Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts

Proceedings of a symposium held in Istanbul March 28-30, 2001

Judith Pfeiffer
Manfred Kropp



Orient-Institut Beirut

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This volume comprises the papers presented during the international symposium on "Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts" that was organized in March 2001 in Istanbul, bringing together specialists in the editing theories and techniques from the textual and editorial traditions of Classical Antiquity and Oriental Studies. The contributions address the 'traveling' of texts through time and space, taking into account the differences between oral and written traditions; a comparative analysis of intertextuality in different textual traditions, in particular those of classical antiquity and the Near East; the material conditions of and intellectual incentives for the transmission, reproduction, and, indeed, edition, of texts; the interrelation between text genre and object genre; editorial choices, and how they take into account the manner in which a given text was historically reproduced; philological methods that have been developed in order to deal with these issues; and the questions of how and to which extent we can apply established editing methods developed by European medievalists to Near Eastern textual traditions, and which alternatives exist.

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edited by

Judith Pfeiffer

Manfred Kropp

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Contents

Abbreviations of Journals and Reference Works 7

Manfred Kropp and Judith Pfeiffer
Introduction 9

Wadād al-Qāḍī
How 'Sacred' is the Text of an Arabic Medieval Manuscript?
The Complex Choices of the Editor-Scholar 13

Text and Illustration

Sheila Blair
Writing and Illustrating History: Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* 57

Jan Just Witkam
The battle of the images. Mecca vs. Medina in the iconography of
the manuscripts of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* 67

Transmission and Translation

Jean Irigoin
Modes et Méthodes de traduction du Grec en Arabe 85

Andrew Peacock
The Mediaeval Manuscript Tradition of Bal'amī's
Version of al-Ṭabarī's *History* 93

Judith Pfeiffer
"A turgid history of the Mongol empire in Persia"
Epistemological reflections concerning a critical edition
of Vaṣṣāf's *Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-a'ṣār* 107

Oral and Written Traditions

Aditya Adarkar
Turning a Tradition into a Text: Critical Problems
in Editing the *Mahābhārata* 133

Devin DeWeese
Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men: Narratives of Hero and Saint
at the Frontier of Orality and Textuality 147

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Libraries

Mikâil Bayram
The Library of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī and its Books. 177
Nevzat Kaya
Rāgıb Meḥmed Paşa and His Library 185

Copying Processes

Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid
Le rôle des conservateurs des *khazā'in al-kutub*
dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes 197
François Déroche
The copyists' working pace: Some remarks towards a reflexion
on the economy of the book in the Islamic world. 203

Indigenous Modes of Editing

Adam Gacek
Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts 217
Geoffrey J. Roper
Al-Jawā'ib Press and the edition and transmission of
Arabic manuscript texts in the 19th century 237

The Theory of Editing

Walter Berschin
Lachmann und der Archetyp 251
Alexander Kleinlogel
Variants and Invariants: The Logics of Manuscript Tradition 259

Editing Practice and Solutions

Iraj Afshar
Editing Problems of Persian Classical Texts and the Respect
to Manuscript Authenticity 271
Eiji Mano
Editorial choices in preparing the critical edition of the *Bābūr-Nāma* 281

Illustrations 289

Index 325

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Abbreviations of Journals and Reference Works

AEMA	*Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi.*
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.
BSO(A)S	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies.*
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal.*
CHIr	*The Cambridge History of Iran.* Vol. 5: *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods.* Ed. J.A. Boyle. Cambridge, 1968.
EI[1]	*Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st edition. Eds. M.T. Houtsma, T.W. Arnold, R. Basset, et al. 4 vols. and 1 supplement. Leipzig & London: 1913-1942.
EI[2]	*Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd edition. Eds. H.A.R. Gibb, J.H. Kramers, E. Levi-Provençal, et al. Leiden & London: E.J. Brill, 1954-, 9 vols. to date.
EIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica.*
GAL(S)	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur (& Supplement).* Original edition: 2 vols., Weimar: E. Felber, 1898-1902. 3 supplement vols., Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1937-42. Rev. edition of vols. I-II, Leiden: H.J. Brill, 1943-49.
GAL[2]	Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur.* Zweite, den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage, Leiden: Brill, 1943, vol. I.
GOW	Franz Babinger. *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke.* Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1927.
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.*
İA	*İslam Ansiklopedisi.* Istanbul, 1940-.
IJMES	*International Journal of Middle East Studies.*
JA	*Journal Asiatique.*
JAH	*Journal of Asian History.*
JAAS	*Journal of Asian and African Studies.*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam.*
TDVİA	*Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi.*
TMEN	Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen.* 4 vols, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963-75.
TP	*T'oung Pao.*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

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Introduction

Manfred Kropp and Judith Pfeiffer

The present volume comprises the papers presented during the international symposium on "Theoretical Approaches to the Transmission and Edition of Oriental Manuscripts" that was organized in March 2001 in Istanbul, a cooperation between the German Oriental Institute (Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Abteilung Istanbul) and the Library of the University of Istanbul (İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi), which brought together researchers from various disciplines in an international setting. The arrangement of the contributions to this volume largely reflects the panels in which the papers were presented during the three-day conference.

The Istanbul symposium provided a forum for discussion and exchange of ideas, prompting the participants to re-think and refine the theories and methods applied in their respective fields of research. Much of this has, in turn, found its way back into the contributions presented here. Among the issues addressed during the conference were the 'traveling' of narratives through time and space, taking into account the differences between oral and written traditions; a comparative analysis of intertextuality in different textual traditions, in particular those of classical antiquity and the Near East; the material conditions of the transmission and reproduction of texts; the interrelation between text genre and object genre; editorial choices, and how they take into account the manner in which a given text was historically reproduced; philological methods that have been developed in order to deal with these texts; and the questions of how and to what extent we can apply established editing methods developed by European medievalists to Near Eastern textual traditions, and what alternatives exist.

Precision in workmanship and academic method notwithstanding, any given critical edition based on a range of textual witnesses is never more than the editor's well-founded hypothesis on the history of a given text and its transmission. The editor's approach may be expressed in his or her attempt to reconstruct an archetype ('Urtext'), or else in the documented representation of the transformation of a given text over time as part of the copying tradition.

We may thus differentiate two fundamentally distinct, albeit not mutually exclusive, approaches; one seeks to establish a starting point in time, and the other aims at retracing an evolutionary process, bearing witness, along the way, to the process of the canonization of a text. To a certain extent, these distinct approaches also depend on the nature of the material at hand. The extreme case of the editions of the autographs of classical antiquity in medieval Europe may serve as an example: in this instance, it was the aim of the copyist, already in the pre-scientific era of handwritten text transmission, to transmit a given text as a

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sui generis immutable entity in the 'most correct form' possible. This may be contrasted with, e.g., the transmission of popular literature, frequently expressed in the vernacular languages, where the copyist more often than not was as much involved in 'updating' and 'correcting' the text as in copying it. In this context, adaptations of form, contents, and language are indeed to be anticipated.

Given the existence of such a wide range of definitions of the duties of the copyist within a single culture, we may expect to find even greater dissimilarities when comparing the tasks and degree of involvement of copyists in different cultural contexts. Indeed, even comparable texts and genres may not always have held comparable positions within different cultural milieux. Such differences may moreover be a consequence of the specific understanding of the integrity and 'sacredness' of a given text in a given cultural and/or historical context by those entrusted with the task of copying; this could result in a greater or lesser degree of corresponding emendations, depending on the copyist's judgment.

The process of the reproduction of a text, the writing material, the alphabet and writing system concerned, the language (vernacular vs. standard written language), the social standing and education of the scribe, the role and position of the written word compared with that of the oral tradition in the context in question, and the standing of the individual author or individual work in comparison to that of the product of collective transmission, are among the many factors that are part of the intricate process that bears on the final product, the concrete textual witness. This means that the complex message conveyed by each textual witness can only be decoded if these factors are at least partially and explicitly part of the editing method, which is itself always an implicit act of interpretation.

With regard to the principles of textual criticism as established in examplary fashion by, e.g., Paul Maas, this implies, however, that these principles are merely the adequate description of the special case of the tradition of classical antique texts of the European Middle Ages. For antiquity – for which no textual witnesses are extant – we can assume that some kind of a 'commercial reproduction' was in place. Given the often centuries-long gap between the date of the composition of a given text and its extant text witnesses (copies), however, it must remain an open question to what extent the oldest extant parchment manuscript copies in the West or the works produced mostly in the monastic milieu of the Byzantine East were directly based on witnesses from antiquity. If such witnesses were used, we know nothing about the quality of these antique textual witnesses themselves. In this regard, the field of Oriental Studies offers much more fertile soil; here, the textual tradition is in many cases much better (and more completely) documented and often we even have access to an unbroken chain of text witnesses.

Intertextuality is an essential feature of Oriental and Islamic literature, where a whole web of texts is constantly and consciously paradigmatically and

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syntagmatically evoked, co-thought, quoted and re-worked and re-interpreted with every phrase and sentence. Numerous parallel passages bear witness to the greater mnemonic culture. Furnishing proof of the web of these parallel paragraphs – in the apparatus of an edition, or in a wider framework, possibly on the internet – corresponds – to a certain extent – to the reproduction of the mnemonic culture of an individual author and his audience. All of this stands – to a certain degree – in contrast to the rather individualistically-atomistically oriented European author and his or her original work; it needs to be questioned whether this western model is not perhaps accurate only for modernity, and/or for the preservation of the classics of antiquity, but may be rather different for orally transmitted 'texts.'

The Istanbul symposium brought together specialists in the various editing theories and techniques mostly from the two textual and editorial traditions discussed above, that of classical antiquity and that of Oriental Studies. The publications of the German Oriental Institute are indebted to both. For more than six decades a great number of standard text editions of various works of classical Islamic culture have been published in the Orient-Institut's series "Bibliotheca Islamica." By virtue of the continuity of the workmanship on which these publications are based, an immense amount of practical experience has been accumulated, which is itself based on a thorough training in the methodology and theory of editing. This has, in turn, informed, on various levels and on multiple occasions, the theory of editing, if only in the various prefaces to the editions produced. The opening article by Wadād al-Qāḍī, a veteran practician herself, culls this material from these various prefaces, and unites it in a single article while at the same time discussing it in the light of various alternative editing methods.

Conceptually, the subsequent contributions gradually 'zoom in' on the issues at stake. The first group of papers is devoted primarily to the general setting of 'texts' and the categories and factors which played an essential role mainly in the formation of the more recent and more continuously represented textual traditions in the Near East. Questions addressed are the relationship between texts and illustrations, the role of transmission and translation in the establishment of a textual tradition, and the importance of orality, as opposed to the written transmission of texts, in the very establishment and preservation of 'texts.'

The second group of papers investigates issues of a more practical nature, related to the production, preservation, and storage of manuscripts, investigating the role of libraries and copying processes in the preservation of texts, the impact of the cost and value of the writing material, and the labor involved in the act of copying – what were the implications if the copyist was, e.g., a renowned calligrapher? These contributions also address the impact of the mode of production. Does it make a difference if manuscripts were mainly commercially produced works, copied by order, or whether they were copies made by readers and scholars for their own – and their students' – use?

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The third and last group of panels and papers presented here offered space for the debate about textcritical theory and practice in different contexts. This last in particular served to investigate the specific differences between the European and Oriental approaches in the formation of a textcritical theory.

The organization of the conference that formed the basis of this volume would not have been possible without the much appreciated support of a variety of individuals and institutions. The editors wish to thank the organizers from Istanbul University, Tuba Çavdar and Meral Alpay, for their excellent cooperation, and for turning the lecture halls of the Faculty of Philosophy of Istanbul University into a congenial environment for the symposium during which these papers were presented. We also wish to thank the then-Director of the French Institute of Anatolian Studies in Istanbul (Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes, IFEA), Paul Dumont, for his willingness to host several of the conference participants. Our special gratitude goes to the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul for welcoming the conference participants to tours of their respective premises, permitting them to inspect some of their choicest manuscripts and incunables at close sight. Special thanks we owe to Nevzat Kaya, Director of the Süleymaniye Library, for his hospitality and guidance throughout the conference, which extended far beyond the pre-arranged visit of the manuscript collections with accompanying tea break in the Library's lovely gardens.

During the preparation of this volume for publication, İlker Evrim Binbaş was of great assistance both in technical matters, and with various suggestions regarding the editing and updating of the contributions. We wish to thank him for his patient and always cheerful assistance. Amanda Phillips has helped proofreading several of the articles, and we are grateful to her for her constructive suggestions, as well as for giving a hand in the final stage of the preparation of the index to this volume. Thomas Breier at Ergon Verlag was particularly helpful in suggesting solutions for the transfer of the various scripts and transliteration systems used in this volume, and, most importantly, he has seen this volume through publication. His support was particularly appreciated.

Last but not least, the organizers wish to thank the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft; DFG) for its generous support of the organization of the conference. Without it, the symposium could not have taken place in the format it did, and could not have achieved its truly international and interdisciplinary character.

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How 'Sacred' is the Text of an Arabic Medieval Manuscript?

The Complex Choices of the Editor-Scholar

Wadād al-Qāḍī

If we were, hypothetically, to ask scholarly editors all over the world about the theoretical approaches that govern their critical editorial work, many of them would be quite detailed in talking about the *procedures* they follow, but only very few would be able to talk about *principles* that guide them in their work. Although the accuracy of such a hypothetical situation varies from place to place and time to time, it is probably safe to say that scholars involved in editing surpass by far those involved with the theory of editing both in number and in volume of production. Some editors would have read, and even appreciated, something about the theoretical aspect of editing; but when the time comes for sitting at the table to edit, much of what had been learned seems somehow to evaporate, leaving few traces in the editor's mind as he[1] concentrates on the text in front of his eyes. And yet, is it really possible that a scholar-editor should function without any guiding principles whatsoever, that his editorial work proceeds in a theoretical vacuum? Probably not; for, even if the editor is not aware of it, "every statement about editing," as G. Thomas Tanselle puts it, "reflects, directly or indirectly, an attitude towards certain fundamental questions, and various families of editorial approaches have grown up over the centuries because these questions have been answered in different ways."[2] Indeed, after centuries of editing activity, D. C. Greetham found it still appropriate, and relevant, to ask, as late as 1995, "and what is scholarly editing, anyway?"[3] with the question prompting him to assemble in a book a sizable number of articles on the subject from various perspectives and in different cultures.[4]

Having done at least some of my editorial work without giving much conscious thought to the role of principles in determining the editorial process, I would like here to try my hand – and, actually, explore my spirit – at clarifying how I see the dynamic of principle-procedure at work in the particular field of editing medieval Arabic manuscripts. More specifically, I would like to examine

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1 Throughout this paper, I shall be using the masculine singular when referring to the editor in order to make the text read smoothly.

2 Tanselle, G. Thomas 1995: "The Varieties of Scholarly Editing." In: Greetham, D. C. (ed.): *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*. New York, 9.

3 Greetham, D[avid]. C. 1995: "Introduction" in *idem* 1995 (ed.): 1.

4 See Greetham's introduction to his book mentioned in the previous note and its table of contents, 1-7, v-vi.

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how this dynamic works in the question of how much a scholarly editor should interfere in his text, or, conversely, how 'sacred' the text of a manuscript is. This question is important for all scholars who adopt the historical approach to editing,[5] and the way they answer it depends on one or more principles they adopt, implicitly or explicitly, in their editing. Thus, in the first section of what follows, I would like to discuss a principle which helps explain the variation in the editors' answers to the question posed above, presenting at the same time my own guiding principle to this question. In the second section, I discuss the approaches advocated by Arab and Orientalist scholars regarding the editing of Arabic medieval manuscripts, particularly the issue of the editor's interference in his text; thereafter I present my own alternative approach which is based on taking into consideration aspects of Islamic civilization. In the last section, I examine how my proposed approach affects the procedures of editing medieval Arabic manuscripts and how it limits, or opens up, the editor's role in the final production of his edited work.

I

One of the main principles that the editor has to take into consideration is that editing is an activity in which the interests of more than one party are at stake, and these stakes are sufficiently important to raise the editor's choices to the level of the ethical and the moral, and are sufficiently conflicting to make those choices not only difficult but crucial, too. All that puts on the shoulders of the editor several weighty responsibilities.

The first thing that the editor realizes is that the work he intends to edit is not his own, but the work of another person, *the author*. As such, the editor's work is, in principle, secondary to the author's. This means that the editor has a moral responsibility to the author, and, to do his work properly, he should accord the author's wish primacy over his own, restricting, necessarily, his role in 'shaping' the final form of the book. But the second thing which the editor realizes is that, by editing a book, he has another responsibility, not towards the author but towards *the text* he is editing, especially in specific cases, like when the text's author is unknown. Here his role could be either less or more restricted, depending on many factors, not the least of which is the state of preservation and accuracy of the original text. Again, the editor also realizes that he has another party to whom he bears responsibility: *the audience*, for neither the author nor the editor work in a vacuum, and their corresponding versions of the text are necessarily meant to be read by some audience; in other words, they must have accessibility. In this area, the editor might very well find himself less restricted than in other situations, since he cannot but keep the audience in mind when weighing the choices he makes in his editing.

5 See the table in Tanselle 1995: 10.

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But the matter can become more complicated when the editor looks at editing as a professional activity, which it certainly is; if it were not, anyone who can read and write in a certain language can be an editor, which is not the case. Here, more parties come into play, and the editor finds himself faced with new parties and additional responsibilities, all of which are weighty, crucial, and also ethically and morally demanding. As a professional, the editor, for one thing, bears a responsibility towards *the scholarly field* his editorial work serves, for his editions become the starting points for future research in this field, and, as such, are at the basis of the advancements that the field can make, at least in part. The editor, too, has to contend with another party towards whom he bears responsibility, namely *the students in the field* and affiliated fields – his immediate professional audience. Since this group is the one upon whose shoulders the future of the field depends, the editor owes it to them to give his editorial work his best, to inspire them to carry the torch forward, and, optimally, to pose as a role model for what scholarly editing can and should do. These two parties, thus, make of *the editor* a pivotal player in the editorial process, and, actually, a towering third party to whom he bears an enormous responsibility. Furthermore, this editor is a specialized scholar with broad knowledge of the field, a trained professional in the art of deciphering texts, and a person with critical judgment. As such, he is a discerning reader of the texts he edits. But reading texts means necessarily interpreting them, and the editor, by the nature of his profession is, thus, an interpreter of texts. This is a duty he cannot, ethically, escape from, and a responsibility he bears not only to his field and its students but above all towards himself; forfeiting that responsibility means nothing less than betraying the moral precepts of his profession.

What does the editor do in the face of multiplicity and conflict in the parties towards whom he bears an ethical and professional responsibility? According to Western scholarship on the theory of editing, and within the historical approach with which we are concerned here, the editor defines his perception of the relation between author and text, and, based on that perception, he defines what his *goal* from editing a certain work is. If he decides that that the ideal text is the one produced by the author, and that the author's intentions are knowable from his final text, then his goal would be to establish the text as finally intended by its author. As such, his editorial work would be author-centered, and, regardless of whether he perceives of his role as passive or active in the editorial process, his eye is constantly on the author's intention, and his intervention in his text is confined by self-inscribed limitations. In so doing, he would join the majority of scholarly editors from ancient times until the twentieth century, especially in the English-speaking world.[6] If he, on the other hand, decides that authorial

6 *Ibid.*, 16, 23. In the latter page, Tanselle says that until the mid-twentieth century "debates over editorial principles and procedures ... were concerned with how best to accomplish *an agreed on goal*, the establishment of texts as finally intended by their authors" (italics

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intention is unknown or unknowable and unstable,[7] and that works are collaborative, social products,[8] then his goal would be to present the text in the most accurate, historically illuminating form. As such, his editorial procedures would be text-based, the author is relegated to the background, and the editor assumes a wide range of freedom. In so doing, he would join one or another theorist of the modern German Post-Gregian school of editing, which was influenced by such movements as structuralism, post-structuralism, literary sociology and new historicism, and where even eclecticism is contemplated or even condoned.[9]

Such are the theoretical options that editors have, as discussed in the West, albeit with many rich variations, from the nineteenth century until today. But several things seem to be missing there. For one thing, *the audience* seems to play a rather marginal role in many of these theories. But the audience is most certainly an extremely important party to which the editor is ethically and morally responsible, as I have noted above, and indeed professionally, too, since what I had identified as *the field* and *the students in the field* can also be considered two forms of audience. For another thing, the staunch theoreticians, be they advocates of particular theories or historians of theories, tend mostly to see different theoretical approaches as starkly separate and differentiated, so that if one editor subscribes to one approach, he, in their view, does not belong to the believers in the other approach. But is this necessarily true? Could not an editor who subscribes to the authorial-intention theory be faced at some point in his editorial career with a situation in which an author is impossible to identify, even more, that a work he intends to edit is indeed a "communal product," as some advocates of the German school would say? Such inherent assumptions of an almost clear cut break between the pre-Gregians and the post-Gregians, thus, does not necessarily always hold. It, furthermore, I think, diminishes the pivotal role of *the editor* as I have tried to describe it above. The third and last matter that needs caution with regard to the twin Western theories of editing is that they have been derived mainly from the editorial experiences of Western cultures from Alexandrine times until today. It would, therefore, be profitable to see how they fare when their applicability is tested in non-Western editorial experiences.

On the basis of these remarks, let me state here the principle that I think could be an effective guide in editing medieval Arabic manuscripts, and specifically with reference to the question of how 'sacred' the text of a manuscript is. Approaching the texts in those manuscripts historically, the primary *goal* of editing is, as

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mine). See also Gabler, Hans Walter 1995: "Introduction: Textual Criticism and Theory in Modern German Editing." In Gabler, Hans Walter et al. (eds.): *Contemporary German Editorial Theory*. Ann Arbor, 3-4.

7 See Gabler 1995: 2.

8 See the table in Tanselle 1995: 10.

9 See Tanselle 1995: 25, 26-27.

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Tanselle has said, "to receive a *communication from the past.*"[10] This communication should be as *accurate and illuminating* as possible, and can be author-based or text-based; depending on the individual manuscripts at hand; what it should never do is to censor the parts of the manuscript, i.e., to willfully omit sections of it for extra-textual, personal reasons.[11] Since, also, these manuscripts were written centuries ago for particular audiences, and since the editor's audiences are different from the earlier audiences, those "communications from the past" should also aim at being as *accessible* as possible. The party which decides what procedures are to be followed for reaching this goal is the *scholar-editor*, the carrier of the heavy responsibilities of the editorial enterprise, and the one whose critical judgement is constantly called upon to balance the accuracy of an author's text with its accessibility to a different audience in a different time and place.

II

Editing manuscripts, in the modern sense, is a rather young area in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies; the first two books that stated on their covers that they were "edited" (*taḥqīq*) date to 1914.[12] This has to do with several factors, not the least of which is the relative delay in the importation of the printing press until after the Napoleonic campaign against Egypt in 1799, so that the main presses, like Būlāq, did not start publishing Arabic books, copied from manuscripts but *unedited*, until the latter decades of the nineteenth century, i.e., after some European publishing houses had begun to publish *edited* Arabic manuscripts.[13] After the middle of the twentieth century, editing Arabic medieval

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10 Tanselle 1995: 9.

11 See Shawqī Ḍayf's edition of Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī's (d. 685/1286) historical-literary work on Andalusia, *al-Mughrib fī ḥilā l-maghrib* (2 vols., Cairo 1953-55) which lacks two sections that the author believed to be too indecent to be published. The same reason explains the falling out of one *maqāma* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* ("al-maqāma l-shāmiyya") in addition to a few sentences from two other *maqāma*s ("al-Ruṣāfiyya" and another unidentified one), as was stated by Muḥammad 'Abdu, the editor of the most popular of Hamadhānī's *Maqāmāt* (Beirut, 8th edition, 1973), p. 2. In Ibrāhīm al-Kīlānī's edition of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's *al-Baṣā'ir wa l-dhakhā'ir* (4 vols., Damascus 1964-[69]), we find many paragraphs dropped out presumably because the author could not read them, as the new edition of this book by Wadād al-Qāḍī has shown (10 vols., Beirut 1988). This phenomenon is found in several cultures and has been so for many centuries. Tanselle 1995: 9 retold the story of Alexander Pope's deletions from his edition of Shakespeare by quoting the great bibliograher A. W. Pollard's sharp statement that Pope "might be ranked high among Shakespeare's editors had he not relegated passages he disliked to the margin, and even omitted some offending lines altogether."

12 These are Ibn al-Kalbī's (d. 204/819) *Kitāb al-aṣnām* and al-Aṣma'ī's (d. *ca.* 216/831) *Kitāb al-khayl*, both of which were edited by Aḥmad Zakī Pāsha and published by Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo.

13 On the foundation of presses in Egypt, see al-Ṭanāḥī, Maḥmūd Muḥammad 1984: *Madhkhal ilā tārīkh nashr al-turāth al-'arabī*. Cairo, 31-58. The book also contains short sections on most other countries of the Arab world. The famous press at Būlāq in Cairo

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000021

manuscripts began slowly to establish itself as an important area of scholarship, especially in Egypt and Lebanon. This was given an important formal push by the establishment of the Arab League's Institute of the Revival of Manuscripts, the "Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt," in 1946, which microfilmed thousands of manuscripts from all over the world and began a journal dedicated to manuscript issues.[14] From the nineteen-sixties onward, this area started growing very rapidly. Now it is a vibrant, though not unproblematic,[15] branch of scholarship in all parts of the Arab world, and some Arab universities actually accept editorial works as Master's and doctoral theses.

Given this history, it is not surprising that theoretical books on editing did not appear until rather late, and, actually, the first three activities connected with this area were undertaken by Orientalists. The first was a series of lectures delivered at the Egyptian University in the academic year 1931-32 by Gotthelf Bergsträsser on the principles of critically editing and publishing Arabic manuscripts. Although these lectures were not published until much later,[16] they proved to be quite influential and, to a great extent, set the tone for later compilations on the subject. The second was a book published in Paris in 1945 by Régis Blachère and Jean Sauvaget on the rules of editing and translating Arabic texts. Although it is difficult to assess its impact, its republication less than a decade later may be indicative of a fair amount of demand for it.[17] And the third was Franz Rosenthal's 1947 seminal study on the medieval Muslim scholars' approaches and procedures in writing their manuscripts.[18] Although this work's topic does not immediately seem to be related to the theory of editing, its description of Muslim medieval scholarship in terms very similar to those of modern editing, and its

began to print in Arabic characters in 1821, but did not begin publishing books until 1872 (p. 32). The press in Beirut began to publish earlier, in 1834 (The American Press) and 1854 (The Catholic Press) (p. 29).

14 See Ṭanāḥī 1984: 133-138. The first issue of the Institute's journal, the *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, came out in 1955; some of its issues were dedicated, in their entirety or in part, to the publication of Arabic manuscripts. The journal, together with the Institute, were moved to Kuwait in the eighties, for political reasons, but were returned to Cairo in the nineties. For other activities of the Institute, see below.

15 See a detailed and quite negative assessment of the status of editions of medieval Arabic manuscripts in 'Usaylān, 'Abdallāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm 1994: *Taḥqīq al-makhṭūṭāt bayn al-wāqi' wa l-nahj al-amthal*. Riyādh, 47-116.

16 See the editor's introduction to Bergsträsser 1969: *Uṣūl naqd al-nuṣūṣ wa nashr al-kutub: muḥāḍarāt al-mustashriq al-almānī bergsträsser bi-kulliyyat al-ādāb sanat 1931/32*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamdī al-Bakrī. Cairo. 5-9.

17 Blachère, Régis and Sauvaget, Jean. 1945: *Règles pour éditions et traductions des textes arabes*. Paris. It was re-issued in 1953.

18 Rosenthal, Franz 1947: *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*. Rome. The first part of the study is based on a Muslim scholar's – al-'Almawī's – text on the topic. Another Muslim author's text on the same subject – al-Ghazzī's – has also been published; see al-Khūlī, Muḥammad Mursī 1964: "Naṣṣ fī ḍabṭ al-kutub wa taṣḥīḥihā wa dhikr al-rumūz wa l-iṣṭilāḥāt al-wārida fihā li-l-'allāma badr al-dīn al-ghazzī." *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya* X/1, 1964. 167-184.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000022

subsequent translation into Arabic[19] made it the most influential work on the subject, for reasons that will become clearer shortly.

Arab scholars, all of them experienced editors, began contributing theoretical works to the field of editing Arabic manuscripts since the fifties of the twentieth century. These works fall into three categories. The first consists of review articles of edited books. Since these tended to be mainly critiques of particular readings within those books, their contribution to the theory of editing was minimal and did not exceed incidental remarks.[20] The second consists of lectures delivered at the training workshops held by the above mentioned "Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt" and other institutions in various Arab cities about rules for editing Arabic manuscripts. Such reports were by their very nature practice-oriented and didactic, and their use, thus, for editorial theory is minimal.[21] The third and principal category consists of books whose purpose was to describe the editorial process and, through that, to teach it, in a manner reminiscent of Bergsträsser's pioneering lectures.[22] Although they varied greatly in scope and detail, they generally discussed topics like how to collect the manuscripts of the work to be edited; how to relate and rank manuscripts; how to ascertain the manuscript's author and title; how to prepare for the process of editing; how to select readings; what to include in the critical apparatus; how to make indices; and so on. Most of those books included a discussion of the art of editing, posing the question: Was it really the modern Westerners who first fell upon it or was it actually the medieval Muslim/Arab scholars who did that many centuries before, albeit without such modern trappings as indices?[23] Although the answers to this question varied in emphasis,

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19 Translated by Anīs Frayḥa as *Manāhij al-'ulamā' al-muslimīn fī l-baḥth al-'ilmī* (Beirut 1400/1980).

20 See examples of those review articles by Ramaḍān 'Abd al-Tawwāb in his book on editing: *Manāhij taḥqīq al-turāth bayn al-qudāmā' wa l-muḥdathīn* (Cairo 1985), 229-409. Other examples are those of Akram Ḍiyā' al-'Umarī, published in his book on editing also, *Manāhij al-baḥth wa taḥqīq al-turāth* (Medina 1995), 176-250, 273-285. Another author on editing, 'Abd al-Hādī al-Faḍlī, provides further examples; see his *Taḥqīq al-turāth* (Jedda 1982), 175-177.

21 For some of these lectures, see the list provided by 'Usaylān 1994: 319-321, nos. 5-7, 9, 11, 14, 19. The last reference consists of the rules of editing and publishing texts as designated by the "Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt." Unfortunately, these rules never became perceptively effective in editing Arabic manuscripts.

22 In addition to Khulī 1964, Faḍlī 1982, 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985, 'Usaylān 1994, and 'Umarī 1995, see Hārūn, 'Abd al-Salām 1977: *Taḥqīq al-nuṣūṣ wa nashruhā*. Cairo, fourth edition; al-Munajjid, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 1955: "Qawā'id taḥqīq al-nuṣūṣ," *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya* I/2, 1955. 317-337; Maṭlūb, Aḥmad 1982: "Naẓra fī taḥqīq al-kutub," *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabiyya – Iṣdār jadīd, al-Kuwayt* I/1, 1982. 9-49; al-Ḥalwajī, 'Abd al-Sattār 1986: *al-Makhṭūṭ al-'arabī*. Cairo.

23 See Hārūn 1977: 83; Khūlī 1964: 168; Faḍlī 1982: 9-10, 17-19; Maṭlūb 1982: 10-14; Ṭanāḥī 1984: 91-92, 273-278; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 3, 13; 'Usaylān 1994: 17-18, 112, 115. Munajjid (1955: 317) differs from the other scholars, attributing this art to the Westerners. The Western scholars are also skeptical; see Rosenthal 1947/1980: 1-2/11. Carter, M. G. 1995: "Arabic Literature," in Greetham (ed.) 1995: 557 says: "It is ... unlikely that the indigenous Arabic manuscript tradition will reflect the principles and objectives of modern editing."

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000023

there was a general tendency to give the Muslims precedence over the Westerners; and it was because of that that Rosenthal's study mentioned above came to have a strong presence in these books. The same study also contributed to a tendency in those books to refer sometimes to the practices of medieval Muslim scholars in such areas as selecting and comparing manuscripts, using symbols in lieu of punctuation and other editorial necessities, and recording variant readings, glosses, and comments in the margins of manuscripts. Consequently, and also due to the 'didactic' orientation of most of these studies, their discussion of the theory of editing proper was not systematic; it remained, overall, secondary to their interest in the practical aspects of editing. Despite that, when one wants to find out how the authors of these studies viewed certain issues, it is quite likely that one will find an answer somewhere in them. For our purpose here, we will concentrate on their opinions on the issue of how permissible it is for an editor to interfere in the text he is editing. This issue is usually discussed in the chapters/sections on selecting manuscripts and editing/selecting readings.

In the area of selecting manuscripts, all Arab scholars placed manuscripts in a "ranking order" of reliability, with the author's autograph holding the highest rank and the late, unauthenticated, "secondary' copies" the lowest.[24] While those scholars were aware that finding the author's autograph was only rarely possible, certainly for manuscripts whose author lived before the fourth/tenth century,[25] and while they were conscious of the practical problems connected with the autograph (draft versus final copy; multiplicity of versions; falsifications by copyists), some of them insisted on sticking to the 'ideal'[26] driven by the didactic nature of studies, whereas others, following Bergsträsser, added more practical criteria for the classification of manuscripts (age; accuracy; completeness; etc.).[27]

In the area of editing/selecting readings, the Arab scholars were clear only when dealing with the author's autograph, saying that the editor is not permitted to change anything in the author's autograph other than errors in Qur'ānic citations.[28] Outside of that sphere, however, they were far less clear, almost confused, and sometimes contradictory, perhaps because they were trying to propose solutions for innumerable potential situations.[29]

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24 See Hārūn 1977: 29-30, 37; Munajjid 1955: 322-324; Faḍlī 1982: 104; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 71-72; Ḥalwajī 1986: 272; 'Usaylān 1994: 122-123; 'Umarī 1995: 137. For the medieval Muslim scholars' positions, in addition to these, see Rosenthal 1947/1980: 23/63.

25 Hārūn 1977: 42.

26 Actually, the title which 'Usaylān (p. 117) gave for his chapter on manuscript copies and how to deal with them is "the most ideal editorial method (*al-manhaj al-amthal fī l-taḥqīq*)."

27 See Bergsträsser (ed. Bakrī) 1969: 14, 16; *cf.* Hārūn 1977: 28-39; Munajjid 1955: 322-323; Faḍlī 1982: 102-108; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 66-68; 'Usaylān 1994: 33.

28 See Hārūn 1977: 47-48; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 60, 98; 'Usaylān 1994: 154, 200; see also Munajjid 1955: 326, 327.

