., in 1404 CE). By *Raṣaḥāt*, he means the book *Raṣaḥāt-i ‘ayn al-ḥayāt* (Tricklings of the Spring of Life). This collection of biographies of prominent Ṣūfī *ṣayḥs* was authorized by Faḥr al-Dīn ‘Alī Ṣafī b. Ḥusayn al-Wā‘iẓ al-Kāshifī (d. 939/1533). Faḥr al-Dīn’s father was Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Wā‘iẓ al-Kāshifī al-Bayhaqī al-Sabzarī (d. 910/1504), the author of *Anwār-e Sohaylī* (The

Ḥawāḡa Šihāb al-Dīn], was a merchant. Having noticed his son’s aptitude for reflections on various theological issues, he dedicated him to God, that is, concentrated all learning of the boy exclusively on Islamic religious studies. The fame of ‘Ubayd Allāh’s theological knowledge grew with his years. In the twentieth year of his life, he had become a *murīd* of the *pīr* Šayḥ Muḥammadi Nāmī, one of the followers of the [Šūfī] monastic order of Bāhā’ al-Dīn Naqšband (d. 791/1389), rather widespread in Turkestan.

After the death of his *pīr*, Aḥrār, who was considered the first among his *ḥalīfas* (i.e. successors), took the entire order under his guidance. Wise advices he gave to those who came seeking them, as well as his deep knowledge of God’s truths made the circle of his *murīds* (followers, disciples) rapidly expanding.

Once, when he was already respected as a living saint, several groups of his *murīds* accompanied by other persons undertook *ḥaǧǧ* (pilgrimage to Mecca). The custom is that each pilgrim, when he sets out on the *ḥaǧǧ*, should have various amulets, rosaries, and medicinal plants from his homeland to distribute on the way. The *murīds* also receive the right to distribute grace on behalf of their *pīr*. When already on his way back from worship, one of Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār’s *murīds* happened to come to Rūm.³³ At this time, the caliph of that state was very ill, and none of the local doctors could help him. Having lost all hope, at the request of the doctors, they were looking for doctors in neighboring countries. In the meantime, a rumor spread through Rūm about the healings performed by a *murīd* from Turkestan. The caliph, having learned about it, ordered to bring the *murīd* to him. The *murīd* came with the grace given to him by Aḥrār. He examined the caliph and started to cure him by recitation of holy prayers and other means. The caliph was relieved in some three days, and, when recovered completely, ordered the *murīd* to demand from himself whatever he wished.

Reports of the existence of ‘Uṭmān’s Qur’ān had long been circulating in Turkestan: it was said that the book was stored in the *ḥazīne* (treasury) of the caliph of Rūm.

The *murīd* asked to give him the book as a present. This demand had strongly upset the caliph. He did not want to part with the book and he probably would not give it away, but his viziers and closest men said to him: “It is not appropriate to betray your word. You yourself have given the *murīd* the right to choose any reward. Our opinion: give him the book today, and in two days we will buy it back. The caliph was

Lights of Canopus)—a prose rendition of Abū al-Ma’ālī’s (d. 497–498/1103–1105) fables *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. [N. o. the Ed.].

³² A more exact translation of the *laqab* Aḥrār would be “ardent [in faith]” (from Ar. *ḥārr*, “passionate”, “ardent”). [N. o. the Ed.].

³³ Shebunin includes a footnote suggesting that the reference is to Constantinople. However, in Alexander Kun’s note on the manuscript Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān, there is no mention of the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque’s *‘ulamā’* proposing which sultan could be implied by the term “the caliph of Rūm”. Rūm was a traditional Islamic appellation for the culturally Hellenistic Eastern Roman Empire, leading the Ottoman sultans to adopt the title Sulṭān-i Rūm (the Ruler of Rūm). Given that Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār passed away in 1490, the Sultan whom his disciple could potentially have encountered would be Mehmed II (reigning from August 1444–September 1446 and 3 February 1451–3 May 1481). [N. o. the Ed.].

convinced and ordered to give the book. As soon as he had received the book, the *murīd*, without a second's delay, secretly sent the Qur’ān with one of his compatriots to Aḥrār. The viziers, in accordance with the promise they gave to the caliph, began to please the murid, and when the third day came, they offered him lots of precious stones and money instead of the book. The *murīd* regretfully replied that he could not accept the offer, for he had already sent the book to his homeland.

This news extremely saddened the caliph. Immediately he ordered to send messengers to all countries to return the book that was taken away. But all was in vain: within three days the book was taken away. It was impossible to find its traces. The caliph at first was very saddened by this event, but then, realizing his injustice, he submitted to the will of God.

The fame of Khoja-Ahrar increased even more from this acquisition. For several years, he lived with the book in Tashkent, after which he moved to Samarkand, where he founded a *madrassa* and a mosque, to which he bequeathed enormous riches and the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān in addition. He died in the eightieth year of his life in Samarkand, and was buried in the mosque he had founded. His descendants are considered holy.

As the legend has it, the manuscript copy of the Qur’ān that was stored in the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque had been performed by the righteously guided Caliph ‘Uṭmān himself. It is said that, while reading this very book in his palace, he was murdered by the mob agitated against him for the abuses that his favorites allowed themselves.

The book still has traces of ‘Uṭmān’s blood on it. To confirm the authenticity of this account, there were several testimonies of ‘Uṭmān’s contemporaries on the manuscript. Because of the age and frequent use of the book these testimonies had been first worn out and in the course of time, when the binding began to fall to pieces, were completely lost. It is said that there were persons in Turkestan who saw these inscriptions, but that was 300 years ago or even more. The Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān is over 1,200 years old. We call it: *Qalam-i Šarīf* (The holy feather).³⁴

The statement was taken by Titular Councilor A. Kun.³⁵

1.3. An addition by General-Adjutant von Kaufmann in his handwriting:

After the note on the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān had been compiled from the words of the *‘ulamā’* of the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque, I had a chance to demonstrate the famous Qur’ān to Yaḡyā-Ḥawāḡa, the envoy of the Emir.³⁶ Upon looking at the manuscript,

³⁴ Shebunin notes that here an obvious mistake has been made: not *Qalam-i*, but *Kalām-i Šarīf* (The holy speech), which is a common name for the Qur’ān. [N. o. the Ed.].

³⁵ Titular councilor (Tituljarny sovetnik) is the civil rank of the ninth class (out of fourteen, with the first being the highest) in the Russian imperial Table of Ranks, introduced in 1722 by Peter the Great. [N. o. the Ed.].

³⁶ Shebunin’s Russian text reads “Yaḡ-Nya-Ḥōḡa”. By “Emir”, von Kaufmann, most likely, means Muḡaffar b. Naṣr Allāh, ruler (Emir) of Bukhara in 1860–1885. In March 1868, Emir declared a holy war against Russia, but on May 2 a detachment of von Kaufmann defeated Emir’s army and Russian troops occupied

Yahyā-Ḥawāḡa immediately recognized it as the authentic Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān written in his own hand and stained with his blood. The Ḥawāḡa explained that this was the original Qur’ān from which the copies circulating in the Muslim world were performed. After that, he maintained that this manuscript was the only remnant of what was once the book treasury that Timur³⁷ had collected in Samarkand. This Qur’ān was the most precious treasure of Timur’s library and had been brought to Samarkand by Tamerlane [i.e. Timur] himself. The rest of the books of this library, according to the Ḥawāḡa’s assurance, perished during the feuds in this country, under Tamerlane’s successors.³⁸

Signed: General-Adjutant von Kaufmann 1.

Correct: Clerk Diakov.

1.4. An addition by A. F. Shebunin

We find the same information—though in a somewhat modified form—in the excerpt from the case entitled “On the search of antiquities in the Zeravshan District”, written by Professor Nikolai Ivanovich Veselovsky (1869, No. 3 folio 39). It states the following:

“Four hundred years, or perhaps even more, ago in Tashkent, a person from Istanbul named Šayḥ Ḥāwand-i Ṭahūr—that is, the Pure (i.e., Chaste or Honest) Master—appeared.³⁹ This intelligent, learned, wealthy, pious, and charitable *šayḥ* was soon recognized as a saint and died as a saint, firmly engraving his memory in the name of one of the city’s four districts [of Tashkent], which is still called Šayḥanṭaur.⁴⁰ The *šayḥ* left behind a multitude of descendants with a good reputation and wealth. And here is one of them, Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār, who, in honor of his famous ancestor, moves from Tashkent to Samarkand, surrounds himself with disciples, and becomes a *pīr*, that is, a spiritual

Samarkand. In June 1868, Muḡaffar acknowledged vassal dependence of Bukhara Emirate on Russia. In September 1873, under a new treaty, Bukhara Emirate was recognized as a protectorate of Russia. [N. o. the Ed.].

³⁷ Temür b. Taraghai Barlas, known as Tamerlane (1336–1405), a Turco-Mongol conqueror, the founder of the Timurid Empire, which included territories in modern-day Afghanistan, Iran, and Central Asia. The first ruler of the Timurid dynasty. [N. o. the Ed.].

³⁸ Shebunin notes that Alexander Kun, who compiled the quoted note attached to the manuscript Qur’ān, published its text with almost no change in the Turkestan Yearbook of Statistical Materials for 1874, adding the data on the acquisition of the Qur’ān from von Kaufmann’s letter. Shebunin does not mention that already at the very beginning of 1870, within a matter of days after the Qur’ān had been taken from Samarqand to St. Petersburg, Kun published a large article in the first issue of the newspaper *Turkestanskije Vedomosti* (the first weekly newspaper in Turkestan in the Russian language) for that year, informing a wider audience about the Qur’ān of ‘Uṭmān “discovered in the Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār Mosque”. [N. o. the Ed.].

³⁹ Šayḥ Ḥāwand-i (al-)Ṭahūr (or Ḥāwand Ṭahūr), a prominent Tashkent Šūfi *šayḥ* who was honored as a saint, died in 755/1354. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁴⁰ Via “Šayḥ Ḥānd Ṭahūr”. The mausoleum of Šayḥ Ḥāwand-i Ṭahūr is the heart of the architectural complex Shayx Xovandi Tohur majmuasi in the historical center of Tashkent. [N. o. the Ed.].

guide of a learned circle. Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār builds a *madrasa*, teaches in it, leads a strict life, sponsors crowds of pilgrims to Mecca at his own expense, and soon rumors spread from Mecca to Kashgar that in the capital of Timur, which is famous for numerous saints, a new source of pure faith had emerged, embodied in a descendant of the holy Ṣayḡ Ḥawand-i Ṭahūr. The fame of Aḥrār’s virtues grew to such an extent that one day his disciples who had returned from Mecca brought him some documents and recounted that they had been guests of the caliph (at that time, the second or third successor of Sultan Yıldırım Bayezid),⁴¹ who had seen in a dream their *pīr*, the holy Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār. In remembrance of this, the caliph sent him, Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār, a Qur’ān written by the holy hand of the third [righteously guided] caliph, ‘Uṭmān. Ḥawāḡa Aḥrār accepted the gift and bequeathed it to the *madrasa* he had built.”

This is all we know from the history of this Qur’ān. Here, we have involuntary doubts about the truthfulness of the testimonies regarding the voluntary delivery of such a bound book into the hands of the unbelievers, the conquerors, recent enemies. This testimony is based on the point that, allegedly, at present this Qur’ān holds no significance for Muslims. That only the Emirs of Bukhara worship it, and nobody can read this Qur’ān, and it has been lying unused for many centuries. Doubts arise from the fact that in St. Petersburg, in the Public Library, devoid of any sacred atmosphere, this Qur’ān still serves as an object of devout worship for local and visiting Tatars, Central Asian embassies, and many Muslims in general, who pray to it and kiss the spots considered to be the sacred blood of ‘Uṭmān that stained the Qur’ān. As for the claim that, supposedly, nobody can read it, it is difficult to believe, since, firstly, we personally witnessed how a Tatar mullah fluently read several lines from it, and secondly, given the standard memorization system of the entire Qur’ān by all Muslims, reading a manuscript Qur’ān written in any Arabic handwriting obviously cannot pose any difficulties.

Now let us proceed to the description of our Qur’ān. We strive to make this description as detailed as possible due to the scientific importance of this ancient monument of Arabic literature.

2. The description of our Qur’ān

2.1. Exterior appearance

2.1.1. Format

353 folios measuring 68 × 53 cm (the text occupies the area of 50 × 44 cm).

⁴¹ Yıldırım Bayezid, or Bayezid I (r. 16 June 1389–20 July 1402) was the first to adopt the title of *Sultān-i Rūm*. His second successor was Murād II (r. 26 May 1421–August 1444 and September 1446–3 February 1451). His third successor was Mehmed II (r. August 1444–September 1446 and 3 February 1451–3 May 1481). [N. o. the Ed.].

2.1.2. Material

The thick, sturdy parchment is smooth and glossy on one side, but on the other, with very rare exceptions, it has fine wrinkles.⁴² The first side is yellow, and the second is white. The first side is almost everywhere⁴³ used for the *verso*, and consequently, the second side is used for the *recto*. The ink reacts differently to each side. On the smooth, yellow *verso*, the ink has been preserved very well, changing only its original black color to a dark brown. On the *recto*, however, the ink has dried, flaking off, and in many places, only the outlines of letters remain. Only on relatively few *recto* pages has the writing been well-preserved, and the ink has not flaked off. Regardless of how faint the writing on the *recto* may be, the outlines of the letters are sharply defined, while on the uniformly faded *verso*, the brown ink of the letters imperceptibly transitions into a lighter shade, blending with the yellow color of the parchment. However, such folios are few in number. Mostly, the writing on the *recto* presents a sharp contrast with the *verso*. The writing on the *recto* is pale, while the writing on the *verso* is perfectly clear.

The parchment folios, except for the fact that some are more and others less damaged by dampness or blood, are entirely identical to each other and represent the main element of our Qur’ān. Out of the missing, torn, or lost folios [on parchment], 69 have been replaced with paper. The paper is cotton, thick, soft, and resembles parchment in appearance. Most of the paper folios are glued together from two pieces in the middle, vertically.

The same paper is used to patch many torn edges and corners of parchment folios; it is also used to reinforce large cracks and decayed areas,⁴⁴ as well as to insert patches. In all such cases, the text is restored.

Without a doubt, a much more recent element is the thin, glossy, strong paper used to paste torn edges and corners of both parchment and paper folios. This was done with the obvious purpose of aligning all the folios to one format.⁴⁵ This paper does not contain any reproduced text or any inscriptions.

Out of the 353 folios of our entire Qur’ān, only 15 remain completely intact and unaltered with any other paper. These are folios: 210, 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 232–235, 237, 238, 240, 243, and 246.

Lastly, in some places, the spines are glued haphazardly. The Qur’ān was assembled in booklets of 8 to 10 folios each. For binding in a booklet, the inner edge of each folio, about 2–3 centimeters, was folded and glued: the 1st with the 10th, the 2nd with the 9th, etc. How these paired folios were initially bound in a booklet, and how the

⁴² Especially sharp contrast on folio 287.

⁴³ The exception includes folios 3, 4, 11, 12, 236–239, 309.

⁴⁴ Folios 60–63 are paper, with small pieces of parchment glued to them. Some pieces have come off, got lost, and left gaps in the text, which was adjusted on paper to fit the text of the missing parchment fragments.

⁴⁵ Folios 206 and 245 are especially abundantly pasted with this paper.

booklets were originally bound to each other, cannot be determined now. Although the Qur’ān was at a certain point carefully stitched with a green silk thread, booklets of varying sizes were bound. Moreover, the folios were completely mixed up over time and ended up being glued together not just in pairs. In its current state, they are stuck together in a completely incomprehensible disorder. Some folios were attached upside down, and others were glued to the edge of the spine, and so on.⁴⁶

2.1.3. Blood

To conclude the description of the current appearance of our Qur’ān, a few words need to be said about the famous bloodstains. Firstly, they are intended to indicate the manuscript Qur’ān’s particular antiquity, as the legend has it that this is the blood of the Caliph Uṭmān, who was murdered while reading this very copy of the Scripture. Secondly, the stains are meant to bestow the manuscript book with special importance and sanctity in the eyes of all believers.

Apparently, there was once less blood on this manuscript than there is now. Perhaps the bloodstains underwent some restoration process at the same time when the text did. However, we cannot say with certainty one thing: whether long ago or recently, the stains we see now were intentionally added, and the deception was done so crudely that it reveals itself. Namely, blood is found on the spines of almost all booklets, and from there, it spreads more or less far into the middle of the folios. Since the blood spreads symmetrically on each of the adjacent folios, it is obvious that the booklets were folded when the blood was still fresh.

At the same time, another peculiarity draws attention: the bloodstains are not continuous across adjacent pages, but rather skip certain pages. For example, we find symmetrical bloodstains at the root of 133 ν and 134 r . As we continue flipping, we observe that there is no blood on 134 ν and 135 r , but then we find it again between folios 135 and 136. Further, there is no blood between folios 136 and 137, but between folios 137 and 138 it reappears. There is no blood between folios 138 and 139, but it reappears between folios 139 and 140, and so on. We consistently find blood distributed in this manner, and it is evident that such a distribution could not have occurred occasionally. Only 56 ν , heavily stained with blood, did not transfer it to 57 r , but this can be attributed to chance, as in all other cases, the pages were apparently folded while the blood was still fresh and not yet coagulated. Particularly abundant blood is found on folios 56 ν , 103–104, 105–106, 209–210, 282–283.

⁴⁶ To convey how mixed up the folios were, it is enough to say that in order to preliminarily mark the misplaced ones, 122 bookmarks were needed for 353 folios.

3. Contents of the manuscript

Folios	<i>Sūra</i>	From verse	up to verse	
1-32	البقرة ٢	6 ولهم	172	بالله
33-34		175 حيوة	183	احل
35		209 الله الذين	214	والمسجد الحرام
36		231 ضارارا	233	رزقهم
37-42		257 [بالطا] غوت	274	فان الله
43-45		282 يا ايها	up to the end of the <i>Sūra</i>	
46-57	آل عمران ٣	31 مريم	86	حتى
58		91 سبيلا	97	الله
59-67		101 لهم	141	الله ثواب
68-89		148 في بيوتكم	33 النساء ٤	تكون
90-92	النساء ٤	37 عقدت	46	او على
93-94		74 منكم	79	اتقى
95-97		83 برزوا	92	السلم
98-112		94 مومنة وان	144	الدرك
113-189	المائدة ٥	88 المحسنين	103 الاعراف ٧	قال ان
190-204	هود ١١	49 اعوذ	122	لا
205	يوسف ١٢	19 بضاعة	23	معاذ
206	ابراهيم ١٤	41 لله	46	اقسمتم
207-213	الحجر ١٥	7 بالملائكة	86	العليم
214-229	النحل ١٦	7 الا	103	واذا
230		115 فكلوا	120	ذلك
231-236	الاسرى ١٧	بسم الله	51	الامثال
237-257		58 الضر	76 الكهف ١٨	فيها
258-260	الكهف ١٨	81 وما	105	وزنا
261-265	مريم ١٩	2 خفيا	45	تعبد
266-286		53 من	135 طه ٢٠	متريص
287-290	الشعراء ٢٦	63 فانفلق	117	ان
291		130 واذا	142	صالح
292-295		155 يوم	202	فياتيهم
296-299	النمل ٢٧	بسم الله	22	بما
300		28 فآله	34	اعزة

301–306		44	حسبته	82	الصم
307–321	يس ٣٦	11	انا	73	المجيبون
322–332	الصفات ٣٧	89	الا	28	اليك
333	الزمر ٣٩	8	خلفتكم	11	ثم اذا
334	المؤمن ٤٠	4	الله	7	الجحيم
335		54	آمنوا	59	أكبر
336–338		69	من تراب	83	فرحوا
339–345	فصلت ٤١	4	ومن	39	انه
346–353	الشورى ٤٢	20	شرعوا	10	ميتا

These are the contents of the entire manuscript of the Qur’ān [in its present form], encompassing both its original parchment and the subsequently added paper folios. As we delve into a more detailed description of its calligraphic and orthographic attributes, our initial focus will be on the contents inscribed on the original parchment folios. Subsequently, we shall explore the writings on the later-added paper folios. Hence, already at this juncture, it has been pertinent to provide a comprehensive list of the contents found on the latter folios. By excluding the text on the paper folios from the aforementioned entire contents, we can approximate the entirety of what is present on the [original 284] parchment folios.⁴⁷ We speak approximately because it is necessary to take into account that many, even the majority of folios in one way or another, damaged or torn, are patched, pasted, and glued with various paper patches, on some of which the text is restored, and on others, this restoration is absent. The most significant cases of such restoration will be specifically noted below. It is important to note this now, as otherwise, many subsequent enumerations of various interesting words, by comparing them with the concordances of the Qur’ān, will appear incomplete and insufficient.

So, here is a list of intact paper folios and their content:

Folios	Sūra	From verse	up to verse
1–2 (only r)	البقرة ٢	6	ولهم 16 فى ظلمات
8		51	الرحيم 57 من رزق
13–15		77	واقيموا 90 بمزحزحه
33–34		175	حياة 183 احل
35		209	الله الذين 214 والمسجد الحرام

⁴⁷ Shebunin nowhere mentions the number of original parchment folios, but, as he mentions that the total number is 353 and that “out of the missing, torn, or lost folios 69 have been replaced with paper”, it can be inferred that he counted 284 original parchment folios. [N. o. the Ed.].

36		231	ضارا	233	رزقهم
37-42		257	[بالطا] غوت	274	فان الله
43-45		282	يا ايها		up to the end of <i>Sūra</i> 2
59-63	آل عمران ٣	101	لهم	123	ليس
76		183	تصبروا	187	الالباب
88	النساء ٤	28	الا	29	مساخات
100-102		99	فتهاجروا	106	واستغفر
120	المائدة ٥	107	ادنى	110	الطين
124		119	فيها	3	جهركم
129-130	الانعام ٦	22	تزعمون	31	وهو
142		77	راى	81	ما اشركتم
150-165		107	عليهم بوكيل	2	اولياء
168-170	الاعراف ٧	17	لاملان	29	آدم
179		55	لعلكم	61	او عجبتم
181-182		66	وانا	72	وتنحتون
90	النساء ٤	37	عقدت	- 40 (excl.)	

We present folio 90 separately because it is most likely of very recent origin: the paper resembles Alexandria’s thin folder, completely white; the text is not written but drawn along pre-drawn red pencil outlines, apparently made with the help of a ruler. In general, by all indications—this appears to be the work of a European, perhaps someone who is not even familiar with Kufic script, because right in the first line of the recto side, only the initial *alif* of the word *إيمانكم* is written, while a gap is left for the rest of the word. Therefore, it seems that the person copied this folio from an original and, without understanding the text, did not copy the words in their correct order but instead drew them as they saw fit. That someone copied the text of this folio from the original is clearly evident from the fact that individual letters and groups of letters are executed and organized very well and evenly. On both the *recto* and *verso* sides, there are 12 lines of text, which is consistent with all parchment folios, but not found on other paper folios. Finally, verses on paper folio spreads 38-39 and 39-40 are separated from each other by series of parallel strokes, which is common for parchment folios but not present on other paper folios.

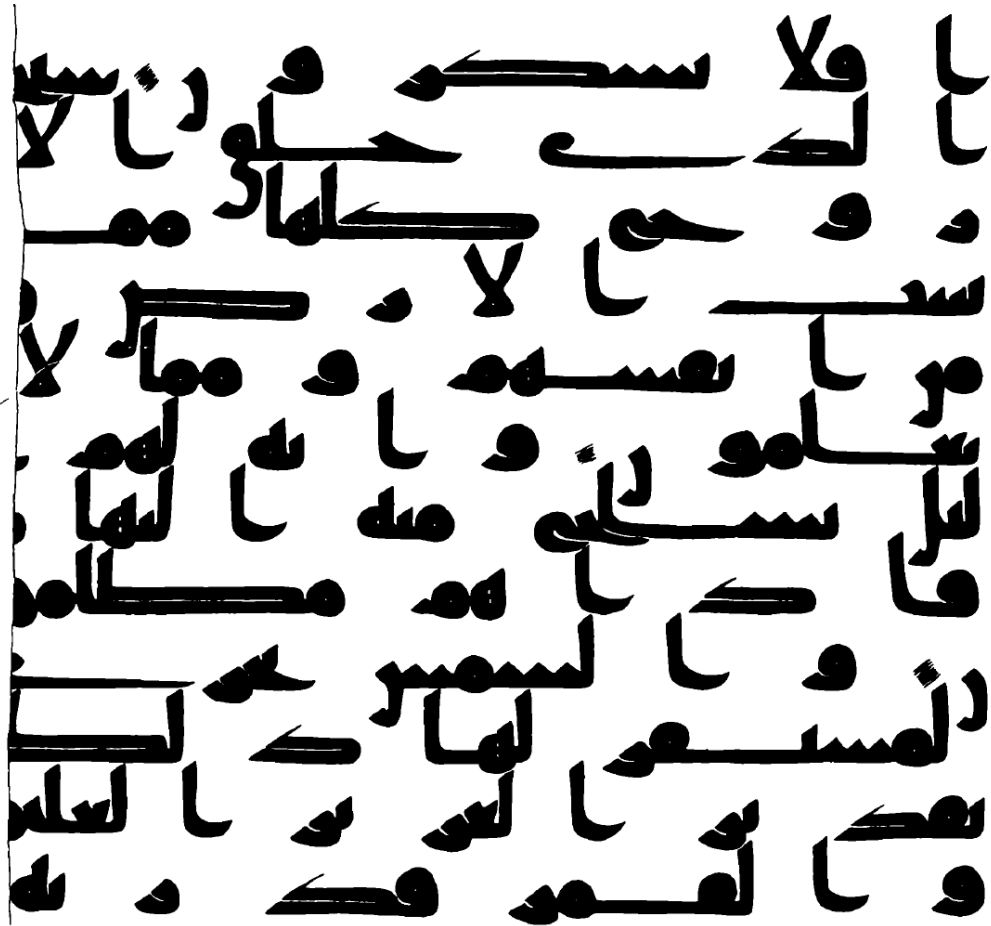
The following folios represent only one half—parchment. The rest is affixed with paper, upon which the text has been reconstructed.

Folio 2	A very decayed folio. Therefore, the <i>recto</i> side was glued entirely on a sheet of paper, and it appeared that the <i>recto</i> text was re-written on paper, while the <i>verso</i> text remained authentic, written on parchment
6 and 7	The original parchment folio is glued to the paper folio diagonally from the top of the spine. The parchment part is the lower part. The paper part is the upper part
46–57	Parchment is glued to paper along a horizontal line drawn in the middle of the folio. The parchment half is the upper half. It is not torn at the bottom, but trimmed. The text is added carelessly on the lower paper half, so that the tops of the letters <i>alif</i> (ا) and <i>lām</i> (ل) of the upper line of the paper half are stretched upward onto the parchment half, but do not always coincide with their original, authentic tops, which remain on it
58	Parchment is glued to paper along a vertical line almost in the middle. The larger half adjacent to the spine is paper and the smaller half adjacent to the outer edge is parchment
89	Half of the <i>recto</i> side adjacent to the outer edge is paper-stamped with continued and fitted text
92	Glued along the vertical line. The parchment half is the smaller half—the one adjacent to the spine
112	Half of the <i>verso</i> side adjacent to spine is paper-stamped with restored text
183	Glued along the vertical line. The parchment half is the one adjacent to the spine
315	Id., but the parchment half is smaller than the paper half
316	Glued along the horizontal line. The parchment half is the lower half, and the upper half has been torn off, apparently for the sake of the colored band of decoration separating <i>Sūra</i> 36 [“Yā’-Sīn”] and <i>Sūra</i> 37 [“al-Ṣāffāt”]

4. Script and handwriting

The script is large, straight, beautiful Kufic, strictly proportional, not angular. The first 19 folios of *Sūra* 2 and the beginning of *Sūra* 17 differ rather sharply from the rest by a smaller handwriting and some of its peculiarities. But this difference, which is clearly noticeable when comparing one of these folios with a folio taken from another place, does not allow us to conclude that this handwritten copy of the Qur’ān was performed by more than one person. The transition from folio 19 to folio 20 (where the text is not interrupted) is indeed very noticeable. In *Sūras* 17 and 18, however, this transition (also without interruption of the text) is so imperceptible and gradual that the difference in writing can be revealed quite clearly only after 10–15 folios. Smaller writing, at the

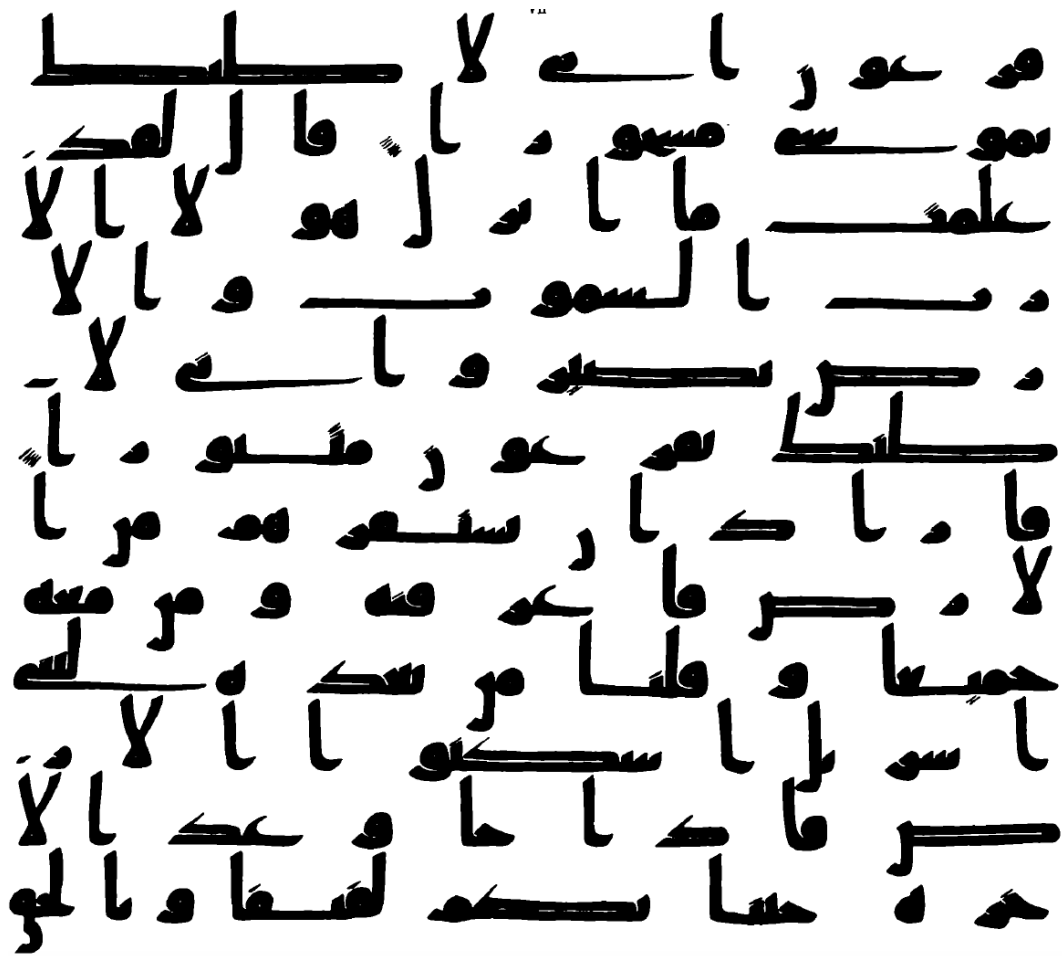
same time, becomes more compact: without the long letters ص, ط, ك and without connecting strokes of five to ten centimeters. But the number of lines per page remains 12 everywhere (see Ill. 15 and 16).



Ill. 15. Facsimile folio 310r—an example of large, straight handwriting. ⁴⁸ The twelve lines read: لِيَأْكُلُوا مِنْ ثَمَرِهِ وَمَا عَمِلَتْهُ أَيْدِيهِمْ		so that they may eat from its fruit, which they had no hand in making.	
ن	أَفَلَا يَشْكُرُونَ ❖ سُبْحٰنَ	1.	Will they not then give thanks? (35) Glory be
	الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْأَشْجَارَ	2.	to the One Who created

⁴⁸ The article by Shebunin is accompanied by several tables with illustrations in the appendix but has no illustrations in the text itself. In the edited translation, for the convenience of understanding the text, we have provided it with the most essential illustrations cut from the tables. The original tables and their explanations, included in the appendix to the article, are also preserved in their entirety in this edited translation. [N. o. the Ed.].

ل	زُوجَ كُلِّهَا مِمَّا	3.	all things in pairs—[be it] from
و	تُنْبِتُ الْأَرْضُ	4.	what the earth produces,
	مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَمِمَّا لَا	5.	from their selves, or from what they do not
أ	يَعْلَمُونَ ❖ وَآيَةٌ لَهُمْ	6.	know! (36) There is also a sign for them
ر	لَيْلٌ نَسْلَخُ مِنْهُ النَّهَارَ	7.	in the night: We strip from it daylight,
	فَإِذَا هُمْ مُظْلِمُونَ	8.	and then they are in dark-
	نَ ❖ وَالشَّمْسُ تَجْرِي	9.	ness [again]. (37) And the sun travels
	لِمُسْتَقَرٍّ لَهَا ذَلِكَ	10.	for its fixed term. That is the
❖ م	تَقْدِيرُ الْعَزِيزِ الْعَلِيمِ	11.	design of the Almighty, All-Knowing. (38)
	وَالْقَمَرَ قَدْرَهُ	12.	As for the moon, We have ordained for it
مَنَازِلَ حَتَّىٰ عَادَ كَالْعُرْجُونِ الْقَدِيمِ			precise phases for it, until it ends up like an old, curved palm stalk. (39)



Ill. 16. Facsimile folio 210v—an example of a smaller handwriting.		Twelve lines read: وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى تِسْعَ آيَاتٍ بَيِّنَاتٍ فَاسْتَأْذَنَ، إِسْرَائِيلَ إِذْ جَاءَهُمْ فَقَالَ لَهُ	We surely gave Moses nine clear signs. Ask the Children of Israel. When [Moses] came to them,
فِرْعَوْنَ إِنَّهُ لَأَطْمَئِنُّ	1. Pharaoh [said to him,] “I really think that you,		
يُمُوسَى مَسْحُورًا □ قَالَ لَقَدْ	2. O Moses, are bewitched.” (101) [Moses] replied,	3. “You know well that none has sent these [signs] down except	4. the Lord of the heavens and the
عَلِمْتَ مَا أَنْزَلَ هَؤُلَاءِ (ء) إِلَّا	5. earth as insights. And I really	6. think that you, O Pharaoh, are doomed.” (102)	7. So [Pharaoh] wanted to scare them out of the
رَبِّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ	6.	7.	7.
رُضٍ بَصِيرَةٍ وَإِنِّي لَأَطْمَئِنُّ	7.	7.	7.
تَطْمَئِنُّكَ يَفِرْعَوْنَ مَثْبُورًا □	7.	7.	7.
فَأَرَادَ أَنْ يَنْتَفِرَهُمْ مِنْ أ	7.	7.	7.

لأَرْضٍ فَأَعْرِفْنَاهُ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ	8.	land [of Egypt], but We drowned him and those with him,
جَمِيعًا □ وَقُلْنَا مِنْ بَعْدِهِ لِبَنِي	9.	all [of them]. (103) And, after [this happened to him], We said to the Children
إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنْسَكُونَا الْأَرْضَ	10.	of Israel: “Reside in the
صَ فَإِذَا جَاءَ (ء) وَعَدُّ الْآ	11.	land, but when comes the promise of the
خِزَّةٍ جِئْنَا بِكُمْ لَفِيفًا □ وَبِالْحَقِّ	12.	Hereafter, We will bring you all together. (104) And with the truth
أَنْزَلْنَاهُ وَبِالْحَقِّ نَزَلَ وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا مُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا		We have sent down the Quran, and with the truth it has come down. We have sent you [O Prophet] only as a deliverer of good news and a warner. (105)

In the small writing:

The lower end of the letter alif (ا) is bent to the right at a right angle, very slightly rounded, and extended with a short line (see Ill. 17).






Ill. 17.

The letter ح in the middle of a word is depicted simply by a small line crossing the connecting line at an acute angle. The serrations of the letter س are depicted by columns beveled at the top, like all rectilinear letters, to the left (see Ill. 18).

خ	س	مسخور






Ill. 18.

The letter ق at the end of a word and in the separate position is depicted as a rounded head with a straight stroke descending below the baseline, with an angular sickle attached at the bottom, concave to the right (see Ill. 19).

ق	ق	و بالحق (وبالحق)
		

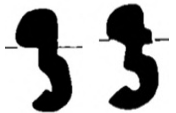

Ill. 19.

The letter ل descends below the baseline at the same distance as the letter ن. The upper end of the letter ن, bent at an obtuse angle to the left, usually has no thickening from bottom to top (see Ill. 20).

ل	ن	قال (قال)	من (من)	فرعون (فرعون)
				

Ill. 20.

The letter ی is mostly written like the letter ق, with the only difference being that the rounded head is replaced by a rounded hook to the right. If the letter ی is designed as a dash extending under the bottom of the baseline to the right (ے), it ends [comparatively] bluntly [i.e., compared to how it ends in “large” writing] (see Ill. 21).

ق ق	ی ے
	





Ill. 21.

These are the peculiarities of the writing of the first 19 folios. From folio 20 the writing becomes noticeably larger and begins to change, but very gradually. The letter **ی** is written less and less often in the first way [i.e., like the letter **ق** but with a rounded hook instead of the rounded head] and stretches to the right longer and sharper (see Ill. 22).



Ill. 22.

Before the letter **ح**, the letters rise above the line more and more often (see Ill. 23).

ح	ح	ح	نسلخ
			

Ill. 23.

The upper end of the letter **ن** becomes thickened (see Ill. 24).



Ill. 24.

The serrations of the letter **س** are beveled first from right to left from top to bottom, and then are beveled evenly to both sides, like those of a saw (see Ill. 25).



Ill. 25.

In the initial position, the letter **ع** is made rounder, is raised higher and starts further to the left from the beginning of the horizontal bottom line (see Ill. 26).



Ill. 26.

The lower rounded end of the letter *alif* (ا), which is bent to the right, becomes longer and longer. On folio 190, it already compares by its length to the height of the vertical stroke of the letter (see Ill. 27).



Ill. 27.

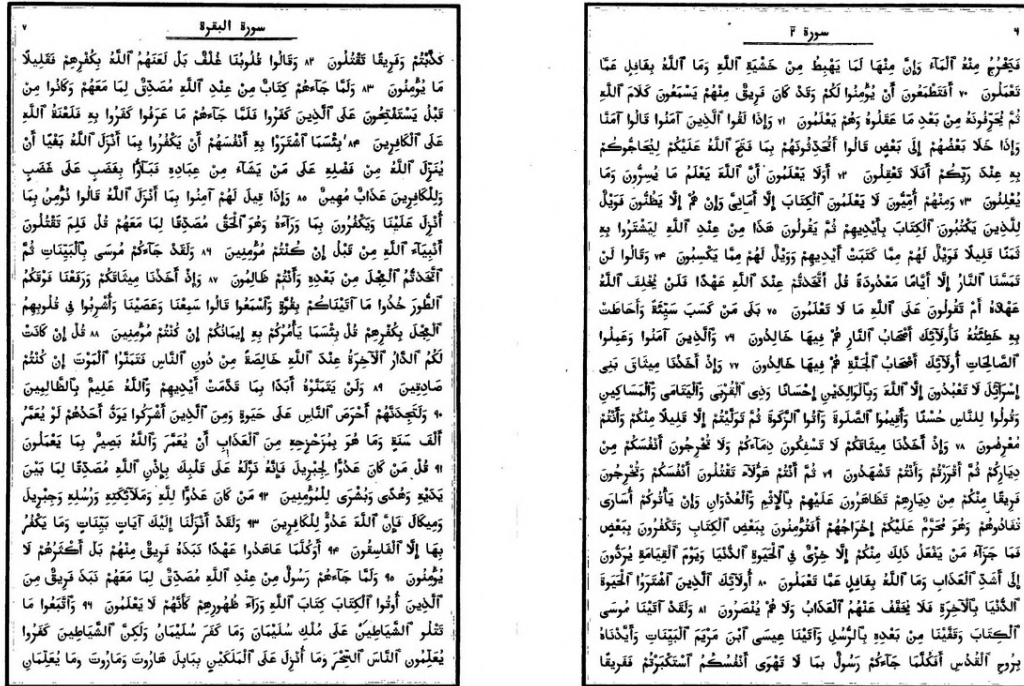
The lower part of the letter ق becomes more and more rounded. Starting from folio 207, ق is already represented by a line descending deeply down from the round head, concave a little to the left and with a slope to the left. At the bottom it turns steeply to the right along a horizontal line and ends with a small hook to the left (see Ill. 28).



Ill. 28.

Then everything gradually changes in reverse order and on folio 231 the writing takes the exact form of what we observe on the first 19 folios. Then the writing again gradually becomes larger and more expansive, the letter ن descends much lower than the letter ل, but the letter *alif* (ا) retains its short, angled, blunt lower end. The letter س continues to be written with column-like serrations. Then there is a marked transition to an even larger writing from folio 282 to folio 283. After it, the letter *alif* (ا) becomes more rounded and the letter س changes to a sawtooth form.

The thickness of the lines at these transitions varies from 1/2 to 3/4 cm. Taking Flügel’s edition of the Qur’ān as a point of comparison (see Ill. 29), we find that a page of our Qur’ān has from 5³/₄ to 10¹/₃ of its lines.⁴⁹



Ill. 29. Reprint of 1881 of Flügel’s edition. The layout of the Qur’ānic lines that Shebunin had for reference and comparison. On the picture: *Āyās* 70-97 of *Sūra* 2. As Shebunin notes in one of the footnotes, this edition was not considered flawless, but he employed it for the sake of convenience, because the concordance of the Qur’ānic words he needed to use was also compiled by Flügel. [N. o. the Ed.].

The rest of the writing system remains the same in both small and large scripts: The lower end of the letter *alif* (ا) rests on the baseline (see Ill. 27).

⁴⁹ Gustav Leberecht Flügel (1802–1870), a German orientalist. He studied in Leipzig, Vienna and Paris. From 1851 he worked at the Fürstenbibliothek in Vienna, where he was cataloguing Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts. Flügel’s edition of the Qur’ān (*Corani Textus Arabicus*) was first printed in Leipzig in 1834 by the publisher Carl Christoph Traugott Tauchnitz (1761–1836) and later reprinted several times (down to 1922). In the following years, almost all translations of the Qur’ān into European languages were based on Flügel’s edition, for it was the first time when a reliable Qur’ānic text was made available to European science. Among other things, Flügel published *Kašf al-ẓunūn ‘an asāmī al-kutub wa-alfunūn* (The Removal of Doubt from the Names of Books and the Arts), a bibliographic encyclopedia of books and sciences by the Turkish polymath Ḥağğī Ḥalīfa (also known as Kâtip Çelebi, 1017/1609–1068/1657). Flügel’s *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum*, which provided an academic Latin translation of *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, was printed in London and Leipzig in 1835–1858. [N. o. the Ed.].

The tail of the letter ح in its final form resembles a left-upward-curved sickle (see Ill. 30).





Ill. 30.

The writing of the letters د and ك is completely identical, but ك is usually longer than د. In the middle of a word, د differs from ك only in that it does not connect to the next letter. The type of the final/separate ك with a stretched lower end occurs at the end of a line, where it needs to be aligned in length with other lines (see Ill. 31).

د د	ك ك
الذی (الذی)	كلها
	ك ك


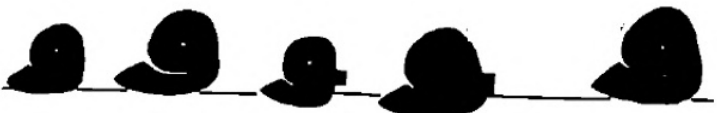
Ill. 31. Letters د and ك (ك) of the Samarkand codex. The last, long, ك occurs at the end of a line, to align its length with that of other lines.

At the end of a word, the straight line rises upward from the left upper end of ك, reaching the same level as the vertical lines of the letters *alif* (ا) and ل [and ط], with the same thickness (see Ill. 31 and 32).

لعد (لَعْدٌ)	لا طك (لَأَطُّكَ)
	




Ill. 32. Letter ل with its straight line rising upward from the left upper end, reaching the same level as the vertical lines of the letters *alif*(ا), ل and ط, and being of the same thickness.

The letters ر and و, when standing alone, are entirely placed on the baseline. However, in the middle of a word, their tails descend below the baseline (see Ill. 33).

ر ر

و و


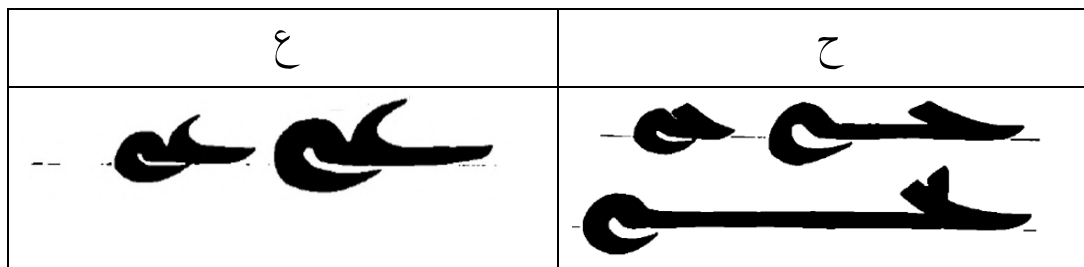
Ill. 33.

The final (ع) and middle (ع) form of the letter ع is not closed at the top with a horizontal bar (see Ill. 34).

ع	ع	جميعا
		

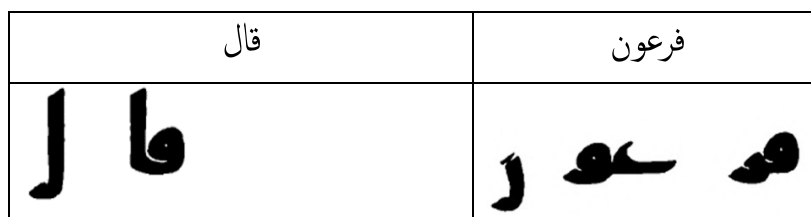
Ill. 34.

When the letter ع stands independently, its tail has the same shape as that of the letter ح (see Ill. 35).

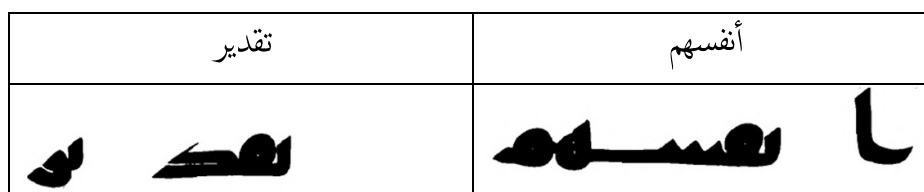


Ill. 35.

The letters ف and ق at the beginning of a word are indistinguishable from each other (see Ill. 36). In the middle form, they sometimes differ in that ف becomes rounder and rises slightly higher above the baseline (see Ill. 37).



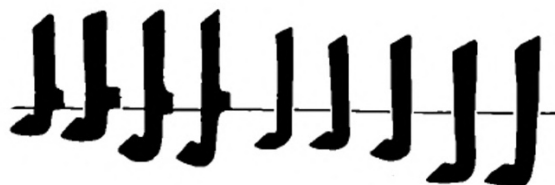
Ill. 36.



Ill. 37.

The heads of the letters ف, ق, ه, and و are filled in so much that only a small empty dot remains in the middle (see Ill. 33, 36, 37, 39).

The lower end of the letter ل is bent to the left at a right angle, short, and ends bluntly (see Ill. 36 and 38).



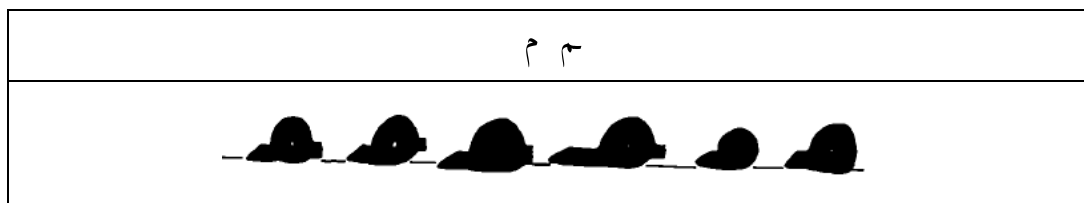
Ill. 38.

The circle of the letter م in the middle of a word always, and at the beginning and end of a word in most cases, descends slightly below the baseline. (see Ill. 39).

لمستقر	مما	منه

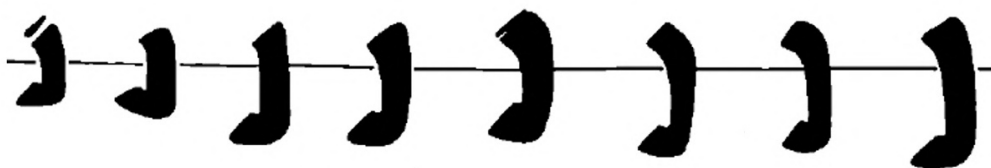
Ill. 39.

When at the end of a word, the letter م concludes with a short blunt stroke to the left along the line without any attempts to descend downward (see Ill. 40).



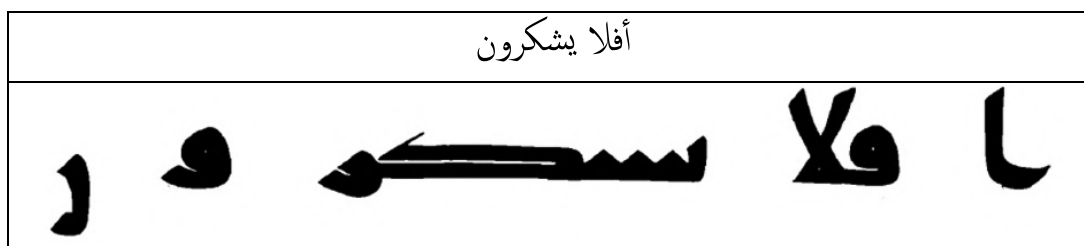
Ill. 40.

The upper end of the letter ن inclines to the left, sometimes barely noticeable. The lower end of the letter ن is short, blunt, and always bent at a right angle. The main line of the letter ن usually has a vertical direction and a straight form. Occasionally, it slants downward, slightly to the right. In this case, it may be concave, also to the right (see Ill. 41).



Ill. 41.

Between individual words, a space is left of the same magnitude as the space between individual groups of letters within a word—from two and a half to three and a half centimeters (see Ill. 42).



Ill. 42.

The part of a word that does not fit on a line is freely carried over to the next line, even from one page to another. Of course, this happens only after the letters ا, د, ذ, ز, and و, which, in principle, cannot connect to the left with the next letter. No hyphenation mark is used in this case.

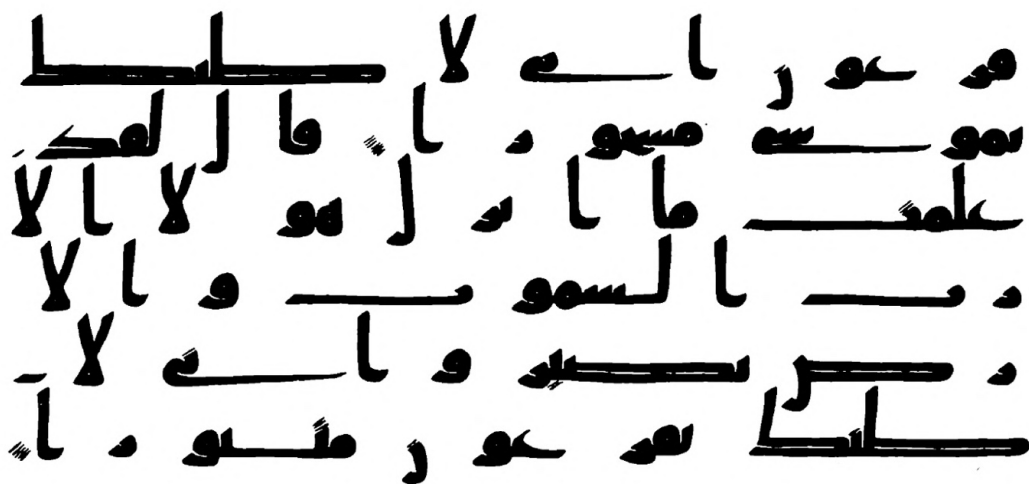
If at the end of a line there is too little space to start a new word or a new group of letters, but there is still some distance from the last letter to the end of the line, then the empty space is filled with a horizontal line. Its thickness is the same as the thickness of the connecting line within a word. Its length corresponds to the need: to make the line neither longer nor shorter than others. Sometimes the length of this horizontal line reaches six centimeters. If there is very little empty space at the end of a line, a thin dash is sometimes used instead of the described thick line, in size and direction entirely similar to a diacritic mark (see Ill. 43 and 44).



Ill. 43. Twelve lines of the Samarkand codex representing the text of *Sūrat* 21, “al-Anbiyā”, from the last word of verse 105 (الضَّالِّحُونَ) to the first word of verse 111 (وَإِنِّ). The folio is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (source: Wikipedia). It demonstrates the first case described by Shebunin. On line 12, the empty space after *وَإِنِّ* (Q 21:111) is filled with a horizontal line of which the thickness almost matches that of the connecting line within a word, while its length corresponds to the requirement. On lines 6 and 7, after *فَإِنِّ* and *ءَاذَنْتُكُمْ* (both in Q 21:109), there is relatively little empty space at the end of each line. In both cases, a short thick dash is used. The twelve lines read:

وَلَقَدْ كَتَبْنَا فِي الزُّبُورِ مِنْ بَعْدِ الذِّكْرِ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِيَ		Surely, We decreed in the Scriptures after the [previous] mention: “My servants shall inherit the land,	
الضَّالِّحُونَ ❖ إِنَّ فِي هَذَا	1.	the righteous ones. (105) Indeed, in this [Qur’ān]	
لَبَلَسْنَا لِقَوْمٍ عَابِدِينَ ❖ وَ	2.	is notification for a worshipping people. (106) And	
مَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً	3.	We have not sent you, [O Muḥammad], except as a mercy	

لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ❖ قُلْ إِنَّمَا يُوحَىٰ إِلَيَّ	4.	to the worlds. (107) Say, “It is [only] revealed to me
أَنَّمَا إِلَهُكُمُ إِلَهٌ وَاحِدٌ	5.	that your god is but one God;
فَهَلْ أَنتُم مُّسْلِمُونَ ❖ فَإِنْ -	6.	so will you be Muslims?” (108) But if
تَوَلَّوْا فَقُلْ آذَنْتُكُمْ -	7.	they turn away, then say, “I have announced to [all of] you
عَلَىٰ سَوَاءٍ (ۚ) وَإِنْ أَدْرِي	8.	equally. And I know
عَ أَقْرَبُ أَمْ بَعِيدٌ مَا	9.	not whether near or far is that which
تُوعَدُونَ ❖ إِنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ آ	10.	you are promised. (109) Indeed, He knows what
لَجَهْرٍ مِّنَ الْقَوْلِ وَيَعْلَمُ	11.	is declared of speech, and He knows what
مَا تَكْتُمُونَ ❖ وَإِنْ —	12.	you conceal. (110) And I know;
أَدْرِي لَعَلَّهٗ فِتْنَةٌ لَّكُمْ وَمَتَاعٌ إِلَىٰ حِينٍ		perhaps it is a trial for you and enjoyment for a time”. (111)



Ill. 44. The first six lines of the Samarkand codex representing the text of *Sūra* 17, “al-Isrā’”: the last words of verse 101 and verse 102. Facsimile folio 210v. On line 5, the empty space after ^{لَأَ} (Q 17:102) is filled with a short horizontal line of which the thickness matches that of the connecting line within a word. Its length corresponds to the requirement. On line 2, there is very little empty space at the end of a line, after ^{لَقَدْ} (Q 17:102), and a thin dash is used instead of the thick line.


Its size and direction are similar to a diacritic dash.

وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى تِسْعَ آيَاتٍ بَيِّنَاتٍ فَلَمَّا سَأَلَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِذْ جَاءَهُمْ فَقَالَ لَهُ		We surely gave Moses nine clear signs. Ask the Children of Israel. When [Moses] came to them,	
فِرْعَوْنُ إِنِّي لَأَظُنُّكَ	1.	Pharaoh [said to him,] “I really think that you,	
يُمُوسَى مَسْحُورًا □ قَالَ لَقَدْ	2.	O Moses, are bewitched.” (101) [Moses] replied,	
عِلِمْتَ مَا أَنْزَلَ هُوَ لَا (ء) إِلَّا	3.	“You know well that none has sent these [signs] down except	
رَبُّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ	4.	the Lord of the heavens and the	
رُضٍ بَصِيرَةٍ وَإِنِّي لَأَ—	5.	earth as insights. And I really	
ظُنُّكَ يُفِرْعَوْنُ مَثْبُورًا □	6.	think that you, O Pharaoh, are doomed.” (102)	

In addition to diacritic dashes, which traditionally replace dots in Kufic script, there are absolutely no other signs (*hamza*, *madda*, *tašdīd*, *sukūn*, *fathā*, *kasra*, and *ḍamma*) anywhere in the handwritten Qur’ān manuscript that we are studying. There is also no instance of any of these signs being added later than when the manuscript was executed—a phenomenon that is quite common in other ancient manuscripts.





All diacritic dashes are applied simultaneously with the writing of the text. The only exception is the letter *ي* in the word *الياس* (Q 6:85). This is evidenced by both the quality and color of the ink, as well as the appearance and shape of these dashes.

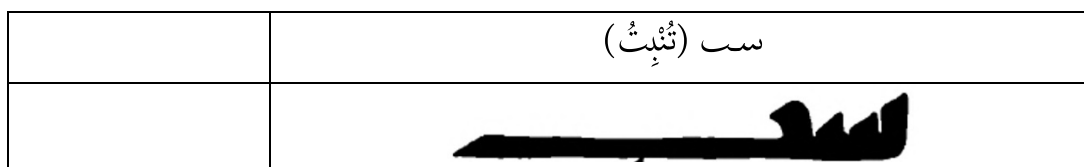
Specifically, the diacritic dashes for the letters *ش*, *خ*, *ت*, *ث*, and *ن* appear as if they are cut-off tips of their tops (see Ill. 45):

ش	خ	ت	ث	ن
				

Ill. 45.

For the letters *ت* and *ث*, in their isolated and final forms, there is only one upward-pointing crenellation, just like in the initial and middle forms (see Ill. 46).

ب (ب ت ث)	س (ب ت ث)	د (د ت ث)	ت ب
			



Ill. 46.

The diacritic dashes in these cases are arranged one above the other (see Ill. 46 and 47).



Ill. 47.

For the letter ش, three diacritic dashes are positioned, one above each crenellation. Due to this arrangement, in less clear, worn, or damaged areas, it can be challenging to determine whether a diacritic dash has been applied or if a random space separates the top of the crenellation from the rest of the letter (see Ill. 48).



Ill. 48.

The appearance of diacritic dashes for other letters is entirely similar to the appearance of diacritic dashes for the previously described letters. They are written in the same direction as those mentioned before.

For the letter غ in its initial form, the diacritic dash is placed specifically above the horn, not inside it, as is common in other Kufic manuscripts (see Ill. 49).



Ill. 49.

Diacritic dashes are relatively rare, and their placement follows no specific system. It is noteworthy that the greatest number of diacritic dashes occurs with the letter ن at the end of a word (where it cannot be confused with any other letter) or in the suffix and the combined pronoun of the first person plural نا (again, where the letter ن could be recognized even without diacritics). Additionally, diacritics on ن are found in words like آمنوا, where recognizing the letter ن would not pose a challenge even without the diacritic mark.

The number of diacritic dashes on a page varies from zero to forty. The frequency changes gradually from page to page, rather than abruptly. Moreover, the variation

in the number of diacritic dashes from page to page does not correlate with changes in writing characteristics. This is why the fluctuation in the number of diacritic dashes on a page cannot be used as evidence that multiple scribes worked on the Qur’ān. An abundance of diacritic dashes is particularly observed on pages 17–26 and 236–251, with the highest concentration on page 243.

In our entire Qur’ān, there are 562 occurrences of the letter ن marked with a diacritic sign. The second-highest occurrence after the letter ن is the letter ت, marked with a diacritic in 130 instances. The distribution of all letters requiring diacritics based on this criterion is as follows:

ن	—562
ت	—130
ب	—110
ف	—27
ش	—23
ث	—22
ى	—16
خ	—11
ق	—7
ض	—5
ج	—4
غ	—3
ذ	—1
ظ	—1
ز	—0
ة	—0

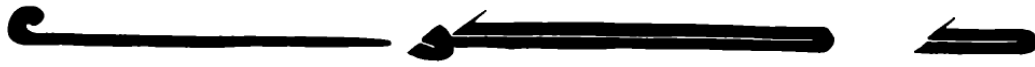
In the codex, there are six words notable in terms of calligraphy. These words are stretched to fill the entire line, seemingly without the aid of a ruler, for these meticulously written words still follow a slightly curved trajectory rather than a perfectly straight line. These words are located in the following verses and on the following folios:

لِنُظُنُّكَ لِسُكِّ (لِنُظُنُّكَ) لِسُكِّ, see Ill. 50	Q 5:64	180v
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Ill. 50.

د كرى (ذِكْرِي), see Ill. 51	Q 11:16	203 ^v
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Ill. 51.

مساكنكم (مَسَاكِنُكُمْ), see Ill. 52	Q 27:18	299 ^r
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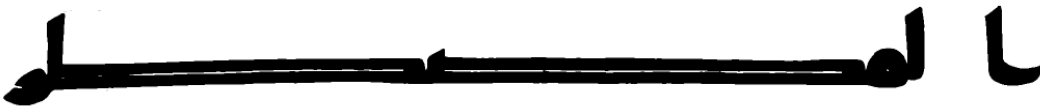
Ill. 52.

صاحبا (صَاحِبًا), see Ill. 53	Q 27:19	299 ^r
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Ill. 53.

المضطر (الْمُضْطَرَّ), see Ill. 54	Q 27:63	304 ^r
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Ill. 54.

اضطفي (اضْطَفَى), see Ill. 55	Q 37:153	326 ^r
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Ill. 55.

The longest letter **ب** (see Ill. 56) is taken from the word **رب** on folio 316^r (Q 37:5). Its length is 24 centimeters, but the fact that this letter is the longest of all may not be immediately noticeable, as many other **ب** and **ت** letters are only slightly smaller than the largest one.



Ill. 56.

5. Division of verses, separately and in groups, and division of *sūras*

Individual verses are separated from each other by series of oblique parallel strokes, usually numbering from four to seven dashes.⁵⁰ They are arranged closely above one another, forming a ladder-like structure, in a single row, parallel to the diacritical dashes,⁵¹ to which they are completely similar in size and appearance. By all indications, these divisions were made simultaneously with the writing of the text.

5.1. Discrepancy between the systems of verse division

Comparing the system of verse division in our Qur’ān with the system, more or less firmly established later, we find sufficient discrepancies here. These discrepancies, when comparing the text of our Qur’ān with the Qur’ān of Flügel’s edition,⁵² are encountered in the following points and are as follows:

<i>Sūra</i>	Separating series of oblique parallel strokes are absent after the verses	Among the verses, separating series of oblique parallel strokes are placed after the word
٢	150, 170	96 خلاق
٣	71, ⁵³ 136, 157, 160, 166, ⁵⁴ 167, 173, 175, 190, 193, 194, 198	139 كتابا موجلا 160 المؤمنين
٤	5, 6, 15, 23, 29, 37, 42, 128, 138, 139	83 ماييتون 140 من المؤمنين
٥	99	88 المحسنين 93 منتهون
٦	6, 15, 47, 63, 96, 104	
٧	3, 5, 13, 15, 48, 87	87 علما
١١	54, 63, 67–72, ⁵⁵ 73, 88, 95, 108, 110	
١٢	42, 44, 45	
١٥	41, 45–48, 51, 65	

⁵⁰ The exceptions are as follows: Q 3:160, after the word الْمُؤْمِنِينَ, as well as after verse Q 18:18, only one separating stroke is placed. After verses Q 4:100 and Q 27:57, there are three separating strokes each. After verse Q 11:80, there are nine separating strokes.

⁵¹ Only after verses 19 and 24 of *Sūra* 18, the parallel strokes are placed horizontally (are not oblique as usual).

⁵² Although this edition is not considered flawless, we employed it for the sake of convenience, because the concordance [of the Qur’anic words] we used was compiled by the same Flügel.

⁵³ The passage is not entirely clear, as the parchment is heavily damaged.

⁵⁴ The passage is not entirely clear, as the parchment is heavily damaged.

⁵⁵ These verses occupy the entire folio 194.

١٦	21, 48, 56	
١٧	48, 60, 63, 75, 95–97 ⁵⁶	للمؤمنين 84
١٨	12, 15, 17, 20, 21, 31–37, ⁵⁷ 38, 54, 55, 63, 64, 66, 83, 85, 88, 91, 94, 97, 103, 104	المؤمنين 2 رقود 17 نهر 32 دكاء 98
١٩	3, 7, 10, 11, 13, 17, 22, 26, 27, 42, 43, 76, 83, 92	تقيا 14 حجابا 17 ولدا 91 عبدا 94
٢٠	5, 9, 15, 39, 47, 50, 51, 54, 59, 63, 79, 82, 85, 90, 91, 110, 116, 117, 123, 125	مهدا 55 سبلا 55 حسنا 89 موسى 90 سامرى 96
٢٦	72, 73, 76, 92, 103, 193, 197, 201	
٢٧	12, 44, 46, 66	
٣٦	18, 25, 27, 34, 57, 63, 72	
٣٧	4, 7, 12, 16, 19, 22, 28, 30, 56, 60, 65, 100, 101, 109, ⁵⁸ 114	مؤمنين 29 عين 47
٣٨	1, 21	الذكر 1 خزائن 8
٤٠	56, 57, 79, 80	يسحبون 73
٤١	5, 12, 18, 21, 26, 28, 30, 35	
٤٢	33, 38, 43, 45, 49	حفيظا 47

5.2. Colored rosettes

Groups of approximately ten verses are marked with colored rosettes, usually in the form of a square, with a side length ranging from two and a half to three centimeters, featuring a star inside. The star is circumscribed around a circle with a one-centimeter

⁵⁶ These verses occupy the entire *recto* of folio 242.

⁵⁷ These verses occupy the entire folio 251.

⁵⁸ The passage is not entirely clear, as the parchment is heavily damaged.

diameter, within which a Kufic letter-digit is placed, indicating the number of verses passed from the beginning of the *sūra*. The colored rosettes consist of, with few exceptions, four colors: crimson, green, blue, and orange, the latter of which, dried in places, has turned into a dark brown color. The digit is always red, except on folio 16, where it is crimson. Occasionally, this red color is also included in the surrounding rosette [and then, the colored rosette consists of five colors: crimson, green, blue, orange and red]. In the numerical notations, instead of representing the digit 60 with the letter *س* and the digit 90 with the letter *ص*, exactly the letter *ص* is used throughout the manuscript for the digit 60, while for the digit 90 the letter *ض* is used—according to *Abġadiyyat al-Maġrib* (Maghrebian system of letter-digits).