29 See, for example, Hārūn 1977: 46-52; Munajjid 1955:330-331; Faḍlī 1982: 149-153; Maṭlūb 1982: 21-29; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 93-98; Ḥalwajī 1986: 272-273; 'Usaylān 1994: 147-165, 172-176, 197-205; 'Umarī 1995: 141-149.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000024

The strongest statement on interference with the text came from 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn: he made the editor's non-interference in his text the very essence of editing as a moral undertaking, and the trait that makes the editor rise to the ethical and historical requirements of his profession:

> The editing of a text consists of neither improvement nor correction; rather, it is the fidelity of rendering as required by fidelity to history. For, the text of the book is a judgement on its author, and a judgement on his entire epoch and milieu, and these are considerations that have their sanctity. This kind of behavior is also an aggression on the author's right, for he is the only one who has the right to substitute and change. If the editor were characterized by boldness, it is better for him to step aside from doing such work (i.e., editing) and let others who are characterized by concern and caution do it. Indeed, editing is a moral enterprise, borne only by those characterized by two traits: fidelity and patience.[30]

In a different context, however, Hārūn extended this restriction on the editor's role beyond the author's autograph to "the high copies," considering changing their texts a "gross scholarly crime."[31]

With this in mind, Hārūn then uttered the most powerful and theoretically clear statement on his perception of the goal of editing: editing, by definition, "means that a book be rendered truthfully as its author wrote/composed it, quantitatively and qualitatively, as much as possible (*taḥqīq matn al-kitāb: wa ma'nāhu an yu'addā l-kitāb adā'an ṣādiqan kamā waḍa'ahu mu'allifuhu kamman wa kayfan bi-qadr al-imkān*)."[32] The force of this statement was not lost on one of Hārūn's admiring pupils, Ramaḍān 'Abd al-Tawwāb: according to him, "editing a text means restoring it to the form it had when its author issued it (*taḥqīq al-naṣṣ ya'nī radduhu ilā l-ṣūra l-latī kāna 'alayhā 'indamā aṣdarahu mu'allifuhu*)."[33]

These clear theoretical statements indicate that Arab scholars basically agreed with the pre-Gregian textual theorists' position that the goal of editing is the establishment of texts as finally intended by their authors;[34] and in fact there is no trace of any post-Gregian theory in their works. What remains problematic, though, is that, with the predominance of interest in procedure over theory in those works, even when Hārūn and 'Abd al-Tawwāb expressed the same theoretical idea, they drew diametrically opposed practical conclusions from it. According to Hārūn, his view of editing meant that the editor *should not* interfere with his text by way of improving its style, replacing its words by better, nicer or more

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30 Hārūn 1977: 47-48.

31 Hārūn 1977: 79.

32 Hārūn 1977: 46.

33 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 60. Other Arab authors expressed the same idea when defining editing, saying that it is the establishment of the text according to authorial intention; see Munajjid 1955: 320; Faḍlī 1982: 35-36; Maṭlūb 1982: 23; Ḥalwajī 1986: 266; 'Umarī 1995: 141.

34 Tanselle 1995: 11, 23; Gabler 1995: 3.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000025

appropriate words, correcting its presumably wrong attributions of citations, fixing its grammatical errors, adding explanatory sentences, or rectifying its identification of a person.[35] 'Abd al-Tawwāb, on the other hand, concluded from his definition that the editor *should* correct the distortions and corruptions of the text's words and free it from what was added to or deleted from it.[36]

This is how the modern Arab scholars approached the subject of editing, and what they proposed regarding editorial intervention. What I would like to do in the remainder of this part is to propose a different approach. I would like to highlight certain aspects of Islamic history and civilization that have a bearing on editorial policy in general and on the question of how 'sacred' the text of a medieval Arabic manuscript is in particular, since that history and civilization are the cradles in which the Arabic manuscript tradition was born and with which it developed. Underlying this approach is the assumption that the material and intellectual context of a certain area affects many of its features; understanding this context, thus, leads to a more meaningful, perhaps more accurate, and certainly more reasoned decision about a certain issue in it. In this sense, unlike earlier scholars, I am not only concerned with concrete conclusions but also with the thought process that leads to those conclusions. This means that, although some of the aspects that I will highlight have already been mentioned in one form or another by earlier scholars, the manner in which these aspects are related to the conclusions is for me conceptually causal, not merely procedurally consequential.[37] On a more concrete level, the approach I have chosen has to do with my belief that the Arabic medieval manuscript corpus is far too varied to allow for the identification of editorial rules that apply to all of its components, due precisely to specific aspects of medieval Islamic history and civilization. Isolating some of these aspects ought, then, to allow us to break up this corpus into categories, to each of which a different set of editorial criteria could apply, when considering the degree of interference which an editor is allowed in his text.

The aspects of medieval Islamic history and civilization that I believe influenced the medieval Arabic manuscript tradition are the following.

1. Transition from orality to writing in the formative period of Islam

One of the most important factors that characterizes the corpus of Arabic manuscripts is the almost complete lack of samples on paper or in book form before the late second/eighth century. This is due to the predominance of orality in the transmission of knowledge for over a century in some branches of knowledge.

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35 Hārūn 1977: 46-47. See also 'Umarī 1995: 272.

36 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 60.

37 In this regard, Hārūn's early and concise work stands out among the rest of the later and longer compilations on editing as the most historically sensitive and conceptually sharp.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000026

Although writing began very early, already in the first/seventh century and on a narrower scale in pre-Islamic times, the systematic recording of knowledge did not prevail until the middle of the second/eighth century, and did not overtake orality almost completely until the beginning of the third/ninth century, when paper became widely available and was even adopted by the state for its own record keeping. Before that, in the formative period of Islam, the available writing materials, mainly papyrus, parchment and leather, were relatively rare, expensive, and not particularly user-friendly. The state, with its unlimited access to resources, used constantly these materials, especially papyrus, for its administrative needs, and, for lack of alternative materials, so did authors for their pamphlets and individuals for their business and personal affairs. The area that resisted being put down in writing most was Arabic poetry. This poetry, having been deeply entrenched in its pre-Islamic traditions, stuck in early Islam to the various aspects of this tradition, and this included its transmission orally, often by professional transmitters specialized in single poets. Conversely, the areas that seem to have been more amenable to recording were those connected with the fervent attempt to understand the new religion: the text of its revelation, the Qur'ān, the activities and directives of its founder, the Prophet Muḥammad, and the experiences of the early Muslim community both inside Arabia and during the conquests in the newly acquired lands. But for those areas to take the path of recording many decades of the first/seventh century had to elapse, with activity in these fields transmitted mainly orally through teaching and discussions, and only gradually did the transition to writing take place.

2. The controversial issue of including images in a text

The Muslims seem to have agreed rather early on the aversion of including pictures of people in the texts of their books, as they did elsewhere. This tendency towards iconoclasm affected Arabic medieval manuscripts in that it made the occurrence of pictorial imaging in them very rare. But this tendency softened with the development of Islamic civilization, the multiplicity in its fields of intellectual and artistic production, and the diversity in the peoples who contributed to it.[38] Already as early as the middle of the second/eighth century, Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. *ca.* 144/761), a Persian literary translator of instructive animal tales from Sanskrit via Middle Persian into Arabic, stated in his introduction to the book that colored pictures (*khayālāt*, *ṣuwar*; *bi-ṣunūf al-aṣbāgh wa l-alwān*) of animals must accompany the stories of his text, *Kalīla wa Dimna*, in order to make his book attractive, entertaining, and profitable for the copyist as well as the

[38] For a general survey of iconoclasm and the inclusion of pictures in Arabic manuscripts, with many examples, see Ḥalwajī 1986: 189-201.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000027

painter.[39] Although no early illustrated manuscripts of the *Kalīla wa Dimna* have survived, later samples of this book that date to the sixth/twelfth century, or perhaps even earlier, indicate that Ibn al-Muqaffa'"s instructions were not only heeded to the letter but also expanded, for the abundant pictures punctuating the surviving manuscripts of this book include images of people, not only animals. About the same time, some manuscripts of the literary but entertaining *Maqāmāt* (Séances) of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122) were accompanied by colored, complex pictures, again showing people, not only animals.[40] Furthermore, some scientists, geographers, historians, and litterateurs also resorted to images for clarifying their texts, as did authors of wondrous creatures, notably al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283)[41] and of encyclopedic works, such as Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1251).[42] Despite that, pictorialism remained a generally frowned-upon and controversial activity in Islamic book production. Editors have to keep that in mind when they decide their editorial policies.

3. *The nature of the Arabic script*

The nature of the Arabic script is probably the most observable factor which made Arabic manuscripts what they are, and yet the modern Arab scholars who wrote on the theory and procedures of editing generally assumed its problematic nature and discussed it only in the context of "misreadings."[43] This script, written from right to left, is essentially consonantal, with only three vowels, which are written only if they are long and are not when they are short. Furthermore, several consonants are distinguishable from each other by dots (one, two or three) placed above or below the letter, and these consonants (in addition to one of the three vowels) were largely not dotted, from pre-Islamic times and for several decades into Islamic times, making a text not only difficult to decipher but

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39 Ibn al-Muqaffa' 1994: *Kalīla wa Dimna.* Beirut, 146. Several of the illustrated manuscripts of this book are presented in Grube, Ernst J. (ed.) 1991: *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Suhayli, Iyari-i Danish* and *Humayun Nameh.* Bombay.

40 For a study and several plates from those manuscripts, see al-Nu'aymī, Nāhida 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 1979: *Maqāmāt al-ḥarīrī al-muṣawwara.* Baghdad. The oldest known extant manuscript of this work dates to 619/1222.

41 For examples of such pictures, see Schmitz, Barbara 1992: *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library.* New York, especially the chapter entitled "Arabic illustrated manuscripts," 1-50, and figures 1-34. Princeton University's Firestone Library has a sumptuously produced manuscript of al-Qazwīnī's *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt* with colored pictures of all kinds of real and mythical creatures.

42 As one sees it in the facsimile edition of this work. See al-'Umarī, Ibn Faḍlallāh 1989: *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār (Routes toward insight into the Capital Empires)*, vols. 20-22. Frankfurt am Main.

43 See below; but see also Bergsträsser (ed. Bakrī) 1969: 102-104; Rosenthal 1947/1980: 24-26/66-71; Hārūn 1977: 27-28. See also Carter 1995: 561-562.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000028

also highly conducive to more than one reading. Another complication in the script arises from the issue of vocalization. For the correct pronunciation of a word, signs were needed on the letters to indicate what short vowels accompanying them were; and the same thing applied to the signs needed for the specification of case endings for nouns and tense, aspect, and mood endings for verbs. These vowels, like the dots, were not written in pre-Islamic times and many decades after the rise of Islam. These difficulties were removed, in principle, in the latter part of the first/seventh century, when the state put down its full weight in supporting the reform of the script and hence the standardization of its dotting (pointing, diacritics) and vocalization. Although the latter needed another century to get simplified, the system was highly successful and gave the Arabic script the appearance it has now. Some hurdles, though, continued to come up every now and then. For one thing, the Western part of the Muslim lands, Andalusia and North Africa developed a slightly differentiated, more angular script with a few variations in dotting (in addition to developing a different sequence for the letters of the alphabet). For another, the difference between the writing and pronunciation of some letters in some areas, particularly the ḍ, (pronounced like a ẓ), made its way into the written texts. And for a third, the cursive nature of the script and the ease and speed which it invited made keeping the dots and vowels accurately on the letters rather tedious, thus causing a fair amount of slackness in the application of the correct rules of writing in Arabic manuscripts. All of these are matters we should keep in mind while we are planning our editorial policy of an Arabic manuscript text.

4. Specific features of the Arabic language

Not unrelated to the issue of the Arabic script is the issue of the development of the Arabic language and its effect on Arabic manuscripts. Arabic was the language in which the scripture of the Muslims, the Qur'ān, was revealed, and the Qur'ān's language, though originally one of several Arabic dialects known from pre-Islamic times, became the standard for "high," *fuṣḥā* Arabic. Again thanks to the intervention of the state before the end of the first/seventh century, this language became the sole language of administration. By that time, the Muslim community had already been transformed from a small polity in Arabia into a vast empire extending from India to Spain, and was inhabited by a population whose peoples spoke scores of languages and only slowly converted to Islam. With employment in the civil service, as with conversion, in addition to the religious and historical roots for the rise and development of literary activity, Arabic became also the language of culture, and for many centuries was the dominant language of Islamic civilization. But there is another side to contend with when examining the place of Arabic in Islamic culture. This language was to undergo unavoidable changes over time, and these changes were indeed reflected in the

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000029

manuscript corpus: the new converts enriched it with materials from their own languages (especially Persian); the civil servants created their own diction and style, one which has been called "Middle Arabic;" those translators into Arabic from Persian, Syriac, and Greek also added to it a new linguistic corpus; the Christians in the Islamic lands developed their own "Christian Arabic;" Arabic in various periods of the medieval times came to be written in non-Arabic characters (mainly Hebrew); and the rise of non-Arabic speaking dynasties, especially the Mamlūks and after them the Ottomans, with their entirely new bureaucratic structures and diction, again added another linguistic dimension to Arabic. And throughout the medieval period, while *fuṣḥā* was the norm for formal writing, local dialects of Arabic did not disappear, resulting in the well known phenomenon of diglossia in Arabic, and this was also reflected in the manuscripts.[44] This is something certainly to be kept in mind when we figure out editorial policy.

5. The nature and volume of compilation in Arabic in the medieval period

There is another factor we have to contend with when thinking about editorial policy, and this is the enormous vigor and breadth in the production of books in Islamic civilization, both of which led not only to diversity in fields of production, but also to the fact that Arabic medieval books tended to be very long, with each frequently consisting of several volumes. The roots of this phenomenon lie probably in the nature of authorial activities in which the Muslims engaged right from the first centuries of Islam. For one thing, the Qur'ān, the cornerstone of the religion and the civilization, became the subject of scholarly study from early on, and exegetical works on it began very early as well; by the beginning of the fourth/tenth century, an exegetical work touching on everything in it, small and big, reached, with Ṭabarī (d. 310/921), thirty volumes. The Prophet, as a source of the Sunna, or normative behavior for Muslims, also was quick to become the center of scholarly attention, and many volumes were devoted by various authors to the collections of his traditions. The transmitters of the traditions themselves then became the subject of scrutiny and study, for it was important to ascertain who was trustworthy and who was not, and this activity brought about the rise of a whole discipline, *ḥadīth* criticism (or *al-jarḥ wa l-taʿdīl*), not to mention the area of commentary on *ḥadīth* collections. Compilation in *ḥadīth* criticism, in turn, gave birth to one of the most productive areas of Islamic compilation, namely biographical dictionaries, almost all of which were multivoluminous. And once the tradition of biographical dictionaries proved its

[44] This phenomenon is still with us today, and has indeed taken a far more acute character since the rise of European colonization of many Islamic lands, the fall of the Ottoman empire, the rise of nationalism, the secularization of education, and the breakup of the lands of Islam into differentiated political entities.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000030

appeal, almost every other area of scholarship developed its own biographical dictionaries to historicize its discipline, from the poets, to the grammarians, to the physicians, to the various sectarian groups, and to the legal scholars; even "cities" had their share, and the biographical dictionaries dedicated to the men of learning in them were often notoriously long. The legal scholars group just mentioned made its own contribution to long medieval books, and for reasons that have to do with the circumstances surrounding the development of the field. For, once the medieval Islamic state had given up the idea of codifying the (divine) law, it was left to the theoreticians to provide the guides to the judges and the jurists. And, since Islamic law by its very nature is an all-encompassing law, the legal collections were only seldom small. On another level, since the Muslims developed quite early a vision of history as a universal history, one which begins with the creation and ends (theoretically) with the day of judgment, the historical chronicles were, more often than not, multi-voluminous; and the later they were compiled the longer they generally became. The geographical dictionaries, having to cover the vast expanse of the Islamic lands, tended also to be quite long. The lexicographers also found themselves doing the same thing, albeit for a different reason, namely the richness of the Arabic language due to its foundation on the principle of derivation and to the necessity of furnishing citations from authentic sources for the meanings proposed. In later medieval times, by which time the branches of knowledge had expanded greatly, encyclopedism – itself an outgrowth of fairly lengthy manuals for the education of the civil servants – dominated the scene, making a ten-volume book a rather short one.

This vigorous activity in book production means that, when we talk about the corpus of medieval Arabic manuscripts, we are talking about an enormous quantity which is impossible to pin down except, perhaps, to say, that it is in the tens of thousands, if not the hundreds of thousands. It is, however, important to remember two things. The first is that a large portion of these books were lost, because of natural disasters, sweeping wars, frequent civil disturbances, personal or political actions, or simply through the passage of time; we know that from the few annotated bibliographies that have survived, like Ibn al-Nadīm's (wrote 377/987) *Fihrist*, and Ḥājjī Khalīfa's (d. 1067/1656) *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. The second thing, which is not entirely unrelated to the first, is that while medieval authors generally strove at making original contributions in their respective areas, the conditions under which they worked, particularly their living in a vast empire, caused in some cases a great deal of overlap. This overlap, however, was sometimes not accidental, since many authors perceived of their work as a link in the chain of knowledge in their respective fields, and hence their view that the field's growth was cumulative and that part of their duty consisted of mentioning the achievements of their precursors in their own works, most frequently citing them, sometimes quite extensively, by name, often adding, too, the titles of the books they were deriving their material from. These are factors that left their mark on the

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000031

Arabic manuscript corpus, and must be taken into account while drawing the editor's editorial policy.

6. The transmission of learning in the medieval period

This brings us to another factor that characterized Islamic book writing and that we have to take into consideration when deciding our editorial policy, namely the way the medieval Muslim authors conducted and organized the transmission of knowledge in the midst of the overwhelming variety and quantity of book production.[45] This transmission was, in general, extremely well organized and well controlled, and it produced a system of internal authentication of manuscripts that led into manuscripts being placed in a sort of 'hierarchical' structure, with the most authentic, and hence valuable, manuscripts being on top of the structure and the least at its bottom. The system was tightly connected with teaching and with the networking of scholars and students throughout the Islamic world; and, while knowledge was considered "the common property of the community," as Carter says,[46] the individual 'territory' of the scholar, represented by his word, written but also oral, was recognized and valued. More often than not, scholars posed as teachers, and the materials they taught consisted of either their own compilations or those of others. Variations and exceptions aside, teaching was conducted either by the teacher dictating to the students, usually from a written text but possibly from memory, or by students reading out their texts to the teacher for verification of correctness and/or for commentary. In this setting, the manuscripts that the students came out with would be valuable if the teacher in question was a recognized scholar, and even more so if he were the author of the work they wrote or read out in class. While the author's autograph, signed by him, would be the absolutely most valuable, or "highest," manuscript, the manuscript dictated by the scholar to the student and read back to him would be the next most valuable, specifically when the scholar testifies to this "hearing (*samāʿ*)" fact, in writing, on the student's manuscript.[47] The next most valuable manuscript would be one which the student read back to the scholar and the scholar indicated, in writing, that this "reading (*qirāʾa*)" had taken place. This is followed by the manuscript which the student copies from his teacher's copy, be it his autograph or a copy thereof, when the scholar hands over (*munāwala*) this copy to the student with the permission to make his own copy of it; in this case, the copy would be considered quite valuable due to the collation (*muʿāraḍa*) with the

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45 For a general overview on this subject, see Berkey, Jonathan 1992: *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*. Princeton.

46 See Carter 1995: 557.

47 For a study of "hearing" and examples of "hearings" in Arabic manuscripts, see al-Munajjid, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 1955: "Ijāzāt al-samāʿ fī l-makhṭūṭāt al-qadīma." *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabiyya* I/2, 1955: 232-251.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000032

author's copy. In a similar manner, the scholar could issue a license (*ijāza*) to a student to transmit either a specific work of his or all his works, in which case the student would indicate that in his copy, but the scholar's testimony to that effect would not be actually written in the text of the manuscript, and hence the manuscript would carry less value than the manuscripts in which the author's wish is verifiable. License could also be obtained from the scholar not only through teaching but also through the networking in which scholars and students alike engaged when they were interested in obtaining reliable copies of books. This normally took place through some form of correspondence (*kitāba*, *mukātaba*), whereby a scholar or a student received the permission of the scholar to transmit his book/s. Again here, the recipient would state this permission in his copy of the manuscript; and here also the value of his copy would be less valuable than the copies made by the above certifying means, although the recipient's standing in scholarship does play a role in deciding this value: the more recognized in scholarship this recipient is, the more reliable the manuscript is considered. Other avenues could add to the value of a manuscript, such as its being copied independently during the lifetime of the author with written testimonies of recognized contemporary scholars that they have read it. After such levels of manuscripts, we go, with very few exceptions, outside of the transmission sphere, and copies written after the author's time without any testimonies of any scholar written on it come to occupy "lower" levels on the hierarchical scale of authenticity, reliability, and hence value.[48]

All in all, the rigorous system in the Islamic lands made Carter rightly state that the attitude of the Western scholar toward copy-text and reconstruction of "trees" was "inherently different from that of the Arab editor,"[49] and that the system was "intended not only to guarantee the integrity of a manuscript but, equally important, to safeguard the professional activities and income that this method of publishing of the work generated."[50] This brings us to another observation, namely that the system betrays a very important feature inherent in it: it is the absolute centrality of the scholar, particularly as author, in the transmission process, so that whatever manuscript carries his name or testimony immediately gives it a guarantee of the text's integrity. In fact, in the transmission process, "no one was allowed to transmit a work without the personal authorization either of the author or another licensed transmitter ... and the ownership of the rights to an important text was a valuable asset for the more prominent teachers ..."[51] And

48 For discussions of the relative value of manuscripts, see Rosenthal 1947/1980: 22-23/63; Hārūn 1977: 37; Munajjid 1955: 322-323; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 71-72; 'Usaylān 1994: 122-123; 'Umarī 1995: 143-145. On the technical terms for the kinds of transmission, see in particular, 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 17-27, and Berkey 1992: *passim*.

49 See Carter 1995: 554.

50 Carter 1995: 555.

51 See Carter 1995: 555; see also Rosenthal 1947/1980: 10/32.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000033

it is because of this system, with the scholar/author at its center that the number of truly anonymous works in Islamic culture is by far lower than that of the same works in medieval European literature.[52]

7. Copying and the copyists

One of the most important factors in shaping the Arabic medieval manuscript corpus is the role that the copyists played in the production of those manuscripts.[53] We have already seen in the previous paragraph some of the people involved with copying in connection with the transmission of knowledge: the author, his students, and his licensees, in addition to independent scholars. These, however, represent a minority of the copyists in the medieval Islamic world; some authors did not even write their own books but rather had their own private copyists[54] or hired copyists as need arose. The vast majority of the copyists were professional copyists (*warrāq*, pl. *warrāqūn*), full-time copyists whose sole (or, at least, major) source of livelihood was copying manuscripts. Due to great demand for books both by individuals (patrons, scholars, bibliophiles) and institutions (libraries, both private and public, mosques, colleges), these copyists were very numerous, so that, unlike the situation in the medieval West, there was no shortage of copyists, as Rosenthal remarked.[55] Unlike in the medieval West, too, as Carter has noted, "[t]he physical production of manuscripts in the Arab world was essentially a secular activity. There being no monasteries in Islam, the equivalent of the *scriptorium* was the workshop of the *warrāq*, literally "folio-specialist," that is, the stationer and the copyist combined, who functioned in an urban and secular environment."[56] A minority of the copyists worked in a scholarly atmosphere (the house of an author, the library of an institute); but the majority of them worked in workshops *(ḥānūt)* in the marketplace, and as early as the fourth/tenth century, possibly a century or more earlier, we learn that there was a special market for them in Baghdād called *sūq al-warrāqīn*, or, briefly, *al-warrāqīn*.[57] The copyists would take orders and work in their shops for a fee, and could also lend some of their own copied books for others to make copies from

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52 See Carter 1995: 557.

53 See on the copyists Hārūn 1977: 19-25; Ḥalwajī 1986: 123-134.

54 Like al-Wāqidī, whose copyist was Ibn Sa'd, known thus as "Kātib al-Wāqidī."

55 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 2/12.

56 Carter 1995: 556; Carter mentions additional sources that can be consulted.

57 The fourth/tenth century litterateur Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, in *al-Imtā' wa l-mu'ānasa*, eds. Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad al-Zayn (Cairo 1939-44): II, 11, mentions this market in Baghdad as "al-warrāqīn." Earlier, under the year 200 [= 815-816], the historian Ṭabarī mentions someone going to the "paper-folks" (*aṣḥāb al-qarāṭīs*) in Baghdad in a context which indicates that he is talking about a market; see al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr: *Tārīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, I-III, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden 1879-1901): III, 999.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000034

them, again for a fee.[58] In the vast majority of cases, the copyist copied by himself a book no matter how long. *Pecia*, well known in the medieval West, existed in the Islamic lands only in exceptional cases, as when Ibn 'Asākir's History of the city of Damascus, which was in 80 volumes, was distributed among 10 copyists; altogether they needed two years each to finish one copy of the book.[59] In their own opinion, the copyists seemed to have considered their profession as a demanding and draining one: the great prose writer Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023), who was by profession a copyist, and a good one, nicknamed copying as "the profession of ill omen" (*ḥirfat al-shu'm* and *kharzat al-shu'm*), because it destroys both the eyesight and life itself and hardly keeps the copyist out of poverty.[60] In the opinion of the outsiders, the copyists' occupation with generating an income for themselves made them have a rather low reputation as of old, and their social status was not only low, but was also quite closed to social promotion.[61]

Ideally, the copyists had to abide by a rather demanding code: they should write with a good hand, and very carefully, in order to produce reliable copies; and when copying religious books, further requirements of ritual purity and expressions of piety were required of them.[62] Whereas many of the copyists did indeed stick to these requirements, many considerations made their work delinquent and less satisfactory than it should be. Speed, boredom, oversight, and similar occupational hazards made their copying far from ideal, as did matters like having to copy a work of whose topic they know nothing or too little (especially books with non-Arabic names and terms),[63] or working from a corrupt (or undotted) original. Indeed, they could make mistakes in copying simply because they elected to 'correct' what appeared to them to be mistakes in the corrupt original, or to fill out blanks which the authors had intentionally left blank in order to fill out the correct information later, or to incorporate in the text marginalia that did not belong to the text itself but were rather added by various readers by way of gloss or commentary. Of course it is possible that copyists should commit fraudulent neglect intentionally for marketing purposes, such as compiling books on fables and tales due to their popularity at a certain period,[64] or, more seriously, copying the name of the author at the end of the copyist's copy of the former's book in order to deceive the buyer into believing that he is

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58 This is a matter to which Rosenthal attracted attention.

59 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 2/12.

60 See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī: *Irshād al-arīb* (*mu'jam al-udabā'*), ed. D[avid]. S[amuel]. Margoliouth (Cairo 1928): V, 384, 385, 393; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: *Akhlāq al-wazīrayn*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭanjī (Damascus [1969]): 306.

61 See Yāqūt (ed. Margoliouth) 1928: V, 384, 393; Hārūn 1977: 21, 23-24.

62 See these requirements in Rosenthal's rendition and translation of al-A'lamī's treatise 1947/1980: 12-18/36-48.

63 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 24-26/66-71.

64 See Hārūn 1977: 25, where he mentions the copyists' engagement in forging stories and fables.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000035

buying the author's autograph.[65] But Rosenthal notes that fraud was relatively rare.[66] Despite that, the copyists came to have a reputation for making mistakes, and perhaps this is what explains the dictum that "accuracy and correctness" was more important than "the quality of handwriting."[67] And it was, in part, because of the copyists' repeated mistakes that books on misreadings (*al-taṣḥīf*, *al-taḥrīf*) were compiled and became a genre in Islamic civilization.[68]

There is another aspect to copying that we must mention due to its importance in shaping the corpus of Arabic medieval manuscripts. This is what I would like to call the relatively large degree of freedom the copyists had in their profession and the concomitant lack of institutionalization of the profession. Let us first note that employment as a copyist was not subject to examination, and although copyists with better hands and greater accuracy were preferred to those who did not possess such qualities, there was sufficient demand to keep the less qualified employed.[69] And in spite of rules being laid down by scholars, the professional copyists had a great deal of latitude whether to abide by these rules or not, and it is not inconceivable that many of them learned their craft on the job and were hardly aware of the stringent rules put down by the elite; anyway, in the absence of oversight and enforceable regulations, there was not much that could be done to ensure the application of the ideal laws of the profession. The nature of the Arabic script also increased the copyists' freedom, for how can one fully control such an elusively cursive, dotted and potentially vowelled script? In fact, many scribes, centuries after the standardization of the dotting and voweling system, still wrote texts almost completely without dots,[70] and often when some of them did indeed put the dots, they did so quickly without attention to accuracy; some copyists even came to use the voweling almost as a form of decoration rather than a necessary auxiliary of orthography.[71] Such matters made Arabic manuscripts often filled with so many errors that understanding the text became a great challenge for the reader. And there are other things that made reading manuscripts and understanding them more difficult. The copyists did not develop a unified system of punctuation or paragraphing, and different copyists used different symbols or phrases for the period (like a circle), for

65 See Bergsträsser (ed. Bakrī) 1969: 18 with regard to some manuscripts of al-Dīnawarī's historical work, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*.

66 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 22/62-63.

67 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 13/38.

68 On this genre and its relation to manuscript editing, see Bergsträsser (ed. Bakrī) 1969: 80-83; Hārūn 1977: 65-71; Faḍlī 1982: 154-175; Ṭanāḥī 1984: 287-316; 'Usaylān 1994: 281-282.

69 Carter 1995: 557: Ḥarīrī authorized the copying of 700 copies of his *Séances*, the *Maqāmāt*.

70 This is an experience I had with the best manuscript of *al-Baṣā'ir*. This made reading the lexical parts of the text very difficult indeed, for how can one guess the meaning of a word when one cannot read the word to be explained itself?

71 See, for example, 'Umarī 1989.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000036

example, or the end of a quotation (like the word *intahā*, 'finished'), or the beginning of a chapter or section (like using a larger font, or red ink);[72] even the introduction of a line of poetry can occur within the prose text without any kind of warning, like starting a new line with it, or making it preceded by the word "*shi'r*," or by the name of its meter. The copyists also did not develop pagination until very late,[73] and hence some of them used catchwords instead, but the majority of them did not use anything at all, and a great deal of harm resulted from that, especially when the folio title fell from a manuscript and was by mistake added to another,[74] or when the folios of a manuscript got mixed up when its binding gave way.[75] Again, since the Arabic script is by its nature a shorthand script,[76] abbreviations were slow to develop in the medieval Arabic manuscripts, and when they did, they were only seldom applied universally.[77] Such matters created some chaos in the corpus of manuscripts we have received, and all of this has to be taken into account when deciding editorial policy.

III

Having highlighted some of the historical and cultural factors in Islamic civilization that stand out as crucial for determining what editorial policy the scholar-editor decides to follow, I would like now to examine the practical consequences of these factors when attempting to answer the question posed at the beginning of this paper: how much should an editor interfere in the text of his Arabic medieval manuscripts, or, conversely: how sacred is the text of such manuscripts? The answer that I shall give will necessarily be informed by the general principle which I subscribe to and which I articulated at the end of section I. There, I indicated that my approach was essentially historical, where the primary goal of editing is to receive a communication from the past. This communication, in my view, should be as accurate as possible, and for that purpose the editing can be either author-based or text-based, depending on the individual manuscript at

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72 See 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 43.

73 See Ḥalwajī 1986: 170.

74 This is what happened in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī's volume 7 of *al-Baṣā'ir wa-l-dhakhā'ir* (ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, Libya-Tunis 1978). The title folio stated that the book was *al-Nawābigh wa l-ḥikam* by al-Zamakhsharī; its first folio began with: "Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī said ..." As the editor showed, and another manuscript confirmed, the manuscript was volume 7 of Tawḥīdī's *Baṣā'ir*; see her introduction: 7-63.

75 This is what happened in Ibn 'Aqīl's (d. 513/1119) *Kitāb al-funūn* (2 vols., ed. George Makdisi, Beirut 1970-71), which was published without the editor paying attention to the disorder of the folios. This was uncovered by Iḥsān 'Abbās in his review of that edition in *Majallat Majma' al-Lugha l-'Arabiyya bi-Dimashq* (= *Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas*) XXXXVII (1972): 525-591.

76 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 35/97.

77 See Rosenthal 1947/1980: 35-37/97-101; Hārūn 1977: 57-59; Munajjid 1955: 327; Faḍlī 1982: 117-109; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 43.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000037

hand; in no way, however, can it censor any part of the manuscript for extra-textual, personal reasons. It should also be as accessible as possible to its target audience, just as its author had meant it to be accessible to his audience when he first wrote it many centuries ago. In this approach, the scholar-editor's critical judgement is constantly called upon to balance the accuracy of the text with its accessibility to a different audience in a different time and place.

The first thing that comes to mind is that the Arabic manuscript corpus is too varied to allow its being edited according to one procedure. Are the texts of the anthologies of Arabic letters written several centuries into Islam, for example, as sacred as those of the early Arabic letters from the first Islamic century which have survived on papyrus? Certainly not, for the latter are single, unique documents, whereas the former are reproduced in many forms in several manuscripts. Or, can we editorially interfere with an author's autograph the same way we interfere with an undated late manuscript? Or, again, can we be as aggressive in changing the text of a highly corrupt manuscript as were are when we are confronted by a very well preserved manuscript? Such and many other questions necessitate that we break up the Arabic manuscript corpus into categories, to each of which a different editorial procedure applies, a procedure which ensures that the texts *of that particular category* will come out as the most accurate and most accessible communications from the past, so that if their authors – when such authors exist – saw them in their edited form they would recognize them as their own despite the changes that they had undergone.

In light of the above, I would like to propose that we break the Arabic manuscript corpus into three categories. In the first, the texts of the manuscripts are completely 'sacred' and must be reproduced by the editor with no interference at all; they include written documents of the formative period, pictures and illustrations, poetry, proverbs, and dialectical expressions. In the second, the texts of the manuscripts must be interfered with minimally, mainly formally, in order to ensure access in particular; they include principally manuscripts written by the author or authorized by him according to the tightest transmission rules of Islamic scholarship. And, in the third, the editor has a fairly wide range of freedom in interfering with his texts; they include all the other manuscripts not mentioned in the first two categories.

Category A: The editor as passive preserver and cautious reconstructor

This category includes a variety of manuscripts or parts thereof, all of which share the common trait that they are *unique* communications from the past and there is no other means for us to recapture that past without them. Since they bring with them *as they are* this unique illumination of the past without which this past would be lost to us, they should be considered documents, and, as such, must be preserved exactly as they are: their texts are sacred, and the editor

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000038

plays the role of the 'passive preserver' when he edits them. Understandably, much of what falls under this category belongs to the early, formative period of Islam, when orality was predominant and writing rare; but there is within this category a fair amount of variety, as we shall see. It is to be noted that, while such an editorial policy gives priority to the accurate preservation of the past, it does allow for making this past as illuminating as possible and hence to make it as accessible as possible.

Several classes of manuscripts or parts thereof fall under this category.

(a) The early Arabic papyri and their agnates that have a documentary value

To this class belong the Arabic manuscripts written on papyrus, parchment, or leather. Not unlike the texts inscribed on wood, glass, metals, and stone, which are normally studied by archeologists and art historians, our papyri and the like are veritable artifacts of the past that witness to the production of a unique product at a particular moment in time, irrevocable and unrepeatable, so that, in a way, although they belong, strictly speaking, to Tanselle's "intangible media," they do partake of the characteristics of his "tangible media," too.[78] Because of that, they are considered "museum-quality" pieces – and some of them are actually preserved in museums[79] – even though most of them are normally kept in libraries.[80]

A very large number, but not all, of the manuscripts of this class come from the first two centuries of Islam, the time when we have little written contemporary historical evidence as to how the Islamic community was developing, as we have seen in II/1 above. Given the importance of this period as formative in Islam, these manuscripts become nothing less than truly unique physical documents which provide invaluable contemporary, authentic information found nowhere else about early Islamic political, social, economic, military, literary, and even linguistic history, and that mainly in the form of official letters, tax records, government accounts, various lists, private contracts, and private letters. Even the later manuscripts on papyrus and parchment – and writing on such materials continued until the early fifth/eleventh century – add to the information in books, and pose as criterion for authenticity when suspicion in the authenticity of the written text is an issue. Because of all that, it is extremely important for the editor not to change anything at all in the legible parts of the texts of those documents, even though these might contain what in his opinion are 'errors' in

78 See Tanselle 1995: 10-11.

79 See Dietrich, Albert 1958: "Die arabischen Papyri des Topkapi Sarayi-Museums in Istanbul." *Der Islam* XXXIII, 1958. 37-50.

80 For a very good bibliography and recent overviews of the Arabic papyri, see Khan, Geoffrey 1992: *Arabic Papyri: Selected Material from the Khalili Collection.* Oxford; *idem* 1993: *Bills, Letters and Deeds; Arabic Papyri of the 7th to the 11th Centuries.* Oxford.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000039

diction, spelling, syntax, grammar, or 'hyphenation.'[81] His task, thus, would be, in principle, to prepare a "diplomatic edition," rather than a "critical edition," where he produces a literal transcription of the text after deciphering its script. Given, however, the "tangible media" dimension of the documents, he also has to clarify this aspect of it by publishing a facsimile copy of it (in color whenever possible, as archaeologists and art historians do), and by providing full descriptions of the kind and size of the document, the writing material and ink used in it, the kind and size of handwriting, the distribution of words and lines, the diction and syntax of the language, the form and style of the text, and any additional features peculiar to the document, such as dating, sealing, use of columns, and so on. And in order to ensure maximum accessibility, the editor ought to supplement his work with a translation of the text, where applicable, and always with copious comments, elucidations, and discussions of all aspects of the text: linguistic, syntactic, semantic, and historical, constantly comparing the information provided in it by that available in more accessible parallel sources.

I would like to add that even though I realize that an editor's relative passivity in interfering with his text is fundamentally necessary in this class of texts, it is important that the editor depart from his passivity and become more daring in the cases where words are fully or partially illegible, blanked out, or distorted by water or worms and the like. In such cases, the editor should try to repair the text, indicating his repair with the necessary symbols (usually [ ]) in his "diplomatic edition," but only when he is absolutely certain of the correctness of his emendation, i.e., when the emendation rests on a pattern of speech which is known from other pieces of analogous provenance, style, and genre; if he is not certain, the emendation should come in the commentary. This 'reconstructive' interference with the text, of course, puts the editor in rather dangerous territory, and he thus should proceed with great caution, always keeping in mind what consequences his emendation will have on future research. Despite that, the editor's interference here remains vital, for accessibility is another great value that he has to fulfill in my opinion, and he, as a specialist, ought to give his less specialized audience the benefit of his studied, professional guidance.

Arabic papyrology, which began in the late nineteenth century, is an auxiliary branch of Islamic studies which nowadays is nearing becoming a semi-independent field of specialization, much like numismatics. The Arabic editions of papyri have almost consistently followed more or less the editing parameters outlined above, as testified by the work of Adolph Grohmann, Nabbia Abbot, Yūsuf Rāghib, Werner Diem, Ra'if George Khoury and Geoffrey Khan, except that in many of them photographs have not been supplied, and whenever they were, that was done in black and white, not in color. But this might be changing

[81] What I mean by 'hyphenation' is that a word should be started on one line and continued on the next. It is not allowed in Arabic, but it does indeed occur in the early documentary texts on papyrus.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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soon, for the advent of the digital camera and the Internet has already prompted some universities and groups to put color digitized pictures of the papyri they possess on the Net.[82]

Almost all the material that has survived on parchment (see also the next paragraph) consists of copies of the Qur'ān. Many of these have attracted the attention of paleographers and art historians for their special calligraphic qualities and lavish decorations. Since such copies come from after the beginning of the third/ninth century, there is little that an "edition" can do to them, given that the text of the Qur'ān had been long standardized by then, hence their being viewed as objects of art in museums or Islamic art historical manuals.[83]

What the field has to deal with soon is the edition of the valuable and numerous (around 40,000) pieces of parchment and other materials which were found under the roof of the Great Mosque of Ṣan'ā' between 1964 and 1971. Some of these fragments were exhibited in a special exhibition in Kuwait in 1980,[84] and are still being restored in Yemen. What makes these documents extremely important is that the texts written on them are parts of the Qur'ān dating from the first/seventh until the fifth/eleventh century. Already some journalistic and semi-scholarly statements have prematurely started to make a lot of noise about some of these texts, suggesting that they differ from the texts of the standard Qur'ān.[85] Whereas such statements appear to me to be irresponsible, I firmly believe that every single document has to be edited according to the strict rules of editing documents outlined above, regardless of what the outcome is, i.e., regardless whether the editions show that their texts agree or disagree with the standard text of the Qur'ān, and this is particularly important for those fragments that belong to the early, formative period of Islam. And it is after this work is done that scholarly conclusions on the history of the development of the Qur'ān's text can be drawn. For the moment, however, it is too early to make any broad conclusions.

(b) The drawings and pictures in manuscripts that have an artistic value

Unlike the class of manuscripts mentioned under (a) above, those of this class are not 'sacred' in their entirety but only the parts thereof that are pictorial. As was mentioned in II/2 above, iconoclasm was quite strong in Islamic civilization throughout the medieval period, and all kinds of imaging, especially of the human form, were strongly disliked, making decoration of books, as well as

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82 See, for example, www.princeton.edu/~petras.

83 For a general book on the subject, with a good bibliography, see David James 1988: *Qur'āns of the Mamlūks*. New York.

84 See *Maṣāḥif ṣan'ā'* 1980. Kuwait.

85 See Toby Lester's article "What is the Koran?" in *The Atlantic Monthly* (January 1999): 43-56.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000041

structures, depend on exploiting the artistic properties of the Arabic script and the use of various geometric forms in addition to colors. Despite that, as we have seen, some authors did indeed choose to include pictures in their books for a variety of purposes, ranging from ornamentation to profitability. Such authors remained a very small minority indeed, and the pictures we can find in the many millions of folios of Arabic medieval manuscripts may not exceed a few thousand at most. In other words, they are very rare; and they are extraordinary in Islamic civilization, too. In this sense, they are to be treated like documents, or even like a form of "tangible media," to use Tanselle's terminology[86] – artifacts, the importance of whose preservation cannot be overstated, due to the 'illuminating' aspect of the information they provide us with about the past in one of its most controversial niches. Such pictures must, in my opinion, be reproduced photographically, with their captions, within the text being edited, in color when they are in color in the original manuscript, and as sketches or skeletons of (unfinished?) pictures when this is how they are in the manuscript.[87] Furthermore, I believe that each picture should be placed in the edited book in exactly the corresponding place it occupies in the manuscript, even if it appears on a separate folio, or if it is not quite upright, or if it is placed next to a particular entry in a particular position.[88]

This proposed editorial policy works perfectly well, however, only in the cases where we have only one illustrated manuscript of a book, or when other manuscripts of the same book are not illustrated. There are, however, some Arabic books which have proved to be particularly attractive to pictorial artists, and we have thus several manuscripts of the book many of whose manuscript copies are illustrated, normally by different artists, using different styles, deciding to draw at different parts of the narrative, and living in different times and places of the Islamic empire. Two such books are known to have attracted the imagination of many an artist: Ibn al-Muqaffa"s *Kalīla wa Dimna* and Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, both of which have been mentioned under II/2 above.[89] If the basic principle I advocated above should apply, then we would end up with as many edited works as there are manuscripts. This is a costly way to do editions; ideally, though, it is not only the best way but the only one. Given its cost and low marketability, neither editors nor publishing houses have shown any interest in it. The more practical way is to choose the best manuscript, artistically and textually, to make it the base manuscript for editing, to use its pictures and place them in the text

86 See Tanselle 1995: 10-11.

87 For rare examples of rough drawings and what seem to be unfinished pictures, see the manuscript of the afore-mentioned *Kalīla wa Dimna* preserved at the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago, no. A 12101. See Krek, Miroslav 1961: *A Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute of Chicago*. Chicago, 34.

88 For examples of such drawings and pictures, see, again, the Chicago Oriental Institute manuscript mentioned in the previous note.

89 See above.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000042

exactly where and how they appeared in the manuscript, and then to include the pictures of the other manuscripts, each set from each manuscript separately, and with proper identification, in an appendix or a series of appendices, at the end of the edition, with a clear indication as to where exactly in the edited text each picture falls. As far as I know, this editorial policy has not been applied in neither *Kalīla wa Dimna* nor in the *Maqāmāt*. Rather, what we have, on the one hand, is unillustrated editions of both books done by editors of varying scholarly abilities, and, on the other hand, studies on the manuscripts of each work filled with examples of pictures from all extant manuscripts done by scholars interested in art history.[90]

(c) Early Arabic poetry which has a linguistic and philological value

What I mean by early Arabic poetry is both pre-Islamic and early Islamic, in other words, poetry that falls within the formative period of Islam as identified above under 1. This class of manuscripts is different from the class mentioned under (a) above in that the manuscripts being edited do not date to the formative period, but the poetry contained in them does. It is, however, similar to the class of manuscripts mentioned in (b) above in that the 'sanctity' of the text is limited to the poetry and does not extend to the rest of the manuscript, unless, of course, the manuscript itself is that of the *dīwān*, or collected poems, of a certain poet or a group of early poets.

Early Arabic poetry, as is well known, was, together with the Qur'ān, and to a lesser extent the Prophetic *ḥadīth*, the main sources for documenting the Arabic language in the areas of lexicography, morphology, syntax, grammar, semantics, dialects, idioms, figurative expressions, and eloquent speech. The Arabic tradition is thus replete with citations of 'proof-texts,' *shawāhid*, derived from early verses of poetry, and the purpose of these citations is to explain the ambiguities of texts in all fields; even the texts of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* had to be explained sometimes by reference to Arabic poetry.[91] In addition, and as is well known, pre-Islamic poetry was practically the sole repository of Arabic lore, including language, and, as was mentioned under II/1 above, it was the area that resisted being written down most, in keeping with its deep-rooted pre-Islamic tradition – in contrast to the early recording of the Qur'ān and the gradual recording of the Prophet's *ḥadīth*. The oral mode of transmission which poetry adhered to for almost a century and a half, and its transmission by different transmitters of different backgrounds and capabilities in different places and different times, made the verses of early poetry prone to come in varying words, phrases, idioms, dialects, syntactical constructions, and at times, though to a lesser extent, in line

90 For *Kalila wa Dimna*, see Gruber 1991; for Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*, see Nu'aymī 1979.
91 See Gilliot, Cl[aude]: "Shawāhid," *EI*^{2} IX (1996), 370-372.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000043

order and rhyme. It also allowed for clever (but still early) forgers to add to its authentic corpus single verses or entire poems that were so similar to early poetry that detecting them was excessively difficult.[92] The result of this rather chaotic situation in early Arabic poetry was that much of that poetry has come down to us in many versions and recensions. Since, however, it is extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to know what the original versions were, or to distinguish the authentic from the forged, practically all of the variants have been considered to be part of the proof-texts literature, and this literature became the corpus from which the lexicographers, grammarians, Qur'ān exegetes, *ḥadīth* commentators, and others, drew in their respective works. Because of that, I believe that, with a few exceptions,[93] the editor should keep the version that he finds in his manuscript as is and not change it by referring, say, to the supposedly more authoritative version of the poet's *dīwān*,[94] if such a work exists, for his manuscript's version could very well have been a proof-text from which one lexicographer or another drew on in their works, and the *dīwān* itself is representative of only one version among several. But, in order that the editor be fair to his audience and to his text, he should cite in his footnotes all the other recensions he has come across, for it is in this way that he can convey the vast dimensions of the proof-texts corpus. In the end, I think that the editor's retention of the readings of his manuscript makes us understand the past better, perhaps even more accurately, and in a more illuminating way.

(d) Colloquial and non-Arabic words and expressions and proverbs that have a socio-historical value

As in the previous group (c), the 'sanctity' of the text applies only to these specific words and expressions, and does not extend to the rest of the manuscript. The same applies to the books which deal with proverbs. These books normally include not only the texts of the proverbs themselves but explanations thereof, and in almost all cases, the space allocated for the explanations exceeds by far the one allocated for the proverbs.

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92 See Carter 1995: 557. According to him, pre-Islamic poetry confronts us with a special problem, since there is "an insoluble vagueness about its authenticity and a corresponding confusion about its transmission." Carter, however, adds that "it seems fair to conclude that the likelihood of re-creating perfect texts [of pre-Islamic poetry] is about the same as that of identifying Homer."

93 See the next footnote.

94 *Cf.* Bergstässer 1969: 38-39, where the author requests the editor to cite the recension of the *dīwān*, rejecting whatever other recension he finds in his manuscripts. This, in my opinion, is possible only when the text being edited is corrupt or very late, or when the *dīwān* has survived in a particularly well authenticated recension (like, for example, the *Sharḥ ash'ār al-hudhaliyyīn*, which has survived with the transmission of the famous philologist Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī).

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With regard to the colloquial and foreign words and expressions, this idea is based on the general observation that Arabic manuscripts in the medieval period have been all written (with the exception of the relatively small corpus of colloquial poetry, *zajal*) in *fuṣḥā* (high) Arabic, the standards of which were set from the very beginning of Islam by the Qur'ān's language, as was mentioned in II/4 above. Occasionally, however, an author departs from the high language into the locally spoken language, and this is immediately spotted by the reader, given the diglossic feature of the Arabic language referred to under II/4 above. The contexts in which authors normally do that are numerous. They include instances of informal dialogue, which is not uncommon in Arabic literature (e.g. *aysh* in lieu of *ayy shay'*); renditions of jokes, as was legislated from early times by the towering litterateur al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/861);[95] comments spoken by characters from the lower classes, as one often encounters it in the works of the same Jāḥiẓ, but also those of his disciple Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) and his socially inclined contemporary al-Qāḍī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994); special terms and expressions used by professional beggars and other inhabitants of the Islamic underworld, like the notorious Banū Sāsān of the fourth/tenth century, now available in an English translation,[96] as well as the literature which intends to be obscene, as in one of the *Maqāmāt* (séances) of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 392/1008)[97] or the notorious *Ḥikāyat abī l-qāsim al-baghdādī*,[98] whose author is unknown; and literature which is essentially folk literature, like the famous *One Thousand and One Nights*, which was marvelously edited with all its colloquialisms by Muḥsin Mahdī.[99] Other instances of the use of the vernacular include the special feature of the *kharja* in the Andalusian poetic genre called the *muwashshaḥ*, which consisted sometimes of final lines in vernacular Arabic completely or partially in Romance form.[100] In all of these cases, the editor has to keep the text as it is for the purpose of making the past more illuminating to us. Such texts, actually, if left as they are, can be invaluable for all medieval Islamicists, especially the social historians and linguists.

As it is well known, proverbs are the product of collective memory, and they belong mostly to a culture's popular lore rather than to its 'high' literature. As

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95 See al-Jāḥiẓ: *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (4 vols., ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn, fourth edition, Cairo 1975). II, 222.

96 See Bosworth, Clifford Edmund 1976: *The Islamic Medieval Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*. 2 vols., Leiden.

97 See *Maqāmāt* (Séances) of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī mentioned above, n. 11, where it was pointed out that this book's editor chose to omit some parts of it because of the obscenities in them.

98 Published as *Abulḳâsim. Ein Bagdâder Sittenbild* von Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Abulmuṭahhar Alazdi (ed. Adam Metz, Heidelberg 1902). The book was later attributed to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī by 'Abbūd al-Shālji, who also edited and personally published it (Beirut, 1980) under the title *al-Risāla al-baghdādiyya*.

99 2 vols., Leiden. See also Carter 1995: 563.

100 See Schöler, G[regor]: "Muwashshaḥ," *EI*^{2} VII (1992), 809-812, esp. p. 810.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000045

such, and as we see it in the Arabic tradition, proverbs sometimes come in forms which do not comply with the morphological or grammatical rules of the literary products of high literature.[101] Thus, when an editor encounters a proverb in which there is a verb that should be, say, in the third person and yet it is in the second, he should never 'correct' it, for this is how it had been memorized over the centuries, and this is how it should remain; any checking of books on proverbs should explain to him the (possibly fabricated) story as to why the proverb came in the 'defective' form it did.[102] It should be added that a very large number of the Arabic proverbs go back to either pre-Islamic times or early Islamic times, i.e., to the formative period of Islam, and this is a further incentive for the editor not to interfere with them, for this is how he can bring to his reader the most accurate and illuminating communication of the past.

Category B: The editor as interpreter of authorial authorization

In the previous part II, under 6, we discussed some general features of the transmission of learning in the medieval Islamic world. This brief discussion indicated unambiguously that, through teaching and networking, the author played a pivotal role in the making of manuscripts, and this role allowed him, during his lifetime, to practice firm control on the dissemination of his works. The discussion further indicated that, as a result of this tacitly organized system, scholars, students, bibliophiles, and copyists came to place manuscripts in a hierarchical structure when it comes to their value or worth: the closer the manuscript was to its author, and verifiably so, the greater was its value; conversely, the farther away the manuscript was from its author, and with the lack of any verification of any attachment to him, the lesser was its value. What this means is that the medieval Islamic world, at least in principle, considered it quite possible that the 'author's voice' or 'intention' is indeed knowable, and when in fact it is, there is nothing that can replace it as a guarantee for the accurate and reliable duplication (and hence publication) of his work.

This statement reminds us strongly of the positions articulated by many Western theorists of critical editing from the Anglo-American world. But here something interesting comes in begging to be taken into consideration. While the Islamic system did indeed confirm the possibility of *direct* access to 'authorial intention' by students and colleagues in situations of *samāʿ* and *qirāʾa*, it also provided other means for accessing it *indirectly* through a variety of channels: handing over the manuscript to a student to make his own copy without necessary

101 On Arabic proverbs, see the first section of Sellheim, R[udolph]: "Mathal," *EI*^{2} VI (1989), 815-825.

102 See, for example, the explanation of "*al- ṣayfa ḍayyaʿti l-laban*" (in the summer you lost the milk) in al-Bakrī, Abū ʿUbayd: *Majmaʿ al-amthāl*, eds. Iḥsān ʿAbbās and ʿAbd al-Majīd ʿĀbdīn (Beirut 1971): 357.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000046

supervision (*munāwala*); correspondence with colleagues who request a copy of his book (*kitāba*, *mukātaba*), whence the book would be copied also without the author's direct supervision; and through the flexible institution of licensing (*ijāza*), where the recipient of the license could be restricted to transmitting only one text but could also be allowed to transmit all the author's works and transmissions. So what we really have here is a slight shift from the author to the author's 'authorization,' and this a issue that was put forward in the German school of critical editorial theory by Siegfried Scheibe[103] – albeit, it must be strongly emphasized, in the vastly different authorial, editorial, and publishing practices of the contemporary world. According to Scheibe, in the words of Hans Zeller, a member of this school, "authorized" manuscripts include, in part, "all manuscripts of a work in whose production the author was involved or that were produced under his instructions (and demonstrably controlled by him)."[104] We are thus here on the territory of a different school of thought which can be applied better, with necessary variations, I must again emphasize, to the context of the corpus of Arabic manuscripts. Zeller has reiterated even further distinctions between two kinds of authorization made in the German school: "active" and "passive" authorization, and that in words which echo the divisions we have noticed in the Islamic system of transmission of learning – again despite the different context and precise signification. In Zeller's words:[105]

> Not only do authorized and unauthorized witness documents realize the author's textual intention with varying degrees of purity, but some witness documents stand closer to or further from the author within the authorized transmission. There are thus varying, or higher and lower, degrees of authorization ... This merely formal, all-inclusive authorization has been called "passive authorization" (in contrast to the "active" variety of the author's express approval) ...

Accordingly, I would like to list here the Arabic manuscripts which may be considered as having authorial authorization. Beginning with those that have "active authorization," these are:

(a) The author's verifiable autograph;
(b) A copy dictated by the author to the student and read back to the author after it was copied, and having a statement indicating the occurrence of the "hearing" (*samā'*) and "reading" (*qirā'a*);
(c) A copy not by the author's hand but the author read it and indicated by statement the occurrence of "reading" (*qirā'a*);

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103 See Zeller, Hans 1995: "Record and Interpretation: Analysis and Documentation as Goal and Method of Editing." In Hans Gabler (ed.) 1995: 26-28.

104 *Ibid.*, 26. Other authorized manuscripts mentioned there are "all printings whose production the author wished or approved and whose text he influenced by delivering the setting copy or by revising or arranging for revisions during the printing process." These do not concern us here since they deal with the modern printing process.

105 *Ibid.*, 27-28.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000047

(d) A copy dictated by author to the student, and having a statement indicating the occurrence of "hearing" (*samāʿ*);
(e) A copy read by the student to the author, and having a statement indicating the occurrence of "reading" (*qirāʾa*).

Going to manuscripts which have the author's "passive authorization," these are:

(f) A copy made by a student or a scholar from an approved copy by the author which was "handed over" personally by the author to the student or the scholar, and having a statement indicating the occurrence of the "handing over" (*munāwala*);
(g) A copy made by a student or a scholar from an approved copy by the author which was "requested by correspondence" from the author to the student or the scholar, and having a statement indicating the occurrence of the "correspondence" (*kitāb, mukātaba*);
(h) A copy made by a student or a scholar from an approved copy by the author which was specifically "licensed" by the author to the student or the scholar, and having a statement indicating the occurrence of the "license" (*ijāza*);
(i) A copy collated (*muʿāraḍa*; *muqābala*) with the author's autograph;
(j) A copy collated (*muʿāraḍa*; *muqābala*) with an author-approved copy of his work.[106]

How much should the scholarly editor interfere with the text of these manuscripts? And what does he do if he finds errors in them? Above all, should the manuscripts which are "actively authorized" be treated differently from those which are "passively authorized"? Zeller's answer to the last question is that all author-authorized manuscripts should be treated equally, and that the differentiation between "active" and "passive" authorization "is not a relevant differentiation for editorial practice" since "the difference is theoretical, and not practically applicable."[107] His answer to the second and first questions is clear: "authorization is binding for the constitution of texts except in the case of certain instances termed textual faults, which, if the means of eliminating the error is unambiguous, entitle and oblige the editor to textual intervention (emendation)."[108] Although he later seems less absolute about this statement, saying that in the particular cases he was concerned with, an author's factual errors in the historical and

106 See above for the Muslim scholars' ranking of manuscripts.
107 Zeller 1995: 28.
108 *Ibid.*, 28. See also: 36-37, where Zeller says, "Following the definitions of Scheibe and Allemann, we can now state as a criterion of the textual fault that it admits of no sense in relation to its context; or with respect to recent literature, defies the specific logic, the internal textual structure, of the given text. The textual fault is an element in the text as documented and transmitted that is contradictory to the structure of the work in question. Implementation: the textual fault requires emendation if the means of eliminating it are unambiguous; if not emended, the textual fault should be marked in the edited text. No textual intervention should occur in cases of doubt."

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000048

linguistic spheres should be noted in the footnotes rather than changes in the text,[109] his position has probably to do with defining what the "ambiguous" and "unambiguous" impetus for emendation is, among other factors.

While I agree in principle with Zeller's position, I think that a further distinction has to be made when one moves from the contemporary Western world of authorship, editing, and publication to the medieval Islamic world of distant authors whose works are dealt with by modern editors. My observation of the Arabic medieval manuscripts has led me to believe that, unless they are of the class of "active authorization," i.e., they are under the direct control of the author, manuscripts are so much subject to scribal error that editorial intervention in them should be a little more aggressive. To explain my position further, I would say that, if an editor has one manuscript of the class of "active authorization," his intervention in its text should be absolutely minimal, and thus he should always indicate the errors in the footnotes. If he has, in addition to this copy, a second copy of the same work which falls in class of "passive authorization" or has a lower value than any of the manuscripts in that class, then the first manuscript must be considered the base manuscript. More frequently, though, the editor would not be able to have at hand a copy that belongs to the "active authorization" class, but rather one that belongs to the "passive authorization" class. If this is the only manuscript he has, then he might want to consider making emendations in the text rather than noting errors in the footnotes in the cases where the error is absolutely glaring and he is certain, and can provide evidence in the footnotes, that the error could not have been from the author but from the intermediaries between the author and the final product, the manuscript at hand. When, however, the editor has a copy which belongs to the class of "passive authorization" and, in addition, a manuscript of lower status, then obviously the first manuscript would become his base text and would have priority over the second one in deciding readings.

There are a few classes of manuscripts which are author-related and need a few words. The first is the author's draft (*musawwada*), of which several samples have survived in the Arabic manuscript corpus. Dealing with them as author's autographs is possible only in the absence of the autograph itself,[110] obviously, but caution should be exercised in treating them as if they were representative of the final form of the text as intended by the author, since they are not so, by definition. In fact, some of the drafts that have come down to us are filled with blank spaces, sometimes rather large, indicating that that author planned to add material which he could not, at the moment of writing, get hold of, and filled also with glued small sheets, indicating that the author fell upon an addition for which

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109 See *ibid.*, 29-30.

110 As in the case of a part of Ibn Khallikān's famous work *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* in the edition of Iḥsān ʿAbbās (8 vols., Beirut 1972). The editor discovered the author's partial draft from the second volume onward; see II, 5.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000049

there was no space in the text. A similar, and yet slightly different, situation arises when the author writes several versions of his book, a phenomenon for which Bergsträsser suggested the term "*ibrāza*, pl. *ibrāzāt*."[111] This is not an uncommon phenomenon in the medieval Arabic corpus,[112] and it has to be handled with great care, starting with the study of the history of the book's versions and comparing them with each other when more than one version is available.

Another matter has to be noted also, namely that, in the Arabic manuscript tradition, cases have been known of copyists who, when copying from the author's autograph, would copy his name (as author *and copyist*) and the date of copying, thus deceiving the readers that what they have is actually the autograph itself. As was mentioned above, under II/7, such fraud, whether intentional or accidental, is something the editor has to be wary of, and hence apply all possible means of verification when an autograph falls into his hand, or indeed when any "authorized" copy falls into his hand. These manuscripts are normally so rare and valuable that special care ought to be taken in verifying them before any editing starts.

The last issue I would like to dwell upon in this section is the issue of whether it is permissible for the editor to change the appearance of the manuscript in print by making formal changes in it for modernization and normalization purposes, and that is by adopting what has now become standard orthography and spelling, adding punctuation, breaking the text into chapters, sections and paragraphs, and also providing tables of contents and indices, and, if needed, clarifying charts or tables in attached appendices.[113] This is a very important issue in my opinion, in view of the history of editing in Arabic. The early editors of Arabic manuscripts in Europe and in the Arab world, from the nineteenth century and until the first decades of the twentieth, tended to be 'puritanical' in their approach to editing, in the sense that they tried to reproduce the text of the manuscript with such minimal intervention that they even kept out of their editions almost all punctuation and paragraphing unless absolutely necessary. In Europe, this attitude was understandable in view of the overarching influence exercised by the philological approach to scholarship then, and, in the Arab countries, the early printers/proof-readers (the 'proto-editors')[114] simply followed the model of the manuscripts first and then the editors followed the model of the European editions. In a sense, of course, such editions were 'true' to the manuscripts they handled and to the Arabic manuscript tradition. In another, however, they were, in my opinion, trying to avoid 'interpreting' their texts,

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111 See Bergsträsser (ed. Bakrī) 1969: 26.

112 See Bergsträsser (ed. Bakrī) 1969: 26-30; Rosenthal 1947/1980: 30/82; Hārūn 1977: 33-36; 'Abd al-Tawwāb 1985: 69-70; 'Usaylān 1994: 126-128; 'Umarī 1995: 24.

113 *Cf.* Zeller 1995: 27.

114 Ṭanāḥī 1982: 31-57 has an interesting chapter on those involved with correcting the proofs of the early printing presses in Cairo and the books that were published then.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000050

since punctuation and other formal aspects of writing pretty much 'fix' the text in terms of meaning and message, not unlike translation. And again here the early editors were minimalist and puritanical. But is this really the right way to make editions of Arabic medieval texts?

I ask this question specifically not because editions in Arabic nowadays are like their predecessors, for they thankfully are not – albeit with a few very exceptions.[115] I ask it, rather, because it is related to a matter that is of fundamental importance in my vision of editing, namely that the accessibility of the edited text is of paramount importance, and an editor who can make his edition accessible to his audience today has a moral duty to do so to the best of his ability. But, the puritans would object, that would be at the price of departing from the Arabic manuscript tradition itself, and of preventing readers from producing their own interpretations of the text! Well, my answer to the first question is that, when the authors of those manuscripts wrote their books, they wanted these manuscripts to be accessible to their audiences, there is no doubt about that. In the medieval period, those audiences, having seen no alternatives, took them in the form they came and understood them for what they were, for what the author wanted them to be, although in some rare instances differences in interpretation did arise. Our audiences nowadays are simply not used to texts without the interpreting punctuation, and they resent having to interpret every idea in every line or paragraph; some might even say it is not their business to do that, and we all know how our students suffer (and make comprehension mistakes) when they have to read a thick Būlāq publication with over forty lines per page. And there is another aspect to the issue, namely that when a scholarly editor chooses to edit a manuscript, he chooses one that falls into his area of specialization and expertise – at least ideally this is how things should be.[116] Thus, as the scholarly editor goes about his editing, he is actually undertaking a scholarly enterprise which at times could be as exacting as writing a tome from scratch. As a scholar, then, he is precisely the person who is capable of interpreting the text he is editing, and that he *must* do, for

[115] A good example would be the 1985 edition of *Kitāb al-najāt* of Imām Aḥmad al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (d. 315/927) which was edited by the venerated scholar and dear friend Wilferd Madelung (Beirut/Wiesbaden 1985). This book is a Zaydī refutation of Ibāḍī believers in predestination, and hence is one of the very difficult texts in the Arabic theological tradition. Professor Madelung, working with something close to the puritanism of the early philologists, preferred to be a minimalist in his edition. This has made the book rather inaccessible for the untrained reader, and even to specialists in other branches of Islamic studies, which is a pity, since Professor Madelung is one of the few specialists in the world on Zaydī theology, and his expertise would have really opened the doors for interested but not specialized scholars to understand the book better and to benefit from it in their research.

[116] There is a great deal of "commercial editing" in the Arab countries. The people involved in this kind of editing are normally not specialists, and, encouraged by the greed and unscrupulousness of some publishers, they produce works that cannot be the basis for serious scholarship. Such non-professional editing might also be undertaken by individuals or groups for religious, political, or some such purposes.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000051

he has no right to rid his audience of the opportunity of accessing his text, and leaving them in the dark to struggle with it, making them on top of that pay for the price of his sense of puritanism.

The second possible objection of the puritanical editor is that the Arabic manuscript tradition itself did not have the tools of punctuation, and so forth. Yes, indeed, that tradition did not have them; but, then again, and as was mentioned above in II/7, this tradition did indicate its need for them when it created, unsystematically, it is true, various symbols (*sigla*) for a period (full-stop), for the beginning and end of a citation, for the beginning of a new page, for the introduction of poetry in a prose text, and even for what can be easily considered a table of contents – albeit within their introductions to their books rather than at their ends. It even indicated the need for titles within texts by either writing them in red ink or using a bigger font; in some cases, like biographical dictionaries, the subject of the biography is written sometimes in the margin. And the margin reminds us of something else. It is true that the Arabic manuscript tradition knew nothing about footnotes, it nevertheless recognized the need of readers to write comments, glosses, or corrections, and the only space they thought of was the right and left margins of the page, although sometimes they used the top and bottom parts of the page as well. Such features of the Arabic medieval manuscript tradition should encourage us to apply the modern systems of punctuation and other trappings of modern publication to our edited texts. They make them accessible to our audiences. And certainly the author wanted his book to be accessible.

Category C: The editor as active repairer and critical scholar

To this category belong the rest, and the vast majority, of the manuscripts in the Arabic medieval corpus, probably no less than 90 percent of it, so that, for all practical purposes, they are the kind of manuscripts the editor has to deal with almost all the time. Paradoxically, though, the large volume of these manuscripts does not translate into superior value, nor does it entail the lessening of the burden on the editor's shoulders when he works with them.