Ill. 57. Examples of colored square rosettes consisting of four (10, 11, 13, 21) and five (12, 22, 23, 24: with the red color of the letter-digit included also in the figure) colors. *ص*=60 (figure 23) *ض*=90 (figure 24).

In our entire Qur’ān, we find 151 colored rosettes of this kind, specifically after the following verses:

<i>Sūra</i>	Verse and location
٢	19 (folio 3r); 29 (4v); 48 (7v); 59 (9v); 66 (11r); 75 (12v); 95 (16v); 105 (19r); 115 (21r); 125 (23r); 146 (28r); 156 (29v)
٣	35 (47r); 64 (53r); 75 (56r); 95 (58v); 134 (66r); 154 (69v); 176 (74r); 200 (79r)
٤	24 (86v); 111 (103v); 130 (109r)
٥	90 (113v); 98 (117r); 118 (123v)
٦	9 (126r); 19 (128r); 39 (133r); 59 (137v); 69 (140r); 89 (144v)

٧	10 (167r); 30 (171v); 39 (174r); 49 (177r); 79 (184r); 89 (187r); 99 (189r)
١١	52 (190v); 64 (193r); 74 (195r); 83 (197r); 92 (199r); 102 (201r); 112 (203r)
١٢	20 (205r)
١٥	10 (207r); 20 (208r); 30 (209r); 40 (210r); 60 (211v); 70 (212v); 80 (213r)
١٦	10 (214r); 20 (215v); 32 (217v); 42 (219v); 62 (222r); 72 (224r); 82 (226v); 92 (228r); 102 (229v)
١٧	11 (232r); 21 (233v); 32 (234v); 42 (235v); 62 (237v); 72 (239r); 82 (240r); 92 (241v); 102 (243r); 111 (244v)
١٨	9 (246r); 19 (248r); 29 (250v); 39 (252r); 49 (254r); 60 (256r); 70 (257r); 93 (259r); 105 (260v)
١٩	21 (263r); 32 (264v); after ابراهيم 42 (265v); 61 (267r); 71 (268r); 82 (269v); 91 (270r); 98 (271r)
٢٠	11 (272r); 22 (273r); 32 (273v); 42 (274v); 53 (275v); 64 (276v); 74 (278r); 84 (279v); 93 (281r); 102 (282v); 112 (283v); 121 (284v); 131 (286r)
٢٦	70 (287v); 80 (288r); 90 (289r); 100 (289v); 140 (291v); 170 (293r); 180 (294r); 190 (295r); 200 (295v)
٢٧	10 (297v); 20 (299v); 30 (300r); 49 (301v); 59 (303r); 70 (305v); 80 (306v)
٣٦	20 (308r); 31 (309v); 41 (310v); 51 (312r); 61 (313r); 71 (314v)
٣٧	20 (317v); 29 (318v); 39 (319v); 48 (320r); 58 (320r); 68 (321v); 98 (322v); 110 (323v); 120 (324r); 130 (324v); 140 (325r); 150 (326r); 161 (326v); 170 (327r); 180 (328r)
٣٨	10 (329v); 20 (330v)
٤٠	72 (336v); 81 (338v)
٤١	10 (340r); 20 (342r); 31 (344v)
٤٢	21 (346v); 31 (348v); 41 (350r); 53 (352v)

Of all these rosettes, those composed of five colors are found on folios 53, 58, 69, 86, 190, 193, 195, 199, 214, 265, 268, 269, 271. All other rosettes are composed of four colors.

To compare this system of division of the Qur’ānic verses into groups with how the same division is made in other manuscript Qur’āns, one can also take into account the places where such figures are not visibly present, but where their location is clearly indicated by the remaining perforation, which has been subsequently sealed with a patch or left entirely untouched:

Q 3:125 (64v); Q 4:120 (106r); Q 6:99 (148v)	The cut-out portion is sealed with thick paper, and the usual text is restored on it if part of it is cut out along with the figure
Q 2:135 (25v); Q 15:50 (211r); Q 26:110 (290r); Q 26:130 (291r)	The cut-out portion is sealed with thin glossy paper without restoring the text

Q 16:52 (221r)	The cut-out portion is left unsealed
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In the attached table at the end of the article, all types of these colored rosettes are listed, distinguished not so much by a variety of forms, as by the arrangement of colors, as can be seen from it.





It is necessary to resolve the question: are these figures contemporary with the text or not? This question is important for determining the era in which our manuscript Qur’ān was created because the older the manuscript, the fewer calligraphic embellishments it has. Therefore, conversely, the fewer ornaments we find on a manuscript of unknown age, the older the era to which we can attribute the manuscript. Let us see what data we have in this case to determine the question of ornaments in our Qur’ān and where this data may lead us.

After carefully examining and comparing all the colored rosettes we have described, we find that two points indicate their contemporaneity with the text. Against contemporaneity, there are three points, and they, in our opinion, carry more weight than the two points that speak ‘for’.

In favor of contemporaneity, we have the following two points:




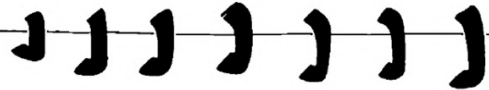

1) The ink used to outline the figures mostly has the same brownish color as the text. Only in relatively few figures is it entirely gray. This point in favor of contemporaneity is weakened, however, by the fact that the writing of the text, even in diacritical and verse-separating strokes, never provides lines equally thin as the lines outlining these rosettes. This hinders clarity in comparison, as the impact of time on them may not have been uniform.

2) The letters enclosed in the square rosettes indicating the number of verses are written in the same strict Kufic script as the text. For example, the end of the letter م does not descend at all (see Ill. 58).

	In the coloured figures	م	م	هم
م				

Ill. 58.

However, upon careful comparison, we find a deviation here as well: the lower end of the letter ن, curved to the left, extends much further than any ن in the entire text, so that this ن becomes very similar to the letter ى, which is never the case in the text (see Ill. 59).

	In the coloured figures	In the text
ر		
ن		
	 <p>A letter ن of a colored rosette next to a letter ر of the text (folio 352v). ن of the figure looks very similar in style to ر of the text, although in the text ن is very different from ر</p>	

Ill. 59.

The following three points suggest against simultaneity:

1) What immediately catches the eye and gives the impression that the figures were drawn later than the text: most figures are drawn diagonally, so their bases are not parallel to the lines of the text but at a very noticeable angle. This creates a sharp disharmony with the firmness, proportionality, and strictness of the text. It seems utterly unbelievable that the same hand that smoothly drew three parallel lines across the entire line [50 cm] (as in the word اصطفى on folio 326r)—and even at a very small distance from each other, and without any ruler—could not outline a smooth and straight square with a side length of just 2½–3 cm.



Ill. 60. The word اصطفى on folio 326r, written with long parallel lines across the entire line of 50 cm (the third line is the long tail of the letter ع), and several examples of the square colored figures that have uneven sides (see esp. No. 38) of 2½–3 cm each and appear to be “dancing” on the baseline.

Thanks to this same carelessness or clumsiness, many colored rosettes touch adjacent letters, slightly shading them. However, with the letters of the text, this never happens, and neither the tops of the letters ا, ل, and ط nor the tails of the letters ع or ى touch even the slightest bit of any neighboring letter. All of this clearly indicates to us that the person who divided the verses into groups was not the same person who wrote the text.





2) The person who executed the text and divided it into groups with dashes for individual verses obviously did not know that colored square rosettes would be placed in the text. Consequently, while writing the text, this scribe could not take it into account. This is evident from the fact that the figures constantly come into contact with the separating series of oblique parallel strokes and deal with them in a completely cavalier manner. Where there was not enough space between the separating strokes and the end of the previous or the beginning of the next verse to fit the rosette, and where it was impossible to place the rosette above the separating strokes, the person placing the rosettes rubbed the separating strokes out. Sometimes this was done so diligently that the parchment was rubbed through, or the colored rosette was placed directly on the separating strokes, which clearly peek out between the colors of the rosette.



Ill. 61. On folio 69v, the colored square rosette with the letter-digit ص ق (to mark 160 verses from the beginning of *Sūra* 3) is placed directly on the series of four strokes separating between ن of the last word of verse 160 (المؤمنون) and و of the first word of verse 161 (وما) of *Sūrat* “Āl ‘Imrān”.

If a verse that should be marked with a colored rosette ends at the end of a line, the separating oblique parallel strokes are left in place, and the rosette is drawn either immediately after the separating strokes in the margin or in the other margin—before the beginning of the next verse. This, too, is striking as a violation of the strictness of the writing, in which neither a letter nor a dash ever protrudes beyond the common outline of the lines on a page.

All these cases we find on the following folios:

<p>Rosettes drawn on undisturbed separating strokes</p>  <p>[Ill. 62. A figure on folio 69v]</p>	folios 69, 248, 250
<p>Rosettes drawn on erased separating strokes</p>  <p>[Ill. 63. A rosette on folio 9v: drawn on partly erased separating strokes and touching the letter below]</p>	3, ⁵⁹ 9, 11, 21, 23, 29, 109, 167, 187, 189, 213, 232, 237, 239, 243, 246, ⁶⁰ 254, 256, 257, 259, 264, 269, 270, 286, 295v, 297, 301, 308, 310, 322, 329, 338, 340, 342, ⁶¹ 346, 348, 350
<p>Rosettes drawn above separating strokes</p>  <p>[Ill. 64. A figure on folio 12v]</p>	4, 12, 19, 235, ⁶² 244, ⁶³ 295r, ⁶⁴ 313, 330
<p>Rosettes squeezed in between the separating strokes and the end or beginning of the verse</p>	47, 103, 263, 281, 293, 303, 306, 309, 330, 352
<p>Rosettes drawn in the margin before the beginning of the verse</p>	171, 219, 233, 234, 241, 291, 305
<p>Rosettes drawn in the margin after the end of the verse</p>  <p>[Ill. 65. A rosette on folio 268r]</p>	195, 197, 222, ⁶⁵ 240, 252, 260, 267, 268, 272, 276, 294 ⁶⁶
<p>The rosette is drawn above the text</p>	79, 283

⁵⁹ Rubbed through.

⁶⁰ Rubbed through.

⁶¹ Rubbed through.

⁶² The separating strokes beneath it are still erased because otherwise there would be little space left.

⁶³ Space was also lacking, and the upper separating strokes were erased to accommodate the bottom of the rosette.

⁶⁴ Covers the upper separating strokes with its colors.

⁶⁵ Due to a lack of space, some of the separating strokes are trimmed and erased to accommodate the rosette.

⁶⁶ The rosette covers a portion of the separating strokes.

On folio 283, verses 112–113 of *Sūra* 20 were neither separated by a series of oblique parallel strokes, nor was there enough empty space for a colored square rosette. Therefore, the rosette was placed above the tail of the letter *ع* of the word *فتعالى*, which never happens with the series of separating oblique parallel strokes.

It should also be noted that this point “against” provides us with only minimal data because the series of separating strokes were not always scratched and erased, but sometimes, apparently, washed away. It is evident that quite often it could be done in such a way that there was not the slightest trace left of them. Thus, we again see that the division of verses into decades was not done by the person who wrote the text and marked each individual verse but was done somewhat later.

3) Apparently, the person inserting the colored rosettes divided verses into decades according to a completely different counting system than the one used by the scribe of the Qur’ānic text. This circumstance undoubtedly supports the assumption that the colored rosettes were inserted not just a little later than the text was written, but significantly later. The reason is that between adjacent colored rosettes, there are very often either fewer than ten verses marked by series of separating strokes or, on the opposite, more than ten verses. This phenomenon seems to occur in other manuscript Qur’āns as well. For example, in the catalogs of the Berlin (Ahlwardt) and Paris (Bar. de Slane)⁶⁷ libraries, it is vaguely mentioned that in some manuscript copies, groups of several verses are marked with rosettes or other decorations. However, in such cases, these rosettes do not contain a numeral indicating the number of verses. In our case, these numerals are present and they clearly point to a different counting system.

Therefore, in cases where there is a discrepancy between the numerals in the colored rosettes and the series of oblique strokes separating between individual verses, the numerals indicate a different counting system than the one used to separate individual verses. We encounter this discrepancy very often, but due to the damage caused to many folios (where edges and corners are either decayed or directly severed), we cannot always be certain that in unclear or missing places there were not one or two series of strokes, which might have been, according to our understanding, in the middle of a verse and would have precisely completed the number of verse groups that we observe. That is why here we provide only those examples that leave us with no doubt about the discrepancy between the division of individual verses and the decades marked with colored rosettes. We have a sufficient number of such examples. Here they are (in parentheses—letter-digits of those rosettes that are not present, but for which the places are clearly visible):

⁶⁷ W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der Arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, A. W. Schade (I) & A. Asher & Co. (II-X), 10 vols, 1887–1899; W. MacGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1883–1895.

Location between				Number of verses grouped by means of the series of oblique parallel separating strokes
Rosette on folio		and rosette on folio		
ل	171	م	174	9
م	174	ن	177	9
ى	207	ك	208	9
(ن)	211 ^r	ص	211 ^v	9
ص	211 ^v	ع	212	9
م	219	(ن)	221	9
ك	233	ل	234	9 (8?)
ل	234	م	235	11
ص	237	ع	239	9
ف	240	ض	241	11
ق	243	ق ى	244	7
ى	246	ك	248	9
ك	248	ل	250	7 (8)
ن	254	ص	256	9
ص	256	ع	257	7
ض	259	ق	260	9
(ى)	262	ك	263	9
ل	264	م	265	9
ف	269	ض	270	9
ض	270	ض ط	271	7
م	274	ن	275	8
ف	279	ض	281	8
ق	282	ق ى	283	8 (7)
ق ى	283	ق ك	284	7
ق ك	284	ق ل	286	8
ع	287	ف	288	7
ض	289 ^r	ق	289	9
ق	289 ^v	(ق ى)	290	9
ق ض	295 ^r	د	295	8
ك	317	ل	318	8 (7)

ل	318	م	319	9
م	319	ن	320r	9
ن	320r	ص	320v	9
ص	320v	ع	321	8
Beginning of the <i>Sūra</i> on folio 328		ى	329	11
ى	340	ك	342	8
ك	342	ل	344	7

On some folios, there is another division of verses into groups, differing in its system from the division just described. Signs of this division are small circles with diameters ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ cm, made with ink of the same color as the text or in gray. Leaving aside their comparative miniaturization⁶⁸ and comparing their relative antiquity with the colored rosettes, we confidently give fair preference to these circles because:

First, on folios 184r, 319v, 324*recto* and *verso*, as well as on 326v, the circles are clearly covered with either part of a colored rosette or with an entire rosette. On folio 320r, a rubbed-off circle is clearly visible under the colors of the rosette.



Ill. 66. On folio 184r, the colored square rosette covers the circle so that it appears in the middle of it.

Second, there is always, and apparently not by chance, sufficient space left among the text for these circles. This is especially evident on folios 197r, 320v, and 326v, where verses Q 11:84, Q 37:59, and Q 37:161, starting from a new line, do not begin from the line’s very beginning but instead noticeably deviate from the beginning to leave enough space for the circle. In the case of the colored rosettes, space is never preallocated, and the number of the colored rosettes significantly exceeds the number of the circles. We have seen that in such cases rosettes are drawn in the margins.

The reason for the small number of these circles is not very clear. We find them only after the following 16 verses of the Qur’ān:

⁶⁸ In the catalogue of the Berlin Royal Library compiled by Ahlwardt, it is noted that verse groups in the manuscript 302 Do. are separated by 172 small golden dots, while in manuscript 362 We. there are 1934 small circles.

Verse	Page of the manuscript
Q 4:111	103 ^v
Q 7:79	184 ^r
Q 7:98	188 ^v
Q 11:83	197 ^r
Q 16:42	219 ^v
Q 36:31	309 ^v
Q 36:40	310 ^v
Q 36:50	312 ^r
Q 36:60	313 ^r
Q 37:39	319 ^v
Q 37:48	320 ^r
Q 37:58	320 ^v
Q 37:120	324 ^r
Q 37:130	324 ^v
Q 37:160	326 ^v
Q 38:9	329 ^v

Knowing that the colored rosettes were created later than the text, one can (recalling how many series of separating strokes were rubbed out for the sake of the colored rosettes), assume that the circles, too, were partly erased and partly incorporated into the composition of the colored rosette’s drawing, which could be done quite imperceptibly. And this assumption is quite vividly supported by the following coincidence. Most colored rosettes placed in violation of the strictness of the text writing, are precisely the rosettes between which the series of oblique parallel separating strokes indicate 7, 8, 9, or 11 verses instead of the required 10. This coincidence leads us to the thought that in those cases where the initial counting system (marked with series of strokes and circles) coincided with the later system (marked with colored rosettes), the colored rosettes used the space left for the circles, and the circles were included imperceptibly into the rosettes. In those cases where the systems diverged, there was no space for colored rosettes, and they were placed wherever and however it was possible. Thus, on folios 188, 189, 310, 312, 313, and 329, colored rosettes do not appear after the verses where circles are present, and in these instances the circles are not erased. This is especially interesting on folio 329, where the circle marks precisely the first ten verses of *Sūra* 37, marked with a series of separating strokes. The colored rosette, in this case, is placed after the 11th verse, but nevertheless, the red letter *ع* in it indicates that the person who drew it counted not 11, but only 10 verses from the beginning of the *sūra*.

However, on folio 320, apparently, it was the person drawing the circles who made a mistake when counting the verses. Between the circle on the *recto* of this folio

and the next circle on the *verso* of the same folio, there are only 9 verses. Either it is an occasional blunder, or one series of separating strokes (namely, between verses 56 and 57, where a series of strokes is missing) was imperceptibly erased. This is unknown. At least in all other cases, circles mark exactly 10 verses,⁶⁹ and in cases of disagreement between the circles and the colored rosettes, the former always turn out to be more accurate.

Of all the mentioned circles above, those on folios 310, 312, and 329 stand alone. The rest either stand next to a series of separating strokes or are filled with a colored rosette. This may also include the circle drawn around the series of separating strokes after Q 2:167 on folio 31.



Ill. 67. A circle drawn around the group of separating dashes, examples of circles standing alone and a circle standing next to a group of separating dashes.

5.3. Colored bands of decoration separating the *sūras*

The *sūras* are separated from each other by decorations in the form of colored bands, consisting mostly of a series of squares or elongated rectangles forming a single pattern but with differently positioned colors. The ends of the bands are adorned with ribbons, forming a shape resembling a lyre.

In the bands of decoration, the same colors are used as in the colored rosettes, but in the decoration on folio 79r, the orange color is redder than usual (see Ill. 68), and in the decoration on folio 271r, the orange color is replaced with yellow [Ill. 69]. The other colors (red, crimson, green and blue) are entirely identical to the colors of the colored rosettes.



Ill. 68.

⁶⁹ About folios 309–310, where only 9 verses are counted between the circles, we cannot definitively say that it is an oversight. This is because the outer edges of these folios are detached along with part of the text, and therefore, it is quite possible that the missing tenth series of separating strokes may be located on one of the detached portions.

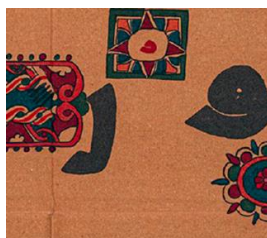


Ill. 69.

In the band of decoration on folio 328r, the right end concludes with an elongated rectangle containing Kufic letters ق ف ب (i.e., number 182) in the middle, written with red color and completely identical to the letters in the colored square rosettes [Ill. 70]. The band of decoration on folio 79r covers the separating oblique parallel strokes, similar to how the colored square rosettes sometimes do [Ill. 71]. All of this almost unequivocally suggests that the bands of decoration and the colored rosettes were drawn at the same time.



Ill. 70.



Ill. 71. The beginning of the colored band of decoration drawn after the last word of *Sūra* 3 (تفـلحون) covers a series of oblique parallel strokes initially placed after the word.

There are only five bands of decoration in the manuscript: after *Sūra* 3 (folio 79r), after *Sūra* 4 (folio 244v),⁷⁰ after *Sūra* 19 (folio 271r), after *Sūra* 36 (folio 316r), after *Sūra* 37 (folio 328r), and after *Sūra* 42 (folio 352v). The fact that the bands of decoration are placed after these *sūras*, and not before the subsequent ones, is evident from two signs. First, the letter-digits in the square within the band of decoration on folio 328 indicate the number 182, which is the number of verses in the completed *Sūra* 37, “al-Ṣāffat”, not the subsequent *Sūra* 38, “Ṣād”. Second, *Sūra* 3, “Āl ‘Imrān” ends on line 11 of folio 79r and is followed by a band of decoration on the same line. If the band of

⁷⁰ *Sūras* 5 and 6 end on paper folios. Their endings are marked only by a space of 1–2 lines.

decoration indicated the beginning of the subsequent *sūra*, it could have been placed at the beginning of the next page. Similarly, *Sūras* 17 and 27 start from the beginning of the page with the *basmala*. However, bands of decoration at the ends of the previous *sūras* are absent.

Sūra 3 ends at the halfway point of line 11 of folio 79r with the stretched last word *تُفْلِحُونَ* occupying the first half of the line. Right after it, on the same line, there was a usual series of separating strokes, which is clearly visible under the colored band of decoration that starts immediately after the text. Perhaps, further, up to the end of the line, there were 2–3 more series of strokes, but the parchment is damaged there, the paint has spread, and now they are not visible. On line 12 (the last line of the page), three large stars are drawn under the letters of the text, and between them there are two small stars connected by a chain. The number of verses of the entire *Sūra* 3 is indicated by a colored square rosette with a red letter *ر* (i.e., the number 200) in the middle, placed above the last letters *ون* of *تُفْلِحُونَ* [Ill. 72].



Ill. 72. The last word of *Sūra* 3 (*تُفْلِحُونَ*) on line 11 of the *recto* side of folio 79; a colored band of decoration occupying the rest of line 11, after the word, and covering a series of separating strokes initially placed right after the word; an ornament with stars on line 12 below the word; a colored square rosette with letter *ر* (number 200) above the letters *ون* of *تُفْلِحُونَ*.

Sūra 4 ends on line 10 of folio 244v, in which line only the letter *alif* (ا) of the word *تَكْبِيرًا* appears, which did not fit in the previous line. Following it were two adjacent series of strokes, but their tops were erased to make room for a colored square rosette with letters *ق* *ى*, that is with number 110, the number of verses in *Sūrat* “al-Nisā”. The band of decoration begins after these strokes and extends to the end of the line, while on the next line, a new *sūra* begins [Ill. 73].



Ill. 73.

Sūra 19 ends at $\frac{3}{4}$ of the fourth line of folio 271r (with the words *رَكْرَا تَسْمَعُ لَهُمْ رَكْرَا*) and concludes with two series of separating strokes, between which there is a colored

square rosette with red letters ض ط, indicating number 99, the number of verses in *Sūrat* “Maryam”. The band of decoration occupies the entire following line (see Ill. 74).



Ill. 74.

Sūra 36 ends with the fourth line of folio 316r, but how this ending looked exactly is unknown because the entire upper part of the folio is detached and replaced with paper containing restored text. It was evidently detached for the sake of the band of decoration, of which the small end still survived. As far as can be judged from it, the band of decoration did not include the red color (only crimson, orange, blue and green) and occupied the space of two lines. On the paper, in the place of the decoration, there is a fine *nashī* script that reads آخر سورة يس, “the end of *Sūrat* ‘Yā-Sīn’” (see Ill. 75).



Ill. 75.

Sūra 37, “al-Ṣāffāt”, ending on the fifth line of folio 328r, is completed with a series of separating strokes. The entire next line is occupied by a band of decoration performed in four colors (raspberry, orange, blue, green) and ending on the left with a bow in the form of a lyre, which does not even reach the end of the line. At the right end, there is a square rosette with the Kufic letters ق ف ب, i.e., number 182, the number of verses in *Sūra* 37 (see Ill. 76). The rosette with the letters significantly extends beyond the line into the right margin. This carelessness is constantly allowed by the author of the colored rosettes denoting the number of verses, but is not allowed by the copyist of the text, who strictly adheres to the margins.



Ill. 76.

Sūra 42 ends at $\frac{3}{4}$ of the seventh line of folio 352v. In the remaining space, three series of separating strokes are placed, and between the rightmost one and the text, a colored square rosette with the red letter ن is inserted, representing number 50.⁷¹ In the space of the next two lines, a band of decoration in five colors (raspberry, orange, blue, green, and red) is placed, including bows. The length of the band with the bows precisely matches the length of the text line (See Ill. 77).



Ill. 77.

By all accounts, the colored bands of decoration are simultaneous to the square rosettes and, therefore, are obviously also of later origin than the text. In this case we must admit that originally in our Qur’ān the *sūras* were separated from each other by an empty space of 1–2 lines. This, however, is not a very unusual thing. In the same way *sūras* are separated from each other in cod. Berlin. or. Fol. 379. 1–4,⁷² as well as in the Kufic Qur’ān’s of the National Library in Paris, numbers: 332, 336, 345 (3^o) and 352 (1^o).⁷³

Titles of *sūras* are, of course, absent, and each new *sūra* begins directly with the *basmala*, which, depending on the script on the page, fits either on one and a half lines (large script) or on one line (small script). Among the seven cases in which we have the beginning of a *sūra* with the *basmala*, only in one case, specifically in *Sūra* 4, is the *basmala* separated by a group of separating strokes. In all other six cases, the *basmala* is not distinguished from the text and is written within the line.

In summary of everything discussed in this section, it can be established that individual verses were marked by series of oblique parallel strokes, tens of verses were marked by small circles, and *sūras* were marked by an empty space of 1–2 lines. Subsequently, over a considerable period of time, the Qur’ān was adorned with colored square rosettes (marking approximately every ten verses) and similarly colored bands of decoration filling the gaps between the *sūras*.

⁷¹ Shebunin does not comment on the relationship between the letter ن, representing number 50, and the fact that in *Sūrat* “al-Šūrā” there are 53 verses (also according to Flügel’s edition). Apparently, this concerns the counting system adhered to by the author of the colored rosettes. The illustration in Shebunin’s table does not demonstrate which exact text concludes with the visible letter ن at $\frac{3}{4}$ of the seventh line of folio 352v. Presumably, the letter belongs to the word الأُمُور, the last word in the last (53rd) verse of *Sūrat* “al-Šūrā”. Verse 50 of *Sūrat* “al-Šūrā”, however, also ends with a word ending in قَدِيرٌ. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁷² Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1860, p. 319.

⁷³ W. MacGuckin de Slane, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, 1883–1895, pp. 92, 95–96, 100, 104.

6. Spelling system

The spelling of our Qur’ān, in most cases, exhibits features common to all ancient Kufic Qur’āns.⁷⁴ But since sometimes there are also original points of divergence here, and since, in general, our codex deserves special attention due to its indisputable antiquity, we will provide here a possibly complete description of its spelling system in all its discrepancies with the latest orthography.

In this place, we must once again remind that everything mentioned here pertains only to the text on parchment folios, i.e., the text of the oldest and authentic version. The spelling on paper folios will be discussed separately since it was apparently not only adapted to the spelling of the original but, as we will see, was sometimes tampered with unsuccessfully. Moreover, on paper folios, there are constant points of divergence even from the spelling of the original.

Thus, the spelling of our Qur’ān appears as follows:

6.1. The cases in which *alif* of prolongation is not used

6.1.1. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the first-person plural ending of the perfect tense (نَا) before suffixes.

6.1.2. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the plural ending of the feminine nouns (ات).

Exceptions are:

ايات (آيات)	Is always written with <i>alif</i> in the forms آيات and آيات without definite article and the preposition ب	Q 2:93; Q 4:139; Q 17:103; Q 18:16; Q 19:59; Q 27:1, 12; Q 36:46; Q 40:58, 71
اياه (آياته)		Q 6:93
In all other cases the spelling is اب, while after the preposition ب the spelling is اسب.		
ساب (بئات)	Always [i.e., on all preserved original folios] written with <i>alif</i>	Q 4:27 (three times); Q 6:100; Q 11:80, 81; Q 15:71; Q 16:59; Q 37:149, 153 ⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1860, p. 245 ff.

⁷⁵ We find it pertinent to provide enumerations in such cases as well, as the phrase “always written with *alif*” pertains solely to the original portion of the manuscript at our disposal, encompassing no more than half of the entirety.

حَبَاب (جَنَّات)	Almost always written with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:23; Q 3:130, 194, 197; Q 4:121; Q 5:119; Q 6:99; Q 15:45; Q 16:33; Q 18:30; Q 19:62; Q 20:78; Q 26:134; Q 36:34; Q 37:42
	Written without <i>alif</i> (حَب) in Q 42:21	
سَبَاب (سَبَّات)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 42:24 (the orthography of this word in other cases is discussed below)
عَمَام (عَمَّات)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 4:27

6.1.3. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the ending of the dual number (انِ) in nouns and verbs, both without suffixes and with suffixes.

Exceptions are:

اِوَاه (اَبَوَاهُ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 4:12
اِسَان (اِثْنَانِ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 5:105
عِيسَاك (عَيْنَاكَ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 18:27
فِيسِمَان (فَيْفُسِمَانِ)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 5:106
		But without <i>alif</i> in Q 5:105 فِيسِمِن

6.1.4. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the endings of nouns انِ and انِ.

6.1.5. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the plural form of the type اَفْعَالٍ.

Exceptions are:

اِمَام (اَيَّام)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:181; Q 3:36, 134; Q 5:91; Q 7:52; Q 11:68; Q 41:9, 15
اِا	With <i>alif</i>	Q 2:165; Q 4:12, 26; Q 5:103; Q 6:87, 91, 149; Q 11:65, 89, 111; Q 16:37; Q 26:76; Q 27:70; Q 37:126

(آبَاءِ)	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 2:127; Q 18:4; Q 27:69 آبَاءُكَ) اسك
اسا (أَبْنَاءُ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 4:12, 27
اسا (أَبْنَاءُ)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 3:39; Q 7:99; Q 11:51, 102, 121
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 6:5 اسوا. This word and the spelling of words ending in اء is discussed further in the section dedicated to <i>hamza</i>
انصار (أَنْصَارُ)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 3:45 (أَنْصَارِي), 189
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 3:45 in انصر الله (أَنْصَارُ اللَّهِ)

6.1.6. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the names of the type فَعَال

Exceptions are:

نواب (ثَوَابُ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 3:139 (twice), 141, 195; Q 4:133 (twice); Q 18:30, 42; Q 19:79
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 18:44 (نوب)
حاح (جَنَاحُ)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 17:25; Q 20:23
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 6:38 (حح)
حواب (جَوَابُ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 7:80; Q 27:57
حرام (حَرَامُ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:139, 144; Q 5:98 (twice); Q 16:117; Q 17:1
حلاق (خَلَاقُ)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:96
سحاب (سَحَابُ)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 2:159
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 7:55 (سحب)

سراب (شَرَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 6:69; Q 16:10, 71; Q 18:28
طعام (طَعَام)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 5:96; Q 18:18
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 2:58; Q 5:97 (طعم)
عذاب (عَذَاب)	Almost always with <i>alif</i>	
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 37:176 in أَفْعَدَابِنَا اِصْعَدَسَا
فساد (فَسَاد)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 11:118
فواق (فَوَاق)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 38:14
ساب (نَبَات)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 3:32; Q 18:43; Q 20:55
بهار (نَهَار)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:159; Q 3:65, 187; Q 6:13, 60; Q 7:52; Q 11:116; Q 16:12; Q 17:13 (twice); Q 20:130; Q 36:37, 40; Q 41:37, 38

6.1.7. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the names of the type فُعَال.

Exceptions are:

اناس (أُنَاس)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 7:80; Q 17:73; Q 27:57
ناس (نَاس)	and the short form, too, is always written with <i>alif</i>	
سراب (شَرَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 16:61; Q 18:35; Q 27:69; Q 37:16, 51; Q 40:69
حاح (جُنَاح)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 4:27, 127; Q 5:94
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 2:153 (حح)
دحان (دُخَان)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 41:10

سؤال (سؤال)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 38:23
عجاب (عُجَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 38:4
فواد (فُؤَاد)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 11:121; Q 17:38

6.1.8. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the nouns and *maṣḍars* of the I and III forms, of the types فَعَالَة and فَعَال.

Exceptions are:

حجاب (حِجَاب)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 7:44; Q 17:47; Q 41:4; Q 42:50
	but without <i>alif</i>	Q 19:17 (حِجَب)
حساب (حِسَاب)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 3:199; Q 6:52 (حِسَابُهُم), 68; Q 14:42; Q 17:13; Q 26:113; Q 38:15
	but without <i>alif</i>	Q 6:52 (حِسَاب)
حلاف (خِالَاف)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 20:74
	but without <i>alif</i>	Q 17:78 (حَلَف)
حطاب (خِطَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 38:19, 22
سعا (شِقَاق)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 2:131; Q 4:39; Q 11:91; Q 38:1
	but without <i>alif</i>	Q 2:171 (سَعَى)
سهاب (شِهَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 15:18; Q 27:7; Q 37:10
عماب (عِقَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 5:98; Q 38:13; Q 40:5
فال (فِتَال)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 4:79 (twice)
	but without <i>alif</i>	Q 3:160 (فَل)

کتاب (کِتَاب)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 18:26
	but without <i>alif</i>	in the rest 81 instances (کب)
لسان (لِسَان)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 20:28; Q 26:84
	but without <i>alif</i>	Q 19:97; Q 26:195 (لسس)
مساس (مِسَاس)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 20:97
مهاد (مِهَاد)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 3:196; Q 7:39

6.1.9. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the nouns of the type فَعَال

There are not a few exceptions here. They even constitute the rule. But for the sake of convenience and uniformity of reception, we place this type together with others and present it in the form of exceptions, and as before, we write names with *alif* always or sometimes. In the latter case, for comparison, we also present all those cases when such a word is written without *alif*.