For one thing, these manuscripts have no special initial 'sanctity' about them, since they are neither precious documents that must not be touched, nor authorized copies of celebrated authorial pedigree that must at least be respected. For another thing, whereas the editor knows exactly the rules of his role as a passive preserver when he edits documents and their agnates mentioned under category A, and is on firm ground even as an interpreter of authorial authorization when he deals with the authorized copies mentioned under category B, the editor is faced in the manuscripts under this category with such a mind-boggling variety of manuscript types that finding a firm footing in dealing with them in each and every editing project is exceedingly difficult. Despite this variety, though, there

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000052

are two things that uniformly apply to all of these manuscripts during the editorial process. The first is that, like the manuscripts under B, these manuscripts must be subjected to the same formal emendations in areas such as orthography, spelling, punctuation, breaking into paragraphs, sections, and chapters, indexing, and the like. The necessity of taking this step, as was explained above, is making the edited text accessible to the modern reader in the same way the manuscript was accessible to the medieval reader. The second is that, since there is no *prima facie* 'sanctifying protective quality' about these manuscripts, the editor has no prior restrictions when approaching them; rather he has a broad range of freedom, limited only by his professional expertise and critical judgement, in deciding how much he can interfere in their texts. Because of that, the editor can and must approach them as texts that permit, in principle, of repair in cases of corruption, and this repair has to be done critically and with the use of what Tanselle has called the editor's "trained imagination."[117]

The manuscripts that fall under this category are of every kind and shape imaginable. Some are old, others are much more recent; some are complete, others lack a smaller or larger number of folios; most have their folios in perfect order, others have many of their folios misplaced; some are bound, others are not, and a bound volume mostly includes one book, but it could include several, too – the notorious *majmūʿa*; some have a title page, some do not, but the cataloguers supply them with a (possibly faulty) title; some are very well preserved, others are distorted by the ravages of time, worms and water; some are beautifully written, others are awfully executed; some are dated, others are not; some carry the name of the copyist, others do not; some have some symbols for rudimentary punctuation and/or pagination, some do not; and some dot and vowel letters and words accurately, others seem not to have heard about dots and vowel-signs, or they have heard about them but do not care where they should sit, or whether the vowel-signs serve a real function or they are nothing but nice decorations to be applied at will regardless of consequence. Again, most of those manuscripts are long, being made up of several to many volumes, others are small tomes; some are written by one hand, others by two, three or more hands; some are collated with other copies, some are not; some have comments on the margins, others do not; some contain texts with which the copyist is familiar, others talk about things the copyist has never heard of – and the result shows immediately; some are written by well-known scholars, others by pedestrian, market-type copyists; and some come in a unicum, other in several, scores, or even possibly hundreds of copies. And one can go on, and on ...

How can a theorist find editorial rules that apply to all these disparate kinds or manuscripts? Although some Orientalist and Arab scholars have made several proposals in this area (albeit always discussing all the manuscripts of classes A, B

117 Tanselle 1995: 16.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000053

and C together), I believe it is not possible to give a single, all encompassing proposal, unlike the case of the manuscripts in classes A and B, given the diversity of situations the editor finds himself facing when he goes from one editorial project to another. What I can do instead is to make some general observations from which some guidelines and perhaps a framework can be drawn.

The first observation is that, in this class of manuscripts, the author's intention has a less commanding presence in his work than in the authorized copies, since there are many intermediaries (copyists, owners, readers) between the author and the manuscript in the editor's hand, and what these intermediaries wrote on the manuscript, or even how they wrote it, affects the manuscript not only in its appearance but also possibly in its text. Although this text is principally the author's, the absence of its original form makes the editor rather than the author take center stage in the editorial process. As such, the editor's critical judgement is constantly called upon to make one decision after another in the editorial process.

The second observation is that the decisions which the editor makes are necessarily connected with the particular project he is working on, which means that they are based on the specific manuscripts that he has collected for the completion of his project. This is important to note because the daunting situation of the Arabic medieval manuscripts, as it was described above, is not his to deal with in its entirety; his concern, rather, is with the few manuscripts with which he is going to work. These manuscripts have specific characteristics, both good and bad, and it is with these specific characteristics that he has to deal. In addition, when editor's project is finished and he wishes to embark on another project, he collects other manuscripts for that project, and his concern now will shift to the specific characteristics of these manuscripts. And the same goes for later projects. This means, of course, that, although the editor might have some constants in his editorial policy, there is a great deal in that policy that is dictated by the specific manuscripts at his disposal at a particular moment in time.

The third observation is that, whether he is aware of it or not, the editor has a goal which he wants to reach by his edition. Assuming that his goal is the one I have stated above, namely that he makes his edition an accurate, illuminating, and accessible communication from the past, he has to decide how the specific manuscripts he has help him best achieve this goal. For, if he has an accurate manuscript, one, say, written by a prominent scholar in the area of his specialization, he can achieve his goal fairly easily, and with little interference on his part. If, on the other hand, he has several manuscripts all of which display several textual corruptions, then the interference required from him is enormous.

What this means is that, before beginning to edit, the editor must be in complete control of his manuscripts and the problems they pose. On the basis of his full knowledge of those manuscripts, he decides how they relate to each other, and, based on that, in what 'hierarchical order' they should be placed, if at all

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000054

relevant, or some other order that he believes stems from their very natures. Once he has done that, he will have an idea as to how much interference would be needed of him in his edition, and whether that interference will be based on taking one manuscript as the base text to which the other manuscripts are subordinate, or whether all his manuscripts are so equal in inaccuracy that resorting to eclecticism becomes unavoidable, although it might be the least appealing of choices for the editor in principle.

It is at this point that the editor has to define for himself, and eventually for the reader (in the introduction), the framework of his interference policy, and that by explaining its reasons and spelling out the exact criteria for the operation of his critical judgment. This is an extremely important matter for the editor to be crystal clear about, for it is the guarantee for the consistency of his work. As Tanselle says, "[a] coherent rationale of approach is properly a desideratum of textual scholarship, as of other fields, but any rationale of critical editing that seeks to limit (rather than to systematize) the role of judgement is not coherent, since by definition critical editing exists to draw on the strength of human judgment as a means of correcting the defects of documentary texts."[118]

The editor's critical judgment, thus, is crucial for the editorial process. Often it is an agonizing process: does he correct a grammatical error in a particular place? And what does he do with historical or geographical errors, or with inconsistencies in the text? Does changing them make the text a less transparent "communication from the past"? What I would like to propose, as a general framework, is that the editor should correct the mistakes in his text whenever he is certain that they are mistakes, and when his correction of these mistakes does not tamper with the "historical" value of his text, nor does it deprive it of its accuracy and illuminating characteristics. His correction, however, should be based on a solid foundation: a variant reading in another manuscript, a citation of the text in another book, a well-known idiomatic usage, a Qur'ānic formulaic expression, a famous poetic metaphor, lexical or grammatical evidence, historical or geographical records, and the like. Given the nature of the Arabic script, and the conditions under which the copyists in medieval Islam worked, this is not an unreasonable position to take. Once the evidence is there, and the editor is convinced by it, the emendation is in order. In the class C manuscripts, an editor may make not only formal and cautious changes, but also substantive changes which could lead more than the formal changes to the interpretation of the text. But, as I said above, the editor is a scholar who, ideally, is a specialist in the manuscript's field, and, as a scholar, his interpretation should be welcome.

At this point, a person might object, saying: but how can you reconcile this stance with the earlier stance concerning the actively authorized manuscripts, where the errors were allowed to stand? For could not an error in a manuscript in

118 Tanselle 1995: 19.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000055

class C be the author's error? My answer to this objection is threefold. First, in the authorized manuscripts, the author's presence is so strong that the editor retreats before it, allowing the author to bear the responsibility of his work. Secondly, by keeping the author's errors in the edition of his text, the editor preserves a truly illuminating and accurate "communication from the past." And thirdly, while the errors in the class C manuscripts could indeed have been of author's doing not of the scribes', there is no way for us to tell, in the absence of an authorized copy, whose it was; and, in addition, the likelihood that the error should have come from the scribe's hand is, on average, higher than its coming from the author's.

Let me recapitulate.

I have tried in this paper to highlight the impact of principle on procedure in scholarly editing. Concentrating on the editor's ethical and professional responsibilities, I noted multiplicity and conflict in these responsibilities, and that such a situation gives rise to various editorial approaches and theories. The editor, however, remains at the center of the editorial enterprise, and it is his goal that dictates his approach. In the second section, I discussed the approaches advocated by Arab and Orientalist scholars regarding the editing of Arabic medieval manuscripts, concentrating on those approaches that have an impact on how much a scholarly editor should interfere in his text, or, conversely, how 'sacred' the text of a manuscript is. Starting from a historical approach, as defined by Tanselle, I defined the editor's goal, to some extent following Tanselle, as the reception of accurate, illuminating, and accessible communications from the past. On that basis, I proposed that, in the editing of medieval Arabic manuscripts, certain aspects of Islamic history and civilization be examined before a decision is made as to how 'sacred' the text of a manuscript is. These aspects include the transition from orality to recording in the formative period of Islam; the controversial issue of including images in a text; the nature of the Arabic script; specific features of the Arabic language; the nature and volume of compilation in Arabic in the medieval period; the transmission of learning in the same period; and the copyists and their practices then. In the last section, I related those aspects to the issue of how 'sacred' the text of a manuscript is, specifically in the light of my proposed goal as stated earlier. The conclusion I came out with is that there is no one single procedure that can be applied to all of the medieval Arabic manuscripts, but rather three. In the first, the texts of the manuscripts are completely 'sacred' and must be reproduced by the editor with no interference at all; they include products of the formative period, pictures and illustrations, poetry, proverbs, and dialectical expressions. In the second, the texts of the manuscripts must be interfered with minimally, mainly formally, in order to ensure access in particular; they include principally manuscripts written by the author or authorized by him according to Scheibe's criteria. And in the third, the editor has a fairly

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wide range of freedom in interfering with his texts; they include all the other manuscripts not mentioned in the first two categories.

In the end, there isn't, perhaps, such thing as a 'perfect edition' for medieval Arabic manuscripts; but there can be an 'authoritative edition.' This kind of edition takes a very long time to produce, given the tendency of Arabic manuscripts to be long and scattered. As a result, authoritative editions will continue to coexist with quickly-produced, unauthoritative editions, especially given that team-edition projects have only rarely been successful. The only thing that can change the editing landscape is the aggressive regulatory interference of a culturally influential and politically supported professional board – and this is unlikely to happen in the near future. In the meantime, the editor with professional expertise and critical judgment remains the best guarantor for making our manuscripts carry an accurate, illuminating and accessible message from the past.

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Text and Illustration

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Writing and Illustrating History: Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*

Sheila S. Blair

The *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, or Compendium of Chronicles, the multi-volume world history composed by the Ilkhanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn in the early years of the fourteenth century, provides an excellent model for studying the production and transmission of manuscripts in medieval times, because we have so much information about it. In addition to the author's instructions specifying how manuscripts should be produced, we have several copies of the text made under his supervision. These manuscripts stand at the forefront of three centuries during which the illustrated book became a major art form in Iran and the eastern Islamic lands, and so they provide important information about how scribes and artists developed the new tradition of the illustrated book. Despite the patron's strict control over production, the three copies dated to the 710s/1310s show that already during his lifetime, scribes and artists had to make slight changes in format and illustration. The text continued to be copied for several centuries in Iran and India, and looking at these later manuscripts shows us how artists further adapted the original models. In addition to theoretical models, then, studying the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* and other manuscripts commissioned by Rashīd al-Dīn allows us to understand the practical problems in the transmission of medieval manuscripts, especially those with illustrations.

First, to the author and patron. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh b. 'Imād al-Dawla Abū al-Khayr al-Hamadānī al-Ṭabīb was born *ca.* 645/1247 at Hamadan in western Iran, the son of a Jewish apothecary.[1] He converted to Islam at the age of thirty, perhaps at the time he entered the service of the Ilkhanid ruler Abaqa (r. 1265-82) as physician. Rashīd al-Dīn rose quickly through the ranks of the imperial bureaucracy under Ghāzān (r. 1295-1304) and his brother Öljeytü (r. 1304-16), until he reached the rank of vizier. Rashīd al-Dīn served briefly as deputy to the chief vizier, Ṣadr al-Dīn Zanjānī, and after Ṣadr al-Dīn's execution in the spring of 1298, was appointed co-vizier with Sa'd al-Dīn Sāvajī. After Sa'd al-Dīn's execution in 1312, Rashīd al-Dīn was again appointed co-vizier, this time with Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh, a wily jeweller. The two were bitter rivals, and soon after the accession of Öljeytü's teenage son Abū Sa'īd in 1317, 'Alīshāh succeeded in having his counterpart dismissed. Incurring the envy of his rivals, Rashīd al-Dīn was accused of having poisoned Öljeytü and executed on 17 Jumādā I 718/17 July 1318. The vizier's head was reportedly paraded about Tabriz amidst jeers about the accursed Jew; his estates were plundered.

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1 For a brief biography, see Morgan 1995.

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Rashīd al-Dīn was a busy man. Along with his duties as vizier, he was a major patron of the arts. Like other members of the Ilkhanid court, Rashīd al-Dīn used his wealth to finance architectural projects in the form of tax-sheltered pious foundations. He established them at Sulṭāniyya, Yazd, Basṭām, and Hamadan, but the largest was the Rab'-i Rashīdī, an eastern suburb of Tabriz.[2] Although little trace remains of the quarter, the text of its endowment deed dated 1 Rabī' I 709/9 August 1309 has survived.[3] It shows that the quarter comprised a monumental entrance complex leading to the main section with the founder's tomb complex within a mosque, a hospice for visitors (*dār al-ḍiyāfa*), a *khanaqāh* for Sufis, a hospital, and service buildings. To support the enormous complex, the vizier set aside the prodigious sum of nearly fifty thousand dinars.[4] One half of the endowment went to the overseers (Rashīd al-Dīn and, after his death, his sons). The other half provided support for more than three hundred employees and slaves and upkeep for the buildings.

As part of the endowment for the Rab'-i Rashīdī, Rashīd al-Dīn provided for the copying of manuscripts: every year two scribes were to transcribe copies of a thirty-volume manuscript of the Koran and a collection of *ḥadīth*, *Jāmi' al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-rasūl*.[5] Rashīd al-Dīn carefully spelled out how these manuscripts should be produced. The scribes were to write on large-size *baghdādī* paper of extremely fine quality in a good clean hand. When finished, the manuscripts were to be taken to the main *īvān* of the tomb complex and placed on a raised platform between the *miḥrāb* and the *minbar*, where a prayer would be recited for the donor. The superintendent was also to have the manuscripts inscribed with a prayer offering praises to God and stipulating that Rashīd al-Dīn had ordered that the manuscripts be endowed to the residents of a specific city.

We can match the texts described in Rashīd al-Dīn's endowment deed to several surviving examples of two thirty-part manuscripts of the Koran. The first (fig. 1) is a single volume (the 26th) from a thirty-volume manuscript (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Library EH 248).[6] According to the colophon, it was copied by 'Abdallāh b. Abī al-Qāsim b. 'Abdallāh al-Tūvī al-Rūdrāvarī, a scribe who apparently hailed from the small town of Tūv in the Rūdrāvar district south of Hamadan, and finished in Ṣafar 715/April 1315. The certificate of commissioning mentions that the manuscript was made for the treasury (*khizāna*) of Rashīd al-Dīn.

The scribe may have been working at the Rab'-i Rashīdī in Tabriz or at one of Rashīd al-Dīn's other pious foundations, for another thirty-part manuscript of

2 Wilber 1969: no 34, Blair 1984; Hoffmann 1997.

3 Rashīd al-Dīn 1350/1972.

4 By way of comparison, the tax-returns received by the administrative bureau (*dīvān*) of the central government were on the order of 20,000,000 dinars, some four hundred times Rashīd al-Dīn's endowment; see Petrushevsky 1968: 497.

5 Rashīd al-Dīn 1350/1972: 133-34.

6 James 1988: no. 46.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000062

the Koran (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub ms. 72) was done in Rashīd al-Dīn's pious foundation in Hamadan (fig. 2).[7] The colophon to the final *juzʿ* specifies that the scribe, ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Hamadānī wrote and gilded the manuscript in Jumādā I 713/September 1313 at Rashīd al-Dīn's pious foundation at Hamadan. Certificates of commissioning at the end of each volume bear the name of the Ilkhanid sultan Öljeytü, and the magnificent manuscript may have been intended for his tomb complex at Sulṭāniyya. Later, however, the manuscript was sent as a present to the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Cairo, where the certificates were doctored so that the name of the Mamluk ruler was written over that of the Ilkhanid.

These two copies of the Koran share many features. Both are large manuscripts, with each folio measuring approximately 55 x 40 cm. Both have five lines of large script per page in a style that merges many features of the monumental *muḥaqqaq* with the more curvilinear *thuluth*. Both manuscripts have double blue rulings surrounding the text, written in black in the copy made for the vizier and in gold outlined in black in the copy made for the sultan. Both share a similar color scheme and narrow border of palmettes.

On stylistic grounds, it is possible to attribute two other dispersed thirty-part manuscripts of the Koran to the patronage of Rashīd al-Dīn. The first was made in Mosul between 706 and 710 (1306-11).[8] Certificates appended to the front of each *juzʿ* mention that the manuscript was copied for Sultan Öljeytü under the auspices of the viziers Rashīd al-Dīn and Saʿd al-Dīn Sāvajī. Copied by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, the manuscript has the same five-line-per-page format as the two other thirty-volume manuscripts of the Koran made under Rashīd al-Dīn's auspices and nearly the same dimensions (57 x 40 cm).

The second copy of the Koran that can be attributed to the patronage of Rashīd al-Dīn (fig. 3) was copied at Baghdad by Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawardī and illuminated by Muḥammad b. Aybak b. ʿAbdallāh between 701 and 707 (1302-08).[9] It shares the same large size (50 x 35 cm) and five-line format with the other multi-part manuscripts of the Koran known to have been made for Rashīd al-Dīn. Details of the illumination connect it specifically to the Hamadan Koran: the frontispiece to the second *juzʿ* of the Baghdad Koran has pentagons with scrollwork sprouting five tendrils,[10] a feature found only in the Hamadan Koran.

In addition to stylistic similarities, the historical context suggests strongly that Rashīd al-Dīn had a hand in the Baghdad Koran. The manuscript, the finest to survive from the period, was probably begun for Ghāzān, but after his death was

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7 *Ibid.* no. 45.
8 *Ibid.* no. 42.
9 *Ibid.* no. 39.
10 Istanbul, Tokapi Palace Library EH 250, illuminated in Ramaḍān 702/April 1303; see James 1988: 91 and fig. 58.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000063

continued under Rashīd al-Dīn, who supervised Ghāzān's foundations in Baghdad and had fine manuscripts read aloud there. Rashīd al-Dīn also collected the work of Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī, and so he may well have supervised its production. This copy, which took almost six years to complete, was the work of a team of calligrapher and illuminator, and on stylistic grounds the Mosul Koran seems to also have been done by a pair.

Rashīd al-Dīn was evidently pleased with the provision for copying manuscripts in the original endowment deed for the Rab'-i Rashīdī, for three and a half years later at the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijja 713/18 March 1314, the vizier added an addendum to his endowment expanding the commission to include the yearly transcription of two complete copies (one in Arabic and one in Persian) of six of his own works.[11] The first was a theological treatise entitled *Majmū'a-yi rashīdiyya* (Rashidian Collection), itself comprised of four volumes. The second was the multi-volume history, *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*. Originally commissioned by the sultan Ghāzān as a history of the Mongols, it was expanded under Öljeytü to become the earliest known history of the world. Rashīd al-Dīn initially divided the lengthy work into three volumes, but later increased this to four. Volume 1, written for Ghāzān and known as the *Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī*, contains the history of the Mongols. Volume 2 contains a biography of Öljeytü, which has not survived, and a second and much longer part, containing a history of the non-Mongol peoples of Eurasia. Because this volume was so much longer than the others, the author later divided it into two parts. Volume 3 was a geography, which, like the biography of Öljeytü, does not seem to have survived.

The third of his own works that Rashīd al-Dīn ordered copied was entitled *Āthār u aḥyā'* (Monuments and Living things). It deals with a variety of matters connected with meteorology, agriculture, arboriculture, apiculture, destruction of noxious insects and reptiles, farming and stock-breeding, architecture, fortification, ship-building, mining and metallurgy. The text was thought to have been lost, but an abridged copy made in the seventeenth century was recently identified and published.[12] Rashīd al-Dīn's three other works, *Bayān al-ḥaqāyiq*, *Taḥqīq al-mabāḥith* (Verification of topics), and *As'ila u ajviba u ta'līqāt* (Questions, Answers, and Comments), are less well-known.

In the addendum ordering copies of his own works, Rashīd al-Dīn stipulated many of the same provisions he had stipulated for the religious manuscripts ordered in the original endowment. Like the religious manuscripts, the copies of his own works had to be copied on large sheets of fine-quality paper in a clean hand. When finished, the manuscripts were to be brought to the large *īvān* in the tomb complex and placed on a raised platform between the *miḥrāb* and *minbar*. Each was to be inscribed on the back that it had been given to a specific

11 English translation by W. M. Thackston in Blair 1995:114-115.

12 Rashīd al-Dīn 1368/1989; see also the comments and summary by Lambton 2000.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000064

city; and the qadis of Tabriz were to sign each manuscript for verification. The manuscripts were then to be distributed to the cities of Islam, the Arabic copies to Arab cities and the Persian copies to Persian cities, from the largest to the smallest. They were to be deposited in a *madrasa* with a famous professor so that anyone who wanted to copy or study could borrow the manuscript after leaving sufficient deposit. The *madrasa*s thus functioned like lending libraries.

As with the manuscripts of the Koran, we compare the instructions given by Rashīd al-Dīn for copying manuscripts of his own works with extant manuscripts made under his supervision. At least one contemporary copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological treatise (fig. 4) has survived in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale ms arabe 2324).[13] According to the colophon on folio 376b, the manuscript was transcribed by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Amīn known as *zūd-navīs al-baghdādī* (the speedy writer from Baghdad). Like the scribes of the Mosul and Baghdad Koran, the scribe of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological treatise worked in a team with an illuminator, in this case Muḥammad b. al-'Afīf al-Kāshī. The scribe signed the right side of the double-frontispiece, the illuminator the left. The theological treatise bears many similarities to the multi-volume manuscripts of the Koran made for Rashīd al-Dīn, especially the one made for Rashīd al-Dīn in 715/1315. Both of these manuscripts, for example, have a double frontispiece in which the usual star polygon layout is replaced by a central repeat pattern sandwiched between rectangular panels intended for text.[14] The text of the theological treatise, however, differs from that of the Koran: instead of five large lines penned freehand, each page of the *Majmū'a al-rashīdiyya* has 35 lines of *naskh* transcribed on lines ruled with a *masṭar* [*miṣṭar*].

The best information about transcription and transmission of manuscripts in fourteenth-century Iran comes from copies of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, as we have parts of several manuscripts produced for Rashīd al-Dīn during his lifetime. The earliest and most famous (fig. 5) belong to an Arabic version of the second part of the second volume, the history of the non-Mongol peoples of Eurasia. This copy, which bears the date 714/1314-15 at the end of the sub-section on India, is now divided between the Nour Foundation in London (ms. 727) and Edinburgh University Library (ms. 20).[15] The 210 extant folios (59 in London and 151 in Edinburgh) comprise approximately one half of the text, which had at least 109 illustrations plus 23 pages with depictions of Chinese emperors and their attendants.

In addition to this Arabic copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, there are two contemporary copies of the text in Persian in the Topkapi Palace Library in Istanbul.[16] The first (H 1653) is preserved in a manuscript together with work written by the Timurid historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430). The Timurid ruler

13 Richard 1997: no 12.
14 James 1988: fig. 83.
15 Blair 1995.
16 Details given in Blair 1995: 27-28.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000065

Shāhrukh charged his historian with completing a manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* that had a missing volume. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū interpolated sections he had written into the incomplete text by the Ilkhanid historian. The result, often mistakenly confused with a volume of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's own four-volume world history known as the *Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh*, is actually a replacement volume of the *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. The holograph copy of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's replacement volume (H 1653) contains 220 folios (folios 164-219, 227-341, and 343-91) from the original fourteenth-century copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*. A colophon on folio 375 at the end of the section on the Fatimids and Nizaris identifies the work as that of Rashīd al-Dīn and states that it was finished at the end of Jumādā II 714/October 1314. This section contains 68 paintings. Another 208 folios of the manuscript (folios 1-163, 242 and 392-435) are in the hand of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū. A colophon on folio 148a identifies this part as Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's work, done in his own hand and finished on 6 Muḥarram 829/18 November 1425, and a third colophon at the end of the history of the Franks gives the completion date seven months later in Shaʿbān 829/July 1426.

The other manuscript in Istanbul (H. 1654) is a more complete copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* (fig. 6). According to the colophon on folio 350a, it was copied for Rashīd al-Dīn and finished on 3 Jumādā I 717 (14 July 1317); a note below indicates that the manuscript once contained 375 folios, but that someone stole 25, leaving only 350. Like the other manuscript in Istanbul (H 1653), H 1654 has been remargined with a pinkish paper and now measures 560 by 320 mm, but the written area is slightly smaller than the fourteenth-century folios in H 1653 (340 by 240 mm versus 370 by 260) and has fewer lines per page (31 versus 35). The manuscript now contains 118 paintings as well as 78 pages with depictions of Chinese emperors and attendants. On stylistic grounds all but the first three paintings seem to have been added later, and these three Ilkhanid paintings are damaged.[17]

The copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's history made during his lifetime share physical characteristics. All are transcribed on large sheets, which originally measured on the order of 50 x 35 cm, with bifolios measuring 50 x 70 cm. All have fine illumination and space for illustration. All show the same uniformity throughout the manuscript. Like the theological treatise in Paris, each page of the historical manuscripts has 30 or more lines of *naskh* script written on pages ruled with a *masṭar*.

Despite their uniformity, the copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* made during his lifetime show small changes over time. The size of the written area decreases. The 37 x 26 format in the Arabic copy and the Ilkhanid pages of H 1653, both transcribed in 714/1314-15, was slightly reduced to 34 x 24 cm in the Persian copy H 1654 made three years later in 717/1317. The number of lines per

17 Inal 1992.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000066

page correspondingly diminished, from 35 lines per page in the first copies of the histories (and in the theological treatise dated 710/1310) to 31 lines per page in the Persian copy made in 717/1317.

In addition to differences in transcription among the manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's history made during his lifetime, there are small differences in the illustrations, both between manuscripts and within the same manuscript. The text and addendum to Rashīd al-Dīn's *vaqf* both stipulated that manuscripts be copied yearly, but the surviving manuscripts of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* suggest that this stipulation was overly optimistic and that Rashīd al-Dīn deliberately encouraged his scriptorium to speed up production.[18] The Arabic copy, with a date of 714/1314-15, was apparently fully illustrated before the scriptorium was disrupted in 718/1318, but the illustrators were clearly under some pressure as the paintings towards the end of the manuscript become more simplified. Production of the first Persian copy (H 1653) lagged. Although one section of the text was completed at the end of Jumādā II 714/October 1314, the illustrations were never finished and those at the end of the history of the Turks (from folio 384 onwards) were added only when the manuscript was refurbished under the Timurid sultan Shāhrukh.[19] Presumably there was not enough time to complete the manuscript before the vizier's death. The backlog got worse by the time of the second Persian copy (H 1654): according to the colophon, copying was finished on 3 Jumādā I 717/14 July 1317, but there was only time enough to paint the first three illustrations before Rashīd al-Dīn's execution a year later.

There was a corresponding decrease in the quality of the illustrations between the Arabic and the Persian copies of Rashīd al-Dīn's history made at his scriptorium. The paintings in the Arabic copy apparently served as models for those in the Persian manuscripts, but the latter show far less variety. The illustrations in H 1653 contain more standardized figures set in repetitive compositions, flattened circular arrangements, thicker lines, stockier figures, and fewer attempts at three-dimensional representation. The pigments are also cheaper: the artists of H 1653 used far less silver for shading. Most of these changes, like the scribes' changes in format, can be seen as ways to speed up production and reduce costs.

The copies of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* made for Rashīd al-Dīn during his lifetime served as the model for several centuries, and many of the trends already apparent in manuscripts made during the author's lifetime continued. For example, the folios and the text block on them decreased in size. Undated copies of the first volume of text now in Rampur and Calcutta, attributed on stylistic grounds to the fourteenth century, maintain the large dimensions of the originals (page size: 47 x 32 cm, written area 38 x 26 cm), but the writing is more spacious and each page contains only 25 lines of text (as opposed to the 30 or more in the

18 For further details, see Blair 1995: chapter 3.
19 Inal 1992: 45-50.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000067

earlier manuscripts). By the Timurid period, the copies were slightly smaller. For example, a copy of the first volume containing the *Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī* made in Herat *ca.* 1430 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, or. suppl. persan 1113) measures 32 x 23 cm, dimensions similar to the written area of the fourteenth-century copies.[20]

By the Mughal period the dimensions had shrunk further still. One example is a splendid copy of volume one of the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* made for the Mughal emperor Akbar in 1004/1596 (Tehran, National Library). It now contains 304 folios, each measuring some 39 by 25. They are approximately the same size as those in the Timurid copy, but the text block measures only 25 by 15 cm, some one-third the size of the text block in the Ilkhanid originals, and contains only 25 lines of text per page. Mughal artists adhered to the traditional format of rectangular illustrations inserted into the text, but expanded the height of the illustrations, and, more importantly, extended the compositions into the margin so that the paintings envelop the text. Text has given way to image. There are 98 large paintings remaining in the manuscript; several others have been detached. In most cases, the simple and additive compositions of the Ilkhanid originals have been expanded to include numerous details of daily life.

In his foreword to Henri-Jean Martin's classic work, *The History and Power of Writing*, Pierre Chaunu wrote: "The century of the great take-off was the fourteenth, the century of Paper and the first outpouring of reading in the vernacular. The new start happened *then*, it took off full tilt and foreshadowed all that followed."[21] Martin's book deals mainly with the European tradition, but studying Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* shows that the fourteenth century was also the key moment in the production of large, fine and profusely illustrated texts in West Asia.

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20 Richard 1997: no. 40.

21 Martin 1994: xii.

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The battle of the images

Mekka vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*

*Jan Just Witkam**

Introduction

The prayer-book *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* by the Moroccan mystical activist Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465)[1] is one of the most successful books in Sunni Islam, after the *Qur'ān* itself. It is known from the Islamic West, where it was written more than five hundred years ago, till far in South-East Asia, and everywhere in-between. There must be many thousands of manuscripts of it all over the world, and many hundreds of printed versions. The numerous editions which are currently available in the entire Islamic world[2] prove that the book has lost nothing of its appeal. Most manuscripts and all printed editions of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* are provided with two illustrations, showing either elements of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, or views of the Great Mosque of Mekka and the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Why these illustrations came to be inserted into al-Jazūlī's prayer-book in the first place, and how they changed from one representation into another is the subject of the present paper.

The author

Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Jazūlī al-Simlālī, the Moroccan mystical activist who was killed in 870 (1465), originated from al-Sūs al-Aqṣā, in the Southwest of present-day Morocco.[3] Of his life little is known, except for elements which all have evident hagiographical features, and which are not easy to disentangle. He is said to have stayed for a number of years in Mekka and

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1 *GAL* G II, pp. 252-253, S II, pp. 359-360. See for a compilation from several biographical sources: al-'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm, *al-I'lām*, vol. 3, pp. 40-103 (No. 625). The main source for al-Jazūlī's biography is the rather hagiographical account in Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī, *Mumti' al-Asmā'*, pp. 1-34.

2 During a walk of a few hours in the afternoon preceding the Istanbul conference I found ten different editions in Istanbul's bookmarket (Sahaflar Çarşışı) and the book shops around the Fatih mosque.

3 His first *nisba* refers to Jazūla, a Berber tribe. Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Fāsī gives his full genealogy, which goes back to the *imām* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. His *nisba* al-Simlālī refers to the sub-tribe Simlāla. His patronym Sulaymān refers to his great-grandfather (*Mumti'*, p. 1).

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Medina; periods of seven years and forty years are both given for this stay. Upon his return to Morocco he went to Fes, where he studied in the Qarawiyyīn Library. On the basis of his study there, he wrote the prayer-book that would make him famous. At a certain stage he became a member of the Shādhiliyya order.[4] He is said to have withdrawn from society for a period of fourteen years. Then he established himself in Ṣāfī, on the Atlantic coast, where the number of his followers grew quickly. When people started to recognize in him the long-awaited Mahdī, the gouvernor of Ṣāfī had him expelled, or killed.

During his lifetime, al-Jazūlī succeeded in organizing a network of *zāwiyas* in a period of the history of Morocco which was generally characterized as total anarchy. In addition, the Maghrib was under threat of Portuguese incursions, nor was the news about the constant Christian progress against the Muslims in al-Andalus very reassuring to the Maghribīs. Where the worldly rulers in the region failed to adequately counter these internal and external threats, the religious brotherhoods only became stronger and more united and organized themselves into groups of religion-inspired fighters. All over the country, from Tlemcen in the East to the valley of the Draa in the South-West, affiliations of al-Jazūlī's brotherhood were established, not for quietist religious contemplation but for active resistance against the unbelievers.[5] al-Jazūlī became, especially in later Moroccan historiography, the champion of an Islamic revival against internal political and moral decay and against external threats. The year of his death is not entirely certain. Several dates between 1465 and 1470 are given. Strangely enough, al-Jazūlī's vicissitudes did not end with his death. His follower 'Umar b. Sulaymān al-Shayzamī, not without reason known as al-Sayyāf ('the executioner'), who had claimed prophethood, took possession of al-Jazūlī's body, and let himself be accompanied by it during his twenty years of pillaging and burning in the Sūs area. Nightly devotional sessions with al-Jazūlī's corpse lying in state on a bier are recorded in the sources. After al-Sayyāf's violent death in 890 (1485/1486), al-Jazūlī was buried in Afughāl, in the Ḥaha area, south of Essaouira. Later his body was moved again, now by order of Sulṭān Abū al-'Abbās al-A'raj (reigned over different areas 923-955/1517-1548), who had his father's body, which had been buried next to al-Jazūlī's, together with the saint's body, transported to Marrakech to be re-buried together in a place called Riyāḍ al-'Arūs.[6] Another hagiographical detail is that the saint's body had not decomposed when it was dug up for reburial. Both al-Jazūlī's life and afterlife are wrought with so many miraculous elements that not each and every detail in the sources should be accepted as a historical fact.

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4 So called after its founder Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), *GAL* G I, p. 449.

5 See the resumé in A. Cour, *L'établissement*, pp. 29-35.

6 See the slightly different accounts by Mohamed Ben Cheneb, in *EI*, first edition, vol. I (1913), and second edition, vol. II (1965), s.v. "Djazūlī," and the sources quoted there. I have not seen Jaafar Kansoussi's essay.

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Apart from his prayer-book *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, al-Jazūlī is the author of two other prayers. One is entitled *Ḥizb al-Falāḥ*, a short text which is sometimes copied in the same collective volume in which also the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* occurs, but it has not attained the same cult status as the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. The other prayer is entitled *Ḥizb al-Jazūlī*, or rhyming on that title *Ḥizb subḥāna al-Dā'im la yazūl*, and is written in the vernacular, supposedly the Berber language of the Sūs.[7] Two more treatises by al-Jazūlī are known, one a work on *Qirā'āt*, Qur'ānic readings, the other an untitled treatise of Sufi content. As Brockelmann only mentions one manuscript witness for each text, these two cannot have become very popular, if they are authentic at all and not a bibliographical hoax. Other, shorter, texts which are ascribed to al-Jazūlī are known as well.[8] All of his other works are overshadowed by the immense popularity of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.

The book

The full title of al-Jazūlī's prayer-book is *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt wa-Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr al-Ṣalāt 'alā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* which literally means 'Guidelines to the blessings and the shinings of lights, giving the saying of the blessing prayer over the chosen Prophet.' In daily use the work is referred to by the first two words of its title, *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, or just *Dalā'il* or *Dalīl*. The work reads as a long litany of blessings over the Prophet Muḥammad. It is organised as a manual for Muḥammad devotion. Although there are clear differences between the manuscripts among themselves and also between the printed editions of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, especially as far the introductory and concluding prayers are concerned, and certainly in the choice of accompanying texts, most versions contain at least the following elements: the introductory prayer; the section on the virtue of invoking blessings over the Prophet; the list of the Prophet's names and epithets; and the description of the Prophet's grave in Medina. These short sections are followed by the body of the text, consisting of the blessing prayers over the Prophet, which are nowadays divided into eight *Aḥzāb*, ritual sections, which are linked to eight successive days (Monday-Monday), and a concluding prayer. An apparently older division of the text in quarters, thirds and a half can be seen in many of the manuscripts. Other elements that one may find in the work were apparently freely added to the text. The order of the different elements is subject to variations between the editions from different countries. The subject-matter vouches for a luxurious execution of the manuscripts (and printed editions). In this, the skills of Qur'ānic calligraphers, especially in the Maghrib and in Istanbul, came to full

7 As M. Ben Cheneb in his *EI* articles calls it. With the term 'vernacular' only Berber can be meant here.

8 E.g. an *Urjūza Mukhtaṣara*, in MS Leiden Or. 25.619 (24). Such references need a careful analysis and will eventually contribute to an increased knowledge of al-Jazūlī's literary output.

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fruition. In course of time several commentaries were written on the text, the best known of which are the Arabic one by al-Fāsī[9] (a factual commentary), and the Turkish one by Qarā Dāwūd[10] (a devotional commentary). There exists a privately printed English translation by John B. Pearson of the text as well.

Some manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* are provided with detailed instructions for the reader telling him how the handle the book. Ritual purity before reading is one of them, the way of holding the book in one's hands is another.[11] Such rules give the impression that a copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* was nearly as holy as a *muṣḥaf*. In Morocco till the present day it is said that having a beautiful copy of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* at home, preferably an attractive manuscript, brings luck.[12] And, as we shall see, the book may at a certain stage indeed have been considered a rival to the *Qur'ān*.

The Dalā'il al-Khayrāt *in the struggle against the unbelievers*

One important aspect of the Prophet Muḥammad's life must have particularly appealed to al-Jazūlī, namely his struggle against the unbelievers. In his own lifetime al-Jazūlī combined the ceremonial and liturgical use of his prayer-book with active resistance against the Portuguese attacks. Other Muslims resisting the unbelievers may have used the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* during their own struggles as well. In the corpus of manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, which follows here as an appendix, there are several copies from Aceh, which were taken as war booty during the Dutch conquest of that Sultanate in North Sumatra (1873-1910). Another prominent copy in the corpus is the personal prayer-book of Imam Bonjol,[13] the leader of the Padris, an Islamic militant movement which till 1837 fought devastating wars in the Padang highlands in West and Central Sumatra against the Muslim Minangkabau, the Christian Dutch and the pagan Batak.

Developments in the illustrations of the text

Present-day editions of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* are either provided with a set of two images showing the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar* of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina (in the Maghrib), or of two views showing Mekka and Medina (Turkey and the Mashriq). This latter fact has prompted some authors and librarians to classify

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9 *Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt* by Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (1063/1653), *GAL* G II, p. 253.

10 Kara Davud, *Delâil-i hayrat Şerhi*, Istanbul 1976. There are several printed editions of this work.

11 MS Leiden Or. 12.016 provides an example of such instructions (in Turkish, on fols. 495-497).

12 Personal information of Dr. Latifa Benjelloun-Laroui, Rabat.

13 MS Leiden Or. 1751.

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the book as a work connected to the *Ḥajj*, the pilgrimage. This is a mistake, as is clear from the contents of the work, which does not treat *manāsik*. I will herewith propose an explanation for the development in the ways of illustrating of the manuscripts, and thereby show how this development has come about from changing ideas about the Muḥammad devotion in Islam.

Unillustrated manuscripts

There are indications that originally manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were not illustrated. This tradition of making unillustrated copies of the work has persisted to the end of the manuscript era. A manuscript may have been executed in a sober way and may have remained unillustrated for no other than that reason, or the illustration(s) may have been removed from the manuscript at some stage of its existence. As a reason for that tear and wear, vandalism or the use of the images as amulets may be surmised. But a manuscript was certainly unillustrated from the very beginning if the passage of text to which the illustration refers is continuous. So which passage in the text prompted copyists or painters to start to illustrate the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*?

Illustration of the Rawḍa *only*

There is a section in the early part of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* in which the grave of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina is shortly treated. It is usually introduced by the sentence: *wa-hādhihi ṣifat al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka*, 'this is the description of the Blessed Garden,' by which the burial place of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Mosque of Medina is meant. This short text actually consists of two statements, one is the actual description of the *Rawḍa* and treats the contents and relative position of the graves in the Medinan mosque, the other is a report on a predicting dream of 'Ā'isha, the Prophet's wife, about the graves. In translation this passage reads as follows.

> This is the description of the Blessed Garden in which the Messenger of God is buried, together with his two companions, Abū Bakr and 'Umar.
> Thus is related by 'Urwa Ibn al-Zubayr: The Messenger of God was buried in the alcove (*al-sahwa*). Abū Bakr was buried behind the Messenger of God and 'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was buried near the feet of Abū Bakr. The eastern alcove has remained empty, and in it is said, but God knows best, that 'Īsā b. Maryam is buried there.
> About the Messenger of God is told by 'Ā'isha. She said: 'In my dream I saw three moons fall into my room. I related my vision to Abū Bakr and he said: 'Ā'isha, three people will be buried in your house, who are the best of the people on earth. When the Messenger of God died and was buried in my house, Abū Bakr said to me: This is one of your moons, and he is the best of them... .

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000075

In the unillustrated manuscripts this passage is immediately followed by the next section of the prayer-book. If that is the case in a manuscript, that manuscript belongs to the unillustrated tradition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. The word *ṣifa*, description, by which the passage on *al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* is introduced, does not automatically mean image or picture. It means 'description,' a description in words which in fact it is. If it would have been meant as the caption to an image, either the word *ṣūra*, image, or *shakl*, drawing, would have been used. The very use of the word *ṣifa* is an additional argument that the early manuscripts were not illustrated.

This short passage on the grave of the Prophet Muḥammad and the first caliphs in Medina apparently has prompted copyists and illustrators to add an image of that cluster of graves to the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. Manuscripts with just one image of *al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka*, showing the graves of the Prophet Muḥammad and his two companions, are known. The illustrations do not give more than a schematical representation of the three coffins, usually with the addition of some architectural elements.

The double image of the Rawḍa *and the* Minbar

At a later stage, this one image of *al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* was apparently expanded with yet another image, showing the *Minbar*, the pulpit, of the Prophet Muḥammad in the Mosque of Medina. Adding this image, whereby an attractive double-page illustration was created, to the illustration of the three coffins, may have been prompted by a well-known Prophetic tradition: "Whatever is between my grave and my pulpit, is one of the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is by my basin." It is an 'authentic' tradition and is reported in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and, with textual variants, other canonical collections.[14] That this was an important text for those who performed the *ziyāra*, the visit to the Prophet Muḥammad's grave in Medina, before or after the pilgrimage to Mekka, is clear from a source contemporary to al-Jazūlī. The pilgrim's guide made for the Mamlūk Sulṭān Chaqmaq (r. 842-857/1438-1452) gives the following instruction to the royal visitor of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina:

> Then the visitor (of the Prophet's mosque in Medina) directs himself to the pulpit of the Messenger of God, and he performs two *rak'as* near the pulpit, in such a way that he faces the column next to which is the chest (*al-ṣandūq*), and so that the round line which is in the *qibla* of the mosque is straight in front of him, and in such a way that the pillar of the pulpit is opposite his right shoulder, since that is the position of the Prophet. He is then between the grave and the pulpit, in conformity with the words of the Prophet:

[14] A.J. Wensinck (and others), *Concordance*, vol. VI, p. 345 (s.v. *minbar*). *Musnad* II, p. 534, gives *ḥujratī*, my room, instead of *qabrī*, my grave. The graves are in the former room, so the meaning is the same.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000076

"Whatever is between my grave and my pulpit, is one of the gardens of Paradise, and my pulpit is by my basin."[15]

The at first sight somewhat puzzling addition "and my pulpit is by my basin" refers to an eschatological concept, the Prophet's basin being the meeting place on the Day of Resurrection, or it may refer to the basin in Paradise.[16]

The reader of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* looking with a stereoscopic view at the illustrated double page showing the *Rawḍa* at right and the *Minbar* at left, would find himself exactly in the place which in the Prophetic tradition is referred to as "one of the gardens of Paradise." A prayer-book which can place its readers on such a blessed spot is, of course, a treasure of the highest value.

The images of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar* are usually of schematical nature, a niche with a lamp hanging down being the framework around the representation of the graves and the *minbar*, sometimes together with the *miḥrāb*. Numerous manuscripts with these two drawings are known, both from the Maghrib and the Middle East. In the Maghribī tradition of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts this has remained the usual illustration, but in the East, in the Mashriq, Turkey and beyond, there were further developments in the way the manuscripts of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* were illustrated.

The double image of Mekka and Medina

From the late-18th century or early-19th century onwards a change in the illustrations can be observed. The idea of the double image remains, but the first image now represents Mekka, the second one Medina. This is a remarkable change, as the image of Mekka is unwarranted by the text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. The reason to include it nevertheless must therefore be sought outside the text. It is as if the unreserved veneration of the Prophet Muḥammad had met with criticism and that this had to be mitigated by substituting one of the Medinan images by an image of Mekka. It looks like it that an image of the 'House of God' in Mekka could not be omitted if the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina received so much attention. It may reflect a reaction to the trend of Prophet veneration by putting it back into its proper balance: God first, then the Prophet Muḥammad, just as in the *shahāda* formula.

This dogmatical reaction had iconographical consequences. The schematical, somewhat architectural drawings of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar* had always been given in a sort of close-up, each showing one niche with visible, almost tangible,

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15 MS Leiden, Or. 458, pp. 132-133. *Manāsik al-Ḥajj ʿalā Arbaʿat Madhāhib*, by an anonymous Ḥanafī scholar. Sulṭān Chaqmaq's illuminated ex-libris is on the title-page of the Leiden manuscript (fol. 1). See Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 184.

16 G.H.A. Juynboll, "Shuʿba," pp. 213-218, and the sources quoted there. The use of the term *turʿa*, water channel, in some of the traditions instead of *rawḍa*, garden, conforms to this idea of a basin in Paradise.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000077

representations. Coinciding with the appearance of the Mekka-Medina double image, there is an increase in the distance between the the believer and the objects of his respect and veneration. The Mekka-Medina pair of images is not showing niches anymore, but entire buildings, either in a flat projection or, from the early-19th century onwards, drawn in perspective. In the Medinan mosque the graves have become part of an environment. Both flat projections and drawings with views in perspective are known in great numbers. The views in perspective seem to be an Ottoman Turkish innovation in illustrating the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.[17] The flat projection may have found its example in illustrated pilgrimage guides such as the Persian *Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn* by Muḥyī al-Dīn Lārī (d. 933/1526-1527),[18] or it may have been inspired by images of the two holy cities of Islam on Iznik tiles.[19]

It is tempting to connect these later developments in illustrating the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, namely the balancing of the two illustrations by making the House of God precede the Garden of the Prophet, and by adding a distance between the believer and the holy places, to new trends which became apparent in Islam from the late 18th century onwards. What immediately comes to mind in this respect is the emergence of the Wahhābī movement.[20] However, the cult of Muḥammad, for which the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* evidently was made, has its own controversies in Sunni Islam, irrespective of Wahhābī thought on the matter. It is obvious that a Muslim should serve God unreservedly, but at the same time he should pay the greatest respect to the recipient of the divine revelation, the Prophet Muḥammad. An outstanding example for human behaviour is the Life of the Prophet Muḥammad, which is the most useful of exemplary of biographies

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17 These images in perspective have proliferated to other art forms. I have in my possession a Turkish porcelain dish painted by Serpil Öztürk in 2000, showing images of Mekka and Medina in perspective and evidently taken from an early-19th century Ottoman manuscript of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.

18 See MS Leiden Or. 11.079, fols. 41 ff., a fragmentary text with 14 illustrations in flat projection showing buildings and scenes in and around Mekka and Medina, and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. MS Leiden Or. 14.620, fols. 45 ff., is another manuscript of this text, with 15 similar illustrations. The text was composed in 911 (1515/1516 AD). The images in the exhibition catalogue *The Unity of Islamic Art* on pp. 68-69, No. 52, and also on the covers, come, of course, from the same work.

19 See for an example of this popular image Marilyn Jenkins (ed.), *Islamic Art*, p. 122 (showing Mekka). On the wall of the south passage from the main apse of the Aya Sofia mosque in Istanbul, almost right behind the *minbar*, a double image in flat projection of Mekka and Medina in Izniq tile, dated 1053 (1643/1644 AD) can be seen. Its position indicates the *qibla* in this Christian building. A succinct reference to the location of these tiles is in Swift, p. 101.

20 See D.S. Margoliouth, art. "Wahhābiyya," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, first edition. The founder of the movement, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, lived from 1703-1787. The word *Wahhābiyya* is a term used by the movement's adversaries. The politically correct term used by their adversaries nowadays is *Salafiyya*, not to be confused with the Egyptian reformist movement of that same name.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000078

for the believer.[21] In course of time, however, this respect has developed into a cult of infallibility and holiness of the Prophet Muḥammad, which risked to turn away the believer's undivided attention from his Creator.[22]

A competitor of the Qur'ān?

On the codicological level one may maintain that a work such as the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* is indeed a competitor to the *Qur'ān*. Not in the real sense of the word, of course, but it cannot be denied that it was often executed in a very Qur'ānic way, with golden frames, illuminated opening pages, golden discs between the prayer lines, provided with beautiful bindings, and kept in ornamented boxes or satchels, etc. It was much more handy, accessible, and cheaper too (because of its much smaller size), than the *Qur'ān*, whereas the reward for reciting and reading its text could not be very different. The reading of the Blessings during a period of eight days was not as heavy a task as reciting the thirty Qur'ānic *ajzā'* during one month. The text of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* came to be divided into ceremonial parts for recitations during a specified period of time, not unlike the division in *ajzā'* and *aḥzāb* of the *Qur'ān*. It must have become, at a certain stage, a sort of easy alternative to the *Qur'ān*. The number of small-size, therefore portable, manuscripts in the corpus is considerable.[23]

Mekka vs. Medina

The Wahhābīs in the implementation of their purist doctrines mostly turned to concrete issues. One of the best known of their actions after they had gained political power is the prohibition of the visiting of graves. That had become a widespread cult in the entire Islamic world, and it still is part of popular religion in many countries. The Wahhābīs have not dared to go as far as to destroy the Prophet's grave in Medina, but after their conquest of the city, first in 1806 and later in 1926, the cemetery of Baqī' al-Gharqad, full of famous names from the early history of Islam, and a long-standing place of worship, was first demolished and then utterly destroyed. Even if the Saudi government has recently accommodated the visitors to the Prophet's Mosque in Medina by an entirely renovated and enlarged building, with advanced air conditioning systems, with spacious underground car parks, with extensive sanitary facilities, etc., the *Muṭawwa'ūn*, the

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21 The mid-14th century Egyptian encyclopedist Ibn al-Akfānī, *Irshād al-Qāṣid* (Leiden 1989, p. 401), mentions the *Sīra* in the chapter on *Tadbīr al-Manzil*, the management of the household, with rules for social behaviour.

22 This gradual development of the personal cult of the Prophet Muḥammad is aptly described by Tor Andrae.

23 That there is nothing of blasphemy in this so-called competition to the Qur'ān. In some Indian lithograph editions of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnavī-yi Ma'navī* this work is rhymingly referred to as *Qur'ān dar Zabān-i Pahlavī*, the *Qur'ān* in the Persian language.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000079

religious police, will prevent those visitors that linger too long in front of the Prophet's grave from doing so by their command "*Imshī yā kāfir,*" 'walk along, you unbeliever,' and by making threatening gestures with their sticks.

The double picture of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar* in the earlier copies of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* had clearly a connotation with the grave of the Prophet and the worship of that grave, and the graves of the early caliphs and grave worship in general. An unequivocal connection between the replacement of the Medinan images by the Mekka-Medina double image and the rise of the Wahhābī movement is not easy to establish. It is more sensible to assume, however, that the same purist thinking that inspired Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb to his teachings also caused the iconographical changes in that immensely popular prayer-book that was the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt.*

A corpus of manuscripts of the Dalā'il al-Khayrāt

On this corpus of manuscripts, which comprises all *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt* manuscripts in Leiden University Library, I have based my present research. Together, they form but a very small part of all manuscripts of this text in the world. Yet, I have the impression that the Leiden manuscripts form, by their number and especially by the variety of their origin, a useful sample. A few very small and insignificant fragments have been omitted from the present corpus. The first eleven manuscripts of the list were already in Leiden in 1957 and are described in Voorhoeve, *Handlist*, p. 56. I have purposely left out a discussion on the illustrations in the printed editions of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt.* Interesting as it is, it would only confound the present issue.

A. The list

Acad. 32 (1).[24] From the Maghrib, 332 ff., *maghribī* script, before 1780 (first sold in the Netherlands), on ff. 22b-23a a double illustration: *Rawḍa* and *Minbar.* A collective volume with 4 devotional texts.

Acad. 33. From the Maghrib, 323 ff., *maghribī* script, dated Monday 10 Jumādā II 1133 (1721 AD), on f. 45 illustration of the *Rawḍa*, but the opposite page (probably for the *Minbar*) has remained blank.

Or. 1220. From the Maghrib, *maghribī* script, 132 ff., before 1844 AD (latest possible date of purchase), on ff. 25b-26a illustrations of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar.*
Or. 1335 (1). From the Maghrib, *maghribī* script, ff. 1b-103a, dated 10 Rabī' II 1226 (1811 AD), on ff. 16v-17r illustrations of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar.* The

[24] Manuscripts with class-marks beginning with the prefix "Acad." are part of the permanent loan of the Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam. The Leiden class-marks always begin with the prefix "Or."

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000080

first text of a collective volume of 11 devotional texts. A luxury manuscript, kept in a silk satchel.

Or. 1751 (14). From Indonesia, *naskh* script, ff. 327-501, dated 29 Shawwāl 1229 (1814 AD), copied at Bandar Natar, Sumatra. On ff. 127-128 illustration of Mekka and Medina in flat projection (Fig. 7). On f. 129 more graves in Medina, on f. 352 a detailed illustration in flat projection of the Mosque in Medina. In a collective illustrated and illuminated volume with 26 devotional and eschatological texts, partly in Malay. The prayer-book of Imam Bonjol.

Or. 4826. From Indonesia, *naskh* script, 91 ff., before 1877 (when captured in Aceh, Sumatra), without the illustrations (continuous text of the *Ṣifat al-Rawḍa* on ff. 13b-14a).

Or. 4976 (4). From Indonesia, *naskh* script, ff. 134b-3a, an unillustrated manuscript, on f. 119b is the continuous text of the *Ṣifat al-Rawḍa*, without space for illustration. A book from Aceh. In a collective volume with 4 devotional texts.

Or. 5720 (8), (9). From Indonesia, from Banten (West Java), *naskh* script, ff. 206v-210r: Some eulogies from the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*; ff. 211v-218r: the introductory chapter of the *Dalā al-Khayrāt*. At the end (f. 218r) is the *Ṣifat al-Rawḍa*, with continuous text and without illustration.

Or. 7057a (6). From Indonesia (Banten, West Java), 32 ff., *naskh* script. A fragment of the beginning only, with an illustration of the *Rawḍa* in Medina (f. 32b; Fig. 2). Probably 18th cent. AD. The illustration is not full-page, and may, therefore, have been a single illustration only.

Or. 7209 (3). From Indonesia, *naskh* script, ff. 9v-144r. 19th cent. AD. The usual two drawings have not been executed, empty frames on ff. 25v-26r. War booty from Aceh, Sumatra, 1896. In a collective volume with 8 devotional texts, also in Acehnese and Malay.

Or. 8960 (8). From Indonesia, *naskh* script, ff. 117v-153r, not a complete version, without the part where the illustrations usually occur. Possibly from the late 18th-century, from Madura or East Java. Part of a collective volume containing 9 devotional texts, including some in Javanese.

Or. 10.806 (2). From Indonesia (from Sumatra), *naskh* script, ff. 2b-207a, dated 25 Rabīʿ I 1143 (1730 AD). On ff. 33b-34a illustrations of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar* (Fig. 6). In a collective volume with 6 devotional texts.

Or. 11.065. From Turkey (?), 97 ff., *naskh* script, dated middle Rabīʿ I 1160 (1747 AD), schematic drawing of the *Rawḍa* and the *Minbar* (ff. 15b-16a).

Or. 11.785 (8). From Turkey, ff. 20b-50a, *nastaʿlīq* script. The drawing of the *Rawḍa* in Medina is on f. 24b. There is no second drawing. Dated 16 Jumādā II 1116 (1704 AD). Part of a collective volume with 30 religious texts, including some in Turkish.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000081

Or. 11.886 (1). From the Balkans (?), ff. 1b-68a, *naskh* script, dated 1196-1200 (between 1781 and 1786 AD), possibly copied in Istolni Belgrad (formerly Stuhlweissenburg). Empty space for one illustration on f. 9b. In a collective volume with 15 devotional texts, including Turkish texts.

Or. 12.016 (3). From Turkey, *naskh* script, ff. 76-264. Lithograph edition Istanbul 1275 (1858-1859), with manuscript illumination, in a mixed volume with manuscript texts, in all 9 texts, in Arabic and Turkish. On ff. 495-497 rules of behaviour in connection with the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. On ff. 489-499 an *Ijāza*, with *silsila*. A luxury book. Illustrations (ff. 104-105: *Rawḍa* and *Minbar*, but on a preprinted frame with caption Mekka and Medina! – Fig. 5).

Or. 12.121. From Egypt (?), 171 ff., *naskh* script, *Maṭāli' al-Masarrāt bi-Jalā' Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*, commentary by Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf al-Fāsī (1063/1653) on the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*. On f. 67b the explanation of the graves in the Prophet's mosque, with a few illustrative drawings (Fig. 3). The fact that there is no double illustration (*Rawḍa-Minbar*) in this commentary, but only the *Rawḍa* with the three graves, means that that double illustration was not considered authentic by al-Fāsī, or was not (yet) fashionable in his time.

Or. 12.455. From Turkey, 91 ff., *naskh* script, dated 1253 (1837 AD), illustrations of Mekka and Medina in perspective on ff. 15b-16a (Fig. 9). A luxury manuscript, apparently from Istanbul.

Or. 12.461. From Turkey, *naskh* script, 128 ff. On f. 19b two rectangular spaces are reserved for illustrations, which were never added. On ff. 124b-127b are illuminated prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad and the four righteous caliphs. A luxury manuscript.

Or. 14.119 (1). From the Maghrib, *maghribī* script, ff. 2b-109b, illustrations on ff. 18b-19a (*Rawḍa* and *Minbar*), in a collective volume with 9 devotional texts.

Or. 14.233. From Turkey, 111 ff., *naskh* script, illustrations of Mekka and Medina in perspective (f. 19). Dated 1254 (1838/1839 AD). Possibly from Istanbul. Photocopy of a MS in private hands.

Or. 14.276. From Kashmir, bilingual, Arabic (in *naskh*) and Persian (interlinear, in *nasta'līq*), 140 ff., detailed illustrations of Mekka and Medina in flat projection (ff. 70b-71a; Fig. 8). A luxury book.

Or. 14.351 (3). From the Maghrib, *maghribī* script, ff. 14b-125b, before 1305 (1888 AD), on ff. 32b-33a illustrations of the *Rawḍa* and the interior (but not showing the *Minbar*) of the Medinan Mosque, in a collective volume of 5 devotional texts. A luxury book.

Or. 14.462. From Egypt, *naskh* script, 98 ff., dated 4 Ṣafar 1284 (1867 AD), illustrations of *Minbar* and *Rawḍa* (reverse order!) made of strips of coloured wallpaper pasted on the page (ff. 16b-17a).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000082

Or. 17.162. From Turkey, *naskh* script, 78 ff., dated 1155 (1742 AD), on ff. 13b-14a two open spaces for illustrations which were never added.

Or. 22.958. From the Indian subcontinent, 133 ff., text in Arabic (*naskh*) and interlinear translation into Persian (*nasta'līq*). Illustration of the *Rawḍa* only, twice executed in different styles.

Or. 22.963. From the Indian subcontinent, *naskh* script, 68 ff., illustrations of Mekka and Medina in flat projection on ff. 18b-19a.

Or. 23.263 (1). From the Maghrib, *maghribī* script, ff. 4a-126a, dated Thursday, 4 Jumādā II 1271 (22 Feb. 1855 AD), on ff. 21b-22a illustration of *Rawḍa* and *Minbar* (Fig. 4). Collective volume with 6 devotional texts.

Or. 23.723 (1). From Morocco, possible the Sūs, ff. 1b-78b, *maghribī* script, dated beginning Muḥarram 1134 (1721 AD). With a single drawing of the *Rawḍa* in Medina only (f. 10b). The page opposite this illustration was originally blank, but has been used later for prayer texts. In a collective volume with 7 devotional texts, including some in Sūs-Berber.

Or. 25.293 (1). From Morocco, ff. 1a-19b, 27b, a disorderly fragment only of the final part of the text, dated Saturday 4 Muḥarram 1190 (24 Feb. 1776 AD). The section *Ṣifat al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* is not present.

Or. 25.396 (2). From Morocco, 82 ff., *maghribī* script, originally with the two illustrations, now removed (between ff. 11-12). In a collective volume of 4 texts, among which one in Sūs-Berber.

Or. 25.418. From West-Africa, 174 ff., loose leaves (some *lacunae*), West-African script, a copy which never had illustrations: the *Ṣifat al-Rawḍa* starts on f. 8a (Fig. 1), but there is only continuous text. Remarkable leather satchel.

Or. 25.426. From the Maghrib, c. 100 ff., *maghribī* script, damaged and incomplete copy, once a luxury booklet. Illustrations apparently removed.

Or. 25.428 (1). From Morocco (Agadir), ff. 1a-155a, *maghribī* script, incomplete copy (beginning missing), dated Sunday 20 Rabī' II 1187 (11 July 1773 AD), illustration of the *Minbar* only (f. 18a), the illustration of the *Rawḍa* was apparently removed (lacuna between ff. 17-18). On f. 17b a note on *al-Rawḍa*, not belonging to the text. In a collective volume with 2 devotional texts. Remarkable embroidered satchel.

Or. 25.637 (1). From Morocco, *maghribī* script, ff. 1a-94a, on f. 9a is the illustration of the *minbar* of the Prophet in the mosque of Medina. The illustration of the *Rawḍa* is now missing (*lacuna*). Collective manuscript with two Arabic and one Sūs-Berber text.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000083

B. The evaluation of the list

1. Distribution by origin, from West to East:[25]
West Africa: Or. 25.418
Morocco: Or. 25.293 (1); Or. 25.396; Or. 25.637 (1)
Morocco, the Sūs: Or. 23.723 (1); Or. 25.428 (1)
Maghrib: Acad. 32 (1); Acad. 33; Or. 1220; Or. 1335 (1); Or. 14.119 (1); Or. 14.351 (3); Or. 23.263 (1); Or. 25.426
Balkans, Istolni Belgrad: Or. 11.886 (1)
Turkey: Or. 11.065; Or. 11.785 (8); Or. 12.461; Or. 17.162
Turkey, Istanbul: Or. 12.016 (3); Or. 12.455, Or. 14.233
Egypt: Or. 12.121; Or. 14.462
Kashmir: Or. 14.276
Indian subcontinent: Or. 22.958; Or. 22.963
Indonesia, Aceh: Or. 4826, Or. 4976 (4); Or. 7209 (3)
Indonesia, Sumatra: Or. 10.806 (2)
Indonesia, Bandar Natar (Sumatra): Or. 1751 (14)
Indonesia, Banten (West Java): Or. 5720 (8), (9); Or. 7057a (6);
Indonesia, Madura or East Java: Or. 8960 (8)

2. Chronological index:[26]

18th century (?): Or. 7057a (6); Or. 8960 (8)
1704: Or. 11.785 (8)
1721: Acad. 33; Or. 23.723 (1)
1730: Or. 10.806 (2)
1742: Or. 17.162
1747: Or. 11.065
1773: Or. 25.428 (1)
1776: Or. 25.293 (1)
before 1780: Acad. 32 (1)
1781-1786: Or. 11.886 (1)
19th century: Or. 7209 (3)
1811: Or. 1335 (1)
1814: Or. 1751 (14)
1837: Or. 12.455

[25] Established on the evidence of the script, of the place of copying, or of the place of original purchase. Doubts have been omitted.
[26] Established on the evidence of the colophon, of owners' marks or of information of acquisition, but usually *not* on paleographical evidence. Undated manuscripts are omitted from the list.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000084

1838: Or. 14.233
before 1844: Or. 1220
1855: Or. 23.263 (1)
1858: Or. 12.016 (3)
1867: Or. 14.462
before 1877: Or. 4826
1888: Or. 14.351 (3)

3. Classification of the illustrations:

- Manuscripts without illustration and with uninterrupted text showing that they were never illustrated: Or. 4826; Or. 4976 (4); Or. 5720 (9); Or. 25.418.
- Manuscripts with one illustration of *al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* only: Acad. 33; Or. 7057a (6); Or. 11.785 (8); Or. 12.121; Or. 22.958; Or. 23.723 (1).
- Manuscripts with a double Medina illustration, showing *al-Rawḍa al-Mubāraka* (right) and the Prophet's *Minbar* (left): Acad. 32 (1); Or. 1220; Or. 1335 (1); Or. 10.806 (2); Or. 11.065; Or. 12.016 (3); Or. 14.119 (1); Or. 14.351 (3); Or. 23.263 (1); Or. 25.428.
- Manuscripts with a double Mekka-Medina illustration in flat projection: Or. 1751 (14); Or. 14.276; Or. 14.462; Or. 22.963.
- Manuscripts with a double Mekka-Medina illustration in perspective: Or. 12.455; Or. 14.233.
- Empty frame or space for one illustration: Or. 11.886 (1).
- Empty frames (place reserved for illustrations, which were never made): Or. 7209 (3); Or. 12.461; Or. 17.162.
- Insufficient information about the illustrations: Or. 8960 (8); Or. 25.293 (1); Or. 25.396; Or. 25.426; Or. 25.637 (1).

4. Additional peculiarities in the present corpus:

Commentary: Or. 12.121.
Persian translations of the text in Or. 14.276; Or. 22.958.
Other languages in the same volume, but not translations of the *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*.
- Acehnese: Or. 7209.
- Malay: Or. 1751; Or. 7209.
- Sūs Berber: Or. 23.723; Or. 25.396; Or. 25.637.
- Turkish: Or. 11.785; Or. 11.886; Or. 12.016.
- Satchels: Or. 1335; Or. 25.418; Or. 25.428.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000085

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Transmission and Translation

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Modes et Méthodes de traduction du Grec en Arabe

Jean Irigoin

L'importance des traductions du grec dans le développement de la pensée et de la science arabes est bien connu.[1] Ces traductions concernent avant tout des œuvres philosophiques et des traités scientifiques, médicaux et techniques.[2] Elles répondent à un besoin plus ancien, qui s'est fait sentir aussi bien en Occident qu'en Orient. En Italie, au Ier siècle avant l'ère chrétienne, la traduction en latin, par exemple celle des *Phénomènes* d'Aratos ou du *Timée* de Platon par Cicéron, vise à mettre des œuvres composées en grec à la disposition de ceux qui ignorent cette langue. Deux cents ans plus tard, la connaissance et l'usage du grec ont progressé au point que l'empereur lui-même écrit en grec ses *Pensées*. Mais le déclin survient assez vite et, dès le milieu du IVème siècle, on se remet à traduire en latin: à Rome, Marius Victorinus met dans cette langue l'*Introduction aux Catégories d'Aristote* que Porphyre, un philosophe originaire de Syrie, a écrite une cinquantaine d'années plus tôt en grec. Vers l'an 400, dans le nord de l'Italie, Calcidius traduit en latin et commente le *Timée* de Platon. Il en va de même pour la médecine: des traités d'Hippocrate et de Galien sont traduits en latin aux Vème et VIème siècles.

Dans le Proche-Orient, la situation n'est guère différente. A partir de la fin du IVème siècle et jusqu'à la conquête arabe, une vaste entreprise de traduction en syriaque se développe. Elle vise à mettre à la disposition des spécialistes, de plus en plus nombreux à ignorer le grec, les ouvrages philosophiques, scientifiques, médicaux et techniques composés dans cette langue. Le point culminant de l'entreprise se situe dans le premier tiers du VIème siècle, avec le moine jacobite Serge de Resh'ayna, mort en 536 à Constantinople après avoir traduit, entre autres, 37 traités du médecin philosophe Galien. Le syriaque, langue sémitique, offrait de grandes difficultés structurelles pour qui voulait rendre un texte grec. Mais, devenu la langue d'une partie des chrétiens orientaux, il avait été assoupli et enrichi par son emploi dans la liturgie et, plus encore, dans les discussions et controverses théologiques, qui font appel à la philosophie et à la rhétorique.

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1 Voir le manuel de F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, Leiden, 1970.

2 Sur la médecine, M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Köln, 1970, ouvrage traduit en anglais (Edinburgh, 1978) et en français (Paris, 1990). Plus précisément sur les traductions du grec, J. Irigoin, "Les traductions arabes de traités médicaux grecs et leurs différents types de sources," dans A. Garzya (éd.), *Tradizione e ecdotica dei testi medici tardoantichi e bizantini*, Napoli, 1992, pp. 147-155; et sur les traductions du seul Galien, G. Strohmaier, "Der syrische und der arabische Galen," dans *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II., 37, 2, Berlin, 1994, pp. 1987-2017.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000089

Des contacts fructueux entre les œuvres de l'antiquité grecque et le monde arabe commencent avec les premiers 'Abbassides, mais ils ne sont pas directs, au début du moins. Certes, le calife Hārūn al-Rashīd (786-809) charge un chrétien, Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh (d. 857), de traduire les livres anciens découverts à Ancyre lors de la prise de la ville, en 806, mais l'effet en reste mince. Avec al-Ma'mūn (814-833) et la fondation à Bagdad de la Maison de la Sagesse, comparable à ce qu'avait été le Musée d'Alexandrie un millénaire plus tôt, tout va changer. La direction de la Maison est confiée à un chrétien, un nestorien, Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (808-873), médecin ophtalmologue et élève de Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh. Ḥunayn constitue autour de lui une équipe de traducteurs qu'il forme selon ses exigences; parmi eux son fils Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (m. 910/911).