اواب (أَوَاب)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 38:16, 18
	but without <i>alif</i> (اوب) in	Q 17:27
اواه (أَوَاه)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 11:77
بواب (تَوَاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:35, 51, 122; Q 4:20
حبار (جَبَّار)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 11:62
	but without <i>alif</i> (حبر) in	Q 19:14, 33
حلاق (خَلَّاق)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 15:86
حوان (خَوَّان)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 4:107

صار (صَبَّار)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 42:31
طلام (ظَلَّام)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 3:178
علام (عَلَّام)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 5:116
فعال (فَعَّال)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 11:109
وهاب (وَهَّاب)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 38:8

6.1.10. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the nouns of the type مَفْعَال

Exception is:

معاد (مِعَاد)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 3:192
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6.1.11. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the plural forms of nouns of the types فُعَالِي and فَعَالًا

Exception is:

(حَطَّايَانَا) حطسا	حَطَّايَا with a nominal suffix loses both <i>alifs</i>	Q 20:75
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6.1.12. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the plural forms of nouns of the types فَعَائِل, مَفَاعِيل and مَفَاعِلَة.

Exceptions are:

سمائل (شَمَائِل)	With <i>alif</i>	Q 16:50
	but without <i>alif</i> (سَمَل)	Q 7:16
ملانكه	With <i>alif</i>	Q 3:81; Q 15:30

(مَلَائِكَة)	but without <i>alif</i> (ملكه)	Q 2:28, 32, 92, 156, 285; Q 3:33, 121; Q 4:135; Q 6:93, 111, 159; Q 7:10; Q 15:7, 8, 28; Q 16:30, 34, 35, 51; Q 17:42, 63, 94; Q 18:48; Q 20:115; Q 37:150; Q 41:13, 30
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6.1.13. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the plural form of noun of the type فَعَال

Exceptions are:

عَال بِعَال	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 16:8
بِلَاد (بِلَاد)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 40:4
	but without <i>alif</i> (بلد) in	Q 3:196
حَال (جِبَال)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 7:72; Q 16:70, 83; Q 17:39; Q 18:45; Q 19:92; Q 38:17
رِحَال (رِجَال)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 4:8, 77; Q 7:44, 79; Q 27:56
	but without <i>alif</i> (رحل) in	Q 4:1; Q 7:46; Q 16:45
عَاد (عِبَاد)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 4:118; Q 5:118; Q 6:18, 61, 88; Q 15:40, 42, 49; Q 17:5, 98; Q 18:64, 102; Q 19:64; Q 20:79; Q 27:19; Q 36:29; Q 37:39, 72, 128, 160, 169
	but without <i>alif</i> (عد) in	Q 3:73; Q 7:30; Q 17:18, 32, 98; Q 19:62; Q 27:15, 60; Q 37:111, 122, 132, 171; Q 39:9; Q 42:22, 24, 26 (twice), 52
عَطَام (عِظَام)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 37:16, 51
	but without <i>alif</i> (عظم) in	Q 17:100

6.1.14. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the active participle of the first form فَاعِل and فَاعِلَة

Exceptions:

- Participles of regular and insufficient verbs.
- Participles of hollow verbs in most cases.

The following forms are written without *alif*:

لدمون (لَدَائِقُونَ)	Q 37:30
لدموا (لَدَائِقُوا)	Q 37:37
سعا (سَائِعًا)	Q 16:68
طر (طَائِر)	Q 6:38 Q 27:48 Q 36:18

c) The following forms

بأرى (بَارِي)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 2:51 (twice)
باسط (بَاسِط)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 18:17 (only once in the entire Qur’ān)
حاب (جَانِب)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 19:53; Q 20:82
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 17:70, 85; Q 37:8 (حِب)
داير (دَائِر)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 6:45; Q 15:66
سافل (سَافِل)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 11:84; Q 15:74
عامل (عَامِل)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 3:193, perhaps, aiming to make this word outwardly different from the neighboring word عَمَل: عمل عامل
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 3:130; Q 11:95; Q 37:59; Q 41:4 (عمل)
عالب (غَالِب)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 12:21
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 3:154; Q 37:116, 173 (علب)
واصب (وَاصِب)	With <i>alif</i> in	Q 37:9
	but without <i>alif</i> in	Q 16:54 (وصب)

6.1.15. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the plural form of the active participles in the first form, in the type فَعَال

Exception is:

فجار (فُجَّار)	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 38:27
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6.1.16. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the form III and form IV of the three-consonant verbs and participles

Exceptions are:

Root برك	With <i>alif</i>	Q 41:9
	without <i>alif</i>	Q 6:92; Q 7:52; Q 17:1; Q 19:32; Q 37:113
Root سهم	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 37:141
Root ضرر	Always with <i>alif</i>	Q 4:16 (مُضَارٍ) مصار
Root علا	With <i>alif</i>	Q 3:160; Q 5:103; Q 6:100; Q 17:45
	without <i>alif</i>	Q 3:54, 57; Q 20:113; Q 27:64
Root ندی	With <i>alif</i>	Q 3:190; Q 7:42, 44, 46, 48; Q 18:50; Q 19:24; Q 37:73, 104; Q 38:2
	without <i>alif</i>	Q 3:33, 190 (مُنَادِيًا يُنَادِي) مددا سادی

6.1.17. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the *maṣḍar* of forms IV, VII, VIII and X

6.1.18. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the interjections هَا and يَا

6.1.19. *Alif* of prolongation is not used in the particle إِيَّا before the first-person singular suffix يَ

اسي (إِيَّاي)	Q 2:38 (twice); Q 16:53
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But before other suffixes, *alif* is retained:

اياه (إِيَّاهُ)	Q 2:167; Q 6:41; Q 16:115; Q 17:24, 69; Q 41:37
اياكم (إِيَّاكُمْ)	Q 4:130; Q 17:33

6.2. The root *alif* of hollow verbs

6.2.1. *Alif* is written in the following forms

a) Form I of perfect and imperfect for hollow verbs.

Exception is:

حف (تَحَافُ)	Q 20:80
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b) *Alif* (ا) is written in form IV of perfect for hollow verbs.

Exception is:

احطب (أَحَاطَتْ)	Q 2:75
اسرب (أَشَارَتْ)	Q 19:30
اصعوا (أَضَاعُوا)	Q 19:60
اطعونا (أَطَاعُونَا)	Q 3:162

c) *Alif* (ا) is written in verbal nouns of the type *فَعْلَةٌ*, *فَعْلٌ*, derived for hollow roots.

Exception is:

فعا (قَاعًا)	Q 20:106
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d) *Alif* (ا) is written in verbal nouns of the type مَفْعَلَة, مَفْعَل, derived for hollow roots.

Exception is:

معد (مَعَاد)	معره (مَفَاذَة)	معم (مَقَام)	مكن (مَكَان)	ممم (مَمَات)	منص (مَنَاص)
and others					

6.2.2. *Alif* is not written in the following forms

- a) Form VIII derived for hollow roots.
- b) Form X derived for hollow roots.

Exception is:

فاسحاح (فَأَسْتَجَاب)	Q 3:193
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6.3. Instead of *alif* the letter ي is used

6.3.1. *Alif* is replaced with ي in the endings of defective verbs before nominal suffixes, e.g.:

ولهم (وَلَاهُمْ)	برصها (تَرْصَاهَا)	هدنا (هَدَانَا)	اسره (أَشْتَرَاهُ)
and others			

Exceptions:

a) *Alif* is not replaced with *ى* in:

فاحاكم (فَأَخِيَاكُمْ)	Q 2:26
دعاه (دَعَاةُ)	Q 27:63
اصفاكم (أَصْفَاكُمْ)	Q 17:42

b) *Alif* is not written at all in:

اسى (آتَانِي)	Q 19:31
احمها (أَحْيَاهَا)	Q 41:39
بادا (نَادَانَا)	Q 37:73
اهكم (أَنَّهُكُمْ)	Q 11:90
اسها (أَتْنَهَانَا)	Q 11:65
هدا (هَدَانَا)	Q 7:41 (twice)
اوصى (أَوْصَانِي)	Q 19:32
سوفهم (تَتَوَفَّاهُمْ)	Q 16:34

Apart from that, *alif* disappears in the noun هُدَى with a suffix in Q 2:36: هُدَايَ (هُدَايَ), but in Q 20:122 the same word is written with *alif* (هُدَايَ). In general, the root هدي tends to lose its last, weak consonant ي. Thus, in both cases we have the word المهدى (المهدى) (Q 17:99 and Q 18:16) it is written without ي.

6.3.2. *Alif* is replaced with ي in the endings of insufficient verbs and nouns without suffixes:

حى (يَحْيَا)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is replaced with ي	Q 20:76
احى (أَحْيَا)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is replaced with ي	Q 16:67
	but is not replaced in	Q 2:159 (احسأ)
الرى (الزَّيْنَا)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with ي	Q 17:34

6.3.3. *Alif* is replaced with ي in the following cases:

احرىهم لأولهم (أُخْرَاهُمْ لِأَوْلَاهُمْ)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is replaced with ي	Q 7:36
اولهم لاحرىهم (أَوْلَاهُمْ لِأُخْرَاهُمْ)		Q 7:37
حوبهم (نَجْوَاهُمْ)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with ي	Q 4:114
السورة (التَّوْرَاة)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with ي	
طب (طَابَ)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with ي	Q 4:3

مكمل or مكمل (مِيكَال)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with <i>ى</i>	Q 2:92 (مكمل or مكمل: it is unknown if <i>ي</i> was originally written between <i>م</i> and <i>ك</i> , because the beginning of the word is torn off. On parchment, we only see <i>مل</i> . On the paper patch, <i>مك</i> is added by the restorer
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6.4. Instead of *ى* the letter *alif* is used

6.4.1.	حا (حَتَّى)	Instead of <i>ى</i> the letter ا is used	Q 2:96, 103; Q 4:5, 19, 22; Q 7:36, 38; Q 17:36; Q 18:59, 69, 84, 92, 95; Q 26:201; Q 27:18, 32; Q 36:39; Q 41:19
		But <i>ى</i> is not replaced with ا	in the rest 30 cases (حسى)
	علا (عَلَى)	Instead of <i>ى</i> the letter ا is used	Q 3:154, 173; Q 4:21, 87; Q 5:93, 99, 117; Q 6:93; Q 18:14
		But <i>ى</i> is not replaced with ا	in the rest (some 200) cases (على)

6.4.2.	بعا بعضا (بَعَى بَعْضُنَا)	Instead of <i>ى</i> the letter ا is used	Q 38:21
	اربا من (أَرْبَى مِنْ)		Q 16:94
	افصا المدسه (أَفْصَى الْمَدِينَةِ)		Q 36:19
	مصا مل (مَضَى مَثَلٌ)		Q 43:7
	هدا الله (هُدَى اللَّهُ)	Instead of <i>ى</i> the letter ا is always used	Q 2:114; Q 3:66; Q 6:70, 88

6.5. Instead of *alif* the letter و is used

6.5.1.	صلوه (صَلَاةٌ)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with و
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Exceptions:

صَلَاتِهِمْ (Flüger: صَلَاتِهِمْ)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is not replaced with و	Q 6:92
بِصَلَاتِكَ (Flüger: بِصَلَاتِكَ)	Neither <i>alif</i> (ا) nor و is written	Q 17:110

6.5.2.	رَكَوَهُ (رَكَوَةٌ زَكَاةٌ)	<i>Alif</i> (ا) is always replaced with و
	حَيَوَهُ (حَيَوَةٌ حَيَاةٌ)	
	عَدَوَهُ (عَدَاةٌ)	

6.6. When و, و, و, و appear next to each other in one word, they are merged into one letter

6.6.1. It happens with <i>alif</i> (ا) when the question particle أَ is used with a word starting with أ, إ and آ				
اسْمُ (أَسْمُكُمْ)	اِذَا (إِذَا إِذَا)	اَمْسِمُ (أَمْسِمُكُمْ)		
6.6.2. With و:				
لَبَلُوا (تَلَبَّأُوا)	فَاوُوا (فَأَوُّوا)	سَسَوُوا (يَسْتَسَوُونَ)	عَاوُوا (الْعَاوُونَ)	لَسَوُوا (لَيْسُوْا)

Two more instances in which the original وو was avoided in spelling:

اسوی (أَسْوِي)	Q 2:29	that, most likely, were pronounced as:	أَسْوِي
سوی (سَوِي)	Q 6:144		سَوِي

A strange contradiction to this rule is:

اسریمووی (أَسْرِمُوِي)	where instead of one و there are two: وو	Q 15:54
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6.6.3. With ی:				
سس (سَسِيْن)	صاس (صَاِئِيْن)	حاس (حَاِئِيْن)	ربا (رَبِيَا)	هه (هَيَّئَه)

An exception from this rule is the word سَيَّئَه, which in its singular form is always written as سسه, while in its plural form as سسب and سساب.

Probably due to the same rule that does not allow the meeting of two letters ی next to each other we have:

بها (بُهَيِّي)	Q 18:15
سها (سَيَّئَه)	Q 17:40

6.7. An extra weak consonant is inserted in the middle or at the end of the word

6.7.1. Extra *alif*

a)	باورهم (تَوَزُّهُم)	Q 19:86	سای (سيء)	Q 11:79
	سائل (سُئِلَ)	Q 2:102	طاوی (طَوَى)	Q 20:12
b)	سای (شيء)	Q 4:3; Q 2:38, 91, 93; Q 11:60; Q 15:21; Q 16:37 (twice), 77, 91; Q 18:23, 69; Q 20:52		
	In other cases: سی			
c)	The affirmative particle لَ is spelled as لا:			
	لااسعکم (لَا تَبْعُنَاكُمْ)	Q 3:160		
	لالی (لَالِي)	Q 3:152. Nöldeke ⁷⁶ points at the same spelling of لَالِي also in Q 37:66, but in our codex in this place we have the usual لالی, without an extra <i>alif</i>		
	لااسهم (لَا يَتَيْنَهُمْ)	Q 7:16		
	لاادحہ (لَا ذَبَحَتْهُ)	Q 27:21		

d) نَدْعُو is always spelled with *alif* as دعوا: Q 6:70; Q 16:88; Q 17:73; Q 18:13; Q 40:74.

e) دُو is spelled with *alif* as دوا: Q 2:99; Q 3:168; Q 5:96; Q 18:57; Q 27:75; Q 38:11.

But it is spelled without *alif* (دو) in Q 41:35.

⁷⁶ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1860, p. 260.

6.7.2. Extra و

اسرمووی (أَبَشَّرْتُمُونِي)	Q 15:54
Nöldeke ⁷⁷ provides another example: لَأُضَلِّبَنَّكُمْ (Q 20:74), in which an extra و is inserted after ل, but this is not observed in our codex	

6.7.3. Extra ی

a) always after ل in the words آية and آیات with the preposition بِ, which are spelled as follows: باسه, باسب. See Ill. 78.



Ill. 78. باسب (بِآيَاتِنَا) in Q 7:34 of the Samarkand Codex.

In Q 17:100 diacritical dashes are added: باسبنا (i.e., when there is an extra ی, dashes are added to the second of the two).

b) In Q 6:67: (فِي آيَاتِنَا) فِي اسبنا.

6.8. Glottal stop

Since the letter *Hamza* (ء), representing the glottal stop, is absent in the script of our Qur’ān, the glottal stop is represented only by the letters و, و, and ی, which theoretically could carry *hamza*.

But here, assimilation often occurs either when meeting the same letters و, و, and ی, but serving as mater lectionis, or with the vowel sound of the preceding root consonant, especially if this is ر or ل. In this case, the *hamza* is also not depicted in any way and is likely pronounced either under the *tašdīd* with the neighboring weak root

⁷⁷ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1860, p. 259.

consonant, or as it would be pronounced by the sign of elongation of the preceding vowel.

6.8.1. The glottal stop is represented by the letters ى, و, and ِ (which could carry *hamza*)

Exceptions from this rule are:

a) The question particle اُ used with a word starting with اُ, اِ and اَ, as described above.

b) The encounter of يئ or ئي in the words ending with ئين and in the words such as:

رِبا (رِئِيَا)	هه (هَيِّنَةُ)
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But:

α) In the situations يئ and ئي the letter ى that would mark the glottal stop turns into the letter ِ, for instance:

بها (بُهِئِي)	Q 18:15
ساه (سَيِّنُهُ)	Q 17:40

β) In the situation يئ both letters ى are written, while in the situation يآ the spelling differs:

سَيِّنَةُ	Is always spelled as: سسه	Q 4:87; Q 7:93; Q 27:47; Q 41:34; Q 42:38 (twice), 47
سَيَّات	Is spelled in one of the following three ways:	
	ساب	Q 3:191, 194; Q 4:22; Q 11:80, 116; Q 16:36
	سسب	Q 16:47
	سباب	Q 42:24

c) The glottal stop is *not* represented by the letters ا, و, and ى after consonants with *sukūn*.

One example is perfect verbs of the type سَأَلَ. However, in Q 17:103 instead of فَأَسْأَلَ (as in Flügel's edition) we have فَسَلَ. Other examples include: أَفَيْدَهُ (أَفَيْدَةُ) and سَوَّاتَهُمَا (سَوَّاتُهُمَا).

By way of exception, *yā' hamza* is retained after a consonant with *sukūn* in the word مَوِيلاً (مَوِيْلًا) in Q 18:57. *Wāw hamza* is retained after a consonant with *sukūn* in the word مَسْؤُل (مَسْؤُلًا).

d) رَأَى and نَأَى are spelled as رَا and نَا. The *alif hamza* disappears also in the forms of conjugation: رَب (رَأَيْتُ); رَسَم (رَأَيْتُمْ) etc.

e) Verbal forms derived from the root أَخْر in form X are spelled either with or without *alif hamza*.

المسحرس (المُسْتَأْخِرِينَ)	Without ا	Q 15:24
ساحرون (يَسْتَأْخِرُونَ)	With ا	Q 7:32 and Q 16:63

f) The word اِمْرَأَةٌ is also spelled with and without *alif hamza*.

امره (اِمْرَأَتُهُ)	امرئى (اِمْرَأَتِي)	Without ا if a pronoun suffix is attached
	امراه (اِمْرَأَةٌ)	With ا if no suf- fix is attached

g)	فادرسم (فَادَرَسْتُمْ) (i.e. فَادَرَسْتُمْ) (Flügel: فَادَرَأْتُمْ)	is always writ- ten without <i>alif</i> <i>hamza</i>	Q 2:67
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h)	لاملس (لَأَمْلَأَنَّ)	is always written without <i>alif hamza</i>	Q 11:120
i)	الرس (i.e. أَلَسَنَّ) (Flügel: أَلَانَ)	is always written without <i>alif hamza</i>	Q 2:66 and Q 4:22
	اسار (أَيَّانَ)	is always written with <i>alif hamza</i>	Q 16:22; Q 27:67
j)	بوسل (تَأْوِيلَ)	is always written without <i>alif hamza</i>	Q 17:37; Q 18:77, 81
k)	الريا (i.e. الرُّعْيَا) (Flügel: الرُّؤْيَا)	is written without <i>wāw hamza</i>	Q 17:62; Q 37:105

6.8.2. When words ending in ء receive an attached pronoun, the glottal stop is represented by the letter *wāw* in the nominative case and by *yā'* in the genitive case

The only exception is لِقَائِهِ (Q 18:105), written without *yā'*: لِعَاه. In the accusative case, the glottal stop is not marked at all. In دُعَايَ (accusative case, Q 14:42) even *ى* of the first-person suffix is omitted: دعا.⁷⁸

In the nominative and genitive cases, the *alif* of a long *ā* is often omitted before vowels used to render the glottal stop. Thus, we have:

ابوا (آبَاؤُنَا)	Q 27:69	اسك (آبَائِكَ)	Q 2:127	لاسهم (لآبَائِهِمْ)	Q 18:4	فسها (فَثَائِهَا)	Q 2:58
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⁷⁸ Here, Shebunin (who consistently provides the vocalized spelling of Flügel's edition, largely coinciding with contemporary normative orthography) mistakenly makes an impression that in Flügel's edition *ى* of دُعَايَ is indeed present in Q 14:42. However, in Flügel's edition the spelling of دُعَايَ (accusative case, 'my prayer') in Q 14:42 is exactly دُعَاءَ, without *ى*. It is in Q 71:6 that Flügel's edition has دُعَايَ (also accusative case) with *ى*. [N. o. the Ed.].

Here, one case without an attached pronoun is to be mentioned:

اسوا (أَنْبِؤًا. i.e.) (Flügel: أَنْبَاءُ)	Q 6:5
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Observed in the nominative and genitive cases, the omittance of a long-vowel *alif* before a glottal-stop letter is not observed in the accusative case. The only exception could be the word أولياءه in Q 3:169, which seems to be spelled اولسه, but the damaged parchment does not allow to establish this with certainty.

6.8.3. If words ending in ء have no attached pronouns, the glottal stop is not rendered at all

Exceptions:

حراو (جَزَاءُ)	is written with <i>wāw hamza</i>	Q 20:78 But in Q 41:28 the same word is spelled without any letter rendering the glottal stop (حرا)
اسوا (i.e. أَنْبِؤًا) (Flügel: أَنْبَاءُ)	is written with <i>wāw hamza</i> and an additional <i>alif</i>	Q 6:5
اىاى (آنَاءُ)	is written with <i>yā’ hamza</i>	Q 20:130
اسى (إِيتِي. i.e.) (Flügel: إِيْتَاءُ)	is written with <i>yā’ hamza</i> , but without <i>alif</i> of the long vowel <i>ā</i>	Q 16:92
وراى (وَرَاءُ)	is written with <i>yā’ hamza</i>	Q 42:50 But in Q 11:74 the same word is spelled without any letter rendering the glottal stop (ورا)

6.8.4. Instead of ء and أ the codex often has وا (implying وَأ with an additional *alif*).
And instead of ء , ا , and ي the codex often has اى (implying اِى with an additional *yā’*)

a) In nouns:

In the nominative case:

In the form	سوا (i.e. نَبِيُّوَأ) (Flügel: نَبِيَّوَأ)	أ is always rendered with وا	Q 38:20
In the form	اسوا (i.e. أَنْبِيُّوَأ) (Flügel: أَنْبِيَّوَأ)	اء is always rendered with وا	Q 6:5
In the form	ملوا (i.e. مَلَوُأ) (Flügel: مَلَّأ)	أ is always rendered with وا in	Q 27:29, 32
But in the other cases the spelling of مَلَّأ is	ملا		Q 7:64, 73, 86, 88; Q 38:5

In the genitive case:

ساي (i.e. نَبِيَّيْ) (Flügel: نَبِيَّيَّ)	اى is rendered with اِى	Q 6:34
اسا (أَنْبِيَّيَّ)	اء is rendered with اِا	Q 11:51, 102, 121; Q 20:99
الملا (الْمَلَّيَّ)	اِى is rendered with اِا	Q 37:8
ملاه (i.e. مَلَّيَّيْ) (Flügel: مَلَّيَّيَّ)	اى is rendered with اِىي	Q 7:101; Q 11:99

b) In verbs:

In the forms	يَبْدُوْا (i.e. سَدُوا) (Flügel: يَبْدُوْ)	وُ is always rendered with وا	Q 27:65
	بَطَمُوا (تَطْمَؤُ)		Q 20:117
In the form	سَهَرُوا (i.e. يُسْتَهْرُوْا) (Flügel: يُسْتَهْرُوْا)	أ is always rendered with وا	Q 4:139
In the form	سَوَا (i.e. نَسُوْا) (Flügel: نَسَاءُ)	اء is rendered with وا in	Q 11:89
But in the other cases the spelling of نَسَاءُ is	سَا		Q 6:83; Q 7:98; Q 17:19; Q 36:66, 67

6.8.5. The ending *alif* is, on the contrary, omitted

In the following imperfect forms	بَاو (بَاؤُا)	the ending <i>alif</i> is always omitted	Q 2:58
	حَاو (حَاؤُا)		Q 3:181
	رَاو (رَاؤُا)		Q 2:161; Q 19:77; Q 37:14; Q 42:43
But in the imper- fect form	بَرَاو (بِرْوَا)	the ending <i>alif</i> is retained	Q 6:6; Q 16:50, 81; Q 17:101; Q 36:30, 71; Q 41:14

6.8.6. Three facts related to rendering the glottal stop in the manuscript

We have three facts. First, specific cases of assimilation of *hamza* with neighboring vowels and weak consonants. Second, the absence of a special symbol to indicate glottal stop. Third, the usage of weak *ل*, *و*, and *ى* to render glottal stop in writing. Even though, based on these three facts, we cannot yet conclude with certainty that instead of *hamza* the replacing letters were pronounced *in all cases*, we can at least assume this regarding the type of the verbs فَعَائِلٌ. This is clear from the fact that in Q 17:104, in the word بَصَائِرَ, two diacritical marks are clearly visible under the letter *م*, which means that *م* could be pronounced as *مِ*. Namely, the spelling is نصير (which would be pronounced as *baṣāyira*).

6.9. Spelling of individual words and expressions not covered in the above-mentioned categories

The word سَمَوَات is written in two ways:

سموب	Q 2:31, 101, 110, 111, 159, 284; Q 3:105, 124, 186, 187; Q 4:125; Q 5:98, 120; Q 6:1, 3, 14, 72, 79, 101; Q 7:52; Q 11:110; Q 15:85; Q 16:51, 54, 75, 79; Q17:46, 101, 104; Q 19:66, 92, 94; Q 20:5; Q 27:61; Q 38:9; Q 40:59; Q 42:28; Q 43:8
سماوب	Q 3:77, 127, 176; Q 4:130 (twice), 131; Q 6:12, 75; Q 11:109; Q 18:13, 25, 49; Q 20:3; Q 27:66; Q 36:81; Q 41:11; Q 42:48, 53

The word نَعْمَةٌ is written in two ways:

نعمب	Q 16:115
نعمه	Q 2:231; Q 3:165, 168; Q 16:18, 55, 73, 74, 85; Q 37:55

The following words are always spelled as demonstrated below:

دسر (دِيسَار)	رمان (رُمان)	صلصل (صَلْصَال)	فطر (قِنْطَار)	الى (اللاتي) ⁷⁹	اولك (أُولَائِكْ)	هالك (هُنَالِكْ)
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Written together	Written separately
الا (أَنَّ لَا)	كل ما (كُلُّمَا)
ال (أَنَّ لَنْ)	اس ما (أَيِّنَمَا)
	لكي لا (لِكَيْلَا)

أَيْنًا is written in three different ways:

اا	Q 17:100; Q 37:16, 51	اسا	Q 37:35	انسا	Q 27:69
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أَفَانٍ is spelled exactly this way (افان) and not افاَس , as in the codex described by Nöldeke.⁸⁰

In Q 18:47, the preposition لِ is written separately from the depending word:

مال هذا is spelled ما لِهَذَا.

الليل is always spelled اللَّيْل.

The word الأَيْكَة is written in two ways:

الانكه	Q 15:78
لكه	Q 26:176; Q 38:12

الآن is always spelled الآن.

⁷⁹ Shebunin's text reads الأَتِي, but, most likely, implies اللَاتِي rather than الأَتِي.

⁸⁰ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 1860, p. 259.

اَيَّانَ is always spelled ايان.

In Q 20:95, يَا اَبْنَ اُمَّ is spelled as one word ياسوم.

In Q 4:40, instead of وَالْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ it is written والجاردا العربي.

In Q 11:71, instead of اِنۢ تَمُودَ كَفَرُوا it is written ان سمودا كفروا.

In Q 18:17, instead of تَنْفَلِبْهُمْ it is written تفلهم (with one extra diacritical dash above the first letter).

In Q 36:35, instead of وَمَا عَمِلَتْهُ it is written وما عملت.

6.10. Personal names

The name اِبْرٰهِيْم is written in two ways:

ارهم	Q 3:58, 61; Q 6:74, 75, 83; Q 11:72, 77 (twice), 78; Q 15:51; Q 37:104, 109
ارهم	Q 2:119 (twice), 120, 121, 124, 126, 127, 129, 130, 134; Q 19:42, 59

Other names are spelled as follows:

اِسْرَائِيْل	اسريل	
اَلْيَاس	اليس	
اَلْيَاسِيْنَ	ال ياسس	Q 37:130
بَابِل	بابل	
دَاوُد	داود	
مِيكَال	مككل	or مكل
مَارُوْت	ماروب	
هَارُوْت	هروب	
مَاجُوْج	ماحوح	
يَاجُوْج	ناحوح	

6.11. Frequent corrections and revisions

Upon careful examination of the text of our codex, we discover frequent corrections and revisions, made either by the scribe immediately after writing the text or by someone else much later. Since these corrections are not always seemingly made to rectify inadvertent errors, but mostly to replace one spelling system with another, listing these corrections is important for comprehending and clarifying certain features of the aforementioned spelling. We categorize these corrections into three groups:

1) those that, judging by the quality of the ink, the nature of the handwriting, and other signs, were made by the hand of the Qur’ānic scribe himself; 2) those that lack clear indications as to whether they were executed subsequently or not; 3) those that, judging by the handwriting, were made at a later time.

6.11.1. Original:

Q 7:42: in the word النَّارِ, the missing letter ر was inserted in a reduced form.

Q 16:71: the word محلل (مُخْتَلِفٌ) was initially written محلما and then corrected by erasing the ل. Since the word occurred at the end of the line, the modified letter ف (ف) with its very short tail and the absence of a diacritical mark now more closely resembles م (م) (as we remember, in the script of our codex, at the end of a word, the letter م concludes with a short blunt stroke to the left along the line without any attempts to descend downward.)

Q 17:18 and 32: the word عِبَادِهِ was first written with *alif* (عاده), but then corrected to عده.

Q 17:36: the word حَتَّى was amended from حى to حىا.

Q 17:40: the word سَيِّئُهُ was corrected from سسه to ساه.

Q 17:42: the word أَصْفَاكُمْ was first written with ي as اصصكم, but then corrected to اصفاكم.

Q 17:45: the word تَعَالَى was first written without *alif* (بعلى), but then corrected to تعالى.

Q 17:61: the word آتَيْنَا was initially written as اننا, with a diacritical dash above the letter ن. Then, the word was corrected as follows: the final letter *alif* was shortened, leaving a notch to convey the letter *nūn*, after which a new *alif* was added. However, the diacritical mark over the original *nūn*, which now had to become a notch rendering the letter ي, was forgotten to be erased. Thus, instead of اننا or اسا (both would fit for آتَيْنَا), we have انسا.

Q 17:65: the word جَزَاؤَكُمْ was initially written as حراكم, but then the letter ك was shortened to make space in the line for the letter و to be inserted: حراوكم.

Q 17:70: the word جَانِبِ was first written with *alif* [and two diacritical dashes] as حانب, but then corrected to حنب (sic).

Q 18:4: the word لَأَبَايَهُمْ was initially written with *alif* (لانايم), but then corrected to لاسيم.

Q 18:92, 95—as in Q 17:36 (see above): حَسَى was amended from حَسَى to حَسَا.

Q 38:11: in the expression قَبْلَهُمْ قَوْمٌ نُوحٍ, the word قَوْم was mistakenly omitted. Consequently, the letters بو (of نُوح) were erased, and the group of letters قَوْم بو was inserted, for which reason these letters had to be made considerably smaller than the others.

Q 42:20: the word [إِنَّ] الظَّالِمِينَ was mistakenly written in the nominative case (الظلمون), but then corrected to الظلمس.

Q 42:21: the words رَوْضَاتِ الْجَنَّاتِ were initially written with the *alifs* of the plural endings (روصات الحساب), but then corrected to روص الحب.

6.11.2. Uncertain time

Q 2:58: in the word بَأْوَا the final *alif* is either rubbed or scratched off: باو.

Q 17:23: the verse started with the letter و, but its upper part was rubbed off, so that only the lower horizontal line remained.

Q 17:29: after the word الشَّيَاطِينَ a group of separating dashes was initially put but then erased.

Q 17:62: in the word الرُّؤْيَا the letter و was written and then erased, leaving a large space in its place (الر سا).

Q 36:30: in the word بَرَزُوا the upper part of the letter ا was erased, leaving only a horizontal line instead of it (بر و -).

6.12. Later corrections

Q 6:85: in the word اليس: (إِلْيَاس) the diacritical dashes were put under يس.

Q 7:39: a small ي is attached to the letters حَر at the end of the line: حَرِي (حَرِي).

Q 27:5: after أُولَئِكَ, the word الَّذِينَ, which was not initially there, was later inserted. It was executed in a Kufic, but smaller, script in order to fit onto the line; however, it still did not fit within it and extended into the margins beyond the boundaries of the text.

Q 42:20: instead of لَوْ كَلِمَةٌ (لَوْ كَلِمَةٌ) لَوْ كَلِمَةٌ was initially written, and لَوْ was later inserted in smaller-sized letters, written with grayish ink.

7. Restoration of the codex

7.1. Introductory notes

Judging by all external and internal indications, our codex underwent a *one-time* restoration. The spoiled text was touched up with fresh ink. Missing pages were replaced with paper. Patches were applied to torn and decayed areas. Surviving halves of parchment folios were supplemented with paper, on which the missing text was restored.

For all repairs, replacements, and corrections, the same paper, the same ink, and the same uneven, artificial handwriting are used. Everywhere, the same carelessness is observed in the diversity of the number of lines on the page and in the allowance of errors. Everywhere, we see the same features of calligraphy and orthography, the same absence of diacritical marks, the same characteristics of division into individual *sūras*, tens of verses, and individual verses. Complete uniformity is present in all aspects of the restoration.