Par chance, Ḥunayn a composé ce qu'on pourrait appeler une autobibliographie de ses travaux de traduction concernant l'œuvre immense de Galien. Dans sa *Risāla*, il fournit quantité de renseignements sur les traductions antérieures et sur les siennes propres.[3]

Une recherche préliminaire s'imposait au traducteur. Voici comment Ḥunayn a préparé sa traduction arabe du traité de Galien *Sur les sectes* (c'est-à-dire les écoles médicales).[4] Il l'a en premier lieu traduit en syriaque d'après un modèle grec défectueux. Une vingtaine d'années plus tard, il a rassemblé plusieurs manuscrits grecs et les a comparés entre eux afin d'établir un texte grec plus correct d'après lequel il a corrigé sa traduction primitive. Enfin, quelques années plus tard, il a traduit en arabe la version syriaque révisée.

Il arrive que le traducteur dispose de traductions syriaques antérieures, les unes remontant au temps de Serge de Resh'ayna, les autres contemporaines. Le traité de Galien *Sur le pouls, à l'usage des débutants* a d'abord été traduit en syriaque par Bar Sahda, de al-Karkh. Ḥunayn, qui en a donné une version nouvelle pour le médecin du calife al-Mu'taṣim (833-42), Salmawayh b. Bunān (mort vers 840), a enfin traduit en arabe sa version syriaque en s'aidant d'un manuscrit grec.[5] Pour un ouvrage d'importance, la *Méthode médicale* du même Galien, en 14 livres, Ḥunayn donne quantité de précisions:

> Serge <de Resh'ayna> traduisit de cet ouvrage, en syriaque, les six premiers livres alors qu'il était encore peu compétent dans le travail de traduction; il traduisit les huit derniers quand il eut acquis de l'expérience, de sorte que cette version est meilleure que celle des six premiers livres. Salmawayh me pria de corriger pour lui la seconde moitié de l'ouvrage, dans la pensée que ce serait plus facile que de faire une nouvelle traduction. Il collationna donc avec moi une partie du livre VII de la manière suivante: il avait en main la traduction de Serge et moi je tenais le texte grec; il lisait le syriaque et moi je

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3 Ce traité a été publié par G. Bergsträsser, *Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 17/2, Leipzig: 1925, avec des compléments dans la même publication 19/2, 1932: *Neue Materialien zu Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq's Galen-Bibliographie*.

4 *Risāla*, n° 3.

5 *Risāla*, n° 5.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000090

signalais les différences du texte grec et suggérais les corrections. Finalement le travail le rebuta et il me demanda de traduire ces livres, tâche que je menai à bonne fin.[6]

Cet essai infructueux de travail à deux se situe à Raqqa, sur le Haut Euphrate, entre les années 828 et 833. Je passe sur les aventures ultérieures de cette traduction, qui sont rapportées dans la *Risāla.*[7]

A titre de comparaison, il vaut la peine de mentionner à côté du cas de Galien celui d'Aristote. Des *Catégories*, trois traductions syriaques nous sont parvenus:[8] celle de Serge de Resh'ayna, conservée dans un manuscrit du VIIème siècle de la British Library (*Add.* 14658); celle de Jacques d'Edesse (m. 708), attestée dans plusieurs manuscrits dont le plus ancien est du IXème ou Xème siècle (*Vaticanus syr.* 158); et celle de Georges évêque des Arabes (m. 724), transmise par un manuscrit du VIIIème ou IXème siècle de la British Library (*Add.* 14659). Le fils de Ḥunayn, Isḥāq, traduisit à son tour en arabe les *Catégories* en utilisant aussi les versions syriaques antérieures.

Selon quels principes Ḥunayn traduit-il ? Au XIVème siècle de l'ère chrétienne, l'historien et critique Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī a décrit ce qu'il nomme « deux méthodes de traduction ». Celle du mot à mot, avec sa fidélité verbale apparente, limitée par l'absence d'un vocabulaire technique arabe à laquelle ne remédie guère la translittération des termes grecs sans équivalent en arabe, et entravée par des différences dans la syntaxe et dans les matrices métaphoriques des deux langues de sorte que les difficultés de sens ne sont pas résolues. Celle des bons traducteurs – comme Ḥunayn, précise al-Ṣafadī – qui lisent la phrase entière, la comprennent et la rendent par une phrase de sens équivalent sans s'astreindre à une correspondance de mot à mot.

Pour quels motifs avoir admis ou même introduit un intermédiaire syriaque entre le grec et l'arabe ? Il faut d'abord préciser que les traducteurs du IXème siècle ont, à de rares exceptions près, le syriaque comme langue maternelle. Et ceux qui font exception sont d'origine grecque, comme le melkite Quṣtā b. Lūqā (m. *ca.* 912-13), ou d'origine mal définie, comme al-Bitriq et son fils Yaḥyā (m. *ca.* 815); ce dernier, selon le biographe Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, du XIIIème siècle, était « un latin qui ne savait pas bien l'arabe ni le grec <ancien>, mais connaissait la langue des Grecs byzantins de notre temps ». Ḥunayn lui-même, dont le syriaque est la langue maternelle, a le souci de se perfectionner en grec, et séjourne pour cela deux ans à Alexandrie; puis il se rend à Bassorah, ville dont l'école philologique était renommée, pour améliorer sa pratique de l'arabe.

Située entre le texte grec et le but à atteindre, la traduction arabe, la version syriaque offre une adaptation de l'expression grecque originale à une langue sémitique mieux préparée à la rendre, à cette époque, que l'arabe. Et, comme le

6 *Risāla*, n° 20.
7 *Risāla*, n° 20.
8 Voir l'édition de L. Minio-Paluello (1949, plusieurs fois rééditée) dans la série des "Oxford Classical Texts."

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000091

syriaque est leur langue maternelle, les traducteurs y trouvent une sorte de relais, d'état intermédiaire, où l'expression cerne au mieux la pensée à exprimer. Des exemples portant sur le vocabulaire philosophique nous montrent comment ils s'y prennent; je les emprunte à un exposé de Pierre Thillet resté inédit, m'a-t-il dit, et qu'il a eu l'amabilité de me communiquer.[9]

On sait que pour désigner la 'matière', Aristote a fait appel au mot *hûlê* 'forêt' (sans rapport, malgré les apparences, avec le terme latin *silua*), d'où 'arbre', 'bois de construction', 'matériau'. Le traducteur syriaque, dans l'incapacité de rendre le sens abstrait de 'matière', s'est trouvé contraint à translittérer le mot, soit *hayūlā*, terme qui a été repris en arabe par Ḥunayn, par exemple dans le livre α de la *Métaphysique*. Dans les lemmes du livre Λ (jusqu'en 1072b 16) de cette œuvre, Abū Bishr Mattā (m. 940) utilise indifféremment *hayūlā* et *mādda*, mot qui implique une idée d'extension. Un peu plus tard le partage se fait: selon Avicenne, *hayūlā* appartient à la langue des philosophes grecs et *mādda* en est le synonyme, qu'il emploie volontiers; Averroès, en revanche, semble préférer *hayūlā*. Pour rendre le sens de 'matière', les traducteurs emploient aussi *ṭīna* 'terre', plus spécialement 'argile', matériau servant aussi bien à la poterie qu'à la fabrication des briques. Quant à *unṣur*, qui implique l'idée de 'principe' ou de 'base', il sert à rendre le grec *hûlê* dans la version (connue par des fragments) qu'Eustathe a donnée de la *Métaphysique* ainsi que dans les lemmes du livre Λ à partir de 1072b 16.[10]

Un autre terme du vocabulaire philosophique grec, *stoikheion* 'élément', est lui aussi translittéré en syriaque, d'où l'arabe *isṭaqis*, mais il a été aussi rendu par *unṣur*, ce qui a fait abandonner l'emploi de ce dernier mot pour traduire 'matière'.

Ces remarques, très sommaires, montrent les difficultés rencontrées par les traducteurs. Leur première réaction est de translittérer en syriaque le mot grec, puis de le garder en arabe. Ensuite, leur ingéniosité fera le reste, au risque de confusions qu'ils élimineront progressivement.

Ces remarques montrent aussi avec quelles précautions on doit interpréter les détails d'une version arabe quand on y cherche un témoignage sur le texte grec original. En effet, qu'il s'agisse de traductions arabes ou plus encore de traductions syriaques, ces versions ont été faites sur un état du texte original antérieur aux plus anciens manuscrits grecs qui nous sont parvenus. Or les fautes de copie tendent à s'additionner et même à se multiplier au fil du temps. Plus on réussit à se rapprocher du temps de l'auteur, moins nombreuses sont les fautes.

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9 Pierre Thillet, "Remarques sur les traductions de textes philosophiques du grec en arabe." Cet article est paru dans J. Moutaux et O. Bloch (eds.), *Traduire les philosophes.* Actes des Journées d'étude organisées en 1992. Paris: Sorbonne, 2002, pp. 271-284.

10 Dans son *editio minor* de la *Métaphysique* ("Oxford Classical Texts," 1957), W. Jaeger s'est contenté de quelques renvois à la traduction arabe qui accompagnait le commentaire d'Averroès dans l'édition de M. Bouyges (Beyrouth, 1942 et 1948); il ne mentionne pas cette traduction dans son *conspectus siglorum* (p. XXII).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000092

Voici deux exemples où le texte du plus ancien manuscrit grec, du milieu du Xème siècle, est manifestement erroné alors que la traduction arabe ne comporte pas de faute. Il s'agit de la *Poétique* d'Aristote, traduite par Abū Bishr Mattā d'après une version syriaque.[11] En 1455b 15, il est question de la tragédie: « dans les *chars*, les épisodes sont brefs » dit le texte grec, alors que la traduction arabe donne « dans les *drames*, les épisodes sont brefs »; la faute, évidente, est née d'une confusion entre les premières lettres des mots ΔΡΑΜΑCΙ (ΔΡΑΜΑΣΙ) et ΑΡΜΑCΙ (ΑΡΜΑΣΙ). En 1459b 13, l'auteur parle de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssée*: « chacun des deux *travaux pénibles* » dit le grec, alors que l'arabe donne « chacun des deux *poèmes* »; là encore aucun doute sur l'authenticité de la version arabe: devant une séquence de lettres comportant cinq traits verticaux, le copiste, dont la tâche est fatigante, a cru, par un beau lapsus freudien, en voir six, soit ΠΟΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ (ΠΟΝΗΜΑΤΩΝ) au lieu de ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ (ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΩΝ).[12] En revanche, un troisième exemple, avec une erreur d'identification de lettre, fait apparaître une faute de lecture due à un copiste du texte grec ou au traducteur lui-même: en 1459b 8, le coupable a confondu deux lettres de forme triangulaire, lisant ΑЄΙ (ΑΕΙ) (« *toujours* ») au lieu de ΔЄΙ (ΔΕΙ) (« *il faut* »).

Une fois établie, la traduction a une histoire comparable à celle du texte original. Mais son statut secondaire peut entraîner comme un retour en arrière, c'est-à-dire la confrontation ultérieure de la traduction avec l'original grec. Un exemple instructif à cet égard est fourni par la tradition du traité de pharmacologie de Dioscoride d'Anazarbe (Ier siècle de l'ère chrétienne). L'intérêt pour un tel sujet était grand, en Occident comme en Orient, et l'œuvre majeure de Dioscoride, la *Matière médicale* (Περὶ ὕλης ἰατρικῆς), a été traduite d'une part en latin au VIème siècle, d'autre part en arabe vers le milieu du IXème siècle. Cette dernière traduction, due à Istafan b. Basil et révisée par Ḥunayn, était pourvue d'illustrations comme l'était le modèle grec. Lorsque le traducteur rencontrait le nom d'une plante qu'il n'arrivait pas à identifier, il translittérait ce mot – tout comme l'avait fait pour Aristote le traducteur syriaque place devant le mot grec *hûlê* 'matière' – « s'en remettant (je le cite) à Dieu pour susciter après lui quelqu'un qui connût ces plantes et pût en rendre le nom en arabe, car, ajoutait-il, les noms ne peuvent être donnés à des plantes médicinales que par une convention entre les gens d'un même pays et qui les connaissent. »

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11 R. Kassel utilise cette traduction, d'après le travail posthume de J. Tkatsch, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles und die Grundlage der Kritik des griechischen Textes* (Wien, 1928-1932), dans son édition de la *Poétique* d'Aristote parue dans les "Oxford Classical Texts" (1965). Un fragment de la traduction syriaque antérieure nous est parvenu; Tkatsch l'a publié dans son volume de 1928 (p. 155).

12 Ces deux fautes, qui se trouvent aussi dans la traduction latine faite par Guillaume de Moerbeke en 1278, ne déparent pas un manuscrit grec du XIVème siècle, le *Riccardianus* 46, seul représentant d'une autre branche de la tradition grecque.

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La traduction d'Istafan b. Basil était déjà parvenue jusqu'en Andalousie lorsque, en 948, l'empereur byzantin Constantin VII Porphyrogénète (r. 913-959) offrit des cadeaux de valeur au prince d'Andalousie 'Abd al-Raḥmān III (r. 912-961). Parmi eux se trouvait un livre de Dioscoride richement illustré. Dans le message qui accompagnait les cadeaux, l'empereur précisait: « On ne peut tirer profit de Dioscoride que grâce à un traducteur versé dans la langue grecque et connaissant les simples (plantes médicinales) elles-mêmes ». Parmi les habitants de Cordoue, personne ne savait lire le grec, pas même chez les chrétiens. Sur la demande du prince, l'empereur envoya un moine du nom de Nicolas qui arriva à Cordoue en 951. Celui-ci identifia les plantes demeurées inconnues du traducteur et en interpréta le nom. Grâce à lui et aux médecins de Cordoue qui l'assistaient dans sa tâche, on arriva à reconnaître et à dénommer, et donc à pouvoir utiliser toutes les plantes décrites par Dioscoride, à l'exception d'une dizaine. C'est ce que rapporte le fameux médecin andalou Ibn Gulgul (fl. 982), qui avait connu dans sa jeunesse le moine Nicolas.

La prudence d'Istafan b. Basil trouvait là sa justification et sa récompense. L'exemple nous apprend en même temps qu'une traduction arabe faite à Bagdad a pu être complétée et améliorée un siècle plus tard dans le sud de l'Espagne à l'aide d'un manuscrit grec provenant de Constantinople. C'est à partir du texte arabe ainsi révisé que naîtra et se développera la tradition andalouse et espagnole de Dioscoride.[13]

Ce détour par l'Andalousie est comme une invitation à examiner, en sens inverse, les traductions faites en latin à partir de l'arabe, qu'il s'agisse d'ouvrages originaux ou de versions de texte grecs de l'antiquité. Deux exemples suffiront pour montrer la justesse des observations de Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, qui opposait le mot à mot à la bonne traduction pratiquée par Ḥunayn. Le premier concerne le *Livre royal* d'al-Majūsī (m. entre 982 et 995), qui est traduit par Constantin l'Africain (ca. 1010-1087) en Italie méridionale un peu après le milieu du XIème siècle, puis une cinquantaine d'années plus tard en Syrie par le pisan Etienne d'Antioche: à la version assez libre du premier s'oppose le mot à mot servile du second, qui devait faire appel à un truchement. Cent ans après Constantin, c'est en Espagne, à Tolède, que Gérard de Crémone (m. 1187) se livre à une intense activité de traduction, dont il arrive que nous connaissions le processus d'élaboration. La version de l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée (m. 284 avant J.-C.) a été faite avec la collaboration d'un mozarabe, Galippus (Galib), qui traduisait le texte arabe en tolédan, l'espagnol local: Gérard transposait en latin la traduction espagnole.[14] Pour une œuvre originale arabe, le *Livre de l'âme* d'Avicenne, le principe était analogue: un juif, Ioannes Auendehut, traduisait mot à mot en langue

13 Sur la tradition de Dioscoride on consultera le grand travail de C. E. Dubler, *La 'Materia medica' de Dioscorides: transmisión medieval y renacentista*, 6 vols., Barcelona, 1953-1959.

14 P. Kunitzsch, *Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 83-112, en particulier 85-87.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000094

vulgaire (*singula verba vulgariter proferente*) et l'archidiacre de Ségovie, Dominicus Gundisalvus, écrivait un à un (*singula*) les mots latins correspondants.[15] A la différence des premiers traducteurs de Bagdad qui maîtrisaient trois langues dont la deuxième était leur langue maternelle, les traducteurs de l'Ecole de Tolède n'ont en commun qu'une langue, l'espagnol local ou tolédan, dit aussi langue vulgaire: la qualité de leur travail s'en ressent nécessairement.

Pour qui, comme moi, s'intéresse au premier chef aux originaux grecs, le témoignage des traductions arabes est d'une importance trop souvent méconnue des hellénistes. Qu'elles soient faites directement sur le grec ou, cas plus fréquent, par l'intermédiaire d'une version syriaque, elles représentent un état du texte original antérieur d'un demi-millénaire ou plus aux manuscrits grecs parvenus jusqu'à nous. Certes leur usage dans une édition critique est parfois délicat parce que l'helléniste se défie de témoignages qu'il ne peut contrôler lui-même. Un double remède serait recommandable: que les syriacisants et les arabisants éditeurs d'une traduction aient soin de l'accompagner d'une version dans une langue occidentale moderne; que les hellénistes travaillant sur des œuvres philosophiques, scientifiques, médicales ou techniques, n'hésitent pas à s'initier à l'arabe littéral, sinon au syriaque. C'est sur ce double vœu que je conclurai, en sachant qu'il est déjà en partie exaucé de part et d'autre.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 86 n. 224.

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The Mediaeval Manuscript Tradition of Bal'amī's Version of al-Ṭabarī's *History*

Andrew Peacock

In the year 352/963, the Sāmānid ruler Manṣūr b. Nūḥ (d. 365/976) ordered his minister Abū 'Alī Bal'amī (d. 363/974) to translate the famous chronicle of world history composed by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) earlier the same century, the *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, from Arabic into Persian. The vizier was further ordered to simplify the work and to omit the *isnāds* and repetitions that are partly responsible for the great length of the Arabic. The rationale for this was the creation of an accessible version "that the intellects of the populace and authorities might share in reading it and knowledge of it and that it might be easy for anyone who examines it"[1] in the words of the introduction. The popularity of the work must have been enormous, for it came to be translated into both Ottoman and Chaghatay Turkish, Urdu, and even back into Arabic twice. The large number of extant Persian manuscripts – over one hundred and sixty – is further testimony to the fact that, at least in the eastern Islamic world, it must have supplanted al-Ṭabarī's original, of which we sadly lack complete manuscripts.

However, just as with the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī (d. 411/1020), the preservation of a vast array of textual witnesses has not ensured that we have an unproblematic text – rather, it has served to multiply the difficulties.[2] Our earliest manuscripts of the Persian version date to the late twelfth century, over two hundred years after the translation was commissioned, and these are fragmentary.[3] It is not until the Mongol period is well under way that we find our first complete manuscripts, and the standard published edition by Muḥammad Rawshan is based on a manuscript of the early fourteenth century (RAS Persian 22). It would therefore be nothing short of miraculous if an accurate representation of Bal'amī's text had survived among them.

Yet even the recognition of that depressing fact cannot prepare one for the utter chaos that confronts one on comparing these manuscripts. It is not merely a question of variations of vocabulary and grammar, although these occur in abundance. Rather, passages present in one manuscript are omitted in another, radically abbreviated or extended in others, or their apparent point or moral altered elsewhere. There are even two versions of the introduction, one in Arabic and one in Persian, different not merely in language but also in content. One manuscript

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1 *Tārīkhnāma*, ed. Rawshan, I: 2.

2 *Cf.* Ferdowsi, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh, Pīshguftār, 19-20.

3 These are British Library MS Or. 7324 (miscatalogued as *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*) and Mashhad Āstān-i Quds 129 (7481).

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may completely contradict another, or even an earlier passage in itself. Despite the instructions given to Bal'amī, there are numerous repetitions. Yet more confusingly, the manuscripts will frequently comment before a passage or some lines of poetry that this was not to be found in al-Ṭabarī's version, so the scribe had taken it from elsewhere for the sake of completeness, yet a glance at the Arabic will reveal its presence there. In addition, there are numerous quotations in Arabic, not just from the Qur'ān but also from poets, only rarely accompanied by a Persian translation. This is hardly what one would expect of a work translated into Persian precisely for the purpose of supplying those who could not understand the original with a readable version of it.

It would indeed be a Herculean task for an editor to cleanse the Augean stables of this manuscript tradition of corruption. It is therefore hardly surprising that all the published editions of the text reflect the failings of the tradition. Nevertheless, I have found a manuscript, which, I believe, allows us to get some idea of what Bal'amī actually wrote. This is an early Arabic translation of Bal'amī (Cambridge University Library Add 836) which is remarkably free of the difficulties I have just outlined. However, before discussing it, I wish to examine ways in which previous scholars have treated the Persian textual tradition, and suggest some of the reasons why these were flawed. I intend finally to use the Cambridge manuscript to elucidate the processes of transmission to which the Persian manuscripts have been subjected.

Orientalist scholarship and Bal'amī

Interest in Bal'amī among western Orientalists started in the nineteenth century. Before de Goeje's great edition of the Arabic text was published, it had been generally assumed that al-Ṭabarī's work was lost in its original form, so Bal'amī's Persian version offered the best approximation of it available. A translation into French was started by Dubeux in the first half of the century, but it had to wait thirty years for Zotenberg to complete it. Zotenberg realized that Bal'amī presented a complex manuscript tradition, and for his translation he consulted ten manuscripts held in libraries in France, England and Germany. He saw the manuscripts as falling basically into two main groups, which he described as "la rédaction primitive" and "la nouvelle rédaction corrigée." The latter, according to Zotenberg, is distinguished from the former by being more developed than the earlier "primitive" redaction. However, he also recognized that many of even the fairly limited number of manuscripts at his disposal would not fit these categories exactly. He describes his manuscript D in the following terms: "Quoique le texte de ce manuscrit soit en général rajeuni et corrigé, il s'éloigne cependant de la rédaction primitive plutôt par des suppressions que par des amplifications."[4]

4 Zotenberg 1867, *Chronique*, I: vi.

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Zotenberg commented of his manuscript F that "il suit ordinairement la nouvelle rédaction; mais il y a des cas où il réunit l'ancien et le nouveau texte, et il offre parfois des leçons qui ne se trouve pas dans aucun des autres manuscrits."[5]

Regrettably, I have not yet had the chance to examine Zotenberg's manuscript A, on which he based his translation. However, the notes to his translation give one a fair idea of its contents and how the French differs from it. It seems that the other manuscripts were used mainly to correct A which he described as being "très-incorrect" with numerous minor lacunae, and a representative of the "primitive" redaction. One would expect those manuscripts he describes as being representatives of the new redaction to give fuller accounts than A. However, this is by no means invariably the case. If we compare Zotenberg's A with his E, a manuscript in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society in London (Persian 22) which was also used as the basis of Muḥammad Rawshan's edition of Bal'amī, it is clear that in many places E, although classed as "new redaction", has important passages missing and abridged versions of others. For example, E entirely omits a vital passage discussing the duration of the world which marks the division between the pre-Islamic and Islamic sections in many other manuscripts, and shortens the account of the conversion of Abū Bakr.[6] Occasionally Zotenberg indicates that a passage is unique to A. So in fact we find that the primitive redaction is sometimes fuller than the new redaction. As the definition of each type of redaction seems mainly to be based on their completeness, this is the opposite to what one would expect to find, and indicates that this method of classifying the manuscripts is wholly inadequate.

The publication of de Goeje's edition of al-Ṭabarī meant that study of Bal'amī was virtually abandoned as historians had now got "the original." Fortunately, the Persian translation's status as one of the oldest works of New Persian prose preserved a modicum of interest in it. However, it was not until 1957 that any further work of importance was done on the subject, when the two Soviet scholars Gryaznevich and Boldyrev published an article noting the existence of two main different types of introduction, one in Arabic, and one in Persian,[7] rather different in contents. Although they believed that the Arabic preface was older,[8] which may well be correct, it does not follow that the contents of the manuscripts that have it are more authentic. Indeed, it does not seem possible to group the manuscripts into redactions according to their preface, as Gryaznevich and Boldyrev suggested.[9] A manuscript with an Arabic preface may well have

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5 *Ibid.*, I: vii.

6 Some poetry and the controversial question of whether Zayd b. Ḥāritha converted before Abū Bakr. See *idem* 1869, II: 400 and *Tārīkhnāma*, ed. Rawshan, III: 39.

7 However, the text of the Persian prefaces often differs greatly: Bodleian Elliott 377 starts "*shukr va sipās ḥaḍrat-i khāliqī-rā*," while Bodleian Ouseley 359 has "*āfrīn mar khudā-yi kāmgār*."

8 Gryaznevich & Boldyrev 1957, 54-5.

9 *Ibid.*, 56.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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more in common with one with a Persian one than other Arabic ones, and vice versa. For example, the Bodleian's Laud Or 323 which has an Arabic beginning has rather more detailed accounts for much of the Islamic section than RAS Persian 22 (which we have already mentioned as Zotenberg's E), which also has an Arabic preface. In fact, the contents of the latter have more in common with a manuscript like Süleymaniye Fatih 4281, which has a Persian preface, both having detailed accounts of Gayūmarṯ' and Bahrām Chūbīn's career, which are relatively uncommon.

Elton Daniel is probably the scholar who has done most to improve our understanding of the complex manuscript history of this work. About a decade ago, he suggested grouping the manuscripts into three different redactions: a late redaction, a full redaction, and an abbreviated redaction.[10] Yet if we compare a manuscript from each putative redaction, we will not necessarily find that they diverge as much as one would suppose. Conversely, one faces the perpetual problem that any two manuscripts from one redaction may vary more from each other than from ones supposedly belonging to the other redactions.[11] This problem is so common that it cannot be purely a question of manuscripts having been misclassified. I examined a selection of episodes from the pre-Islamic and Islamic sections in a representative of each redaction. The abbreviated redaction turned out to be more detailed than the full redaction, and the late redaction often offered the most abbreviated accounts. Yet again, the representatives of each redaction failed to cohere to their description.

When Muḥammad Rawshan came to edit the text, he followed the theory that the Persian and Arabic prefaces represented two different redactions.[12] However, he could not fit our second earliest manuscript, Mashhad Āstān-i Quds 129 (which is incomplete), into either category, so he posited a third redaction of which it is the sole surviving example.[13] He was nonetheless faced with the usual problems of the manuscripts, which led him to a rather unfortunate conclusion. Confronted by the task of explaining their inconsistencies, he decided that Bal'amī was not the actual author. Rather, the vizier had been entrusted with the task of having al-Ṭabarī translated, and so had commissioned a number of scribes to work on it. He compared this to the way in which Rashīd al-Dīn used Qāshānī, and then took the credit for himself.[14] The problem with this is obvious: if one was going to commission such an undertaking to a group of people, surely one would set each one to work on a different part of the text. To have

10 Daniel 1990, 299.

11 *Cf.* the two accounts of the Prophet's ancestry in the British Library MSS IO Isl. 2669 (Ethé 2), f. 155b.ff and IO Isl. 1983 (Ethé 9), f. 313a.ff, which is considerably more detailed in the latter although both are meant to be representatives of the late redaction.

12 *Tārīkhnāma*, ed. Rawshan, I: Muqaddima: 42.

13 *Ibid.*, I: Muqaddima: 47. Rawshan was unaware of the antiquity of British Library Or. 7324.

14 It should be noted in this connection that Morgan rejects the idea that Qāshānī had nearly as important a rôle as he claimed: Morgan 1986: 21.

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several translate the same passage at the same time, producing contradictory versions and selecting different parts of the passage to translate would be inexplicable and irrational. Furthermore, to argue that a group of scribes was responsible is not merely highly speculative, it also directly contradicts the evidence of the Arabic and Persian introductions which both use a singular verb to describe the act of translating.

I therefore believe that we have no choice but to assume for the moment that Bal'amī was indeed the author, and that we must seek elsewhere the explanation for the present state of the text. I trust I have also demonstrated that attempts to classify the manuscripts according to redaction have been largely unsuccessful, and I shall suggest the reasons for this below. I should note at this point that it is of course possible to find manuscripts which are closely related; however, they tend to be late or unimportant copies, and are of little importance for the textual history of the *Tārīkhnāma*.[15] Before discussing the difficulties of the manuscript tradition further, I wish now to examine the manuscript which I hope will elucidate the ways in which the others are corrupt.

The Cambridge Arabic Translation

The manuscript, a retranslation of Bal'amī into Arabic, was acquired by Cambridge University Library in 1870, and is classmarked Add 836. The first folio is missing, and the last one damaged. It is dated 876/1471, but the colophon tells us that it is a copy of a manuscript dated 627/1229, itself a copy of one dated 442/1050, that is, only ninety years after the original Persian translation was commissioned.[16] Regrettably, the provenance of Add 836 is unclear; a note in English on the flyleaf states that it is an "Indian MS", but this seems unlikely, and the presence of the passage about the 'Alid *naqīb*s of Kūfa (see below) would make one suspect that an Iraqi origin is more probable. It is written, like the Persian, in an extremely simple style, and is singularly free of repetitions and contradictions. Unlike other manuscripts, it contains very little poetry, and rarely mentions al-Ṭabarī himself, and hardly at all to state that a passage has been added from elsewhere. Indeed, it is rather what one would have expected Bal'amī's translation to have looked like, albeit in a different language. However, its terminus is surprisingly early, 132 A.H. (the death of Marwān). Only one

15 E.g. the contents of Süleymaniye Aya Sofya 3050 are virtually identical to those of Aya Sofya 3051. However, as the copyists were brothers working from the same original, this close relationship between the manuscripts they produced is unsurprising.

16 Daniel 1990, 283 states that this is a copy of the Arabic translation by Khiḍr b. Khiḍr al-Āmidī. However, this translation, of which only the second half appears to be extant, was started in 935/1528 and completed in 947/1540 (see Leiden University Library Or. 140: f. 1b, f. 958b). al-Āmidī's translation differs substantially in language and contents from Add. 836, and must be considered a completely unrelated work.

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other Persian manuscript ends at this point, the Mashhad one, but it is our earliest manuscript covering the Islamic period.[17]

Hence two questions must be addressed: firstly, how accurate a translation of Bal'amī is it? And secondly, to what extent is the ninth century A.H. copy an accurate rendering of the fifth century original?

With regard to the translation's accuracy, I took the account of 'Abdallāh b. Kurayz b. 'Āmir's punitive expedition to Khurāsān during 'Uthmān's reign. This is virtually identical in the Persian manuscripts, with only a few minor differences of grammar and vocabulary, so it offers a rare case where we may be reasonably sure that it resembles Bal'amī's original. On comparing the Arabic with it, it was clear that the Cambridge manuscript presented an accurate translation into idiomatic Arabic. I then compared a few other passages the authenticity of which seems probable as their textual tradition is relatively stable, such as the reign of Jamshīd, and they confirmed the general accuracy of the Arabic. As the Cambridge manuscript does not explicitly mention the Persian version or Bal'amī, the closeness of Add 836's text to the Persian also served to confirm that it was indeed a translation from Persian into Arabic, not an abridgement of al-Ṭabarī made directly from the original. Further evidence of this is the extremely simple style of both the Cambridge manuscript and the Persian, whereas one would expect an abridgement from the original to preserve at least some of the phraseology and obscurities of al-Ṭabarī. Furthermore, its treatment of certain episodes, such as Bahrām Chūbīn, contains information found only in some of the Persian versions, not in al-Ṭabarī.[18] We may therefore be confident that the Cambridge manuscript accurately reflects the Persian.

The question of the accuracy of the ninth century A.H. copy is rather more difficult to prove conclusively. It is clear that one of the later copyists was ill acquainted with Persian, so he writes Barwīn for Parvīz. Occasionally, when a Persian etymology is given (for Jamshīd's name, for example), he mangles the text into incoherence – but so do many of the Persian manuscripts. These are, however, minor matters. On the plus side, sectarian tendencies do not seem to have intervened at all. This is surprising, because it appears that the copyist was a Shī'ite. On the last folio of the manuscript, sadly damaged, we find an account of the genealogy of the *naqībs* of Kūfa,[19] under whose tutelage it was presumably written, and curses on Mu'āwiyya. Yet the text itself shows no signs of Shī'ite leanings, in keeping with Bal'amī's staunchly Sunnī views.

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17 It is, however, questionable whether this represents the real terminus of Āstān-i Quds 129, as a note after the colophon indicates a second volume covering *akhbār al-Mubayyaḍa al-ladhīna kharajū [fī] al-Shām wa al-Jazīra wa-khalafū al-Saffāḥ* will follow.

18 E.g. Bahrām's encounter with the daughter of the fairy: *Tārīkhnāma*, ed. Rawshan, II: 776-781; Add. 836, f. 68a.

19 These are mentioned in Ibn 'Inaba, *'Umdat al-Ṭālib*, ed. Āl al-Tāliqānī, 311-338.

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I therefore believe that this manuscript presents us with something approximating Bal'amī's original. Above all, it presents a coherent, consistent narrative in simple language, just what Bal'amī set out to do, yet which the Persian manuscripts fail to represent. We may now compare it with these manuscripts to elucidate their textual history.

Interpolation and corruption in the Persian manuscript tradition

Even the most cursory examination reveals some interpolations in the manuscripts – many of them continue up to the reign of al-Qā'im (d. 467/1075) or al-Mustaẓhir (d. 512/1118), who acceded long after Bal'amī's death. In others, the terminus varies considerably. Accounts are often confusing, repetitive and contradictory, and it is hard to believe a sane author could have wanted to present them in this way. Also, as I mentioned earlier, we have the perplexing fact that the manuscripts often claim they have added something not to be found in al-Ṭabarī when it is actually there. If these passages are genuine, it would either mean Bal'amī was lying (for no obvious reason) or that al-Ṭabarī's text was unrecognizably different in the tenth century. While I accept that al-Ṭabarī's *History* is not perfectly preserved, I do not believe that it was so radically different.

It is all very well to recognize the existence of interpolations, but identifying them precisely is rarely easy. Occasionally we may have a situation as in RAS Persian 22's account of Ḍaḥḥāk, where the narrative is interrupted by a fairly irrelevant passage, clear evidence of interpolation.[20] But more commonly we have a situation like this: RAS Persian 22 presents Nebuchanezzar as a powerful general. After describing his suppression of the Israelites, it then says that Nebuchanezzar was a poor man from Babel, and gives a second very different account of his rise to power, ending with him challenging God.[21] Now we will probably have suspicions that something is wrong, but it is hard to tell what: has a link passage saying that Bal'amī wants to give a second account which is more or less reliable than the first dropped out? Or is one of the accounts an interpolation? If so which one? It is only by using Add 836 that we can see that it is in fact the second account which has been added.

I shall consider three examples, one to demonstrate each type of interpolation. The first type is when passages have been added from Persian sources, perhaps the most common type. These are often indicated by words to the effect of "Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī did not recount this in full in his book, but I found it complete in such-and-such a work, and have taken the account from there." The sources, when they can be identified, are usually fairly early ones,[22]

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20 The account of the origin of the Kurds – see *Tārīkhnāma*, ed. Rawshan, I: 103.

21 *Ibid.*, I: 471-9.

22 E.g. Abū Zayd-i Ḥakīm's *Kitāb-i Faḍā'il-i Balkh* (4th c. A.H.) which is mentioned in *ibid.*, I: 82.

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to which Bal'amī may well have had access; it is often surmised that he is therefore responsible. However, such passages are more than usually subject to omission or presentation in a different format. RAS Persian 22, for example, has an extremely detailed account of the career of Bahrām Chūbīn, which is attributed to information from a work called *Kitāb-i Akhbār-i 'Ajam*.[23] Bodleian Ouseley 206 (ff. 180a-184b) and British Library Add 7622 (ff. 152a-153b) have a much shorter version, which is not attributed to any other source, and Bodleian Laud Or 323 entirely omits the account. Add 836 offers a version with rather more detail than Ouseley 206, but considerably shorter than Persian 22. The latter manuscript has therefore presumably supplemented Bal'amī's (not al-Ṭabarī's) version with information from the *Akhbār-i 'Ajam*, whereas Ouseley 206 and Add 7622 have reduced it.

Furthermore, we should note that the attribution of accounts to authors other than al-Ṭabarī is extremely rare in Add 836, even when a passage clearly differs from that in al-Ṭabarī. If, as seems likely, Bal'amī was using and adapting al-Ṭabarī to promote a certain sectarian or political agenda, to legitimize a Sāmānid version of history by basing his work on such an authoritative source as the *Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, it would be bizarre for him to question al-Ṭabarī's accuracy openly, for surely that would undermine his own translation's reliability.[24] Add 836 contains plenty of additions and omissions when compared with al-Ṭabarī, but they are almost invariably glossed over in silence, which is precisely the treatment one would expect if the preceding analysis of Bal'amī's motives is correct. This provides us with further good reason to doubt the authenticity of these interpolations which are advertised as such.

The second type of interpolation is where two versions of an account are given. The two accounts of Nebuchanezzar I have already discussed are an example of this. Only the first is given in the Cambridge manuscript and some of the other Persian ones. So how was the second one added? If we turn to the text of al-Ṭabarī, we find it is present there, so some scribe must have translated it into Persian, omitting the isnāds, and added to his manuscript.

This use of al-Ṭabarī's text is most strongly demonstrated in a third type of interpolation which occurs in our earliest manuscripts, the translation of al-Ṭabarī preserving the different versions given in the original. Usually the full isnād is omitted, but each account is indicated with a phrase such as *ba-dīgar rivāyatī*. This is used in particular in Bodleian Laud Or 323, and in the Mashhad manuscript.[25] As well as the fact that these never occur in the Cambridge manuscript, their difference in style from the rest of the text clearly indicates that they are not original.

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23 *Ibid.*, II: 764.

24 For more on the political motives for the translation see Meisami 1999, 23-37.

25 Bodleian Laud Or 323: f. 191; *Tarjama-yi Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, ed Mīnuvī, 94-101.

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It is certainly surprising to find that scribes were using al-Ṭabarī's Arabic as a source. This implies that at least up to the Mongol invasion, al-Ṭabarī was fairly well-known and accessible in the eastern Islamic world. At one point the Mashhad manuscript explicitly states that the copyist had access to al-Ṭabarī's version, contrasting it with Bal'amī's.[26] After the fourteenth century we find few new interpolations which can be firmly pinned down to the use of the original. By the end of the fifteenth century, collation between Persian manuscripts is clearly still happening, but few interpolations from outside the manuscript tradition are being introduced.[27] Yet there must have been some use of al-Ṭabarī's Arabic even later. MS Or 5343 in the British Library dates from the fourteenth century. However, its initial 31 folios were damaged, and replaced in around the sixteenth century. It presents the unusual phenomenon of two prefaces, one Arabic and one Persian. However, the Arabic preface is different from those in other manuscripts: instead of starting *al-ḥamd lillāh al-'alī al-a'lā al-waṭī al-awlā*, it starts, *al-ḥamd lillāh al-awwal qabl kull awwal*, that is, an abridged version of the exordium al-Ṭabarī actually used. Thus on repairing the manuscript, the scribe must have realized that it differed from al-Ṭabarī, and took it upon himself to provide the correct version.

Possibly the most perplexing problem is not that of interpolation, but of those passages which manuscripts falsely state to be absent from al-Ṭabarī.[28] It is possible that the Arabic manuscripts at the scribes' disposal were inadequate, but if that was the case they seem to have been inadequate with amazing frequency. One manuscript even alleges that al-Ṭabarī omitted such major events as Abū Bakr's conversion and the battle of Badr.[29] It seems much more likely that "al-Tabarī's" omissions are actually lacunae in Persian manuscripts the scribe was collating, which we have already noted are subject to great textual instability. Scribes would therefore correct these lacunae from other manuscripts at their disposal. Admittedly, it is confusing that al-Ṭabarī rather than Bal'amī is blamed for the omission, but I do not believe they made a strict distinction between the Arabic and Persian texts, as their use of al-Ṭabarī to supplement the Persian indicates. Indeed, many manuscripts with the Arabic preface start "Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī said in the *khuṭba* of his book..." and proceed to give praise of God in completely different terms from those in the Arabic original, followed by a preface written by Bal'amī in the first person. At any rate, it seems unlikely that a vizier of the most powerful Muslim state of the day, working on a project by order of the ruler, would have to cope with inadequate manuscripts of al-Ṭabarī a mere forty years after the author's death.

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26 *Ibid.*, 388.

27 This may be a consequence of the movement to establish more reliable texts which Bahār has described: 1369, 537-8.

28 This question has already been discussed in Daniel 2003, 166-67.

29 According to Zotenberg's A – see Zotenberg 1869: II: 479.

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A theoretical approach to the textual tradition

In light of the above discussion, we may now address the reasons why previous scholars' attempts to classify manuscripts by redaction have been unsuccessful. Classification according to redaction presupposes vertical transmission within that group – the manuscripts are descended from a common parent, hence will have similar omissions and interpolations.[30] (I shall leave aside the question of language, which would confuse the question further, as copyists would often "modernize" it to suit the tastes of their day). However, as I have indicated, such similarities do not occur in early manuscripts with sufficient frequency for any such pattern to be established. Rather, we have a case of horizontal transmission, where copyists would consult a number of manuscripts, and collate their account from them. Clear evidence for this is to be found in RAS Persian 22, where in the account of Jeremiah the prophet's name is written inconsistently as both 'Uzayr and Armiyā. In the same manuscript (and the printed edition) Farīdūn's son is referred to as both Ṭūj and Tūr within the space of a couple of lines. These are clearly not simple scribal slips, but rather the result of consulting different manuscripts for the same story in a way reminiscent of the practice of collation.

Mu'āraḍa or *muqārana*, as collation is called in Arabic, had been encouraged – indeed was often obligatory – for *ḥadīth*, and it seems to have spread from there into secular fields. The best known early example is that of the great translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq who tells us that he collated the available manuscripts of Galen before rendering it into Arabic.[31] Scribes occasionally allude directly to the practice of collation. Just before the colophon of Bodleian Ouseley 206-8, the scribe notes that he has seen in other manuscripts versions different from the one he has given: in some manuscripts, the account of the Qarāmiṭa is omitted, and some only go up to the time of al-Mu'taṣim.[32] However, the aim of collation was generally to check that one had made an accurate copy from one or more manuscripts. In the case of Bal'amī's *Tārīkhnāma* it seems to have taken on a rather more extreme form, serving to supplement the text with alternative or additional versions of passages. The omission or inclusion of certain episodes appears to have been a matter of the copyist's personal judgment. For example, most manuscripts have a section on 'Uthmān's lineage, wives, and number of children, following the account of his murder. However, the scribe of RAS Persian 22, who is clearly very hostile to the Caliph and interpolates negative comments about

30 I have adapted these concepts of vertical and horizontal transmission from Reynolds & Wilson 1991, 214-216.

31 Rosenthal 1975, 20.

32 Ouseley 208, f. 552a.

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him,[33] entirely omits this section. However, he was not entirely consistent in his hostility (or rather his concentration), and occasionally a *raḍiya Allāh 'anhu* slips in after 'Uthmān's name, copied automatically from whatever manuscript he was using. In other cases it is harder to establish such an obvious cause for alterations, but we may surmise that the political circumstances under which the manuscript was written may frequently have been influential.[34]

Horizontal transmission is therefore the reason for the impossibility of establishing any of even the vague groupings of manuscripts proposed hitherto, let alone anything that would resemble a conventional stemma. Yet it fails to explain the most serious problem, of why the differences between the manuscripts are so great. If all the manuscripts were conventionally derived from one archetype, horizontal transmission would lead one to expect contamination of some spelling or grammatical points, and maybe an occasional interpolation. Yet the differences between the manuscripts may be so great as to cause one occasionally to wonder if one is actually looking at the same work.[35]

The explanation for this state of affairs, as I have suggested above, lies in the use of other works for "collation" as we may loosely describe it. It seems likely that al-Ṭabarī's Arabic was the original cause of what we would now consider to be a rather cavalier attitude to the text. At an early stage scribes would check the Persian against the Arabic, and find many lacunae, sometimes caused by Bal'amī's own omissions, sometimes due to previous scribes' treatment of the Persian. Yet the translation must have rapidly acquired considerable popularity and a degree of prestige having been commissioned by a famously pious and cultivated dynasty from a translator of a noble and learned family. Above all, its concision made it, as intended, much more accessible than the Arabic. Therefore the easiest option for scribes was to add any details they felt important from al-Ṭabarī's text, probably according to the interests and concerns of their patrons. For example, a cultivated patron might be pleased and flattered by the inclusion of more Arabic poetry. Eventually, the habit spread to plundering other works, especially traditional Persian sources, to fill in the gaps. In a sense, it was the universal appeal of Bal'amī's *Tārīkhnāma* which is responsible for the chaotic state of the text today.

To conclude, I believe that the case of al-Ṭabarī and Bal'amī shows us exceptionally clearly the futility of attempting to establish stemmata in the case of many Islamic textual traditions. Not only were distinctions between original and

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33 See for example the comments on Walīd b. 'Uqba's father (*Tārīkhnāma*, ed. Rawshan, III: 576) which I have not seen in any other MS, and combined with the omission of the conventional lineage passage, make one suspect the scribe of promoting a certain religious agendum.

34 An interesting parallel to the activities of the mediaeval scribes may be seen in Zotenberg's translation. The translator adopted exactly their approach in jettisoning parts of A, his base manuscript, and supplementing it from other manuscripts at other times.

35 E.g. see Daniel 1990, 295 on *Mashhad Āstān-i Quds* 129.

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translation considerably more fluid in the Middle Ages than now, but even those between translator, scribe and author were blurred. We are uniquely fortunate with this text that we have an extremely early version which demonstrates the extent of corruption the others have suffered and allows us to consider, at last, how Bal'amī actually treated al-Ṭabarī. Yet it also serves as a salutary reminder of the dangers of studying texts which only survive in late manuscripts, and of the perils of producing editions based on such manuscripts.

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"A turgid history of the Mongol empire in Persia"

Epistemological reflections concerning a critical edition of Vaṣṣāf's *Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-aʿṣār**

Judith Pfeiffer

The *Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-aʿṣār* ('The apportioning of lands and the passing of times'), a Persian chronicle written by the early 14th-century Ilkhanid historian and financial administrator Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh Vaṣṣāf (fl. 728/1328), covers much of the period of Mongol rule in the Middle East.[1] Despite the fact that the work encompasses the relatively short time span of seventy years (655-728/1257-1328),[2] Vaṣṣāf's history has seen an extraordinary reception: There exist close to one hundred and sixty known manuscript copies of the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* in various libraries all over the world, with particularly carefully copied specimens in India and in the Ottoman Empire, where the form and style of the work were especially appreciated.[3] Not surprisingly, it is in Bombay that the first lithograph of Vaṣṣāf's history was prepared in 1853.[4] This lithograph and its 1959 Tehran reprint represent the only complete printed version of the work that ever appeared, despite the vivid reception and the acknowledged value of Vaṣṣāf's work as an historical source.[5] To date, no critical edition of the *Tajziyat*

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1 On Vaṣṣāf, see Rieu 1879, vol. 1, 162; Huart 1913-36, 1133; Merçil 1984.

2 655/1257 (Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 10) is the first and 728/1327-28 (e.g., Blochet 1905-34, vol. 1, 282) the last given date in any known and carefully catalogued manuscript of the work; see also Rieu 1879, vol. 1, 161; Storey/Bregel 1972, vol. 2, 769-775.

3 See Storey/Bregel 1972, vol. 2, 769-774. The author of this paper has located about a dozen copies in manuscript catalogues from India published since the appearance of Storey/Bregel in 1972. Most of these are 19th century copies. – While the history of the Chinggizid heritage in the Ottoman and Mughal environments has yet to be written, this paper shows that the aesthetic reception of Vaṣṣāf's work was particularly intensive in the Ottoman Empire. See also Pfeiffer 2003, chapter iv.ii.c., for the influence of the work especially on the Persian historiographical tradition.

4 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853. On the calligrapher who prepared the Bombay lithograph, Ḥājjī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, known as "*Āqā*," see Dīvān Bīgī Shīrāzī 1364-/1985-, vol. 2, 1020-22.

5 The 1338/1959 Tehran reprint of the Bombay lithograph had a printrun of 1.000 copies, and is not available any more on the bookmarket in Iran. This version comprises 708 folio

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al-amṣār is available. By elucidating the history of its reception, this paper hopes to encourage the preparation of a long overdue critical edition of this work.

Much of what is known about the author and his work derives from his own writings. Vaṣṣāf intended to continue 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī's (d. 681/1283) history *Jahān-gushāy*, which breaks off at a crucial point in Islamic history, namely shortly before the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 656/1258.[6] Vaṣṣāf began writing his history four decades after these events,[7] and presented the first volume of the work to the Mongol ruler Ghāzān Khān (r. 694-703/1295-1304) on 13 Rajab 702/3 March 1303, shortly before the Ilkhan's death.[8] By 1312, Vaṣṣāf had completed three further volumes, which he presented to Ghāzān Khān's brother and successor, the Ilkhan Muḥammad Khudābanda Öljeytü (r. 703-716/1304-1316). Persian was not the mother tongue of the sultan, who had to ask several times for the meaning of the passages that were read to him.[9] Nonetheless, Vaṣṣāf received an honorary robe and the honorific title *Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍrat*, "His Majesty's Panegyrist."[10] This incident has often been quoted as an argument in support of the view that this work is extremely difficult to understand.[11] I will return to this point later. A fifth and last volume, covering events down to the year 728/1327-28, was completed some time during the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd's reign.

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pages, including a glossary (*Farhang-i Vaṣṣāf;* 658-708), and is not indexed. In 1856, Joseph von Hammer published and translated into German the first of of the five volumes of Vaṣṣāf's work. Hammer's death prevented him from publishing the remaining parts, which he had started preparing for publication and which are kept in Hammer's *Nachlaß* in Vienna; see, Chagatai 1997, which features facsimile copies of the frontispice and the first page of the German translation of Vaṣṣāf's second volume in Hammer's handwriting (Ms. Schloss Hainfeld). In 1897, another lithograph of the first volume appeared in Tabriz (?) (differing more from Bombay 1853 and Hammer 1856 than these differ between each other). Furthermore, there exist a 1914 print (325 pp., without place of publication, not seen), and a 1929 Lahore lithograph of volume one prepared by Muḥammad Iqbāl (excluding much of the poetry). All of these, while attesting to the ongoing lively reception of the work, must be considered as continuations of the manuscript tradition in a print medium, but are not "editions" in the full sense of the word. Storey/Bregel 1972, vol. 2, 773, mention a number of other printed versions of the work, presumably in the same fashion. I have not been able to locate and see any of the latter. On the value of Vaṣṣāf's work as an historical source, see, e.g., Flügel 1865, vol. 2, 188; Jahn 1963, 202.

6 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 6. On Juvaynī, see Flügel 1865, vol. 2, 178; Barthold 1913-1936; Barthold/Boyle 1965. The *Jahān-gushāy* was translated by J.A.Boyle under the title *Genghis Khan. The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata Malik Juvaini.* Seattle: University of Washington Press: 1997 [1958].

7 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 6.

8 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 405, lines 10-11.

9 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 544-549.

10 Vaṣṣāf calls himself "*Vaṣṣāf al-Ḥaḍrat*" several times after he had been conferred this title; see, e.g., Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 646, line 7. See also Rieu 1879, vol. 1, 162.

11 See, e.g., Rieu 1879, vol. 1, 162.

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The *Tajziyat al-amṣār* seems to be Vaṣṣāf's only major work.[12] Its five parts cover the reigns of the Ilkhanid rulers in the Euphrates to Oxus region from Hülegü through the middle of the reign of his great great grandson Abū Sa'īd, the last Mongol ruler of Chinggisid descent in the region before the disintegration of the Ilkhanid empire after his death in 735/1336. In addition to accounts dealing with the Mongols in the Middle East, however, Vaṣṣāf provides abundant information on other issues, like the contemporary Great Khans in China,[13] the Chagatayids in Central Asia,[14] the Sultans of Delhi and other rulers in India,[15] the Northern shores of the Straights of Hormuz,[16] as well as information about the Mamluks in Egypt[17] and several local dynasties in Iran, among them the Salghurids of Fars,[18] Lur,[19] Kirman,[20] the house of Shabānkāra,[21] and others. On

12 For several shorter samples of "ornate prose" from Vaṣṣāf's pen – some of these apparently independently copied extracts from his history – see Storey 1990, 245. Merçil (1984, 233b) ascribes with some reservation a "*Risāla-yi akhlāq al-salṭana*" to Vaṣṣāf, a treatise which was composed in 709-10/1309-11, and is extant in three copies in Tehran (see Munzavī 1305-1348/1926-1969/70, vol. 16, 223; nos. 568, 4023, 5307 in the catalogue). It should be investigated whether and to which extent this is identical with the epistles "*Akhlāq al-salṭana fi al-aḥvāl va al-azmina*," dedicated to the Ilkhan Öljeytü Khudābanda (Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 484-498), as well as further treatises of this genre integrated into the history, such as the "*Tidhkār* [or *Tadhkār] al-akhlāq*" (for the latter, see Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 181). Other pieces in the genre of mirrors for princes are found on pp. 281-281 and 339 of the *Tajziyat al-amṣār,* and a "*tarjumat al-naṣāyiḥ*" by Vaṣṣāf's hand (dated 711/1311-12) is appended to the autograph of vol. iv; see Dānish-pazhūh, 1348/1969, 41. He also composed various letters, among them one addressed to his contemporary Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 508). Note that contemporary *inshā'* literature, such as Nakhchīvānī's *Dastūr al-kātib*, does not mention Vaṣṣāf's authorship of any of the letters it contains. Vaṣṣāf also composed quite a number of poems, which are as well preserved in his history, and which he 'signed' with his *makhlaṣ* (pen name) *Sharaf*, which is also part of his name Sharaf al-Dīn ('the glory of religion'). See Hidāyat 1340/1961, 1448. For a collection of poetry ascribed to him by d'Herbelot, see below.

13 See Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 498-508, a passage which deals mainly with Ilkhanid embassies to China.

14 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 580-81; see also Kempiners 1988.

15 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 309-313, 526-532, and 646-650. See also Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 300-309, for the correspondence, in Arabic, between Malik Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and Sultan 'Alī b. Hizabr al-Dīn Mu'ayyad, dated 700/1300-1301, and Vaṣṣāf's account on the conquest of the Buddhist temple of Sūmnāt (pp. 447-449).

16 Thus, there is to be found a long entry on the Island of Qays (Kīsh), the Banū Quṣayr, and the town of Sīrāf, which, according to Vaṣṣāf, had traditionally been part of the lands of Hind and Sind etc., whereas in his days it belonged to the dominions of Fārs. On the Banū Quṣayr, see Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 169-177; 196; on Hormuz, 296-300. See also Ouseley 1846, 232-35.

17 Apart from the documentary evidence scattered throughout the book in the form of copies of correspondence between the Ilkhans and the Mamluk sultans (in Arabic), there is a particular entrance on the "*Aḥvāl-i Mulūk-i Miṣr*," including a long *qaṣīda* in Arabic (pp. 352-354) as well as a "*futūḥ-nāma*," dated 691/1291-92 (p. 354). For other accounts dealing specifically with Mamluk-Ilkhanid relations, see, pp. 350-358; 373-382; 409-413; 532-537; 552-554.

18 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 149-151; 190.

19 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 249-256.

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many of these and other issues Vaṣṣāf's history contains unique information,[22] and he always writes independently from his patron and towering historian of the time, Rashīd al-Dīn.[23]

While known and categorized both self-referentially[24] and by later historians primarily as a work of history,[25] the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* has also been held in high esteem for its literary value.[26] Indeed, I would like to posit that it was due to its literary qualities that the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* found what is a rather large audience for a history work in general, and a 'local history of Iran' in particular.[27] In fact, Vaṣṣāf is also known as the *adīb* Vaṣṣāf,[28] i.e. the 'litterateur' Vaṣṣāf, as well as the *mutarassil* Vaṣṣāf,[29] literally the 'man of letters.' His work contains a great number of copies of actual letters that were exchanged between the Ilkhans and the rulers of their time, most of them in Arabic.[30] It also includes a number of treatises and

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20 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 285-295, and 425-434.

21 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 421-425 (the pages 423-426 are inverted in the Tehran print consulted for this paper).

22 Thus, Vaṣṣāf (1269/1853, 383-384) provides the text of an inscription (in Arabic) from Ghāzān Khān's building complex *Abvāb al-birr* in Tabriz, which, to my knowledge, constitutes unique epigraphic evidence, as the complex has long since disintegrated into rubble. Other striking and potentially unique historical information is contained in the lists of the taxes collected during Vaṣṣāf's time in specific regions, together with the copy of a tax register from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809) from the "*bayt al-māl li-ḥaḍrat al-khilāfa al-rashīdiyya Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-khalīfa*," with an appended tax table for the time after the year 204/819-20, taken from the "Akhbār-i Qudāma b. Ja'far b. Qudāma," and another tax table dated 303/915-16, to all of which Vaṣṣāf probably had access due to his position in the Ilkhanid administration. Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 443-444. See also the detailed section on the introduction of paper money in Iran, and the reasons for its failure, pp. 271-276, and an astrological chart as a commentary on and explanation of the Ilkhanid failure vis-à-vis the Mamluks (pp. 356-359).

23 Elliott (1867-77, vol. 3, 6; 24) stated that in the *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh's* chapter on the sultanate of Delhi, Rashīd al-Dīn copied Vaṣṣāf's account in several instances. To which degree this is accurate is a question that requires an investigation of its own. On Vaṣṣāf's independence from Rashīd al-Dīn, see Barthold 1968, 49.

24 See, e.g., Vaṣṣāf's foreword; 1269/1853, 6. When describing his audience with the Ilkhan Öljeytü, Vaṣṣāf calls his work a "*kitāb-i tārīkh*," a 'history book;' (544, line 9); and "*Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf*," 'Vaṣṣāf's history,' (551, line 23).

25 Examples are abundant; the categorization of Vaṣṣāf's work among history works in the sources and catalogues cited throughout this paper is representative.

26 Ouseley 1846, 230.

27 I am extrapolating a wide reception of the work from the rather high number of copies extant in libraries all over the world; for comparative numbers, see Storey/Bregel, *Persidskaia literatura* 1972.

28 Bahār 1337/1958-59, vol. 3, 100, 103.

29 Hidāyat calls Vaṣṣāf the "*Tāj al-fuḍalā' wa al-mutarassilīn*;" 1340/1961, 1448.

30 These copies comprise a letter from Hülegü (d. 663/1265) to the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo al-Malik al-Nāṣir [Yūsuf] Sayf al-Dīn b. Yaghmūr (r. 634-59/1236-37–1260-61); Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 43-44, and the response to it; 44-45. To my knowledge, Vaṣṣāf is the first witness to this correspondence, which, apparently with various mutations, has subsequently been related by al-Maqrīzī (Eddé 1999, 172, fn. 300) and Ibn 'Arabshāh (d'Ohsson 1852, vol. 3, 303-305, fn. 4), and was translated into Persian in the early 14th century by Āqsarā'ī

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epistles, often of allegorical nature, treating topics such as the polo game,[31] backgammon and chess,[32] differences between the lunar and the solar calendars,[33] ice and snow,[34] prosody,[35] ornate prose,[36] and ethics.[37] Of notice is also an "Epistle on the allegories through which the book was rarefied,"[38] as well as a number of other epistles on various topics, most of which have yet to be identified,[39] read, and appreciated.[40]

The way the 19th century author of the British Museum catalogue of Persian Manuscripts Charles Rieu dealt with these epistles, classifying them as "several rhetoric digressions, and other extraneous matters,"[41] is just one example how Western scholars have tended to interpret Vaṣṣāf's work, namely as a work of history – "history" being defined as a genre which, after the invention of historical

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(²1999, 55-57; 57-60, and 51-53; 53-55 for the Arabic version). For the correspondence between the Ilkhan Aḥmad Tegüder (r. 681-683/1282-84) and his Mamluk counterpart al-Manṣūr Qalā'ūn, (r. 678-89/1279-90), see Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 113-118; for the *khuṭba* (Friday sermon) read for Öljeytü Khudābanda at his accession to the Ilkhanid throne, see Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 459-461. See also Holt (1986) and Allouche (1990)'s recent studies on the Ilkhanid-Mamluk correspondence, for whose arguments Vaṣṣāf's evidence is crucial.

31 See the *Maqāla-yi Gūy-u-Chawgān;* Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 551-552.

32 On the *Aḥvāl al-nard va al-shaṭranj,* see Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 180.

33 For the very interesting *Risāla fī ikhtilāf al-tavārīkh* see Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 402-404. As Vaṣṣāf explicitly stated, he inserted this epistle – in Persian – in his history in order to explain not only the time difference of nine years between the Muslim lunar and solar calendars applied in the Ilkhanate during his time, but also the differences between the accounting in Baghdad and that of the rest of the Ilkhanate, where in one area one counted the year 701 and in the other the year 702 of the lunar calendar. When discussing this matter with the educated men in the *dīvān*, they mentioned that [the Buyid astronomer and secretary] Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābi' (d. 384/994) had written an epistle discussing a similar issue during the reign of the Caliph al-Muṭī' li-Allāh for the years 350/351. Of this treatise Vaṣṣāf presented a Persian summary, adopting the text to his own time (Bombay 1269/1853, 402). This is a fine example of intertextuality embedded in an explanatory narrative and an historical context. – For the Arabic original, compare al-Ṣābī 1966, 305-314.

34 For the *Risālat-i thaljiyya* (in Arabic, rhymed), written in connection with the description of the Mongol winter camp in Mughān, see Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 473-474.

35 Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 181.

36 This epistle is entitled *Badī' al-rabī'*; see Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 180; see also Storey 1990, 245, for his "*Qalamīyah*, praise and blame of the pen in prose intermixed with verse."

37 *Tidhkār [*or *Tadhkār] al-akhlāq*; see Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 181.

38 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 593-595, and Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 181.

39 Just like the poetry included in the work, a large number of these epistles were apparently taken from other sources, which Vaṣṣāf often, but not always, identifies. In the case of al-Ṣābī's letter, mentioned above, a comparison has shown that Vaṣṣāf's rendering of the epistle is rather close to the phrasing of Ṣābī's epistle in the publication by Shakīb Arslān [1966]. The preparation of a critical edition of Vaṣṣāf's work will substantially enhance our knowledge whether and to which extent other material preserved here has not been preserved elsewhere, and will contribute to the greater picture of the transmission of knowledge, including that about the arts of writing and rhetoric.

40 For examples, see Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 181. There are also parts of the work that are written in the vein of the genre of mirrors for princes; see, e.g., Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 489-498. It also contains a *nathriyya* by a certain Abū 'Alī, Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 549-551 (in Arabic).

41 Rieu 1879, vol. 1, 163.

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criticism, did not leave much space for rhetoric figures, or dissertations about such.

In addition, the work contains a rather high amount of poetry both in Persian and in Arabic, from Vaṣṣāf's own pen and from others. As these contain a high percentage of Mongolian and Turkic vocabulary,[42] Vaṣṣāf's work is a treasure mine for linguists as well as historians. The appended glossary in the Bombay lithograph, numerous *scholiae* in the manuscripts, and the very existence of a number of glossaries and exegetic works on Vaṣṣāf's history are also a reflection of the high number of Turko-Mongolian words included in this work. However, due to the absence of an accessible edition of Vaṣṣāf's work – or of its glossaries, for that matter – this extensive vocabulary has yet to be sifted.[43]

In Vaṣṣāf's own eyes, much of the importance of his work was probably to be sought in his literary achievements; Vaṣṣāf saw his work as the culmination of the efforts of a long chain of 'literary ancestors.' The models he names among the historians – 'Utbī,[44] and Juvaynī[45] – are rather a minority next to the long list of

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42 The Vaṣṣāf-commentator Naẓmī-zāda makes this very explicit in his *Şerḥ-ı Vaṣṣāf*; see ms. Vienna Flügel 962, as cited in Flügel 1865, vol. 2, 186. Note that this early 18th century Vaṣṣāf commentator established a much more careful distinction between these languages than the 20th century literary critic Bahār, who declared all non-Persian and non-Arabic words without distinction to be 'Mongolian;' Bahār [1942] 1337/1958, vol. 3, 104-105. It is worthy of note that the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* contains a full line of a poem in Khvārazmian Turkic long before Turkish of any kind became a literary language in the Middle East. This line of poetry has been claimed at times as an early witness to Azeri Turkish (Togan 1981, f. 272; Hofman 1969, 98), and at times as a prototype of Chaghatay Turkish (e.g., Köprülü 1945, 278). The poem is: "*Men can çıkaram altun üçün * işim men vurayım, men alayım*" – 'I take the life [of a man] for gold, my work is to hit and to take;' Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 363. See Togan 1981, f. 272, for the transliteration and interpretation. I am indebted to İlker Evrim Binbaş for the references on the interpretation of this line of poetry. The (indeed abundant) use of single Turkish and Mongolian terms both in prose (e.g., in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*) and in poetry (e.g., in Pūr-i Bahā's 'Mongol' Ode), was rather common among Vaṣṣāf's contemporaries. See, Minorsky 1956.

43 Thus, Gerhard Doerfer consulted Vaṣṣāf only in a few cases for his important *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. As the explanation for his "cautious" use of Vaṣṣāf in the preparation of the *TMEN* he stated that Vaṣṣāf was only available in "badly edited versions" (1963, vol. 1, 1). Not only the prose, but also the poetry of the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* abound in Turko-Mongol words; for an example of one of Vaṣṣāf's *ghazal*s, which Bahār sharply reprimanded for the high amount of Turco-Mongol vocabulary contained in it, see his *Sabk-Shināsī* 1337/1958, vol. 3, 104-105. For further examples and a strong response to Bahār, see Gandjeï 1958.

44 al-'Utbī (fl. 412/1021), whose *Kitāb-i Yamīnī* is likewise famous for his "very ornate and verbose" style, see Nazim 1913-36, 1060. al-'Utbī was a popular author during the early 14th century; see, e.g., al-Āqsarā'ī ²1999, 290, who cites him at length. Vaṣṣāf calls him "*ustād-i fāḍil Abū Naṣr al-'Utbī ... ki khāma-yi Miṣrī-nasab-ash ṭūṭī-yi shikar-khāy-i Hindūstān-balāghat ast*" Bombay 1269/1853, 447, lines 9-10. "The outstanding master Abū Naṣr al-'Utbī ... whose reed of Egyptian descent is a sugar-chewing parrot of Indian eloquence." On the affinity between Vaṣṣāf and al-'Utbī, see also Kātib Chelebī 1941, 309; Elliot 1867-77, vol. 3, 26; Dorn 1852, 284, Flügel 1865, vol. 2, 182.

45 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 4-5. In fact, Vaṣṣāf visited the Juvaynī tombs in 692/1293; Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 142. See also an ode (1269/1853, 80) dedicated to the historian's brother Shams

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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orators and litterateurs, Arabic and Persian, whose particular skills Vaṣṣāf sought to emulate, if not to extoll, including 'Abd al-Ḥamīd,[46] al-Jāḥiẓ,[47] and al-Zamakhsharī,[48] as well as a large number of other well known grammarians, rhetoricians, and literati.[49] Even the 'historian' 'Utbī he cites more for his literary values than the importance of the historical contents of his history. It is thus not without reason that the 20th century Iranian author of the influential Persian literary history *Sabk-Shināsī* Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār regarded Vaṣṣāf as the apex and "the seal of the masters of artistic prose."[50] Vaṣṣāf himself expressed explicitly that he wanted to create a model work of Persian literature:

> The purpose of blackening these white [pages] is not merely to record the traditions and annals of memorable events [...] The opinion [of the author] is that this book should be a compendium of all the arts of learning, a register of the marvels of literary attainments, a model of eloquent style and a canon of examples of excellence, [and that] narratives and traditions which are the object of the science of history be presented in it so that the erudites [...], after sound deliberation, may judge that in terms of the gracefulness of expression, the concatenation of meaning, the beauty of the placement of [letters] included, and the charm of meadows of adornment and ornamentation there has not been a precedent of this kind among the Arabs and Persians.[51]

Vaṣṣāf, who cited a rather illustrious variety of Arabic-writing authors among his models, was in turn emulated by a number of Timurid, Safavid, and Ottoman chroniclers.[52] Vaṣṣāf's reception was especially intensive and long lasting in the Ottoman Empire: The 15thcentury Ottoman Sultan Meḥmed the Conqueror (1444-46; 1451-81) had a particularly beautiful copy made, which found its way

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al-Dīn Juvaynī, based on the same rhyme as Rūdakī's famous poem "*Būy-i jūy-i Mūliyān āyad hamī...*," which Vaṣṣāf cites in extenso. This is a further example for Vaṣṣāf's attempts to present himself as the continuator of a living literary legacy.