At the same time, it is evident that the bottom of almost every original folio contains an inscription quoting the initial words of the following folio. All these additional inscriptions were made with the same black ink, sometimes faded to a grayish color, and the same *nashī* script. These inscriptions are entirely identical to the inscriptions made on paper folios.

The number of lines per page, as we have already mentioned, is not constant on paper folios. Twelve lines—as on the original folios—we find only on both sides (*recto* and *verso*) of folio 45. On the rest of the paper folio, we observe the following:

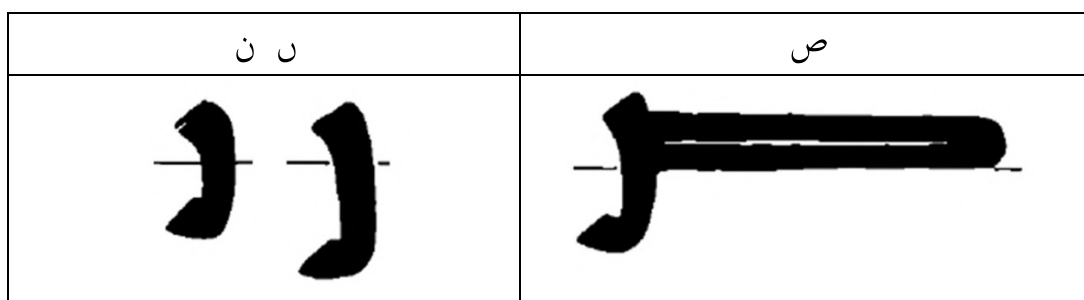
Folio(s)	Number of lines on side	
	<i>Recto</i>	<i>verso</i>
1	9	9
2	11	parchment
8	10	11
13	13	12
14	11	11
15	11	12
33	10	10
34	10	11
35–38	11	11
39–40	11	10
41	12	10
42	9	9
43	9	10
44	10	10
45	12	12
46	10 (4)	10 (4)

47	11 (5)	11 (5)
48	10 (4)	11 (5)
49	10 (5)	10 (5)
50–51	10 (5)	10 (4)
52	10 (4)	10 (4)
53–54	10 (4½)	10 (4½)
55	10 (4)	10 (4)
56	10 (4½)	10 (4½)
57	11 (5)	11 (5)
59	11	10
60	11	11
61	11	12
62–63	11	11
76	11	9
88	11	10
155–156	10	10
100	11	11
101	12	10
102	10	8
120	11	11
124	10	11
129	10	10
130	10	8
142	9	10
150	11	10
151	9	9
152	9	11
153	10	11
154	11	10
157	11	10
158	11	11
159	13	10
160	11	10
161	10	10
162	11	11
163	11	9
164	9	8
165	11	8
168	11	10
169	10	8

170	8	8
179	11	8
181	11	10
182	10	8

Folios 46–57, as we already know, are glued together from two halves: the upper parchment part and the lower paper part. Therefore, for these folios, we indicate the total number of lines per page as the first digit, and in parentheses, the number of lines on the paper part of the page.

As for the handwriting, some deviation from the original can be found in the manner of writing the final *ص*. It often adds to the top of the downward stroke a similar curve as in the top part of the letter *ن* (ن), gradually thickening and rising left and upwards from the level of the line. This makes the final form of the letter *ص* very similar to tightly written letters *ص* (صن). In all other respects, the handwriting clearly imitates the original and diligently copies it but cannot conceal its artificiality and achieve that incomparable blend of freedom and boldness with strict symmetry and proportionality, which is characteristic of the writing of the genuine folios.



Ill. 79. In the larger script of the original folios, the tail of the final form of the letter *ص* is nearly identical to the final and independent forms of the letter *ن* (ن).

7.2. Orthography of the paper folios: deviations from the spelling of the parchment folios

The orthography of the paper folios was obviously modified to imitate the original, just like the handwriting. However, occasional and consistent deviations from the original spelling can be found.

- Thus, *alif* is quite often omitted in the endings of words such as *اَتَّفُوا* (اعفوا), always spelled with *alif* on parchment (اعفوا).

- The word سَوَات only once appears on the parchment folios, where it is written without *alif* (سوب). On the paper folios it occurs four times, and each time is spelled with *alif* (سواب).

- The word سَيِّئَةٌ, spelled with two letters س (سه) on parchment, is written with only one س (سه) on paper.

- On the parchment folios, an extra ي is inserted after *alif* in the word آيَةٌ if it appears with the preposition بِ (باسه). In one instance this occurs after the preposition فِي (فى اسه). On the paper folios, this extra ي is constantly inserted in the word آيَةٌ, in all grammatical cases, and even without the preposition بِ. At the same time, out of seven cases in which the word آيَةٌ has the preposition بِ on the paper folios, an extra ي is inserted only in three cases. Obviously, here we observe inaccurate and unsuccessful imitation of the original.

The abundance of omissions and explicit errors hinders, and even makes it impossible, to distinguish between many random and fundamental deviations from the original spelling and from the subsequently established text. Therefore, we will list all such deviations and errors together.

Q 2:13	خَلَوْا	Due to a lack of space, the mistakenly omitted final <i>alif</i> is added above the line by the same hand of the scribe of the text on the paper folios
Q 2:14	طَغْيَانِهِمْ	The letter غ is mistakenly omitted (طاهم)
Q 2:15	أَشْتَرُوا	Due to a lack of space, the mistakenly omitted final <i>alif</i> was added above the line by the same hand of the scribe of the text on the paper folios
Q 2:54	The mistakenly omitted word عَلَيْكُمْ is added in the margin	
	Instead of	the scribe has written
Q 2:55	أَدْخُلُوا الْبَابَ	اد االباب
Q 2:58	الْمَسْكَنَةَ	لمسكه
Q 2:78, 87	وَإِذْ	واذا
Q 2:84	عَلَىٰ مَنْ يَشَاءُ	على سا
Q 2:85	مِنْ قَبْلُ إِنَّ	من ان

Q 2:88	إِنْ كَانَتْ لَكُمْ	ان لكم. But on the place where the word كَانَتْ was mistakenly omitted, the sign of omission “v” is put, and the missing word is added in the margin
Q 2:210	خَلُّوا	خلو
Q 2:210	الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مَعَهُ	اموا معه. Although the omission of the word اموا is indicated with the appropriate sign, the word is not added in the margin
Q 2:261	أَوْ كَالَّذِي	اكالدي
Q 2:261	فَأَمَاتَهُ	فامه
Q 2:261	عَامٍ	عم
Q 2:266	تُبْطِلُوا	سطلو
Q 2:272	أُولُوا	الوا
Q 2:282	دُعُوا	دعو
Q 2:282	تَرْتَابُوا	تربوا
Q 2:283	أَوْثَمَنَ	اسمن
Q 2:283	وَلَيَتَّقِ اللَّهَ رَبَّهُ	ولسو ربه
Q 2:284	وَاللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ	وهو على كل
Q 3:34	سَيِّدًا وَجُصُورًا	سدا حصورا
Q 3:44	هَذَا صِرَاطٌ	صراط
Q 3:54	لَعْنَةً	لعب
Q 3:71	إِنَّ الَّذِينَ	Only الدس is written in the line, but above the line, in a small <i>nashī</i> script, the missing ان is inserted
Q 3:72	The words وَمَا هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ are mistakenly omitted, but later added above the line in a small Kufic script	
	Instead of	the scribe has written
Q 3:82	الْعَذَابِ	العدا
Q 3:85	مِلْءٌ	ملا

Q 4:29	Instead of [حَدَانِ] تِ أ [مُتَّخِذًا] تِ أ we find only ب عر ا and above the letter ب, at the very top edge of the folio, it is written in a small <i>nashī</i> script: محدثات احدان محسه المحصنت	
Q 4:40	At the paper corner, replacing the detached parchment, the word من is missing in the restored expression لا يُحِبُّ مَنْ كَانَ	
Q 4:99	In [قَالَ لَوْ كُنَّا] and [قَالَ لَوْ أَلَمْ], where only لَوْ أَلَمْ and لَوْ كُنَّا had to be carried over to the next line, in both cases the entire word قالوا has been carried over to the next line while the beginning قَا remained on the previous line. Thus, instead of قالوا, in both cases we eventually have فاقالوا	
	Istead of	the scribe has written
Q 4:104	فَاذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ	فادكرو الله
Q 4:106	لِلْخَائِنِينَ	للحاس
Q 4:122	وَلَا نَصِيرًا	لا بصرا
Q 4:139	[يُسْتَهْرَأُ]	[سهر]و. This letter و is written on a paper patch covering a severely decayed area. If the patch is lifted, the original writing of this word can still be observed: سسهروا
Q 5:107	يَخَافُوا	حلوا
Q 5:107	وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ	وايعو الله
Q 5:108	الرُّسُلَ	الر
Q 6:25	آذَانِهِمْ	ادا
Q 6:28	بَدَا	دد
Q 6:29	حَيَوْتِنَا	حاسا
Q 6:117	بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ	بالممدس
Q 6:137	فَمَا كَانَ لَشُرَكَائِهِمْ	فما كان سركاهم

Q 6:142	وَعَيْرَ مَعْرُوشَاتٍ	Is absolutely omitted and nowhere indicated
Q 6:145	وَمِنَ الْأَيْلِ ⁸¹ اثْنَيْنِ	Originally omitted but later added in the margin from top to bottom
Q 6:152	إِحْسَانًا	حسا
Q 6:152		After the word اِمْلَاقٍ, the scribe has spelled out the letter و, but that letter is smeared
Q 6:163	صَلَوَاتِي	صلاسى
Q 7:2	تَتَّبِعُوا	سعوا
Q 7:18	سِئْتُمَا	سما
Q 7:19	وُورِي	ورى (This spelling, however, probably does not deviate from the original) ⁸²
Q 7:25	يَابَنِي	و سسى
Q 7:27	تَعْلَمُونَ	سعلمو
Q 7:67	أَنْ جَاءَكُمْ	احاكم
Q 7:71	فَذُرُّوْهَا	فدرواها
Q 7:71	فِي أَرْضٍ	فى الارص
Q 7:75	عَتُّوْا	عو
Q 7:75		In [فَعَقْرُوا]وا, where only وا had to be carried over from parchment to the inserted paper folio, the entire word فَعَقْرُوا has been carried over, while the beginning فَعَقْر remained on the previous, parchment folio. Thus, instead of فَعَقْرُوا, we eventually have فَعَقْر فَعَقْرُوا

⁸¹ Writing اَلْاَيْلِ, Shebunin accurately reproduces the vocalization as found in Flügel's edition. In most editions one would rather find the form اَلْاَيْلِ. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁸² The vocalized وُورِي is a reproduction of the form in Flügel's edition. The spelling of the Samarkand codex (ورى) corresponds with the spelling in most of editions, in which the second و is spelled in the line, but is made much smaller, as an additional vocalization mark وُورِي. [N. o. the Ed.].

All this explains why, describing the system of spelling in the original folios of the Qur’ān, we have not at all taken into account the spelling in the restored places and new paper folios. The spelling of a text overflowing with errors and signs of carelessness cannot be rigorously analyzed and systematized. This would threaten that we could build on these errors an unexpected and incomprehensible rule, especially when it can be seen that the spelling does not adhere to its own system, and all the time adapts to the spelling already alien, outdated. Thus, leaving the same rules for the spelling of the paper folios as we have found in the spelling of the original, we may perhaps add to them the following exceptions, which occur here.

Alif of prolongation is sometimes preserved

In the ending ات	In the words والدات, معروشات, خطوات, ثمرات
In the type أَفْعَال	Sometimes in the words أَرْحَام, أَزْوَاج, أَغْنَاب, أَفْوَاح, أَيَّام, but always in the word أَنْعَام
In the type فُعال	تراب, أناس, طعام, حرام, صغار, شراب, حصاد
In the type فِعال فِعالَة	رجال, صيام, صراط, رسالة, دراسة, إياس
In the type مفعال	محراب, ميزان, ميثقال
In the ending ان	ولدان, صقوان
In the participle فَاعِل فَاعِلَة	واسع, وابل, طائفة, عابر, طاعم, دابر; In regular and deficient roots
In the <i>maṣḍar</i> of the fourth form إفعال	إخراج, إملاق, إلحاق
In the verbs of the third form فَاعَلَ	نادى, حاج
In the verbs of the sixth form تَفَاعَلَ	تراضيتهم, تداينتم
In Q 2:55 خطاياكم, as well as خطايانا on the original parchment, is written without both <i>alifs</i> : حطكم	

In Q 6:80 and 162 هَدَان is written with *alif*, but in Q 2:181 in هَدَاكُمْ *alif* is replaced with

ـهـ

هَدَاكُمْ

Letters rendering glottal stop are more often omitted on paper folios than on parchment originals.

Examples:

The word	on paper folios is spelled
بَوَاكُم	بوكم
سَالِك	سلك
سِيئة	سه
يَنْبئُهُمْ	سهم
فِيَنْبئُكُمْ	فسكم
يَسْتَهْزِئُ	سهر
الْمَلَأُ	الملا
مِلءٌ	ملا

The diacritical dashes, as mentioned above, are entirely absent. Verses are not separated by groups of dashes or otherwise—never, except for the verses Q 2:55, 176, 177, 180 and Q 3:85, after which we find dashes similar to those on parchment folios. *Sūras* are separated from each other by empty spaces of 1–2 lines.

The paper folios, in general, have a very careless appearance: aside from frequent errors and omissions, we observe uneven handwriting and an unsteady hand, causing the lines to mostly slant and appear jagged. The last words of these folios often end in the middle or even at the beginning of the last line. In turn, the last line sometimes appears not at the very bottom of the page, and other times, almost in the middle of the page; the lines are unequal in size, and so forth. The only exceptions to this overall carelessness are perhaps folios 76 and 88, written very meticulously and on whole folios (while all other folios are usually composed of two pieces). Additionally, the writing is neat on folio 179.

The renewal of the damaged text on the authentic folios with fresh ink was consistently necessary due to the mentioned strong contrast between the clarity of the writing on the *recto* and *verso* sides. Apparently, this contrast, caused by the different texture of the *recto* and *verso* sides of parchment folios, had attracted attention for a long time. Due to the instability of the ink on the *recto* side, it was necessary to com-

pletely renew the text on the *recto* side for many folios. The *verso* side was renewed comparatively less and not entirely, mostly focusing on the outer edges and corners, for the writing was damaged primarily there. The restorer did not attempt to meticulously redraw the faded writing with fresh ink, but simply wrote over it, which was not always executed quite successfully. Many pages renewed in this manner resemble poor chromolithographs, where colors go beyond their contours and overlap. However, during this renewal, diacritical dashes and groups of dashes separating verses remained untouched even on those folios where entire pages were entirely renewed. Therefore, the writing on such folios closely resembles the writing on paper folios, where there are no diacritical dashes or strokes separating verses. It is thus clear that this restoration was carried out simultaneously and, apparently, by the same individual.

Areas restored in this manner are found on the following folios:

Folio	What is restored
2v (2r is affixed with paper)	The first word of line 19 (يَكاد) starts earlier, and the letter َ covers part of the separating strokes
3	Completely renewed on both <i>recto</i> and <i>verso</i> . The beginning of line 22 covers part of the separating strokes, and the letter ت in the word أُعِدَّتْ is written above the original word, for the parchment has significantly deteriorated on the place where this original word was written
4	<i>Recto</i> —in places, ⁸³ <i>verso</i> —fully
5–6	In places
7	Fully
9	In places
11	<i>Verso</i> —not much
12	Along the outer edge
16	<i>Recto</i> —fully. <i>Verso</i> —fully
17, 18, 19	Not much
20–31	All <i>recto</i> sides. Very neatly, almost imperceptibly. On folio 28, the <i>recto</i> side is renewed not everywhere. On folio 29, not only the <i>recto</i> side is renewed but also a part of the <i>verso</i> side
46–58	Fully on both sides, <i>recto</i> and <i>verso</i>
64	<i>Recto</i> —fully
65–67	<i>Recto</i> —fully. <i>Verso</i> —in places

⁸³ In the word الَّذِينَ, at the beginning of line 25, the restorer wrote the letter ل instead of the letter ل and elongated the letter ذ, but did not place ل at all. As a result, it turned into لَدَس, but it is clearly visible that it was originally written correctly as (الذس).

68–69	<i>Recto</i> —fully
70–72	<i>Recto</i> —fully. <i>Verso</i> —not much
73	<i>Recto</i>
74	<i>Recto. Verso</i> —not much, and in the word سَيْطَوْنِ the letters ي and ط merged together
75 and 77–82	<i>Recto</i> —fully
83	<i>Recto. Verso</i> —not much
84	<i>Recto</i>
85	<i>Recto. Verso</i> —not much
86	<i>Recto</i>
87	<i>Recto. Verso</i> —not much
89 and 91	<i>Recto</i> —fully. <i>Verso</i> —fully
92, 94, 98	<i>Recto</i> . The text is particularly roughly renewed on folio 98
99, 110, 111	<i>Recto. Verso</i> —not much
112	<i>Recto</i> —fully. <i>Verso</i> —fully
114	<i>Recto</i> —not much. <i>Verso</i> —not much
166	The bottom 5 lines on the <i>recto</i> side
167	The bottom 2 lines on the <i>recto</i> side
171, 172	<i>Recto</i>
173	<i>Recto</i> —not much
176	<i>Recto</i> —not much. <i>Verso</i> —not much
177	<i>Recto</i> —not much
178	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom 3 lines and several words above them. <i>Verso</i> —not much
180	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom part
186–168	The edges and corners of <i>recto</i> and <i>verso</i>
190–192	<i>Recto</i> —not much
206–212 and 214–218	<i>Recto</i> —fully
219	The bottom half of the <i>recto</i> side
220–222	<i>Recto</i> —fully
223	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom 3 lines
224	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom 2 lines
225	<i>Recto</i>
226–228	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom part, but not much
229	<i>Recto</i>
230, 232–235, 240, 242 and 243	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom part
246 and 247	<i>Recto</i> —fully, roughly

285 and 286	<i>Recto</i> —fully
306 and 318	<i>Recto</i> —the bottom part, but not much

In the latest (mid-19th century) work of the Tatar scholar and educator Šihāb al-Dīn Marḡānī (1818–1889) we find the name of the person responsible for restoration. The work is entitled “The Book of Useful Information on the Affairs of Kazan and Bulgar”⁸⁴ (*Kitāb Mustafād al-aḥbār fi aḥwāl Qazān wa-Bulḡār*). In the second part of the work, in the “Section on the Latest Tatar Scholars and Other Individuals Related to Kazan and the Bulgar Lands” (*Faṣl Fī dīkr ḡamā’a min muta’ahḡirī ‘ulamā’ al-tātār wa-min ḡayr man lahu nisba ilā Qazān aw bilād Bulḡār*), we find the following:

ومنه عبد الرحيم بن عثمان بن سرمكي بن قريم الاوتزايمني كند بلادنده مبادى علوم تحصيل ايلاب
بخارا وسائر بلاد ما وراء النهره دخى ورود ايدب حاجى بغدادى بعدنده مسجد مگاك ده امام اولوب
سمرقندده مدرسه خواجه احمراده اولان سمرقند وبخارا اهالى سى زعمنده مصحف امام عثمان ديدكى
مصحفنى ترميم ايدب محو اولمش بعض مواضع نى يازب يرتلمش كاغذ لرنى اصلاح ايتمش
سنه خمسين وماتين والف بغلمه نواحينده تمش نام قريه ده وفات اولدى

Among them was ‘Abd al-Raḡīm b. ‘Uṭmān b. Sarmakī b. Qrīm al-Ūtiz-Īmānī, who, having gained the initial positions [of a man learned in Islamic law] in Tashkent, arrived in Bukhara and other lands of Mā warā’ al-nahr.⁸⁵ After the Baghdad Ḥaḡḡī,⁸⁶ he became the Imām of the “gravestone mosque” (?). He restored the Qur’ān, which was stored in Samarkand at the Ḥawāḡa Aḡrār *madrassa*, revered by the population of Samarkand and Bukhara as the Qur’ān of Imām ‘Uṭmān. He inscribed some lost parts, corrected the damaged script. He passed away in the year 1250⁸⁷ in the village Temeš, in the vicinity of Bugulma⁸⁸ (?).⁸⁹

⁸⁴ By Bulgar, the area of the Turkic-speaking populations of the Pontic–Caspian steppe and the Volga region is meant. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁸⁵ Mā warā’ al-nahr (lit. What-is-Beyond-the-River [Amu Darya]) is the Arabic rendering of a historical region in Central Asia, associated with Sogdia, but excluding the Fergana Valley and the Pamir Mountains. Thus, most of the territory of Uzbekistan, the western parts of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, the very East of Turkmenistan, and the South of Kazakhstan are all included into Mā warā’ al-nahr. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁸⁶ Is likely to refer to an unidentified individual. Since neither Shebunin nor his father-in-law, the Turkologist Professor Vasily Dmitrievich Smirnov, who pointed out the quoted episode, could identify the “gravestone mosque” where ‘Abd al-Raḡīm al-Ūtiz-Īmānī served, we can only know that ‘Abd al-Raḡīm’s predecessor as the mosque’s Imām was respected as someone who had performed Ḥaḡḡ and was associated with Baghdad. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁸⁷ Of the Ḥiḡra, that is, in the year 1834 CE.

⁸⁸ Bugulma, now a town in the Republic of Tatarstan, gained its town status as early as 1781. In the 19th century, it was an important trade center with a favorable geographical location. Due to the routes passing through it from Ufa and Orenburg to Kazan, annual fairs were organized in the town. [N. o. the Ed.].

From this, therefore, we can conclude that the restoration of our Qur’ān was either carried out at the very end of the 18th century CE or during the first third of the 19th century CE.

We cannot vouch for the accuracy of the information provided in this excerpt, but in any case, it is quite significant that these details align well with the conclusions drawn from comparing all the restored and somehow renewed passages. Namely, that the restoration was a one-time event and was carried out by a single individual.

8. Conclusion

Setting aside all the legends about the origin and age of our manuscript Qur’ān, we will try to find more reliable indications within the codex itself. Unfortunately, the history of Kufic script is still underdeveloped, providing us with very limited material and few conclusions. The issue is that, out of a fairly large number of Kufic script artifacts, only very few specify the date of their creation, and even these few are not free from suspicions regarding their authenticity. Therefore, the only remaining method for determining the age and origin of Kufic artifacts is through the comparative study of their calligraphic and orthographic features, from which at least approximate conclusions can be drawn.

In his renowned work *Geschichte des Qorāns*, Theodor Nöldeke firmly establishes that Kufic script remained in its pure form for the first four centuries of the Hiġra. However, from the second century, when the cursive Arabic script, which had emerged in the first century, became firmly established, Kufic script gradually became more linear and angular to distinguish itself further from the new script. For example, inscriptions on Umayyad coins are more rounded compared to those on ‘Abbāsīd coins. During the ‘Abbāsīd era, Qur’ānic ornamentation developed, especially with the use of gold. The final ن does not maintain its straightness throughout this period and becomes more rounded. The final م is written on the line only in the very beginning of this period, but then, as time progresses, its tail descends below the line. Diacritical marks, initially forming a kind of part of the letters themselves [initially, diacritical dashes looked as cut-off tips of the tops of the letters ش , خ , ت , ث , and ن], appeared earlier than vowel markers but could not appear before the year 83/702, which is the year of the foundation of the city of al-Wasīṭa to the north of Baṣra. According to tradition, it was in this city that the philologists Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar (d. 129/746) and al-Ḥasan

⁸⁹ Here, Shebunin provides the following note with an expression of gratitude: “For the reference to this work, as well as to the quoted passage itself, we are indebted to Professor Vasily Dmitrievich Smirnov”. On Smirnov, see n. 5 above. [N. o. the Ed.].

al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) were the first to add diacritical marks to the Qur’ān under the instructions of the Governor of Iraq al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714).⁹⁰

It is unknown what was marked earlier, individual verses or groups of 5–10 verses. Traditions tend to indicate that initially, only individual verses were marked. In reality, however, there are several ancient Qur’āns divided only into groups of verses. In any case, it is certain that individual verses were marked as early as the second century of the Hiḡra. In the oldest manuscript copies of the Qur’ān stored in the Berlin and Paris libraries, *sūras* are separated from each other by an empty space of 1–2 lines. But very early on, *sūras* began to be separated by colored bands of decoration, and also very early on, their names started to be inscribed *at the end*. This practice was already in place during the time of the theologian Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795),⁹¹ that is, in the second century of the Hiḡra.

Turning now to our manuscript Qur’ān, firstly, we find the presence of diacritical marks in it, which already indicates that it cannot be attributed to the first century of the Hiḡra (except perhaps to its very last years). Therefore, we must choose between the second, third, and fourth centuries of the Hiḡra. However, all further indications one after another draw its dating towards an earlier and earlier period, leading to its association with the beginning of the second century of the Hiḡra.

Firstly, the script used in the text is elegant, flowing, but by no means angular. Secondly, the final ن and م of our codex are characteristic of the oldest style [the final ن is straight and not rounded; the final م is written on the line]. Any vowel marks or other signs (such as *madda*, *šadda*, and *hamza*), except scarce diacritical dashes, are entirely absent. Individual verses are separated by groups of dashes made with the same ink as the text itself. If tens of verses are marked, it is with small circles, also with the same ink. *Sūras* are separated by an empty space of 1–2 lines. There are no original ornaments, neither in gold nor any other colors. Such is the initial appearance of our Qur’ān, which, as we have seen, was adorned with colored figures (stars and squares) dividing groups of verses, as well as decorative stripes separating *sūras*, only much later. These decorations, not particularly elaborate and without gold, could have been made in the same century, but certainly not soon after the text.

Regarding the origin of our codex, it seems that it should be sought in Iraq. At least, we find the least discrepancies in its orthography with the Basran manuscript, which is among the first four copies of the Qur’ān made during the time of ‘Uṭmān. Nöldeke establishes its genealogy as follows: From the first Medinan Qur’ān written by the famous scribe Zayd b. Tābit (d. 45/665), the personal scribe of Muḥammad, two

⁹⁰ The most notable governor of the Umayyad period, al-Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf, introduced a unified version of the Qur’ān. While serving as the Governor of Iraq (74/694–95/714), he initiated the minting of silver dirhams featuring Muslim religious formulas, replacing coins designed in the pre-Islamic Sasanian style. Additionally, he transitioned the language of Iraq’s tax registers from Persian to Arabic. [N. o. the Ed.].

⁹¹ The eponymous founder of the Mālikī school of theology. [N. o. the Ed.].

copies were made: the Damascene and the Basran. And from the Basran, the Kufan copy was made. Since all these codices differ more or less from each other, Nöldeke provides a list of their orthographic discrepancies, adding to them a fifth copy, the Meccan codex, which is very ancient but still made later than the first four (and it is not known based on which codex it was made). Comparing the features of the spelling of these five codices with the spelling of our codex, we see that the Samarkand codex deviates most from the Damascene copy, then from the Meccan, the Medinan, and the Kufan. It deviates very little from the Basran codex. In what it deviates from the Basran codex, it deviates at the same time from all other codices. For instance, in the above-mentioned spelling peculiarities of the Samarkand codex, it differs from all codices in the following:

In Q 4:40, instead of *وَالْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ* it is written *وَالْحَارِ دَا الْعَرَبِي*.

In Q 18:17, instead of *نُقَلِّبُهُمْ* it is written *تَعْلَهُمْ* (with one extra diacritical dash above the first letter).

In several instances where our codex deviates from the Basran copy, it simultaneously deviates from the Meccan, Medinan, and Kufan copies, but not from the Damascene codex, from which, overall, it deviates the most:

In Q 2:261, instead of *يَتَسَنَّ* our codex has *يَتَسَنَّهُ* (نسه). In the same *Sūra*, instead of *ابراهيم* our codex has *ابرههم* (ارهم).

In many cases where our Qur’ān disagrees with the Damascene codex, it aligns precisely with the Basran codex. This indicates that the rare coincidences with the Damascene codex where our codex differs from the Meccan, Medinan, and Kufan copies, are merely accidental.

Finally, in instances where our Samarkand Qur’ān deviates from the Kufan copy, it does so in the same manner as the Basran codex. There are two examples of such cases:

In Q 6:63, instead of *أَنْجَيْنَا* we find *أَنْجَيْتْنَا* (احسا).

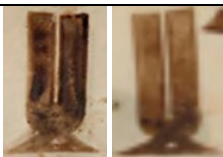
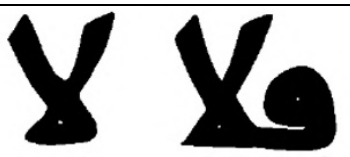
In Q 36:35, instead of *عَمَلْتَهُ* we find *عَمَلْت* (عملب).

Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the original source for our copy of the Qur’ān was indeed the Basran codex, and probably directly so. In any case, not through the Kufan copy.

Comparing our Qur’ān with the ancient Kufic Qur’āns of the Berlin and Paris libraries, as described, respectively, by Ahlwardt and de Slane, we find that it bears the closest resemblance to the larger Paris Qur’ān (No. 324 in de Slane’s catalog). They have almost the same format: the Paris Qur’ān is only 2 centimeters wider and 3 centimeters shorter than the Samarkand codex. Both our manuscript and the Paris Qur’ān have 12 lines per page. Like ours, the Paris Qur’ān lacks vowels entirely. Diacritical marks are rare, and even when present, they appear to have been added later than the original text. In the Paris Qur’ān, verses are separated by groups of 6–7 parallel strokes, drawn not only with ink, as in our manuscript, but with different colors. Every 5 verses

are marked with a rosette, and every 10 with a large, colored square. *Sūras* are separated by wide bands. However, all the ornaments are executed in a rough manner.

Thanks to the kindness of the esteemed Vladimir Vasilievich Stasov,⁹² who brought us facsimile prints from Paris of certain portions of the text of this Paris Qur’ān, we had the opportunity to visually compare these excerpts with the corresponding passages in our Qur’ān in terms of both handwriting and spelling. The handwriting closely resembles ours but is somewhat rougher and, apparently, more angular and sharper, which is evident in the way the ل is written there—completely symmetrically with straight, vertically standing composite strokes. In our Qur’ān, ل tends to be closer to shorthand, and both strokes are curved and do not run parallel but at a quite noticeable, almost right angle to each other [Ill. 80]. There is no noticeable difference in the way other letters are written.

	
Examples of ل from the <i>verso</i> side of folio 4 of the Paris codex (Paris, BnF Arabe 324a, f. 4v)	Examples of ل and لا from the <i>recto</i> side of folio 310 of the Samarkand codex

Ill. 80.

As for the spelling system, it seems that it significantly differs from ours. At least, of the six places from which facsimiles were delivered to us by Mr. Stasov, the Parisian Qur’ān disagrees with ours in four.

	Paris codex	Samarkand codex
Q 4:3	(طاب) طاب	طب
Q 3:181	(بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ) بالسب	السب
Q 3:176	(السَّمَوَاتِ) السموب	السماوب (sic!)
Q 4:40	(وَأَلْجَارِ ذِي الْقُرْبَىٰ) والحار دى العربى As perhaps in all other codices	والحار دا العربى

The ornaments of the Parisian Qur’ān also have a somewhat different character than ours. Although the colors in them, apparently, are the same, they are arranged and combined differently.

⁹² On Stasov, see n. 7 above.

A greater similarity to our Qur’ān, especially in terms of spelling, is found in the ancient Kufic Qur’ān located in Mecca. However, this similarity is based on a small fragment of the Qur’ān—half of one page (containing Q 18:54–64), which is also torn in the middle from top to bottom. This fragment was brought by a pilgrim to our Kashgar consul, Mr. [Nikolai Fyodorovich] Petrovsky.⁹³ He took a photographic image of it and forwarded it to Baron Victor Romanovich Rozen, thanks to whom we had the opportunity to use this image for comparison.

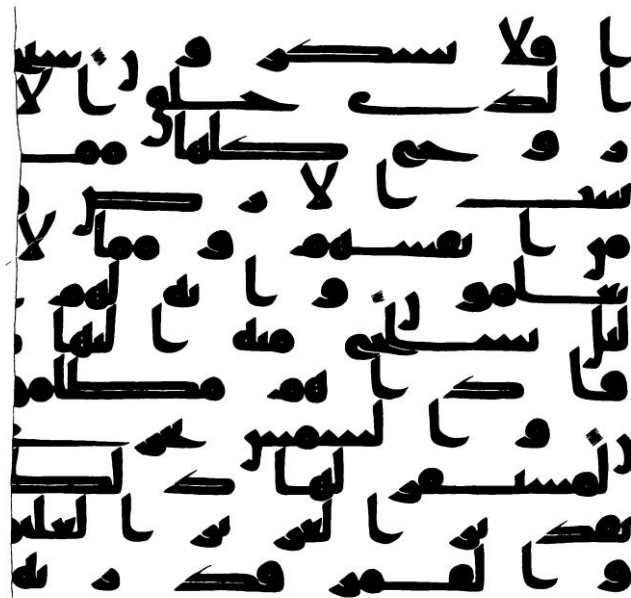
The script of this Qur’ān is very close to ours but somewhat coarser. There is no information about its format. The number of lines per page is 17 (compared to our 12). It has a relatively large number of diacritical marks. The spelling in places where there could be disagreements is entirely similar to ours. The verses are separated in the same way as in the Samarkand codex. Like ours, the 60th verse concludes with a colored square. In the image, there is an outline of a square after verse 60, similar to ours, although apparently not painted with colors.

⁹³ Nikolai Fyodorovich Petrovsky (1837–1908) was a Russian diplomat, archaeologist, historian, orientalist, and researcher of Central Asia. He was the first consul of the Russian Empire in Kashgar, located in Eastern Turkestan. He held this position from 1882 to 1903. During his consulship, Petrovsky actively engaged in collecting research materials on the history, archaeology, and other aspects of the region. His work in Kashgar made a significant contribution to the study of Central Asian history in the late 19th to early 20th centuries. Petrovsky was a prominent figure in the “Great Game” in Central Asia and actively opposed the strengthening of British political influence in Kashgar.

9. Appendices

9.1. Facsimile of folio 310r

9.1 Facsimile folio 310r



Facsimile of folio 310r—an example of large, straight handwriting. A typical example of a letter on most original folios. The left edge of the page, that is, the outer edge of the folio, is torn and replaced with thin glossy paper, on which the missing letters of the original text have *not* been restored (demonstrated in the separate column of the table). The 12 lines represent a fragment of *Sūra* 36, “Yā’-Sīn”—from the end of verse 35 to the beginning of verse 39:

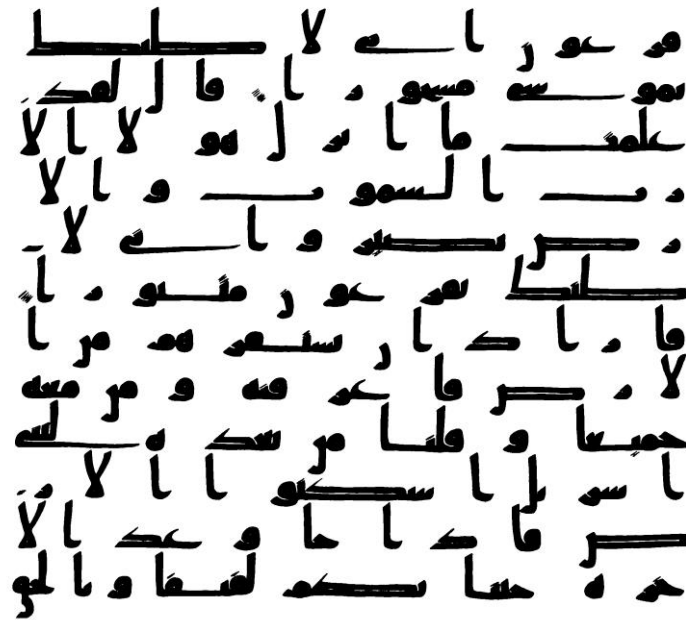
لِيَأْكُلُوا مِنْ ثَمَرِهِ وَمَا عَمِلَتْهُ أَيْدِيهِمْ			so that they may eat from its fruit, which they had no hand in making.
نَ	أَفَلَا يَشْكُرُونَ □ سُبْحٰ	1.	Will they not then give thanks? (35) Glory be
	الَّذِي خَلَقَ الْأَ	2.	to the One Who created
لَا	زُوجَ كُلِّهَا مِمَّا	3.	all things in pairs—[be it] from
وَ	تُنْبِتُ الْأَرْضُ	4.	what the earth produces,
	مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَمِمَّا لَا	5.	from their selves, or from what they do not
أَ	يَعْلَمُونَ □ وَآيَةٌ لَهُمْ	6.	know! (36) There is also a sign for them

ر	لَيْلٌ نَسْلَخُ مِنْهُ النَّهْأَ	7.	in the night: We strip from it daylight,
	فَإِذَا هُمْ مُظْلِمُونَ	8.	and then they are in dark-
	نَ □ وَالشَّمْسُ تَجْرِي	9.	ness [again]. (37) And the sun travels
	لِمُسْتَقَرٍّ لَهَا ذَلِكَ	10.	for its fixed term. That is the
م □	تَقْدِيرِ الْعَزِيزِ الْعَلِيمِ	11.	design of the Almighty, All-Knowing. (38)
	وَالْقَمَرَ قَدْرَهُ	12.	As for the moon, We have ordained for it
	مَنَازِلَ حَتَّىٰ عَادَ كَالْعُرْجُونِ الْقَدِيمِ		precise phases for it, until it ends up like an old, curved palm stalk. (39)

The script on this folio is one of the largest. There are no diacritical marks at all. Of particular interest in its spelling are the words *أَزْوَاجٌ* (without *alif* of elongation), *الَّيْلُ* (two adjacent *alifs* merged into one), and *قَدْرُهُ* (following the general spelling rule in our codex, the *alif* of the ending *نا* is omitted). Apparently, judging by the length of the lines, the word *سُبْحَانَ* was also written without *alif* of elongation.

9.2. Facsimile folio 210v

9.2 Facsimile folio 210v







Facsimile of folio 210v—an example of a smaller handwriting. The 12 lines represent a fragment of *Sūrah* 17, “al-Isrā” —from the last words of verse 101 to the first word of verse 105 (in Flügel’s edition: verses 103–106).

وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا مُوسَى تِسْعَ آيَاتٍ بَيِّنَاتٍ فَاسْأَلْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِذْ جَاءَهُمْ فَقَالَ لَهُ		We surely gave Moses nine clear signs. Ask the Children of Israel. When [Moses] came to them,
فِرْعَوْنُ إِنَّي لَأَظُنُّكَ	1.	Pharaoh [said to him,] “I really think that you,
يُمُوسَى مَسْحُورًا □ قَالَ لَقَدْ	2.	O Moses, are bewitched.” (101) [Moses] replied,
عَلِمْتَ مَا أَنْزَلَ هَؤُلَاءِ (ء) إِلَّا	3.	“You know well that none has sent these [signs] down except
رَبُّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَ	4.	the Lord of the heavens and the
رْضِ بَصِيرًا وَإِنِّي لَأَ	5.	earth as insights. And I really
ظُنُّكَ يَفِرْعَوْنُ مَثْبُورًا □	6.	think that you, O Pharaoh, are doomed.” (102)
فَأَرَادَ أَنْ يَنْسِفَهُمْ مِنْ أ	7.	So [Pharaoh] wanted to scare them out of the
لأَرْضِ فَأَعْرَفْنَاهُ وَمَنْ مَعَهُ	8.	land [of Egypt], but We drowned him and those with him,

جَمِيعًا □ وَقُلْنَا مِنْ بَعْدِهِ لِبَنِي	9.	all [of them]. (103) And, after [this happened to him], We said to the Children
إِسْرَائِيلَ اَسْكُنُوا الْاَرْضَ	10.	of Israel: “Reside in the
صَّ فَاِذَا جَاءَ (ء) وَعَدُ الْاَآ	11.	land, but when comes the promise of the
خِرَةَ جِئْنَا بِكُمْ لَفِيفًا □ وَبِالْحَقِّ	12.	Hereafter, We will bring you all together. (104) And with the truth
اَنْزَلْنَاهُ وَبِالْحَقِّ نَزَلَ وَمَا اَرْسَلْنَاكَ اِلَّا مُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا		We have sent down the Quran, and with the truth it has come down. We have sent you [O Prophet] only as a deliverer of good news and a warner. (105)

The handwriting on this folio is among the smallest but not very compact, as evidenced by the elongated letters ت, ص, and ك, which, on other folios, are written twice or even three times shorter. When comparing this folio with the folio exemplifying large handwriting, attention should be drawn to how the letters *alif* (ا) and س are written on both. On the large-handwriting folio 310r, *alif* (ا) is written in a rounded manner, while س has a saw-like appearance. On the small-handwriting folio 210v, *alif* (ا) has a more angular, short, and blunt end at the bottom, and س has the form of three columns beveled at the top to the left.

	Folio 310r. Large, straight handwriting	Folio 210v. Smaller handwriting
<i>Alif</i> (ا)		
<i>Sin</i> (س)		

Ill. 81.

The other letters differ from each other only in size and thickness. In addition, the small-handwriting folio differs from the large-handwriting folio in the comparative abundance of diacritical marks (16 letters on folio 210v have them). On the exemplifying large-handwriting folio 310r, diacritical marks are not present at all. Folio 243 turns

out to be the richest in our entire Qur’ān in terms of diacritics. The preference we noted earlier for the diacritical marks on the letter ن is vividly manifested even on folio 210v: 8 out of 16 letters with diacritics are ن (see Ill. 16). However, this is only exactly half of all the ن letters on the page, so another 8 ن letters on the page remain without a diacritical dashes.

Here, the freedom to transfer the part of the word that did not fit from one line to another is also extremely vividly demonstrated. The word الأرض, consisting of four graphically indivisible parts (ا ل ا ر ص), could, therefore, be broken at three points, and, by a strange and fortunate coincidence, on our page, it occurs three times, each time reaching the end of the line, each time not fitting on it, and each time transferred differently. On the seventh line, only the initial *alif* is written on the end of the line, and everything else (لارض) is transferred to the next line. On the fourth line, لا already fits on the end of the line. On the tenth line—the third possible case—الار fits.

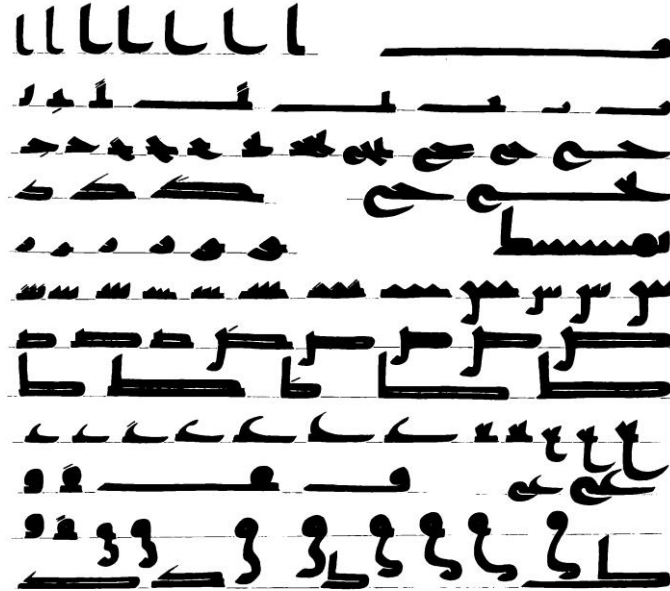
Lines 2, 5, and 10 end with dashes of different sizes, which, as mentioned earlier, are used for nothing else but to fill the vacant space at the end of the line, that is, for symmetry with other lines.

The spelling is interesting for the following words:

(يا مُوسَى) مَوْسَى	Both written together and without the <i>alif</i> of elongation
(يا فِرْعَوْنَ) فِرْعَوْنَ	
(هُؤُلَاءِ) هُوَ لَا	The glottal stop after the elongated <i>alif</i> is not marked at all. The first glottal stop is rendered by و
(السَّمَوَاتِ) السَّمَوَاتِ	Without the <i>alif</i> of elongation
(بَصَائِرِ) بَصِيرِ	Without the <i>alif</i> of elongation. The glottal stop is rendered by ي
(فَاعْرَقْنَاهُ) فَا عَرَفْنَاهُ	Without the <i>alif</i> of elongation in the ending نَا
(إِسْرَائِيلِ) اِسْرَائِيلِ	Without the <i>alif</i> of elongation. The glottal stop is rendered by ي
(جَاءَ) حَا	The glottal stop after the elongated <i>alif</i> is not marked at all

9.3. The alphabet

9.3 The alphabet



The table is compiled from shots of all letters in all forms, in their transitions from the small handwriting to the large handwriting, and from the compressed writing to a more expansive one. Each new letter starts on a new line, and samples that do not fit on one line are transferred to the free end of the upper or lower line. The order of arranging letters follows the European convention, from left to right. To show the relative position of letters on the line, baselines are drawn between them.

Letters and location	Comments
—line 1	Six letters <i>alif</i> in their gradual change: the short, blunt, lower end gradually transitions to the long, round, and sharp. The last, seventh <i>alif</i> is connected to the preceding letter
ب, ت, ث—the end of line 1 and the entire line 2	The images of these letters in isolated, initial, medial, and final positions. The diacritical dashes of letters ت and ث are written one above the other





ج ح خ—line 3 and the second half of line 4	The images of these letters in separate, initial, middle, and final writing. The combinations of these letters with other letters, such as: ح, حح, حح and ح (the last figure on line 4)
د and ذ—the first half of line 4	In separate writing and merged with the preceding letter
ر and ز—the first half of line 5	Arranged in increasing order of size. Written on the line if not merged with another letter, and the bottom end is dropped below the line if merged
س and ش— line 6 and the second half of line 5	The images of these letters in separate, initial, middle, and final writing. In columns, with serifs, slanted to one side, slanted evenly on both sides. The diacritical dashes of the letter ش are written one above each serif. The last word, strongly resembling a saw in appearance—يَمَسِّنْكَ
ص and ض— line 7	At the beginning, in the middle, at the end, and in isolation. The diacritical dash on the letter ض is not placed where one might expect based on analogies with letters like ت, خ and others, that is, not above the vertical line descending downward, but rather to its right, precisely where we are accustomed to placing a dot
ط and ظ— line 8	Related to other letters and isolated. As can be seen, they vary only in line thickness and size
ع and غ—line 9 and the end of line 10	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms. The diacritical dash of letter غ is written above the horn
ف—line 10	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms
ق—line 11	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms. Two last cases demonstrate changes. In the medial form, the letter ق is somewhat more angular than ق. The head of the letter is filled to the maximum—as in letters م, ف and و
ك—line 12	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms. The last type of a long letter is predominantly encountered at the end of a line: the letter is extended to align the length of the line with other lines on the page

9.4. The alphabet (continuation)

9.4 The alphabet (continuation)



Letters and location	Comments
ل—line 1	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms. In the last two cases, it descends slightly below the line in one case and significantly more in the other. This difference is related to changes in the manner of writing other letters
لا—line 1	Connected and disconnected writing with the preceding letter. Variations are only in sizes and greater or lesser boldness
لم—line 2	At the beginning of a word; in the middle of the word; in the combination <i>لم</i> ; final, and isolated forms. The head typically descends slightly below the line, while the tail always rests on the line
لن—line 3	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms. In the last two cases, besides their size, they are also modified by the fact that the upper end of the letter is sometimes just slightly curved, while other times it has additional thickening from bottom to top. The lower, curved to the left, end is always short and blunt. At the end of the line, an example of connection at the beginning of words such as <i>لنتب</i> , <i>لنتد</i> , and similar ones is presented, where, to avoid confusion with the letter <i>لس</i> , the middle letter is raised higher above the line than the others

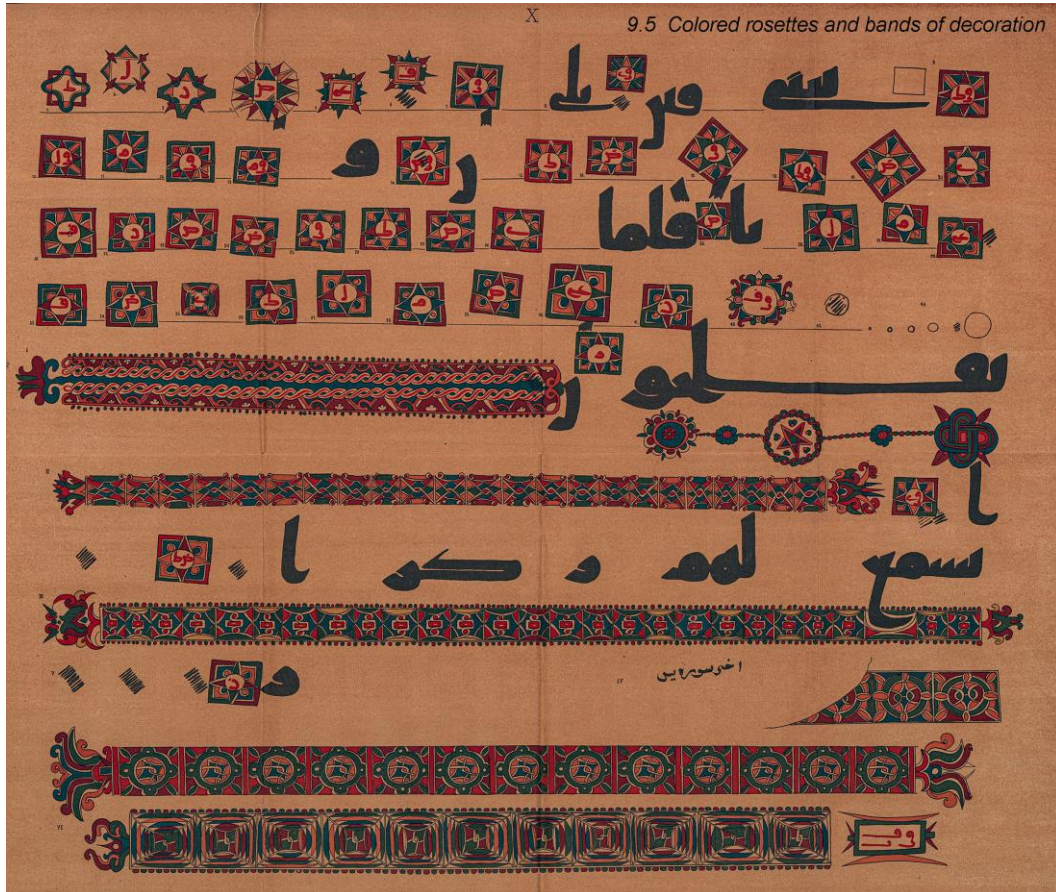
	سـ (بتدئ تبـ)	سـ
		
	Ill. 82.	
و—line 4	Unconnected with the preceding letter is placed entirely on the line, whereas connected writing lowers its tail below the line	
هـ—line 4	In initial, medial, final, and isolated forms. The variety lies in greater or lesser roundness and sizes	
ي—line 5	Isolated in two types, connected to some preceding letter, سی and سی	
line 6	سی and حی. At first glance, حی is not difficult to confuse with the final or isolated form of ح, especially the latter type (see appendix 9.3, 4th line), but the significant difference between them is that the tail of the letter ی in حی extends in a completely straight line (remaining on the baseline overall), while the tail of the letter ح in its final and isolated forms resembles a sickle extending below the baseline	
	حـ (حي)	ح
		
	Ill. 83.	

On the last lines are placed those six words, stretched across the full length of the line, about which we previously spoke:

لَنْظُتُّكَ لِسْطِكَ	Q 5:64	180v
ذِكْرِي دَكْرِي	Q 11:116	203v
مَسَاكِينُكُمْ مَسَكِكُمْ	Q 27:18	299r
ضَاجِكَا صَوَكَا	Q 27:19	299r
الْمُضْطَّرُّ الْمِصْطَرُّ	Q 27:63	304r
اِصْطَفَى اِصْطَفَى	Q 37:153	326r

If you were to place a ruler against them, you would notice that they follow a not entirely straight line, indicating that they are handwritten. Here are all such words found in our Qur’ān, and no other similar specimens are encountered.

9.5. Colored rosettes and bands of decoration



To address and clarify some questions and misunderstandings that may arise when examining this table, it is deemed useful to provide a few explanations alongside its description.

The transmission and subsequent mechanical reproduction of ornaments similar to ours may aim for two objectives: either to convey a complete facsimile, reproducing the drawings exactly as we see them now, or to reproduce and convey these drawings in a restored form, as intended by those who originally executed them. The first objective would be achieved quite successfully if there were a means to mechanically capture and convey all changes in tones and color transitions, that is, if chromophotography existed. However, since it does not yet exist, if there is a reluctance to introduce any arbitrariness into the transmission of the drawing, then one must relinquish the idea of an exact facsimile, especially if there is also the opportunity to successfully achieve the other objective, at least partly due to the fact that the colors of the drawings have not been spoiled, obscured, or faded everywhere, but in some places have been preserved quite distinctly. In this case, in our Qur’ān, there are quite enough places where the colors have been preserved very well and vividly. There are

also places where one can clearly trace imperceptible transitions, such as from orange to dark brown, a transition that initially appears so abrupt that instead of one color, two colors seem to be visible here. Therefore, in transmitting our rosettes and bands of decoration, we set ourselves the second goal, and we took upon ourselves the task of determining precisely where each color lies, especially since it is easier to do so with the original than with a copy from secondhand sources, where it would have to be done by someone interested in the question of what appearance these ornaments should have originally, rather than in the appearance they have now due to careless and negligent handling. Indeed, this appearance has deviated significantly from the original, and therefore our images appear much fresher than their original. But given the goal we had in mind, it could not have been otherwise, and in any case, we considered it much more advisable to conscientiously and to the best of our ability reach the true appearance, for example, of decoration VI (see Appendix 9.5), than to expend no less, if not greater, effort to reproduce in full precision the huge dirty stain with which it is almost completely obscured. This, admittedly, is the most severely affected drawing, but others have also changed considerably: the entire left half of decoration I has blurred and smeared. In decoration II, the orange and crimson paints somehow merged with each other and both took on a purplish tone. On decoration V, the paints have dried up so much that they have almost completely flaked off and are only reminiscent of themselves by small, retained specks, and so on.

The table includes all the ornaments from our Qur’ān: all decorations are literally included, and the colored squares represent all their types in terms of both contours and the arrangement of colors. The relative positioning of the square rosettes on the line is indicated by lines drawn between them.

Of all 44 different square rosettes (including those in decorations II and III), the most original and non-repeating ones are numbers 1–6, 33, 35, and 42.

Under number 44, all the sizes of the circles are given, which, as we assume, originally marked tens of verses, and number 43 marks a similar circle drawn around a usual separating series of oblique parallel strokes on the verso of page 31.

The locations of the colored figures and decorations are as follows:

a) Colored rosettes

No.	Folio		No.	Folio		No.	Folio		No.	Folio
1	3r		12	58v		23	193r		34	270r
2	5v		13	66r		24	199r		35	272r
3	7v		14	69v		25	201r		36	273r
4	9v		15	86v		26	208r		37	273v
5	11r		16	113v		27	211v		38	274v
6	12v		17	117r		28	214r		39	276v
7	16v		18	123v		29	256r		40	287v
8	19r		19	144v		30	264v		41	312r

9	21 ^r		20	167 ^r		31	265 ^v		42	328 ^r
10	23 ^r		21	184 ^r		32	268 ^r			
11	47 ^r		22	190 ^v		33	269 ^v			

Among them, special attention should be paid to:

Number 4—for which, as can be clearly seen, the divider lines occupying this space were partly erased, yet it still managed to touch the bottom letter.

Number 6—positioned above the divider lines and partly intersecting with them.

Number 7—touching the bottom letter.

Number 8—placed above the divider lines.

Number 9—seemingly started to the left.

Number 14—drawn directly on the divider lines, which were not even erased.

Number 17—significantly touching the bottom letter.

Number 21—placed on an unerased and not included in the drawing circle.

Number 29—squeezed into a place where there clearly was not enough space left for it.

Number 32—touching the divider lines.

Earlier, when discussing these figures, we pointed out that red color is relatively rare in the composition of the drawings, yet this is not noticeable in our table. This is simply because the squares in which red color is included in the composition of the drawing have far fewer duplicates, and therefore a significant majority of them ended up in the table, making up a much larger percentage among the 44 figures on it than the percentage of all such figures with red color in their drawing among all the figures found in the Qur’ān.

b) Colored bands of decoration

Number in the table	Folio of the manuscript	Comments
I	79 ^r	The orange paint in this decoration appears noticeably redder than usual, and overall it has a peculiar hue that sets it apart from other decorations, as if it either has a different origin from them, or, having faded, underwent a not particularly skillful restoration, or its paints are indeed the same but of lower quality, or they were mixed poorly compared to others
II	244 ^v	The seventh row of the table, counting from its right edge

III	271r	The eighth and ninth rows of the table. If the text writer had thought that the end of the <i>sūra</i> would be marked in some similar way, rather than just with an empty space, then they would certainly have left more space for the drawing than there is now, which would have avoided the need to disrupt the drawing in the decoration and to bypass the bottom end of the unwanted letter ع from the upper row
IV	316r	In the original, the inscription اخر سورة يس is located further to the left and higher up
V	352v	The tenth and eleventh rows of the table. The original presents almost clean parchment with outlined contours and fine, sparse specks of paint, yet they are quite sufficient to accurately identify them
VI	328r	The majority of the decoration on the left is flooded and smeared with something liquid, perhaps blood. Therefore, at first glance, the copy looks very different from its original. But let us reiterate: we strived to present as accurate copies of the ornaments in their true form, not in the form in which time, circumstances, and all the vicissitudes of fate to which our Qur’ān was subjected, especially during the siege of Samarkand and its fatal capture by the infidels, may have led them

St. Petersburg, February 1891.

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Indices

Indices of names

- ‘Abd al-Aḥad Ḥān, Emir of Bukhara (r. 1885–1911)
- ‘Abd al-Ġalīl, Mullah (19th century CE)
- ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II, Turkish Sultan (r. 1876–1909)
- Abramov, Alexander Konstantinovich, General (1836–1886)
- Abū al-Ma‘ālī, Medieval author (d. 1103–1105)
- Ahlwardt, Hermann, Orientalist (1846–1914)
- ‘Ālim Ḥān, Emir of Bukhara (r. 1911–1920)
- Boragansky, Ilyas Murza, publisher (1852–1942)
- Catherine the Great, Russian Empress (r. 1762–1796)
- Elenevskaya, Irina, memoirist writer (20th century)
- Flügel, Gustav Leberecht, Orientalist (1802–1870)
- Goldziher, Ignatz, Orientalist (1850–1921)
- (al-)Ḥaḡḡāḡ b. Yūsuf, Governor of Iraq (r. 694–714; d. 714)
- Ḥaḡḡī Ḥalīfa (Kâtip Çelebi), Muslim scholar (1609–1657)
- (al-)Ḥasan al-Başrī, Philologist (d. 728)
- Ḥawāḡa Ahrār, ‘Ubayd Allāh Nāşir al-Dīn, Şūfī Master (1404–1490)

- Ḥawāḡa Maḥmūd b. Ḥawāḡa Šihāb al-Dīn, Merchant
 Ḥāwand-i (al-)Ṭahūr (or Ḥāwand Ṭahūr), a prominent Tashkent Šūfi *ṣayḥ* (d. 1354)
 Jeffery, Athur, American Orientalist
 (al-)Kāšifi, Faḥr al-Dīn ‘Alī Ṣafi b. Ḥusayn al-Wā‘iz, author (d. 1533)
 (al-)Kāšifi, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Wā‘iz al-Bayhaqī al-Sabzarī, author (d. 1504)
 Kātip Çelebi, see Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa
 Kaufmann, Konstantin Petrovich von, General (1818–1882)
 Kun, Alexander Ludwigovich, Orientalist (1840–1888)
 Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, Soviet leader (1870–1924)
 Lunacharsky, Anatoly Vasilyevich, Soviet politician (1875–1933)
 Mālik b. Anas, theologian (d. 795)
 Marḡānī, Šihāb al-Dīn (1818–1889)
 Mehmed II, Turkish Sultan (r. 1444–1446, 1451–1481)
 Mendelssohn, Isaac, Orientalist (20th century)
 Muḥammad, the Prophet (570–632 CE)
 Mu‘īnī-Muftī, Mullah (19th century CE)
 Murād II, Turkish Sultan (r. 1421–1444, 1446–1451)
 Muḡaffar b. Naṣr Allāh, Emir of Bukhara (r. 1860–1885)
 Muḡaffar al-Dīn Šāh Qāḡār, Persian Shah (r. 1896–1907)
 Naqšband, Bāhā’ al-Dīn, Šūfi Master (1318–1389)
 Nicholas II, Russian Emperor (r. 1894–1917)
 Nöldeke, Theodor, Orientalist (1836–1930)
 Peter the Great, Russian Tsar and Emperor (r. 1682–1725)
 Petrovsky, Nikolai Fyodorovich, Diplomat (1837–1908)
 Pisarev, Semen Ivanovich, textile merchant (late 19th–early 20th century)
 Rosen, Viktor Romanovich, Baron, Orientalist (1849–1908)
 Schmidt, Alexander Eduardovich, Arabist (1871–1939)
 Serov, Vassilij Rodionovich, General (1829–1901)
 Shcheglov, Andrey, Russian Diplomat (n.d.)
 Shebunin, Alexei Fyodorovich, Russian Diplomat and Orientalist (1867–1937)
 de Slane, William MacGuckin, Orientalist (1801–1878)
 Smirnov, Vasily Dmitrievich, Professor (1846–1922)
 Stalin, Iosif Vissarionovich, Soviet leader (1878–1953)
 Stasov, Vasily Petrovich, Architect (1769–1848)
 Stasov, Vladimir Vasilievich, Academitian (1824–1906)
 Šayḥ Muḥammadi Nāmī, Šūfi Master (15th century)
 Tamerlane/Timur (Temür) b. Taraghai Barlas, a Turco-Mongol conqueror (1336–1405)

Tauchnitz, Carl Christoph Traugott, publisher (1761–1836)

Tokumbetov, Usman Giniyatullovič, Muslim military and political leader in Russia (1888–1950)

Tolstoy, Dmitri Andreevič, Count and Minister of Enlightenment (1823–1889)

Uspensky, Vasily Ivanovič, archeologist (late 19th–early 20th century)

(al-)Ūtiz-Īmānī, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Uṭmān al-Bulḡārī (d. 1834)

‘Uṭmān b. ‘Affān, Caliph (r. 644–656 CE)

Veselovsky, Nikolai Ivanovič, Professor (1848–1918)

Yaḥyā b. Ya‘mar, Philologist (d. 746)

Yaḥyā-Ḥawāḡa, the envoy of the Emir of Bukhara

Yıldırım Bayezid (or Bayezid I), Turkish Sultan (r. 1389–1402)

Zayd b. Ṭābit, scribe (d. 665)

Indices of cities, countries, regions

Afghanistan

Basra/Basran

Berlin

Britain/British

Bugulma

Bulḡār

Bulgaria

Cairo

Central Asia

Constantinople

Cyprus

Damascus/Damascene

Egypt

Estland

Iran

Iraq

Kashgar

Kazan

Kokand

Kronstadt

Kufa/Kufan

Leipzig

Mā warā’ al-nahr

Mecca/Meccan
Medina/Medinan
New York
Nizhny Novgorod region
Paris
Pishpek
Romania
Russian Empire, Russia
Rūm
Samarkand
Semirechye Oblast
St. Petersburg
Syr Darya
Tallinn/Reval
Tashkent
Tatar
Trabzon/Trabizont
Turkestan
Ufa
Vienna
(al-)Wasīṭa
Zeravshan Okrug

أضواء على مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن

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الخلاصة

تُسلط الدراسة الضوء على مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن في تاريخ ولاية مولانا صاحب السعادة رضوان لقطر اليمن وذكر من وليه بعده بالوصف الحسن، وهي من المخطوطات التي ألّفت في القرن العاشر الهجري/السادس عشر الميلادي، إذ تمثل نموذجًا للمؤلفات التاريخية، التي ساند مؤلفها الحكم العثماني الأول في اليمن 945 هـ/1538 م-1045 هـ/1635 م، ودوّنت جزءًا من أحداث تلك المرحلة بأسلوب شعري (الرجز)، علاوة على ذلك فهي من المخطوطات التي ما زالت مُسجلة باسم مؤلف مجهول. ويتألف المخطوط من مقدمة وثمانية عشر بابًا، تناول فيها المؤلف سيرة ستة من ولاة الدولة العثمانية أولهم رضوان باشا، والذي تولى حكم اليمن خلال الفترة 972 هـ/1565 م-974 هـ/1567 م، وآخرهم بهرام باشا الذي تولى الحكم في اليمن خلال الفترة 978 هـ/1570 م-983 هـ/1757 م. وأصل مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة، لا يوجد منه غير نسخة وحيدة محفوظة في المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية - قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651 (BnF), Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque nationale de France). ضمن مجموع يضم ثلاث مخطوطات يمنية كُتبت في نفس الفترة التاريخية وهي مخطوط التيجان الوافرة وكذلك مخطوط بلوغ المرام في تاريخ دولة مولانا بهرام للمؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي المتوفي 1007 هـ/1598 م، بالإضافة إلى مخطوط مطالع النيران في تاريخ اليمن للمؤرخ أحمد بن يوسف بن فيروز والذي كان حيًا حتى سنة 1066 هـ/1565 م. لذلك يمكن اعتبارها النسخة الأصلية. تهدف الدراسة إلى عرض محتوى المخطوط، بالإضافة إلى محاولة التعرف على مؤلفها، وقد اعتمدت الدراسة بشكل رئيسي على المنهج الوصفي وكذلك المنهج المقارن، علاوة على الاعتماد على دراسة بعض نواحي المخطوط الشكلية والفنية، وما ورد في المصادر الأخرى لتحقيق الهدف. وقد تم استعراض أهم ما ورد في المخطوط، وتوصلت الدراسة إلى أن مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن قد يكون من مؤلفات المؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي المتوفي سنة 1007 هـ/1598 م في مدينة زبيد.

Résumé

Éclaircissements au sujet du manuscrit du *Kitāb al-Tiġān al-wāfira al-taman*

Cette étude se penche sur les manuscrits du *Kitāb al-Tiġān al-wāfira al-taman fi tāriḥ wilāyat Mawlānā ṣāhib al-sā'āda Riḍwān li-Quṭr al-Yaman wa-dīkr man waliyahu ba'adahū bi-al-waṣf al-ḥasan*, composé au x^e/xvi^e s., car ils représentent un exemple d'œuvre historique où l'auteur soutient la première domination ottomane au Yémen (945/1538-1045/1635). Une partie des événements de cette période y a été couchée sur le papier dans le style poétique *raġaz*. Cependant, l'auteur de ces textes manuscrits a été laissé pour « inconnu ». Le texte à l'état manuscrit se compose d'une introduction et de dix-huit chapitres, dans lesquels est abordée la biographie de six des gouverneurs de l'Empire ottoman au Yémen, dont le premier est Riḍwān Bāṣā, qui gouverna le pays entre 972/1565-974/1567, et le dernier, Bahrām Bāṣā, qui assumait cette tâche durant la période de 978/1570 à 983/1575. Le manuscrit original du *Kitāb al-Tiġān al-wāfira* n'existe qu'en un seul exemplaire conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dé-

partement des Manuscrits, le ms. Arabe 1651. Il fait partie d'une collection (*maǧmūʿ*) qui comprend, outre le le *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira*, deux manuscrits yéménites écrits durant la même période, le *Bulūǧ al-marām fi tāriḥ dawla Mawlānā Bahrām* de l'historien Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Muṭayyib al-Zabīdī (m. 1007/1598), et le *Maṭāliʿ al-nūrān fi tāriḥ al-Yaman* de l'historien Aḥmad b. Fayrūz (vivant jusqu'en 1066/1565). Il peut donc être considéré comme la seule version originale. L'étude vise non seulement à présenter le contenu des manuscrits, mais aussi à tenter d'identifier l'auteur du texte. Méthodologiquement, elle s'appuie principalement sur une approche descriptive et comparative, mais prend également en compte certains aspects formels et artistiques des manuscrits, ainsi que l'apport d'autres sources. Après avoir examiné l'essentiel des textes manuscrits, l'étude conclut que le *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira al-taman* pourrait être l'une des œuvres de l'historien Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Muṭayyib al-Zabīdī, décédé en l'an 1007/1598 à Zabīd.

Abstract

A closer look at the manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira al-taman*

This study examines the manuscript of *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira al-taman fi tāriḥ wilāyat Mawlānā šāḥib al-saʿāda Riḍwān li-Quṭr al-Yaman wa-dīkr man waliyahu baʿadahu bi-al-waṣf al-ḥasan*, which was composed during the 10th/16th century. Written in a poetic style known as *rāǧāz*, it represents an example of a historical work whose author supported the first Ottoman rule in Yemen 945/1538–1045/1635, and falls into that category of historical manuscripts that remain attributed to an unknown author. The manuscript consists of an introduction and eighteen chapters, in which the author discusses the biographies of six governors of the Ottoman Empire in Yemen. The first among them is Riḍwān Bāšā, who governed Yemen during the period 972/1565–974/1567, and the last is Bahrām Bāšā, who ruled Yemen during the period 978/1570–983/1575. The original manuscript of *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira* exists only as a single copy preserved in the French National Library (Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF)), Department of Manuscripts, ms. Arabic 1651. It is part of a collection that includes three Yemeni manuscripts written in the same historical period, which are the manuscript of *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira* as well as the manuscript of *Bulūǧ al-marām fi tāriḥ dawla Mawlānā Bahrām* by the historian Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Muṭayyib al-Zabīdī (d. 1007/1598) and the manuscript of *Maṭāliʿ al-nūrān fi tāriḥ al-Yaman* by the historian Aḥmad b. Fayrūz (alive until the year 1066/1565). So it can be considered the single original version. This study seeks to present the content of the manuscript and strives to identify the author. To achieve the study's objective, the comparative and the descriptive historical methods will be employed, but it will also take into account certain formal and artistic aspects of the manuscripts, as well as the contributions of other sources. After examining the substance of the manuscript texts, the study concludes that the *Kitāb al-Tiǧān al-wāfira al-taman* could be one of the works of the historian Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Muṭayyib al-Zabīdī, who died in the year 1007/1598 in Zabīd.

الكلمات المفتاحية

كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثَّمن — المطيب الزبيدي — مخطوطات يمنية مجهولة — مؤلف يمني مجهول — مخطوطات

زيد

Mots-clés

Kitāb al-tiǧān al-wāfira al-taman — al-Muṭayyib al-Zabīdī — manuscrits yéménites anonymes — auteur yéménite non-identifié — manuscrits de Zabīd

Keywords

Kitāb al-tiǧān al-wāfira al-taman — al-Muṭayyib al-Zabīdī — anonymous Yemeni manuscripts — unknown Yemeni author — manuscripts of Zabīd

1. المقدمة

شهدت فترة الحكم العثماني الأول لليمن 945 هـ/1538 م-1045 هـ/1635 م حركة متميزة في مجال التدوين التاريخي، سواءً من حيث عدد المؤرخين أو غزارة الإنتاج، وربما يرجع أحد أسباب ذلك إلى اشتراك المؤرخين في أحداث الصراع السياسي، الذي كان دأباً آنذاك بين القوة الزيدية بقيادة آل شرف الدين ومن ثم بقيادة آل القاسم من جهة وولاية الدولة العثمانية في اليمن من جهة أخرى¹. ولم يقتصر ذلك النشاط على تدوين الأحداث السياسية من وجهتي نظر مختلفتين، بل تم تأليف مصنفات تاريخية حاول مؤلفوها التزام الحياد، وأخرى تناولت مواضيع وحقول مختلفة².

وقد تنوعت أساليب الكتابة التاريخية في تلك الفترة - كما هو الحال في بقية الفترات - حيث اعتمدت بعض المؤلفات على أسلوب السرد القصصي مع تبني طريقة الحوليات في ترتيب الأحداث، ومنها على سبيل المثال كتاب الدرّة المضيئة في السيرة القاسمية للمؤرخ المطهر الجرهمزي (ت 1077 هـ/1667 م)، وكتاب الإحسان في دخول مملكة اليمن تحت ظل عدالة آل عثمان للمؤرخ عبد الصمد الموزعي (عاش حتى 1301 هـ/1621 م)، وكذلك كتاب روح الروح فيما جرى بعد المائة التاسعة من الفتن والفتوح للمؤرخ عيسى بن لطف الله (ت 1048 هـ/1638 م)³.

بينما اعتمدت مؤلفات أخرى على الأسلوب النثري الذي يهتم بالسجع والبلاغة، ومنها كتاب بلوغ المرام في تاريخ دولة مولانا بهرام للمؤرخ المطيب الزبيدي (ت 1007 هـ/1598 م)، أيضاً وكتاب الفتوحات المرادية في الجهات اليمنية للمؤرخ عبد الله بن داعر (كان حياً حتى سنة 1029 هـ/1620 م)⁴.

¹ س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 1؛ ح. عبد الله العمري، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1409 هـ/1989 م، ص 17؛ أ. ص. المصري، «موقف المؤرخين»، 1427 هـ/2006 م، ص 64.

² شهدت هذه الفترة أيضاً تأليف العديد من كتب التراجم التي حاول مؤلفوها تناول الأحداث دون إظهار تحيز لأطراف الصراع، ومنهم على سبيل المثال المؤرخ عبد القادر بن شيخ العيدروس (ت 1038 هـ/1628 م) صاحب كتاب النور السافر في أخبار القرن العاشر، وكذلك المؤرخ محمد بن عمر بافقيه (كان حياً حتى سنة 1039 هـ/1629 م) صاحب كتاب تاريخ الشحر وأخبار القرن العاشر، وكذلك المؤرخ أحمد بن محمد الجابري (ت 1001 هـ/1592 م) صاحب كتاب سفينة سفر المعروف بعنوان «رحلة الجابري». ح. عبد الله العمري، المؤرخون اليمنيون، ص 29؛ س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 23، 25؛ أ. ص. المصري، «موقف المؤرخين»، ص 181.

³ س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 77، 43، 70؛ ح. عبد الله العمري، المؤرخون اليمنيون، ص 31، 33-34، 37.

⁴ س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 46، 55؛ أ. ص. المصري، موقف المؤرخين، ص 189.

ومجموعة ثالثة اعتمدت على أسلوب الشعر وما يتطلب من مراعاة للوزن والقافية، من أبرز الأمثلة على هذا النوع من المؤلفات كتاب المنهج الواضح الحسن فمين تولى بعد فرهاد اليمن لجمال الدين محمد بن بركات العُماني (ت بعد سنة 969 هـ/1562 م)⁵، كذلك كتاب نبذة في تاريخ ولاية اليمن في مُدبدة من الزمن لضياء الدين أحمد بن موسى الواسطي⁶، وكذلك كتاب قلائد العقيان في دولة مولانا عالي الشأن بهرام ذي العدل الاحسان لمؤلف مجهول⁷.

والجدير بالإشارة أنّ نسبة كبيرة من تلك الأعمال التاريخية قد حُقت ونُشرت، وتركت أعمال التحقيق بشكل رئيسي حول المخطوطات واضحة البيانات، بينما لم يتم إبلاء المخطوطات منقوصة البيانات اهتمام كاف من الدراسة والتحقيق، لذلك، توجد العديد من الأعمال التاريخية – التي ترتبط بنفس فترة الدراسة – لا تزال مُسجلة باسم مؤلف مجهول، فعلى سبيل المثال لا الحصر مخطوطة تاريخ دولة الترك في اليمن⁸؛ ومخطوطة قلائد العقيان في دولة مولانا عالي الشأن بهرام ذي العدل والإحسان؛ وكذلك مخطوطة قراطيس اليمن من سنة 904 إلى 1100 هـ⁹؛ وكذلك مخطوطة ذكر ابتداء الدولة العثمانية باليمن¹⁰، إضافة إلى مخطوطة تاريخ اليمن مدة ولاية حسن باشا من سنة 988 إلى سنة 1000 هـ¹¹.

⁵ مخطوطة محفوظ في المكتبة الوطنية البلغارية في العاصمة صوفيا تحت رقم f. 115v-118r. ع. الد. يوسف، فهرس المخطوطات العربية، 1387 هـ/1968 م، ص 28؛ عبد الر. م. العمراني، بلغاريا من الزاوية الشرقية، 1442 هـ/2021 م، ص 232-236؛ س. كينديروفا، «وثائق عن تاريخ اليمن»، 2012 م.

⁶ مكتبة آيا صوفيا، إسطنبول، مجموع رقم 2988، من ورقة رقم 185 إلى ورقة رقم 189ب، صورة المخطوط محفوظة في مكتبتي وهي نسخة مصورة من مكتبة الباحث العُماني أبو عمر مازن بن عامر المعشري. وقد أشارت الباحثة ستويانكا كينديروف (Stoyanka Kenderova) أن المؤلف الواسطي كان حيًا حتى سنة 955 هـ الموافق 1548-1549 م دون أن تحدد مصدر معلوماتها. س. كينديروفا، «وثائق عن تاريخ اليمن»، 2012 م.

⁷ دون مؤلف، دفتر كسبخانه، 1304 هـ/1889 م، ص 180؛ مجموع رقم 2988، مكتبة آيا صوفيا، من ورقة رقم 199ب إلى ورقة رقم 229ب.

⁸ الكتاب مُسجل باسم مؤلف مجهول، كما أن العنوان ليس عنوانه الأصلي. س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 82.

⁹ وهو عن تاريخ الإسماعيلية. أ. ف. سيد، مصادر تاريخ اليمن، 1418 هـ/1998 م، ص 333.

¹⁰ حول هذا الكتاب أنظر: أ. ف. سيد، مصادر تاريخ اليمن، 1418 هـ/1998 م، ص 331. الكتاب موجود في مكتبة برلين تحت رقم 9749.

¹¹ GAL, S. II, 1996, p. 549؛ أ. ف. سيد، مصادر تاريخ اليمن، 1418 هـ/1998 م، ص 328.

الأمر الذي يتطلب مزيداً من العناية والاهتمام بهذا النوع من الأعمال التاريخية بهدف التعريف بمضمونها، والتعريف على مؤلفيها وتثبيت حقوقهم وتأسيس أعمالهم إليهم، خاصة وأن الأماكن التي تحتفظ بالكثير من هذه المخطوطات أصبحت الآن معروفة¹².

2. غرض ومنهج الدراسة

تأتي هذه الدراسة في إطار الاهتمام بمصادر التاريخ اليمني المخطوط، الذي يحتاج لجهود كبيرة للتعريف به وتحقيقه ونشره، وخاصة الأعمال التاريخية منقوصة البيانات، التي ما زال الكثير منها مُقيدة باسم مؤلف مجهول وأخرى لم تكتمل بياناتها، وهي ظاهرة عامة وإحدى مشاكل التراث المخطوط، التي تتطلب جهوداً علمية لرفع الجهالة عنها وتنسيبها لمؤلفيها. وتعد مخطوطة التيجان الوافرة نموذجاً لتلك المؤلفات. وتعتمد الدراسة على المنهج المقارن كأحد أهم المناهج المستخدمة، علاوة على دراسة بعض نواحي المخطوط الشكلية والفنية، وما ورد في المصادر الأخرى لتحقيق الهدف.

3. مخطوطة التيجان الوافرة الثَّمَن

مخطوطة كتاب التيجان الوافرة عبارة عن مخطوط متوسط الحجم عدد أوراقه 15 ورقة، كتبت بخط النسخ، وفي ورقة غلاف المخطوط كُتب العنوان داخل لوحة مُستطيلة أعلى الصفحة، وزُين بنقاط ذهبية، أما صفحة المحتوى الأولى فقد كُتبت بالسملة بداخل مستطيل مُزين بزخرفة مُذهبة، ورُسمت فواصل الأبيات والعبارات وكذلك نقاط آخر الجمل على شكل نقاط ذهبية اللون، كما استخدم الناصح اللون الأحمر في كتابة بعض العبارات.

المخطوط عبارة عن أرجوزة شعرية خصصها المؤلف لسرد سيرة ستة من الولاة العثمانيين في اليمن، أولهم رضوان باشا، تولى الحكم خلال الفترة 973 هـ/1566 م-974 هـ/1567 م، وآخرهم بهرام باشا الذي

¹² للأسف الشديد لا توجد إحصاءات دقيقة لعدد المخطوطات في اليمن، وإلى جانب الجهود الرسمية في حصر وتوثيق المخطوطات اليمنية الموجودة في المكتبات الرسمية، فهناك مشاريع اهتمت بتوثيق ما يتوفر من مخطوطات في المكتبات الخاصة، ولعل أهم تلك الأعمال على سبيل المثال لا الحصر « مشروع فهرس مكتبات المخطوطات الخاصة في زبيد: مكتبة عبد الرحمن عبد الله الحضرمي » تحت إشراف الدكتورة الفرنسية آن ريغورد (Anne Regourd)، وأيضاً جهود الباحث الأستاذ عبد السلام الوجيه الذي ألف كتاباً خاصاً عن المخطوطات اليمنية في المكتبات الخاصة بعنوان مصادر التراث في المكتبات الخاصة في اليمن، بالإضافة إلى جهود الباحث عرفات الحضرمي الذي أعد كتاباً حول مخطوطات زبيد بعنوان فهرسة المكتبات المجتمعية الأهلية لمخطوطات علماء اليمن - مدينة زبيد، وجهود الباحثين في مكتبة الأحقاف في حضرموت لتوثيق المخطوطات في محافظة حضرموت. أ. م. عيسوي وآخرون، فهرس المخطوطات اليمنية، 2005 م، ص 13-14.

تولى الحكم 978 هـ/1570 م-983 هـ/1575 م، وصاغ المؤلف تلك السيرة التاريخية بأسلوب الرجز، وهو من الأساليب التي تفتن العرب فيها لتدوين العلوم أو الأحداث في قالب شعري بسيط وجذاب، إذ يُعتبر بحر الرجز من أسهل بحور الشعر، حيث يصف الراجز الأحداث والوقائع بطريقة مُبسطة، علاوة على تميزه بسهولة وسرعة تناقله بين الناس، وقد عُرف هذا الأسلوب لدى العرب منذ القدم وتطور في العهد الأموي¹³. ووصف سيد سالم أسلوب مؤلف كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثَّمَن بأنه يشبه طريقة المداحين ورواة السير الشعبية في مصر، وهي طريقة ينتشر معها ما يُروى بين الناس بسهولة حفظه وترديده¹⁴.

وهذا النوع من المؤلفات غالبًا ما يقدم صاحب السيرة بطريقة مثالية، وتبرز أهم منجزاته وبطولاته، وفي كثير من الأحيان تطغى عليها المبالغة في الوصف نتيجة خضوعها للقافية الشعرية حيث يضطر المؤلف اختيار كلمات مناسبة للأسلوب الشعري بغض النظر عن مدى واقعيتها.

4. نسخة المخطوط الأصلية

يُعد مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثَّمَن من المؤلفات التاريخية النادرة، وبحسب علمي، لا يوجد من هذا الكتاب غير نسخة واحدة، هي النسخة الموجودة في المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية - في قسم المخطوطات تحت رقم Ar 1651، لذلك يمكن اعتبارها النسخة الأصلية الوحيدة. والمخطوط يوجد ضمن مجموع يضم ثلاث مخطوطات يمنية كُتبت في نفس الفترة التاريخية وهي بلوغ المرام في دولة مولانا بهرام للمؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي المتوفي 1007 هـ/1598 م، كذلك مخطوط مطالع النيران في تاريخ اليمن للمؤرخ أحمد بن يوسف بن فيروز والذي كان حيًا حتى سنة 1066 هـ/1565 م¹⁵.

والجدير بالإشارة أنه لم يرد في غلاف المجموع أو غلاف مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة أي إشارة إلى اسم مؤلف الكتاب، كما لم تُدون في صفحات المخطوط الأولى أو الأخيرة أي إشارة إلى اسم ناسخ المخطوط ولا إلى تاريخ نسخها¹⁶. وتوجد منها نُسخًا مصورة، إحداها في الخزانة التيمورية بدار الكتب بالقاهرة تحت رقم 2288 تاريخ، وصورة أخرى في معهد المخطوطات العربية في القاهرة تحت (رقم 192)

¹³ الرجز فن من فنون الشعر العربي، وهو شعر سهل النظم، وتسمى قصائده الأراجيز وقائلها يسمى راجز، وكان الرجز بمثابة ديوان العرب في الجاهلية والإسلام وخزانة أنسابهم. م.ت. البكري، أراجيز العرب، 1346 هـ/1927 م، ص 3-4؛ م. و. أكرم، الأرجوزة في الأدب العربي، د.ت.

¹⁴ م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 64.

¹⁵ النسخة الأصلية للمخطوط موجودة في المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية - قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.

(Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651)

يمكن الاطلاع على المخطوط كاملاً على الرابط التالي، <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc29603b>

¹⁶ W. Mac Guckin de Slane, *Catalogue*, 1883, p. 309.

وكتابها مُسجلة تحت اسم مؤلف مجهول، وما يزال المخطوط الأصلي مُسجلاً باسم مؤلف مجهول في فهرس المخطوطات¹⁷.

5. محتوى المخطوط

يتناول المخطوط فترة مهمة من تاريخ اليمن في العهد العثماني الأول، وهي فترة شهدت وصول ستة من ولاية الدولة العثمانية، أربعة منهم، رضوان باشا، مراد باشا، حسن باشا، عثمان باشا، يعدّون من الولاة الضعفاء الذين لم يتمكنوا من الحفاظ على ما حققه الولاة السابقون من مكاسب سياسية في بلاد اليمن، وعمت في عهدهم الإضطرابات السياسية والعسكرية، وخسرت الدولة العثمانية في عهدهم معظم ممتلكاتها في اليمن، وانحصر وجودها في مدينة زبيد، وكادت أن تخرج اليمن من تحت سلطتها، لولا وصول الحملة العسكرية العثمانية بقيادة سنان باشا سنة 976 هـ/1569 م الذي تمكن خلال فترة وجيزة من استعادة هيبة الدولة العثمانية، والسيطرة على معظم مناطق اليمن ووصل إلى صنعاء¹⁸.

وحرص مؤلف كتاب التيجان الوافرة على أبرز أهم أحداث تلك الفترة، يتضح من سرده لها ومدى إلمامه بتفاصيلها، وإن غلب على أسلوبه المدح والتفخيم خاصة لرضوان باشا، حيث قدم صورة إيجابية عن شخصيته، باعتبار الكتاب مُخصص أصلاً في ذلك لذكر بعض من سيرته، في حين تقدم المصادر التاريخية صورة أخرى عن رضوان باشا كما سنوضح ذلك لاحقاً.

وقام المؤلف بتقسيم كتابه إلى مقدمة وعشرين باباً، جاعلاً لكل باب عنواناً خاصاً به، وتختلف الأبواب من حيث حجمها فبعضها وصل عدة صفحات، بينما أبواب أخرى لم تتجاوز بضعة أسطر، وقد تضمنت عناوين الأبواب محتوى مواضيعها كما هو موضح في الملحق رقم 1.

تتألف المقدمة من مجموعة من أبيات بدأها المؤلف بالحمد والصلاة على النبي (صلى الله عليه وسلم).

الحمد لله الكريم المنان	جاعلنا من حزب أهل القرآن
ثم صلاة الله كل الأحيان	على النبي المصطفى من عدنان
وآله والصحب أهل البرهان	وتابعي سبيلهم بإحسان

وبعد ذلك أشار المؤلف إلى أهمية علم التاريخ وتسجيل الأحداث، وفي آخر المقدمة بدأ بسرد سيرة رضوان باشا.

¹⁷ س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 64؛ أ. ف. سيد، مصادر تاريخ اليمن، ص 329.

¹⁸ س. م. سالم، المؤرخون اليمنيون، 1394 هـ/1971 م، ص 65.

وهذه تأليفة يا اخوان
أذكر فيها ما يزيل الأحزان
ونشره العدل بكل البلدان
من بعد سبعين مضت يا إنسان

فأثقة النظام في هذا الشان
وصول مولانا المسمى رضوان
عام اثنتين في صحيح الحسابان
من بعد تسعائة باتقسان

وقد خصص خمسة أبواب في ذكر سيرة رضوان باشا الذي تولى الحكم خلال الفترة 972 هـ/1564 م-974 هـ/1567 م¹⁹، اشتملت تلك الأبواب على اثنتين وثمانين بيتاً، تناول فيها أبرز الأحداث التي دارت في عهده، فقد أشار إلى قيام رضوان باشا بإنصاف المظلومين وإقامة العدل منذ وصوله اليمن، ثم تناول قصة عزله لوالي زبيد أبو بكر بن محمد المغربي بسبب ظلمه للرعية وتعيين والده الأمير محمد بن يحيى المغربي، وبعد ذلك تتبع خط سير حملة رضوان باشا في بلاد اليمن حتى وصوله إلى صنعاء، مشيراً إلى قرار تقسيم اليمن إلى ولايتين، واختتم هذا الجزء بذكر طلب رضوان باشا إعفائه من ولاية اليمن وموافقة السلطنة العثمانية على ذلك، وشم مغادرته اليمن، وحدث الاضطرابات بعد خروجه²⁰. وعلى الرغم من محاولة المؤلف تقديم رضوان باشا كشخصية قيادية محنكة، غير أن المصادر التاريخية تعتبره أول الولاة العثمانيين الضعفاء والذين تدهورت سلطة الدولة العثمانية في اليمن خلال فترة حكمهم، وربما يرجع سبب ذلك إلى قلة خبرته ودرايته بأمر الحكم، فقد تولى حكم اليمن وهو شاب يافع، علاوة على أنه تولى السلطة بعد محمود باشا الذي شهدت فترة حكمه لليمن فساداً وظلماً للرعية، واخيراً فقد أشار المؤلف أن رضوان باشا قد طلب إعفائه من ولاية اليمن، في حين تؤكد المصادر الأخرى أن السلطة العثمانية قررت عزله²¹.

ثم انتقل المؤلف بعد ذلك لسرد سيرة الوالي مراد باشا الذي تقاسم حكم ولاية اليمن مع رضوان باشا خلال الفترة 973 هـ/1566 م-974 هـ/1567 م، والذي لم تتجاوز فترة ولايته سنة واحدة، وقد خصص لها المؤلف خمسة أبواب شملت تسعة وأربعين بيتاً، تناول فيها تدهور الأوضاع السياسية واتساع رقعة الثورات ضد السلطة العثمانية، ومحاولة الأمير المطهر الاستيلاء على صنعاء، وما تلا ذلك من حروب

¹⁹ رضوان باشا هو ابن الوالي مصطفى باشا قره شاهين وأخو بهرام باشا، كان والده مصطفى قد تولى بلكريبيكية (ولاية) اليمن خلال الفترة 1556-1560 م، بدأ رضوان باشا حياته السياسية بتولي منصب أمير غزة، كما تولى إمارة محمل الحج الشامي، في عام 973 هـ/1565 م صدر فرمان سلطاني بتعيينه بلكريبيكي على اليمن وكان وقتها شاباً يافعاً وليس له من الخبرة والدراية ما يكفي لتولي هذا المنصب المهم، وفي عهده شهدت اليمن اضطرابات وعدم استقرار، ويعتبر أول الولاة العثمانيين الضعفاء، لم يستمر في منصبه طويلاً حيث تم اعفائه من ولاية اليمن، وغادرها 974 هـ/1567 م. ق. الد. م. النهرواي، البرق البهاني، ص 137، 157؛ م. لعجة، الولاة العثمانيون، ص 91-94.

²⁰ المخطوط نفسه، ق 33-37 أ، ب.

²¹ م. سالم، الفتح العثماني، ص 231؛ م. لعجة، الولاة العثمانيون، ص 91.

بين مراد باشا وقوات الأمير المطهر والقبائل الموالية له، واختتم الفصل بمحادثة مقتل مراد باشا في تلك الحروب.²²

أما الوالي حسن باشا (975 هـ/1567 م-976 هـ/1568 م)، فقد اختص سيرته بباين تضمننا ثلاثة وثلاثين بيتاً، تناول فيها اضطراب الأوضاع في زبيد بعد وصول خبر مقتل مراد باشا، مُشيراً إلى محاولات جيش الأمير المطهر الاستيلاء على زبيد، كما أشار إلى سوء تصرفات حسن باشا وظلمه لأهل زبيد، واختتم الفصل بذكر هزيمة جيش المطهر في زبيد، وكذلك وصول حملة عثمان باشا إلى اليمن.²³

كان حسن باشا قد فضل البقاء في زبيد منذ وصوله إلى اليمن، وتردد في التحرك لإنقاذ الحامية العثمانية المحاصرة في مدينة تعز، وخسرت الدولة العثمانية في عهده معظم ممتلكاتها في اليمن، وانحصر وجودها في مدينة زبيد، التي كانت آخر معاقل السلطة العثمانية في اليمن خلال هذه الفترة.²⁴

بينما تناول المؤلف سيرة الوالي عثمان باشا (975 هـ/1569 م-976 هـ/1568 م) في ثلاثة أبواب تضمنت ثلاثة وخمسين بيتاً، افتتح سيرته بقيام عثمان باشا بإنصاف المظلومين من أهل زبيد، واصفاً قوات حملته وسلاحها، واختتم الفصل بالإشارة إلى مساعي عثمان باشا لاستعادة مدينة تعز من قوات الأمير المطهر.²⁵

وكان عثمان قد وصل إلى اليمن بعد وصول الأخبار إلى الباب العالي من حجم التدهور الذي أصاب ولاية اليمن في عهد الولاة السابقين بما فيهم حسن باشا، وقد قررت السلطة العثمانية إرسال حملة إنقاذ سريعة بقيادة عثمان باشا، بينما كان يجري ترتيب إرسال حملة سنان باشا.²⁶

أما الوالي سنان باشا الوزير 976-978 هـ/1569-1570 م، فقد رتب سيرته في أربعة أبواب ضمها في ثلاثة وأربعين بيتاً، حيث ذكر وصوله إلى اليمن ووصفه بنابغ العدل والإحسان، وأشار إلى استبشار الناس بوصوله، ثم تناول حروب سنان باشا التي بدأها باسترجاع مدينة تعز، كما أشار إلى الخلاف الذي وقع بين سنان باشا وعثمان باشا وانهاء ذلك بعزل عثمان باشا من ولاية اليمن، واختتم هذا الجزء بذكر خط سير حملة سنان حتى وصولها صنعاء.²⁷

²² المخطوط نفسه، ق 36-38 أ، ب.

²³ مؤلف مجهول، المخطوط نفسه، ق 38-40 أ، ب.

²⁴ س. م. سالم، الفتح العثماني، ص 245-246؛ ق. الد. م. النهروالي، البرق اليمني، ص 196-197.

²⁵ المخطوط نفسه، ق 40-42 أ، ب.

²⁶ س. م. سالم، الفتح العثماني، ص 259؛ م. لعجة، الولاة العثمانيون، ص 114.

²⁷ مؤلف مجهول، التيجان الوافرة، ق 43-44 أ، ب.

وتعتبر حملة سنان باشا من أهم الحملات العسكرية العثمانية على اليمن، وقد تمكن في فترة وجيز لا تتعد بضعة أشهر من استعادة الكثير من المناطق التي استولى عليها الأمير المطهر، كما سيطر على صنعاء قبل مغادرته اليمن عقد صلحًا مع الأمير المطهر، ويعتبر سنان باشا أحد أقوى قادة الدولة العثمانية التي أرسلتهم إلى اليمن في فترة الحكم العثماني الأول، وعلى الرغم من قصر مدة إقامته في اليمن إلا أنه أعاد هيبة الدولة العثمانية واستعاد الكثير من المناطق التي كانت قد خسرتها منذ عهد رضوان باشا²⁸.

وأخيرًا خصص المؤلف بابًا واحدًا فقط في سيرة الوالي بهرام باشا 978 هـ/1570 م - 983 هـ/1575 م، وهو آخر الولاة الذين ذكروهم في كتابه، وقد وعتونه بـ باب وصول الخبر إلى مولانا الوزير ذي الفضل والإكرام بوصول مولانا صاحب السعادة بهرام دام الله عليه سوايغ الإنعام آمين اللهم آمين، والمعني بالوزير هنا سنان باشا.

وتضمن الباب تسعة عشر بيتًا شعريًا، وصف فيها وصول بهرام باشا وما ترتب عليه من خوف لدى خصومه، وتحقيق العدل والأمان بقدوم بهرام إلى بلاد اليمن، وقد غلب على أسلوبه المدح والمبالغة في وصف بهرام، واختتم الباب والكتاب اجمالًا بمجموعة أبيات منها :

فذاك في الباشات سيف الإسلام يعرف هذا من قعد ومن قام
من الرجال العلماء الأقسام ومن الحجة أهل الإفحام
ثم صلاتي وسلامي إتمام على رسول الله خير من صام
وآله والصحب حزب الإسلام ما فتح الزهر طواء الأكام²⁹

ولم يقدم المؤلف أي تفاصيل عن سيرة بهرام باشا وخط سير حملته، كما هو الحال مع بقية الولاة، وكان بهرام باشا قد وصل إلى اليمن سنة 977 هـ/1580 م لاستلام مقاليد السلطة من سنان باشا، ويعتبر من الولاة الذين اشتهروا بالتنكيل بخصومهم وسفكه للدماء لمجرد الشك في خصومه، وقد استقر في مدينة ذمار عقب استلامه للحكم سنة 978 هـ/1580 م وبقي فيها مدة ولايته حتى خروجه من اليمن سنة 983 هـ/1585 م³⁰.

²⁸ س. م. سالم، الفتح العثماني، ص 259-269؛ لعجة، الولاة الثعابين، ص 118.

²⁹ مؤلف مجهول، التيجان الوافرة الثمن، ق 45-46 أ، ب.

³⁰ حول فترة حكم بهرام باشا وسيرته في اليمن، أنظر محمد بن يحيى المطيب (ت 1007 هـ/1598 م)، بلوغ المرام في تاريخ دولة مولانا بهرام، بتحقيق أحمد صالح المصري، 2006 م.

5. مؤلف المخطوط

ولا يُعرف على وجه الدقة سبب عدم ذكر اسم مؤلف مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة، فالمخطوط محفوظ ضمن مجموع، ولا توجد أوراق ممزقة في أوله، وفي نفس الوقت لا نستطيع الحكم ما إذا كان المخطوط قد فقد بعض أوراقه الأول، لكن الأرجح أنه كان ضمن مجموع احتوى أعمالاً أخرى لنفس المؤلف، وربما نُزع مخطوط التيجان الوافرة من المجموع الأصلي أو أُضيف إلى المجموع مؤلفات أخرى دون الإشارة إلى اسم مؤلفها. وربما يكون مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة من مؤلفات المؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي، تم استخلاص هذا الإحتمال من خلال بعض الاستدلالات الموضوعية والفنية، التي تم استنباطها من المخطوط نفسها، وأخرى وردت في غيره.

حيث أشرنا سابقاً أن المؤلف قد خصص باباً واحداً في سيرة بهرام باشا مكوناً من تسعة عشر بيتاً شعرياً، في حين نظم أبياتاً في سيرة الولاة الآخرين تتراوح بين الخمسة والثلاثين والسبعين بيتاً، كما لم يشر في الأبيات التي نظمها في سيرة بهرام إلى تفاصيل سيرته كما هو حال بقية الولاة، بل اكتفى بذكر بعض أوصافه والدعاء له، فخالف بذلك ما سار عليه في ذكر سيرة بقية الولاة، الأمر الذي يوحي بأن المؤرخ ربما قد تعمد ذلك ليفرد له سيرة خاصة به، والتي لم تكن سوى كتاب بلوغ المرام في تاريخ دولة مولانا بهرام.

أضف إلى ذلك أن المؤلف توقف عند ذكر بهرام باشا، ولم يذكر سيرة من أتى من بعده من ولاة اليمن العثمانيين، علاوة على أن طريقته في عرض أوصاف بهرام باشا ومحاسنه تتشابه - إلى حد كبير - مع طريقة عرض الأوصاف والمبالغات حول شخصية بهرام باشا التي أوردها المؤرخ المطيب في كتابه بلوغ المرام. علمًا بأن الكتائبين دوناً أحداث الفترة الزمنية نفسها، مما يشير إلى أن مؤلف كتاب التيجان الوافرة عاش في نفس الفترة التي عاش فيها مؤلف كتاب بلوغ المرام.

ولعل ما يُلفت الانتباه أن المؤلف لم يؤلف كتابه في عهد رضوان باشا، لأن آخر الولاة الذين ذكروهم في كتابه كان بهرام باشا، الذي تولى الحكم خلال الفترة 978 هـ/1570 م - 983 هـ/1575 م، أي بعد خمس سنوات من رحيل أخيه رضوان باشا من اليمن، وهذا الأمر يضعنا أمام احتمالين: الأول أن المؤلف بدأ بتأليف الكتاب أو الأرجوزة في عهد رضوان باشا، من باب الامتنان والعرفان، وهذا يتوافق مع ما أشار إليه في المقدمة، ثم توقف لأسباب غير معروفة ومن بعد ذلك استأنف الكتابة في عهد بهرام. الاحتمال الثاني وهو الأرجح أن المؤلف قد أنجز تأليف الكتاب في عهد بهرام باشا كنوع من المجاملة لبهرام باشا، كون الكتاب اعتنى بسيرة أخيه رضوان باشا.

بالإضافة إلى ما سبق نلاحظ ثمة تشابه بين كتابي التيجان الوافرة، وبلوغ المرام من حيث عدد الأسطر في كل صفحة ونوع الخط، الأمر الذي يوحي بأنها ينتميان إلى نفس المدرسة من حيث طريقة الكتابة، إذ يتراوح عدد أسطر كل ورقة بين 12-13 سطراً، وكلا المخطوطين كتباً بخط النسخ، وكان

الناسخ يكتب بعض الحروف بخط الثلث كما الحال في عنوان كتاب بلوغ المرام والبسملة في مخطوط التيجان الوافرة، كما أن خط كتاب التيجان أكثر جمالاً وسطوره أكثر ضبطاً واستقامة، وكما يبدو أنّها لنساختين مختلفين، وكتبا في نفس الفترة الزمنية، علاوة على ذلك فقد حُفظ الكتابان في مجموع واحد في المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية قسم المخطوطات تحت رقم Ar 1651، مما يشير إلى أن الكتابين – ربما – كانا في الأصل ضمن مجموع واحد قبل أن يُضاف إليهما مخطوط مطالع النيران.

وأخيراً فقد سجّل الشيخ مصطفى بن عبد الله العلي³¹ على ظهريّة مخطوط كتاب مطالع التيران للمؤرخ أحمد بن فيروز نصّ التمليك الآتي « تملكه من فضل الله فقير عفو ربّه وراجي شفاعه نبته العربي مصطفى بن عبد الله العليّ عفي عنها »³². ويتضح أنّه عني بقوله تملكه أي تملك كتاب مطالع التيران، فالهاء في لفظة تملكه ضمير عائد إلى كتاب مطالع التيران. وعلى الظهريّة نفسها كُتب التعقيب الآتي وتيجان الوافرة الثمن وبلوغ المرام لمحمد الزبيدي في سطرين منفصلين مباشرة بعد نص التمليك. ولا يُعرف بالضبط من هو كاتب التعقيب ولا متى كُتب³³.

ويبدو واضحاً أنّ كتاب مطالع التيران هو الكتاب الأصل في المجموع، ومن ثمّ أُضيف له الكتابان – التيجان الوافرة وبلوغ المرام – في التجليد ليصبح الكتاب مجموعاً مكوناً من ثلاثة كتب، ولا يُستبعد أنّ يكون الشيخ مصطفى بن عبد الله العلي هو نفسه مالك المجموع، أو من قام بجمع المخطوطات الثلاث في كتاب واحد، فكما يبدو أنه كان شغوفاً بجمع الكتب الأدبية والتاريخية أثناء فترة إقامته في القسطنطينية³⁴. اعتماداً على ما رود في نصوص التمليك والتعقيب يمكن استخلاص احتمالين فيما يتعلق بمؤلف كتاب التيجان :

أ. الاحتمال الأول أنّ مؤلف كتاب التيجان هو محمد الزبيدي (محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي)، وهذا الاحتمال مبني على فرضية أنّ الكتابين التيجان وبلوغ المرام أُضيفا لاحقاً إلى كتاب مطالع التيران وتمت

³¹ مصطفى بن عبد الله العلي مفتي حلب ورئيس المدرسة الحسروية فيها، بقي في الإفتاء حتى وفاته سنة 1057 هـ/1646 م. أبو الو. ع. الحلبي العرضي، معادن الذهب، 1407 هـ/1987 م، ص 140-142.

³² أحمد بن يوسف بن فيروز، كتاب مطالع التيران، مخطوطة المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية، رقم Ar 1651، الورقة الأولى الخاصة بالعنوان (المحلّق رقم 7).

³³ أحمد بن يوسف بن فيروز، كتاب مطالع التيران، مخطوطة المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية، رقم Ar 1651، الورقة الأولى الخاصة بالعنوان (المحلّق رقم 7).

³⁴ ويبدو أن الشيخ العلي كان له مكتبة عامرة بالمؤلفات المتنوعة، إذ يوجد في مكتبة جوته، المانيا، مجموع مخطوطات (collection de manuscrits) من الكتب التي تملكها تضم كتابي الكواكب السيارة في ترتيب علوم الزيارة في القرافتين الكبرى والصغرى لناصر الدين محمد المعروف بابن الزيات (ت 814 هـ/1412 م)، كذلك كتاب نزهة النظر في قضاء الأمصار لسراج الدين عمر بن الملحق (ت 804 هـ/1400 م).

الإشارة إليهما وإلى مؤلفهما لاحقاً من قبل المالك نفسه - الشيخ العلي - أو من قبل شخص آخر، وأن واو العطف في « وتيجان الوافرة الثمن وبلوغ المرام » تشير إلى تنسيب الكتابين إلى محمد الزبيدي. ويُعزّز هذا الاحتمال أن كاتب التعقيب لو كان يعلم بأن كتاب التيجان ليس للزبيدي لأشار إلى جهالة مؤلفه. وهذا الاحتمال - من وجهة نظر الباحث - أقرب للصواب.

ب. الاحتمال الثاني أن كاتب التعقيب لا يعلم من هو مؤلف كتاب التيجان، وأن واو العطف في « وتيجان الوافرة » هي للدلالة على أنه امتلاك كتاب مطالع التيران وكتاب التيجان، والواو في « وبلوغ المرام » لمحمد الزبيدي للدلالة أيضاً على أنه تملك كتاب بلوغ المرام مشيراً إلى اسم مؤلفه محمد الزبيدي لمعرفته بذلك.

بناءً على ما سبق يبقى احتمال أن يكون مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن من تأليف المؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي، أمراً وارداً دون القطع بذلك، إلى أن يتم التعرف على المؤلف أو القطع بأدلة أقوى تثبت خلاف ذلك.

6. المؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي

محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي الحنفي يعد من أكثر المؤرخين اليمنيين تحيزاً للعثمانيين، وهو من المؤرخين الذين لم يلقو حظهم من الترجمة والتعريف، وبحسب ما ذكره المؤرخ الجابري - الذي التقى الزبيدي في زيد سنة 996 هـ/1588 م - فإن المطيب الزبيدي ممن اشتهروا بعلوم العربية وآدابها، والتحق بمجالس تدريسه الكثير من طلاب العلم³⁵. وكان المؤرخ المطيب قد شغل منصب القضاء والإفتاء في زيد على المذهب الحنفي، وتولى التدريس في مدارسها كالمدرسة الفاتنية، كما تولى إمامة جامع الأشاعرة والتدريس فيه إلى جانب التدريس في الجامع الكبير الظافري³⁶، كانت وفاته في مدينة زيد عام 1007 هـ/1598 م على الأرجح³⁷.

³⁵ أ. م. الجابري، سفينة سفر، ق. 106أ.

³⁶ أ. م. الجابري، سفينة سفر، ق. 105ب-106أ؛ أ. ص. المصري، « موقف المؤرخين »، ص 62. ويعتبر ابنه أحمد من أشهر علماء آل المطيب في زيد، فإلى جانب ضلوعه في علم اللغة العربية وغيرها من العلوم الشرعية، فقد آلت الفتوى على مذهب الإمام أبي حنيفة إليه، وكانت وفاته في مدينة زيد 1027 هـ/1617 م. محمد أمين المحبي، خلاصة الأثر، ج 1، ص 65، ص 292.

³⁷ أشار ك. بروكلمان أن وفاته كانت عام 990 هـ/1582 م، بينما أشار عبد الرحمن الحضرمي إلى أن وفاة المطيب الزبيدي كانت سنة 1007 هـ/1598 م؛ GAL, S. II, p. 549؛ عبد الر. الحضرمي، جامعة الأشاعرة، ص 307.

7. الخاتمة والتوصيات

قدمت الدراسة نموذجًا من نماذج التدوين التاريخي في اليمن خلال القرن العاشر الهجري السادس عشر الميلادي ممثلًا بمخطوط ارجوزة كتاب التيجان الوافرة، وهذا الأسلوب من التدوين التاريخي ما يزال بحاجة إلى دراسة وتحقيق مقارنة بالتاريخ السردي، أضف إلى ذلك فإن المخطوط يُعد نموذجًا للكتب مجهولة المؤلف، وهذا النوع أيضًا يحتاج إلى عناية سواء من حيث دراسة المحتوى أو محاولات تنسيب تلك الأعمال إلى أصحابها، أخيرًا فقد توصلت الدراسة إلى أن مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن في تاريخ ولاية مولانا، صاحب السعادة رضوان لقطر اليمن وذكر من وليه بعده بالوصف الحسن قد يكون من مؤلفات المؤرخ محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي الحنفي.

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المصادر

المخطوطات

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مكتبة آيا صوفيا، إسطنبول، ضياء الدين أحمد بن موسى الواسطي (كان حيًا حتى سنة 955 هـ/1548-1549 م؟)، كتاب نبذة في تاريخ ولاية اليمن في مُدَيِّدة من الزمن، مجموع رقم 2988، ق 185ب-189ب.

مكتبة جوته، المانيا، (Bibliothèque de Gotha)

مجموع مخطوطات (collection de manuscrits) كتابي أصلاً من مكتبة الشيخ مصطفى بن عبد الله العلي مفتي حلب (ت 1057 هـ/1646 م)، ناصر الدين محمد المعروف بابن الزيات (ت 814 هـ/1412 م)، الكواكب السيارة في ترتيب علوم الزيارة في القرافتين الكبرى والصغرى ؛

غير أن الرحالة أ. م. الجابري ذكر أنه قابل المؤرخ المطيب الزبيدي سنة 996 هـ/1558 م عند زيارته لزبيد، ذلك نستبعد ما ذكره بروكلمان ونرّجح ما ذكره المؤرخ عبد الرحمن الحضرمي الذي أشار إلى أن وفاة المؤرخ المطيب الزبيدي كانت سنة 1007 هـ/1598 م.

سراج الدين عمر بن الملقن (ت 804 هـ/1400 م) كتاب نُزهة النظار في قضاة الأمصار، تحت الرقم orient. A 1532، 1 و2،

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مكتبة الشيخ مصطفى بن عبد الله العليبي، مفتي حلب (ت 1057 هـ/1646 م)، مجموع مخطوطات (collection de manuscrits) كتابي ل : ناصر الدين محمد المعروف بابن الزيات (ت 814 هـ/1412 م)، الكواكب السيارة في ترتيب علوم الزيارة في القرافتين الكبرى والصغرى : سراج الدين عمر بن الملقن (ت 804 هـ/1400 م) كتاب نُزهة النظار في قضاة الأمصار.

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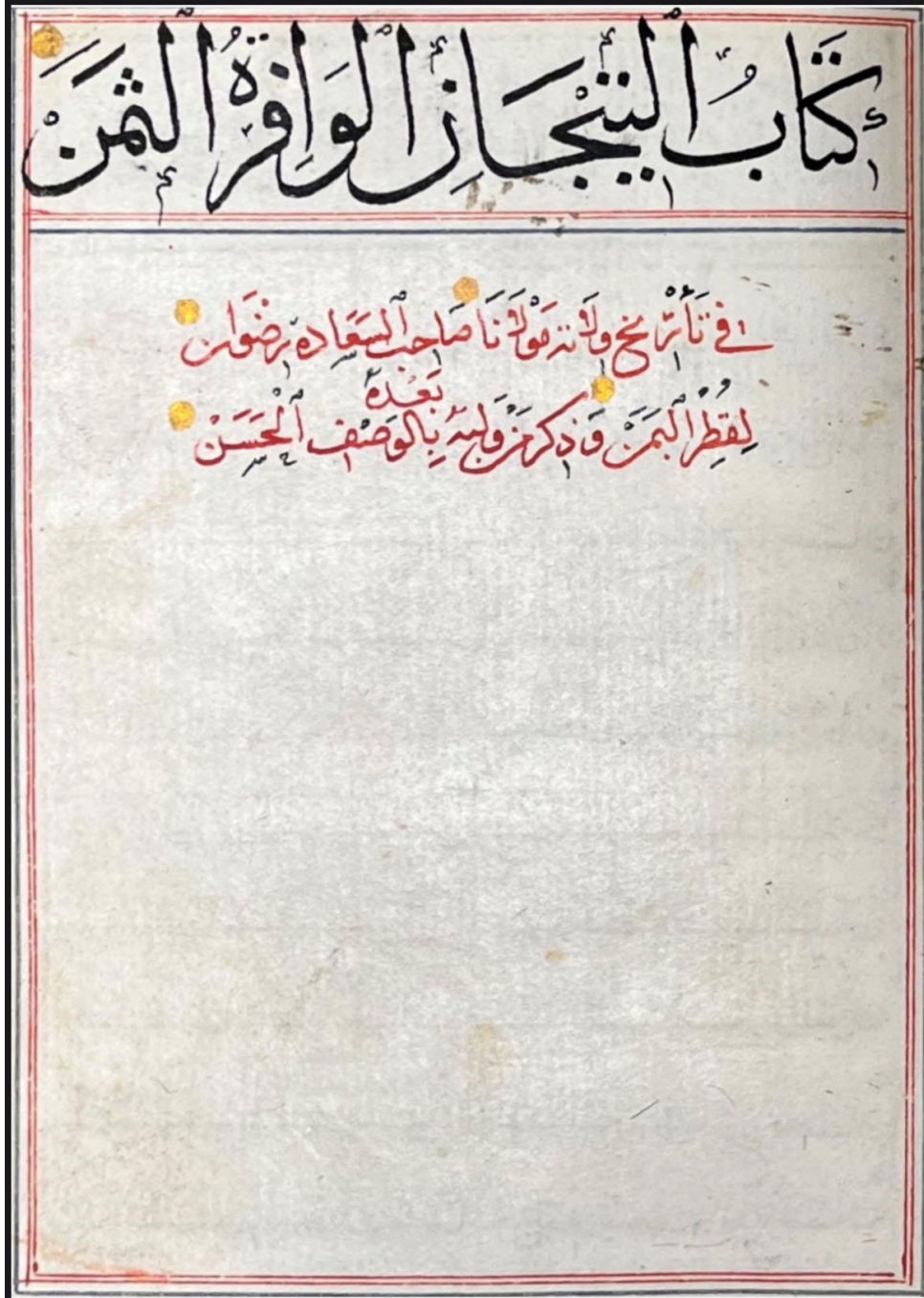
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ملحق رقم 1

جدول تقسيم أبواب مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن

رقم الباب	عنوان الباب	أرقام صفحات الباب
	المقدمة	ق 33 إلى ق 34 ب
الأول	باب تقرير مولانا صاحب السعادة رضوان نصره الله تعالى للأمير محمد بن يحيى المغربي على نيابة زبيد وما وآلاها من البلدان.	ق 34 ب إلى ق 35 أ
الثاني	باب وصول مولانا صاحب السعادة رضوان إلى مدينة تعز.	ق 35 أ إلى ق 35 ب
الثالث	باب إرسال مولانا صاحب السعادة رضوان إلى الباب العالي يطلب القسح.	ق 36 أ إلى ق 36 أ
الرابع	باب وصول مولانا الباشا مراد إلى اليمن ونصب خيامه في شرقي زبيد.	ق 36 أ إلى ق 36 ب
الخامس	باب نزول مولانا صاحب السعادة رضوان أدام الله عليه سوانج الإحسان من محروس صنعاء إلى مدينة البقعة وتوجهه بالسلامة إلى الأبواب الشريفة العالية المنيفة.	ق 36 ب إلى ق 37 أ
السادس	باب قيام مطهر الزيدي بالفتنة عند سماعه ركوب مولانا صاحب السعادة رضوان البحر وسيره إلى مولانا السلطان خلد الله ملكة على مثر الأزمان.	ق 37 أ إلى ق 37 ب
السابع	باب خلاف القبائل على مولانا الباشا مراد عند سماعهم بثوران الفتنة من الزيود أهل الفساد.	ق 37 ب إلى ق 38 أ
الثامن	باب تدبير مولانا الباشا مراد من حضر من أعيان العسكر الأجواد أمر المسير إلى تعز على طريق وادي خبان خوفًا على تعز وما فيها من حرس مولانا السلطان.	ق 38 أ إلى ق 38 ب
التاسع	باب الواقعة التي وقعت بمولانا الباشا مراد ومن معه من العساكر المنصور بالشلالة من أرض خبان.	ق 38 ب إلى ق 38 ب
العاشر	باب وصول الخبر إلى محروس زبيد بقصه مولانا مراد وما حل بأهلها من التعب الشديد.	ق 38 ب إلى ق 39 أ
الحادي عشر	باب قدوم مولانا حسن باشا بندر البقعة من أرض اليمن وما حصل على أهل زبيد وبواديهما من شدة المحن دفعها الله تعالى.	ق 39 أ إلى ق 39 ب
الثاني عشر	باب مجي المهف الطمع الزيدي على الشوع (شوع) قاصدًا قبض مدينة زبيد ووقوعه في مكره إذ رد الله تعالى كيده في نحره.	ق 39 ب إلى ق 40 ب
الثالث عشر	باب قدوم شاموش باشا من قبل مولانا الباشا عثمان وما حصل بقدومه من السرور لكل تعبان.	ق 40 ب إلى ق 40 ب

ق 40ب إلى ق 41أ	باب مولانا عثمان باشا إلى بندر الصليف من الباب العالي المنيف فازداد الناس بقدمه فرحًا وانتعاشًا بلعه الله من الخيرات ما شاء.	الرابع عشر
ق 42أ إلى ق 42ب	باب مسير مولانا عثمان أدام الله عليه الإحسان بالعسكر المنصور وقاه الله كل محذور من حيس إلى مدينة تعز على طريق موزع.	الخامس عشر
ق 42ب إلى ق 43أ	باب مجيء محمد بن شمس الدين بمن معه من عسكر الزيود والقبائل ومعه لطف الله بن المطهر وغيرهم إلى تعز في سابع عشر شهر رمضان من ذلك العام.	السادس عشر
ق 43أ إلى ق 44أ	باب وصول مولانا الوزير سنان من الباب العالي باب مولانا السلطان واعانته لمولانا الباشا عثمان نصره الله تعالى.	السابع عشر
ق 44أ إلى ق 44ب	باب وقوع الوحشة بين مولانا الوزير سنان ومولانا الباشا عثمان وما جرى من افتراقهم وما كان.	الثامن عشر
ق 44ب إلى ق 45أ	باب ميسير مولانا الوزير سنان إلى القاعدة ثم إلى الشوافي وحبيش والتعكر وبعدان.	التاسع عشر
ق 45أ إلى ق 46أ	باب وصول الخبر إلى مولانا الوزير ذي الفضل والإكرام بوصول مولانا صاحب السعادة بهرام أدام الله عليه سوايح الإنعام اللهم آمين.	العشرون



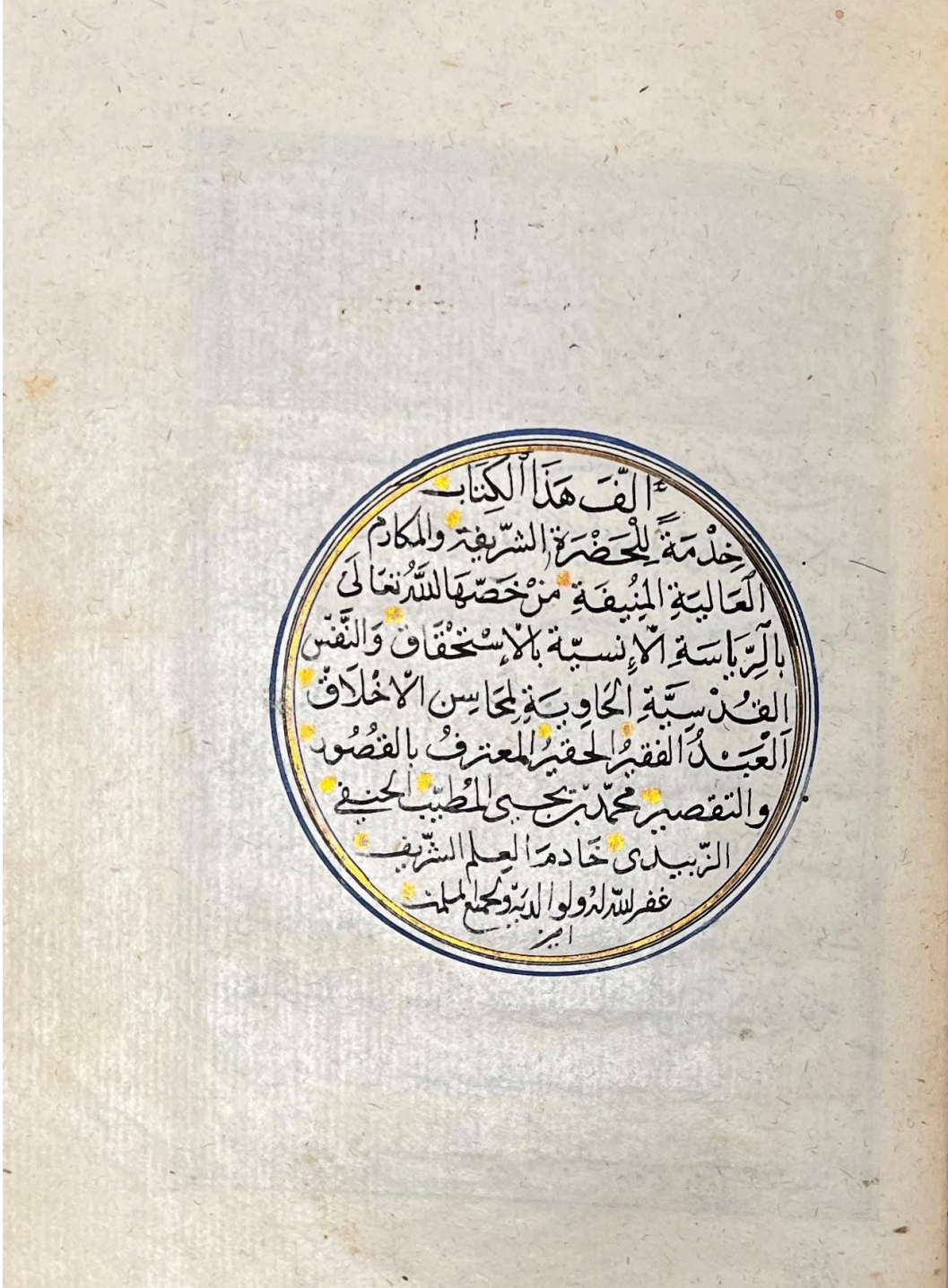
الورقة 1أ من مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية، قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651).



الورقة 12 من مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية، قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.
 (Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651).

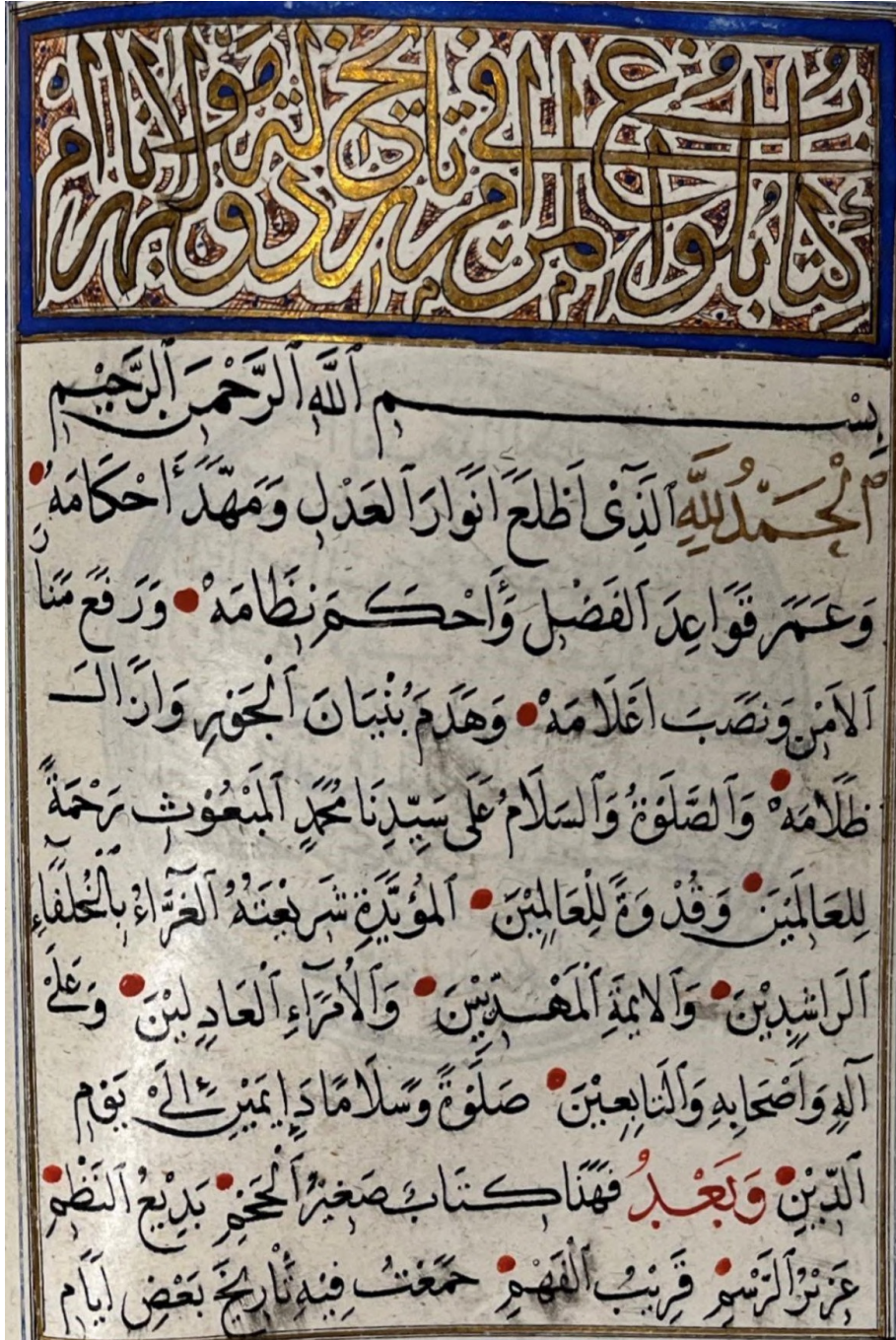
مِنَ السَّيْنِ عِنْدَ أَهْلِ الْعِرْفَانِ • فَأَفْهَمَ تَكُنُ فَا رَسَّ هَذَا الْمَلِكُ دَانَ
 وَنَزَلَ السَّاحِلَ أَغْنَى جَا زَانَ • وَضَرَبَ الْحِيَامَ ثَمَّ الصَّيَوَانَ
 وَسَارَ إِذْ ذَاكَ بِمُجْنِدِ السُّلْطَانِ • مَلِكِنَا صَفْوَةَ الْعُثْمَانَ
 لِلَّهِ مَا مِنْ عَادِلٍ سُلَيْمَانَ • مِنْ مَلَكَ الْمُلُوكِ أَهْلَ التَّيْجَانَ
 وَعَمَّ كُلَّ بَلَدٍ بِأَهْلٍ حَسَانَ • وَسَارَ سَيْرًا مِثْلَ سَيْرِ الرُّكْبَانَ
 فِي مَوْكِبٍ يُزْعِبُ أَهْلَ الطُّغْيَانِ • أَقْبَالَهُ مَخْجَى مُلُوكِ غَسَّانَ
 فَمَرَّ فِي الْبِلَادِ وَهِيَ قَيْعَانُ • قَدْ أَعْدَمَ الْكُشَافُ فِيهَا الْبِنَانَ
 وَهَرَبُوا شَيْبَانَهُمْ وَالشُّبَانَ • فَكَفَّرَ شَرِيدٌ فِي أَلْفِيَا فِي جَيْعَانَ
 وَرَبَّ طِفْلٍ مَاتَ وَهُوَ عَطْشَانُ • فَصَاحَ بِالْأَمَانِ زَاكِيَ الْإِيمَانَ
 وَعَمَّرَ الْبَدْرَ وَشَادَ الْأَرْكَانَ • فَعَادَتِ الْبِلَادُ مِثْلَ الْبُسْتَانَ
 وَصَارَ كُلُّ طَالٍ فِي خُسْرَانَ • أَمَا الرَّعَايَا حَظَّهُمْ فِي رَحْمَانَ
 فَأَعْلَنُوا فِي حَمْدِهِمُ لِلرَّحْمَنِ • وَضَاكَ كُلُّ مَسْكِنٍ بِالسُّكَّانِ
 ثُمَّ إِلَى تَرْيَدِ سَاقِ الشُّجْعَانَ • وَقَدْ أَطَاعَتْهُ جَمِيعُ الْعُرْبَانَ

الورقة 2ب من مخطوط كتاب التيجان الوافرة الثمن، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية، قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651).



الورقة 1ب من مخطوط بلوغ المرام، تأليف محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية، قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.

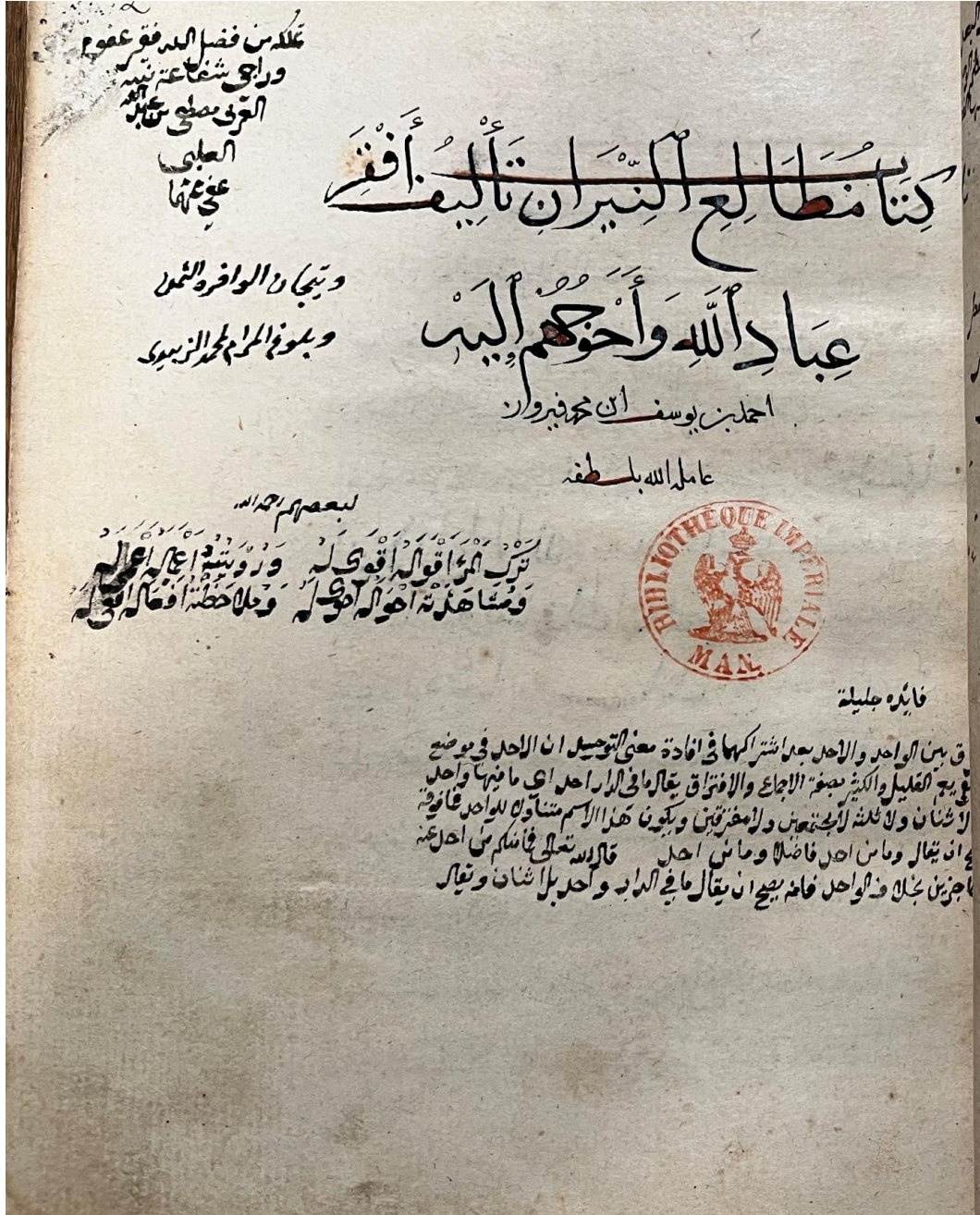
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651).



الورقة 12 من مخطوط بلوغ المرام، تأليف محمد بن يحيى المطيب الزبيدي، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية،

قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.

(Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651).



الورقة 1ب من مخطوط مطالع النيران في تاريخ الجين، تأليف أحمد بن فيروز، المكتبة الوطنية الفرنسية،
قسم المخطوطات، رمز : Ar 1651.
(Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), Département des Manuscrit, Cote : Arabe 1651).