46 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 5.

47 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 7.

48 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 7.

49 These include Saḥbān Wā'il, Quss b. Sā'ida, Ibn 'Abbād, and others; Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 5-8.

50 "*khulāṣa bāyad Vaṣṣāf rā khātam-i khudāvandān-i nathr-i fannī [...] shumurd.*" Bahār [1942] 1337/1958, vol. 3, 100, praises Vaṣṣāf for his balanced use between Persian and Arabic poetry, but reprimands him for his use of too much poetry from his own pen, which he believes to be easier than citing poetry from other people's works in the appropriate place.

51 Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 147. See also Kātib Chelebī 1310/1892-94, 235, and 1360/1941, 309, who renders the passage in an 'edited' way. Hammer translated this passage apparently [rather freely] from Kātib Chelebī's citation, not directly from the copies of Vaṣṣāf on the basis of which he later prepared the edition. See Hammer 1818, 244-45. Note that the calligrapher who prepared the Bombay lithograph understood and rephrased Vaṣṣāf's purpose in writing this work, including its literary aspects and aspirations, very clearly in his "*khatmiyya*;" Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 708.

52 See Rahman 1993, 343b, and Pfeiffer 2003, ch. iv.ii.c, for Vaṣṣāf's reception in the Timurid and Safavid environment, and Fleischer 1986, 240, for his importance as a model for Ottoman historians. Bahār [1942] 1337/1958, vol. 3, 99-100, compares a number of Persian authors with Vaṣṣāf, concluding that none of them reaches his perfection, except for Sa'dī who, however, wrote in a different genre and with a different purpose in mind.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000117

to the private collection of the Austrian Orientalist Hammer (1774-1856), and is now part of the holdings in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.[53] The 16th-century Ottoman Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-1520), himself the author of a collection of poems in Persian, is said to have held Vaṣṣāf in such high esteem that when his personal copy of Vaṣṣāf was lost during his Syrian campaign, he had a velocity scribe copy the entire work in 25 days. The man, who was known to be able to copy the Koran and the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ in eight to ten days each, achieved this miracle, not without being visited by a saintly apparition.[54] The historian, poet, and state official Meḥmedü'l-Defterī (d. 927/1520-21) translated the work into Ottoman in the 16th century.[55]

The work continued to be read in the original Persian in educated Ottoman circles well into the 19th century: A number of glossaries, *scholiae*, and commentaries were prepared in order to explain the elaborate, often hyperbolic language. Among these is a commentary and a glossary by Baghdādlı Naẓmī-zāda Ḥüseyn Efendī (fl. 1130/1717),[56] and a commentary by Abū Bakr b. Rüstem Şīrvānī

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53 Ms. Vienna N.F. 220a (= Flügel II, Nr. 959) = RIFIAS microfilm no. Vienna 4.

54 Diez 1811, 273-77, based on the anonymous *Tārīḫ-i Sulṭān Selīm*, no. 79 in Diez' private catalogue. The same story is found in the "Selîm-nâme" in the contemporary *Tācü't-Tevārīḫ* (Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, ed. Parmaksızoğlu 1979, 122-142, here 130-133), which might indicate that the 'anonymous' ms. in Diez' collection might be part of this history. Its author was, probably not incidentally, one of those mid- to later 16th century Ottoman historians for whom historiography was as much a literary as an historiographical venture; for a general discussion of this literature, and Vaṣṣāf's position in it, see Fleischer 1986, 235-245.

55 The manuscript of the *Ḫulāṣa-i Tārīḫ-i Vaṣṣāf* (copied in 952/1546) is part of the 'Alî Emîrî Collection (Millet Kütüphanesi) no. 619 (not seen). According to Karatay (1943-45, 190-91), this translation is a rather free rendering of Vaṣṣāf: The language was simplified, the events arranged in chronological order, and, unlike the original, this 'translation' starts with Chinggis Khān's times (574/1178) and continues down to Timur's death (807/1405). Apparently, the famous Vaṣṣāf commentator Naẓmī-zāda prepared another translation (*Tarjuma-yi Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf;* ms. Veliyüddin Efendi Nr. 2408-I) two centuries later; see Merçil 1984, 233a. Diez (1811, 272-73, fn. 1) indicates the existence of another Turkish translation, entitled "*Tarichí Muntehib*" in his private collection (Quarto Nr. 109).

56 According to Hammer (1818, 244, fn. 1), three copies of Naẓmī-zāda's glossary and commentary existed in Vienna during his time, one in the Library of the Austrian Emperor, copied by "Herr von Hussar," one in the Library of Hammer's patron Graf von Rzewusky, and one in Hammer's private collection. These should be the nos. 962, 963, and 964 in Flügel's Catalogue, 1865, 185-188. For copies held in Istanbul, see Merçil 1984, 233. See also Süreyya Bey 1308-1315 [1891-97], vol. 4, 560; Babinger 1927, 250, fn. 1; Tahir [1914-1928], vol. 3, 153, for the glossary *Sharḥ-i lughāt-i Tārīkh-i Vaṣṣāf,* located in the Beşir Ağa Library in Istanbul. On Naẓmī-zāda's commentary, see also Hammer 1820, 50. A copy of Vaṣṣāf held in the collection of the Oriental Institute in St. Petersburg merits special attention: Baron Rosen pointed out that this manuscript had been copied by "Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Naẓmī al-shahīr bi-Naẓmī Zāda," i.e. the same Naẓmī-zāda who had compiled a glossary and written a detailed commentary on Vaṣṣāf's work. The copy in question contains many vocalizations and glosses, and comprises all five *mujallads*. Rosen 1886, 52, no. 5 in the catalogue, no. 268 in the collection.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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(fl. 1139/1726-27),[57] which were complemented by Aḥmed b. Mīrzā Meḥmed b. Ḥabīb Nā'ilī Efendī (1104-1161/1693-1748).[58] Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf (fl. 1174/1760),[59] Resmī Aḥmed b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1197/1783),[60] Aḥmed Vāṣıf Efendī (d. 1806)[61] and Meḥmed 'Ārif Tüfenkçibaşı (d. 1243/1828)[62] composed commentaries on Vaṣṣāf's work as well, and the 19th century Ottoman poet, playwright, and journalist Namık Kemal (1840-1888) wrote a novel on the Mongol Amīr Nawrūz in 1884, which he explicitly stated as being based on Vaṣṣāf's history.[63] Moreover,

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57 The *Tārīh-i Vaṣṣāf Şerḥi*, ms. Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef. 1139 (73 fols.), which covers only a small part of Vaṣṣāf's History, is a commentary following the classical structure of Koran exegeses, beginning with a citation of the very first phrase of Vaṣṣāf's History, followed by a paragraph explaining this phrase, followed by another citation from the original, and so on. See also Hammer (1818, 244, fn. 2), who mentions en passant the existence of a copy of the commentary of "Schirwani Ebubekr Efendi" in Vienna; similarly 1835, 32.

58 The *Tārīh-i Vaṣṣāf şerḥi*, ms. Mihrişah 317/2 (fols. 32b-644a), held in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, is what seems to be an alphabetically arranged encyclopedia-style glossary, often with rubrics/entry heads in the margins, referring to the beginning of the articles. Such headings are more frequent at the beginning of the work than towards the end of it. Hammer (1818, 244, fn. 2) describes this author, about whom otherwise not much seems to be known, as "Kasiasker Mirsa Mewlana Naili."

59 Aumer [1866] 1970, 118-119. I have not seen a separate copy of this commentary. However, as the *vaqf* inscriptions on the frontispice of Vaṣṣāf's autograph (ms. Nuruosmaniye 3207, fol. 2a) and an 890/1485 copy (ms. Nuruosmaniye 3203, fol. 1a) of Vaṣṣāf's history indicate, a person called Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf (d. 1189/1775), who is also known as the author of other works (see Akpınar 1997) was employed in the endowment administration of the Sanctuaries in Mecca and Medina during the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Osmān III (r. 1754-1757), founder of the Nuruosmaniye Library, where the abovementioned manuscripts are still in place. Ms. Nuruosmaniye 3203 contains extensive comments in the margins (in Ottoman), which may actually be the first 'version' of Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf's commentary. Both manuscripts also bear the seal "*Banda-yi laṭīf Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf.*" Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf must thus have had ample access to Vaṣṣāf's manuscripts, which explains the extensive work he was able to do on Vaṣṣāf's work. This information would have to be added to Cemil Akpınar's (1997) biography on "Hanîf İbrâhîm Efendî," who mentions Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf's duty at the Sanctuaries, but not the work on Vaṣṣāf that he undertook; on Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf, see also Süreyya Bey 1308-1315 [1891-97], vol. 2, 258.

60 Hammer 1835, 32, mentions a commentary by a certain "Resmī Aḥmed" without further information on this author or his work; it can be assumed that this is Aḥmed b. Ibrāhīm known as Resmī, who as diplomat at the Sublime Porte was a somewhat early colleague of Hammer. He undertook journeys to Vienna (in 1757) and Paris (in 1763), and wrote reports about these, which Hammer translated into German (in 1809). Hammer's rival Diez claimed to have met Resmī in Istanbul; see Babinger 1927, 309-312, who does, however, not mention Resmī's commentary on Vaṣṣāf.

61 See Merçil 1984, 233.

62 Hammer 1835, 32, does not provide any further information on the "jüngst·verstorbene Chodscha Aarif Efendi" or his work. On his life – but without mention of the existence of a commentary – see Babinger 1927, 349. For the Istanbul locations of a copy of this and other works described above, see Merçil 1984, 233.

63 Namık Kemal ²1302 [1884], 14. The account on Amīr Nawrūz ("*Dhikr-i Amīr Nawrūz*") can be found in Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 313-325 and 343. – Namık Kemal learned Persian early in his life and was at some time (1861-67) a member of the Chamber of Translation of the Sublime Porte and in this sense a late colleague of Hammer-Purgstall. In his historical novels, of which his Vaṣṣāf-based story on Nawrūz is one, Kemal "used artistic prose ... and

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according to 19th century Western accounts, Vaṣṣāf figured on top of the agenda for the education and examinations in the mastery of Persian language and literature in Ottoman curricula, particularly for civil servants, well into the 19th century. In fact, in these curricula Vaṣṣāf held the position in the education in Persian language and literature that Ibn Khaldūn held in the science of history. About the status of Vaṣṣāf in early 19th century Constantinople, Hammer wrote:

> Die Lesung Waßaf's ist in Konstantinopel für gelehrte Türken die Vollendung ihrer persischen Sprachstudien, wie die Lesung Ibn Chaledun's die Vollendung ihrer historischen und politischen Bildung. Dennoch lesen sie denselben nur mit Hülfe von eigens darüber verfertigten Commentaren und Glossarien.[64]

Thus, Ottoman readers were fascinated and inspired by the work throughout the centuries for various reasons, and they devised the requisite tools – commentaries and glossaries – to make it accessible.

This enthusiasm as well as some of these tools reached the Austrian interpreter to the Sublime Porte and Orientalist Joseph von Hammer (1774-1856),[65] who first introduced Vaṣṣāf to a larger European audience in 1809.[66] Hammer compared Vaṣṣāf's style to that of Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*,[67] and his historical achievement to that of the French historian Bossuet.[68] For Hammer, the 14th century Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ stood for the highest flowering of Persian poetry, and his contemporary Vaṣṣāf for that of rhetorics,[69] as "the unmatched example of Persian rhetorical art,"[70] and the work that is "most certainly the work that is most difficult to understand for Europeans, since it does not only require a solid knowledge of Persian as well as Arabic, but also the most intimate acquaintance with all sciences of the Orient,"[71] "requiring more industriousness and study than Tacitus

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was convinced that no one adhering to the *dīwān* literature could write a 'parallel' to it." (Tansel 1978, 877).

64 Hammer 1818, 244; similarly *idem* 1825-37, vol. 8, 235; Vaṣṣāf 1856, "Vorrede," ii (unpaginated). On the reception of Ibn Khaldūn in the Ottoman environment, see Fleischer 1983.

65 On Hammer see Bietak 1948, and Fück 1955, 158-166. On Hammer's importance as a mediator in the study of Ottoman, Arabic, and especially Persian literature in Europe, see Solbrich 1973; for his role as a mediator (in both directions) between Ottoman and German historians of the Ottoman Empire, see Kreiser 1998 [1983]. Note that Diez (1751-1817), one of Hammer's sternest rivals on the academic scene, was as well a civil servant ("Königlich Preussischer Geheimer Legations-Rath und Prälat, ehemals ausserordentlicher Gesandter und bevollmächtigter Minister des Königs am Hofe zu Konstantinopel") at the Sublime Porte in Constantinople.

66 *Fundgruben* 1809, 113, footnote.

67 Hammer 1818, 244; Vaṣṣāf 1856, "Vorrede," i (unpaginated). Similarly *ibid.*, iii (unpaginated).

68 Hammer 1825-37, vol. 8, 235; Vaṣṣāf 1856, "Vorrede," ii (unpaginated).

69 Within his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, a literary history *cum* chrestomathy of translated passages of Persian-writing authors, Hammer situates Vaṣṣāf, together with his contemporary Ḥāfiẓ, at the apex of Persian poetry and rhetoric.

70 Hammer 1818, 220; similarly *Fundgruben* 1809, 113, footnote.

71 Hammer 1818, 244.

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and Thucydides in order to be understood correctly,"[72] but holding "the same position in Persian as the *Maqâmât-i Ḥarîrî* in Arabic, being an unmatched model of rhetoric, and also, in the opinion of the Persians, of historical art."[73]

In fact, in addition to 'the classical five' (Firdawsī, Rūmī, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ, and Jāmī), Hammer included Vaṣṣāf in the chapter-headings of his literary history *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, thus establishing a list that is somewhat different from the classical canon of Persian literature taught today, which includes only the 'classical five,' but not Vaṣṣāf. In Hammer's presentation, Firdawsī exemplifies the 'epic era' of Persian literature, Rūmī and Sa'dī are the epigones of 'the mystical and moralistic/ethical age,' Ḥāfiẓ and Vaṣṣāf stand for the "Highest florishing of Persian poetry and rhetoric," and Jāmī represents the "era of stagnation in Persian poetry."[74] Hammer thus afforded Vaṣṣāf a firm place at the apex of Persian literary art.

Before Hammer brought it to the attention of a more general audience, Vaṣṣāf's work had not been well known in Europe.[75] Pétis de la Crois (1622-1695), who provided an extensive list of the Persian and Arabic sources he used in order to write his *Histoire du grand Genghizcan,* and who had his son translate a great part of Rashīd al-Dīn's history into French,[76] did not include Vaṣṣāf in his bibliography.[77] Similarly, d'Herbelot (1625-1695) in his *Bibliothèque Orientale*, one of the few early Orientalists who used Persian historical sources extensively and was even reprimanded for this by his colleague Deguignes (1721-1800),[78] did in fact mainly use the later historians Mīrkhvānd and Khvāndamīr as his sources on Ilkhanid Iran; a "Vaṣṣāf" is known to him mainly as a litterateur, not an historian.[79]

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72 *Fundgruben* 1809, 113, footnote.

73 Hammer 1818, 244.

74 Hammer 1818.

75 It is not quite clear when exactly Vaṣṣāf became widely known and used in Europe. In 1852, Dorn wrote that besides the copy of the public imperial library at St. Petersburg (no. 291 in the catalogue) there were a number of further copies of this work known in Europe, namely a second one in St. Petersburg, four in Vienna, one in Leiden, and one in Paris. Dorn 1852, 285. The latter is probably the one known to d'Herbelot; see below.

76 Quatremère 1836, 111.

77 Pétis de la Crois 1710, 525-562.

78 "La Bibliotheque Orientale du scavant M. d'Herbelot [...] est l'ouvrage le plus considérable que nous ayons sur la Littérature Orientale. On regrettera toujours qu'une mort trop prompte n'ait pas permis à l'Auteur de le conduire à sa perfection, & [...] d'y ajouter une partie essentielle, je veux dire le dépouillement des Historiens Arabes. A l'exception d'un petit nombre, M. d'Herbelot n'a consulté que des Persans peu instruits de ce qui se passoit en Egypte & en Syrie, souvent même fabuleux." Deguignes 1756-58, vol. 1/1, "Préface," xv.

79 On Vaṣṣāf, the entry in the *Bibliothèque Orientale* says: "VASSAF. Surnom d'A'bdallah Ben Fadhl Al-Schirazi, Auteur du Livre intitulé, Azdáf alaouſſaf. C'eſt un Recueil de pluſieurs Ouvrages de Poëſies, a l'imitasion du Livre qui porte le titre de, Ietimat aldeher. Cet Ouvrage contient auſſi les Eloges des Poëtés qui y ſont citez." D'Herbelot 1697, under "Vassaf." Thus, Vaṣṣāf is known to d'Herbelot as the author of a work on literature. There is also a cross-reference entry "TAG'ZIAH alamſar v tazgiah alâſſar. C'eſt le titre d'une Hiſtoire compoſée par Vaſſaf. *Voyez* ce titre" (d'Herbelot 1697, 845a), showing that d'Herbelot knew

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000121

It was especially d'Ohsson (1779-1851) who used Vaṣṣāf extensively before the Bombay lithograph became available.[80] In a sense, however, the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* was really 'discovered' and made available in Europe by Hammer (1774-1856), who probably became acquainted with the work during his stay in Istanbul through his contact with Ottoman colleagues, who, as mentioned, studied Vaṣṣāf extensively during their preparation for the exam in Persian language and literature. Hammer acquired a copy for himself, together with a copy of the Ottoman glossary by Naẓmī-zāda, and a copy of the Ottoman commentary by Nā'ilī. He bought "a very beautifully transcribed copy of the original for 250 piastres, and the commentary and glossary together for the same sum."[81] Marks and stamps show that the beautifully ornamented volume, which Flügel later called a "Prachtcodex," had originally been copied for the Ottoman Sultan Meḥmet Fātiḥ (r. 1444-46; 1451-81).[82] In his edition of the work, Hammer attempted to capture some of the beauty of this illuminated manuscript, whose Arabic passages are all vocalized, and whose titles and subtitles are written in red and gold. With beautiful *ta'līq* printing characters especially created for this occasion for the "k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei" in Vienna,[83] and with the help of Naẓmī-zāda's glossary and Nā'ilī's commentary, he printed and translated into German the first of the five volumes of Vaṣṣāf's work in 1856.[84]

Unfortunately, Hammer did not indicate whether he prepared this publication solely on the basis of his own copy, or whether he also used the other two manuscripts of the work that existed in Vienna during his time.[85] He seems to

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this history at least by its title. The entry referred to is the "VAṢṢĀF" entry cited above, which does not identify Vaṣṣāf's work as a "history." The addendum the *Bibliothèque Orientale* does not contain an entry on Vaṣṣāf either. While d'Herbelot's (unpaginated) two-page bibliography lists a "Vaṣṣāf," it does not indicate the title of a specific work. It is not clear whether this "Vaṣṣāf" refers to the author of the history or the compiler of the compendium of poetry, or both.

80 See the description of the manuscript in the then Bibliothèque Royale in his *Histoire des Mongols*, Amsterdam 1852, vol. 1, XXVII-XXXIII.

81 Hammer 1818, 244, fn. 1.

82 Ms. Vienna N.F. 220a (= Flügel II, Nr. 959) = RIFIAS microfilm no. Vienna 4; the ms. bears a dedication to the library of Meḥmed Fātiḥ from the year 866/1462, the *tughra* of this sultan, a stamp of the Ottoman grand vizier 'Abdallāh Nā'ilī (fl. 1755), and the stamp of Hammer-Purgstall, dated 1223/1808-09. The work was added to the Hofbibliothek in 1842 with Hammer's second collection. See Duda 1983, vol. 1, 83-85, and vol. 2, plates 313; 314. For a detailed description of the ms., see Hammer 1835, 27-31.

83 Vaṣṣāf 1856, "Vorrede," iv (unpaginated). The same characteristic font was used only two years later by Rosenzweig-Schwannau for his Ḥāfiẓ-edition (1858), and by Pertsch 1859, both also printset by the K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei in Vienna.

84 Vaṣṣāf 1856, "Vorrede," iv (unpaginated).

85 Among the three copies each of Vaṣṣāf's history and of Nā'ilī's commentary that existed in Vienna at his time, the copy in Hammer's private collection was the most valuable of all, the Graf's being the second most valuable copy (Hammer 1818, 244, fn. 2). Private collectors were indeed capable of establishing at times more valuable manuscript collections than rulers.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000122

have used at least one other manuscript: While the Persian text does not contain any apparatus at all, the German translation is footnoted. In one of the footnotes Hammer refers to a discrepancy between "the two manuscripts" he used regarding the translation of the title of the work, without, however, disclosing the identity of the additional ms. which he referred to.[86]

About a decade after Hammer became acquainted with Vaṣṣāf's work, he seems to have still only read parts of it, as some of the information he gives in his *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens* (1818) contradicts the actual information provided in the work.[87] On the other hand, when Hammer finally set out to translate the *Tajziyat al-amṣār*, he imitated Vaṣṣāf closely, rendering poetry by poetry, rhymed prose (*saj'*) by alliterating stanzas, and elegant prose by what was perceived as elegant prose on the height of German romanticism.[88]

Hammer's death prevented the publication of the remaining four volumes, and what he had seen as beauty and elegance turned sour soon after the romantic discovery of the Orient had passed its peak: the disapproving comments on Vaṣṣāf's style by most European scholars of the later 19th and early 20th century have become a *topos* in evaluations of this work, which has become known primarily for its difficult language and bombastic style. Thus, the Keeper of the Oriental manuscripts at the British Museum and composer of its catalogue, Charles Rieu, stated in 1879:

> The Tārīkh i Vaṣṣāf ... contains an authentic contemporary record of an important period, but its undoubted value is in some degree diminished by the want of method in its arrangement, and still more by the highly artificial character and tedious redundance in its style. It was unfortunately set up as a model, and has exercised a baneful influence on later historical compositions in Persia.[89]

Rieu, who is just one example for latter 19th and early 20th century evaluations of Vaṣṣāf's work,[90] was echoed by E.G. Browne in his influential *Literary History of*

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86 See Vaṣṣāf 1856, 22, fn. 1. A comparision of passages from the 1856 published version and the RIFIAS microfilm of Hammer's Vienna manuscript has yielded slight differences which would support the suggestion that Hammer used more than one manuscript for the preparation of his version of the text.

87 Thus, Hammer points out that Abū Sa'īd was the seventh Ilkhan (p. 219), even though Vaṣṣāf, unlike Rashīd al-Dīn, does include the short reign of the Ilkhan Baydū (r. April-October, 1295) in his history, which makes Abū Sa'īd the eighth or even ninth Ilkhan, depending on whether Hülägü is counted as the first Ilkhan or not. On the same page, Hammer points out that Ghāzān Khān was the first among the Ilkhans to convert to Islam – despite the fact that Vaṣṣāf describes at length the Ilkhan Aḥmad's conversion to Islam some fifteen years before Ghāzān (p. 219), etc.

88 For an example of a passage translated into rhymed prose, see Vaṣṣāf 1856, 12-13. Fück 1955, 160-61, notes in particular that the German-speaking circles of Orientalists who were inspired by Hammer's publication and translation projects during the Romantic movement tended to translate verse into verse, or at least blank verse.

89 Rieu 1879, vol. 1, 162 (regarding vol. V of ms. BM Add. 23,517).

90 Similar judgements can be found in Quatremère 1836, 68, d'Ohsson ("Le style de Vaṣṣāf est poétique à l'excès," 1852, vol. 1, p. XXXI; similarly pp. XXXII-XXXIII); Rieu 1879, vol.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000123

Persia, who stated: "We could forgive the author more readily if his work were less valuable as an original authority on the period (1257-1328) of which it treats, but in fact it is as important as it is unreadable."[91] Rieu and Browne were followed in their judgment by the not less influential C.A. Storey, who dismissed Vaṣṣāf's account as "a turgid history of the Mongol empire in Persia and of some contemporary rulers from A.H. 656/1258 to 712/1313..."[92] Both Browne and Storey's verdicts had multiplying effects, and the image they created has not left the anglophone scholarship since.[93] Almost a century after Rieu, Jan Rypka reprimanded Vaṣṣāf for his "excessive tendency to arabizing, his monstrous bombast, unbearable floridness and dallying [with which] Vaṣṣāf did tremendous harm to Persian prose, on which he exercised a lastingly bad influence," though the same author also admitted "that from the practical point of view his historical work contains a great deal of extremely valuable material."[94]

The tenor of all these citations is that the work is both extremely useful and extremely difficult to read.[95] Given the rather vivid attention it attracted over time and the efforts that were put into understanding it, expressed in the composition of glossaries and commentaries, and taking into account that other Persian histories of the period have long been edited and/or translated, one might wonder whether the decision about whether and how to publish this work has not largely been one of taste. In fact, it seems as though the want of a critical edition of the *Tajziyat al-amṣār* until today is as much related to the plethora of existing manuscripts as it relies on matters of personal – and communal – predilections,

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1, 162, Blochet 1905, vol. 1, 282, Ivanow 1927, 2; Storey 1927-, vol. 1, 267; Huart, 1913-36, 1133. Flügel 1865, 182 is an exception. See also the very positive evaluation in the Catalogue of the Khuda Bakhsh Library, 1993, 161.

91 Browne 1920, vol. 3, 68. E.G. Browne's widely respected judgement seems to have been especially influential. It is interesting to note that Browne never acquired a copy of Vaṣṣāf for his otherwise rich private manuscript collection (Nicholson 1932).

92 Storey 1927-, vol. 1, 267-68.

93 See, e.g., Ashraf 1965, vol. 1, 179; Rypka 1968, 314; also Barthold 1968, 48.

94 Rypka 1968, 314. Similarly Ethé 1896-1904, vol. 2, 359.

95 This had already been noted by Hammer, who stated that the work is "historisch, gehaltreich und ebenso gediegen in Sachen als in Worten." See Hammer 1818, 247. In fact, the elusiveness of Vaṣṣāf's language starts with the very title of his work (Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 10), for which almost every translation attempt appears to have resulted in a different solution, among them "Untertheilung der Regionen und Ausgleichung der Aeonen" (Hammer 1835, 27; but "Sanfte Antreibung der Regionen und linde Betreibung der Aeonen" in Vaṣṣāf 1856, 22); "The Events of Ages and Fates of Cities" (Ouseley 1846, 230); "Division des contrées et transition des siècles" (Dorn 1852, 283); "Die Einzelvorführung der Länderbezirke und die Vorüberführung der Jahrhunderte" (Flügel 1865, vol. 2, 181, no. 959); "Procession of cities" for "*Tajriyyatu l Amṣār,*" (Crawford 1898, 233); "die Analyse der Länderbezirke und die Vorführung der Zeitläufte" (Ethé 1896-1904, 359); "Division of the towns and propulsion of the centuries" (Huart 1913-36, 1133a); "Allotment of Lands and Propulsion of Ages," Browne 1920, 67, followed by Martinovitch 1926, 34; "The Division of Land and the Passing of the Ages" (Rypka 1968, 314); "The Partition of Places and the Pushing Forward of the Epochs of Time" (Tauer 1968, 443); "The Division of Lands and the Passing of Ages" (Kempiners Jr., 1988 161, explicitly following Rypka).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000124

and the opinion that the 'flourishing style' used by Vaṣṣāf is inappropriate for the genre of historiography.[96]

On the other hand, however, the work's historical contents, the independence with which it was written, and the existence of much unique information that cannot be found elsewhere, has always been recognized. This is why in 1963, the Iranian scholar 'Abd al-Muḥammad Āyatī prepared a simplified version by straightening out the language, stripping the work of almost all of its extensive poetry, and summarizing if not dropping Arabic passages in poetry and prose altogether.[97] The drawbacks of such a simplification are obvious: Āyatī's omissions include several long letters in Arabic which are rare samples of documents from this period. A close reading and comparison of one of these letters with its counterpart as preserved in Baybars al-Manṣūrī's (d. 725/1325) Mamluk chronicle *Zubdat al-fikra* reveals that the accuracy of documents preserved in narrative sources at least in this particular instance is very high, as the copies of this letter in the two very different sources – composed in enemy territories – are almost entirely identical.[98] Other letters contained in Vaṣṣāf's work may not have been

96 See, explicitly, d'Ohsson 1852, vol. 1, xlii: "La cadence et les consonnances ajoutent au charme de ce style poétique, où l'auteur [i.e., Vaṣṣāf] s'est plu à répandre des trésors de la langue arabe, mais qui convient si peu au genre de l'histoire." By contrast, he praises Rashīd al-Dīn's style for its "noble simplicity suitable to historical writings." (1852, vol. 1, XXXIII). Similarly Mohl 1856, 55, who regards the work rather favorably both for the refinement of its language and its historical value, but thinks that its form is "peu appropriée au sujet." Flügel's (1865, vol. 2, 182) sensitive evaluation of Vaṣṣāf's style is rather an exception: "da sie [i.e. die Geschichte] der Verfasser nicht blos unter historischem, sondern auch vorzugsweise unter rhetorischem Gesichtspunct schreiben und betrachtet wissen wollte, so ist sie auch nach diesem zu beurtheilen. Was 'Utbî mit seiner Geschichte Jamîn addaula's als rhetorisches Meisterwerk im Arabischen bezweckte, dasselbe that Waṣṣâf im Persischen, ohne dass dadurch ihr historischer Werth zu sehr herabgesetzt werden soll." – On the role of etiquette in medieval Persian chronicles, including Vaṣṣāf's, see Poliakova 1984.

97 Vaṣṣāf 1346 h.sh./1967. Similarly, the version published in Lahore in 1929 under the auspices of Muḥammad Iqbāl was prepared "after the extraction of the unneccessary Arabic poems and expressions" ("*ba'da istikhrāj-i ash'ār-u-'ibārāt-i 'Arabī-yi ghayr-i ḍarūrī*"). Lahore 1929, Frontispice (Courtesy of Princeton University Library via Interlibrary Loan).

98 As a sample, I compared the Ilkhan Aḥmad Tegüder's letter to the Mamluk Sultan Sayf al-Dīn Qalā'ūn (dated Jumādā I, 681/August–September 1282) as given by Baybars al-Manṣūrī (1998, 219-222) with Vaṣṣāf's rendition of the same letter as preserved in the following printed and mss. versions: Vaṣṣāf 1269/1853, 113-114; Vaṣṣāf 1856, 231-234; Vaṣṣāf ms. Aya Sofya 3109 (copied in 738/1337), fols. 165b-167a; Vaṣṣāf ms. Aya Sofya 3108 (copied in 885/1480), fols. 83a-84a; Vaṣṣāf Tabriz (?) 1897, pp. 181-185. Differences which separate the Mamluk rendering of the letter from the sum of the consulted copies of Vaṣṣāf are a) the insertion of the name of the carrier and allegedly composer of the letter ("Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān") in the Mamluk version, a device the author of the *Zubdat al-Fikra* may have used in order to make the letter more explicit; this phrase is absent from the letter given by Vaṣṣāf. The second difference is more significant, as the choice in wording may have been an ideological one, namely b) the use of the term "*mulūk*," 'kings,' (by Vaṣṣāf) where the contemporary Mamluk historian Baybars al-Manṣūrī has the term "*Muslimīn*," 'Muslims' in a passage dealing with the "kings/Muslims" in the regions not under Mongol control. This issue needs further investigation, though here again the wording suggests a rephrasing in the Mamluk context, where a clear distinction between "Muslims"

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000125

preserved in any other source at all.[99] While Āyatī's merit is to have made Vaṣṣāf's work more widely accessible, it can, as Āyatī himself readily admits, by no means replace a critical edition of the original.

These three factors – the reception that the work has received over the centuries, its importance as a source for historical, cultural, and literary information; and the value it has in its own right as a model for later writers and as one of the foremost specimens of Persian *adab* literature – should warrant the edition of this work, regardless of the changing tastes of readers, including today's. Making clear and being conscious about the motives behind the statements about the difficulty or inappropriateness of Vaṣṣāf's language may help dissipate the reluctance of scholars to use this work, and it is hoped that it will encourage the publication of a critical edition.

We are fortunate to possess an autograph of volume IV of the work (Ms. Nuruosmaniye 3207, copied in 711/1312), as well as a number of excellent early copies scattered in various libraries.[100] The task of seeing through these manuscripts, of establishing which groups of copies exist, and deciding which specimens should be taken as the basis of an edition, is part of a project that has yet to be undertaken.[101] This paper is an attempt to draw the attention again to a work that deserves publication, despite and because of its difficulties. It will

(i.e., the Mamluks and the people under their rule) and "Tatars" (i.e., the Mongols, or non-Muslims) is regularly made, wherewas this distinction is to my knowledge alien to Ilkhanid historiography. Otherwise the texts are absolutely identical word by word, except for small deviations, such as transpositions etc., which do not change the meaning of the passages in question. Surprisingly, Hammer's 1856 edition and the 1269/1853 Bombay lithograph are closer to each other as far as these small details are concerned than both are to the viewed Istanbul manuscripts, which suggests that the Bombay manuscript may have been known to Hammer when he prepared his edition. A notice by Jules Mohl in the *Journal Asiatique* (1856, 54, fn. 3) indicates that the Bombay edition was known in Europe at the time of the publication of Hammer's Vaṣṣāf edition. See, however, Adel Allouche's (1990) comparison of the Ilkhan's first letter to the Mamluk Sultan, who suggests that the discrepancies between the Mamluk and the Ilkhanid renderings of the letter were higher than in the case investigated by the present author. For the context of this correspondence, see Pfeiffer 2006.

99 I am not able to judge for all the letters rendered by Vaṣṣāf to which extent they were (or were not) preserved in other media. This issue certainly deserves further investigation.

100 Though the earliest known copy containing the fifth volume seems to date from as late as 866/1462 (Vienna, N.F. 220a/Flügel II, Nr. 959), there are older copies extant particularly of vols. 1, 2, and 4, among them Aya Sofya 3109 (vols. i-ii, copied in 738/1337); D.M.G. 14 (vols. i-ii, copied in 740/1339); Tehran, Adabiyat 81/25 (vols. i-ii, copied in 750/1349); Tehran, Malik 4093 (end of vol. iii, copied in Muharram 857/1453); Tehran, Malik 3900 (vols. i-ii, copied in 858/1454); Nuru Osmaniye 3204 (3) (vols. iv-v, copied in 871/1466); Bodleian 147 (copied in 885/1481); Majlis 660/10 (copied in 886/1481); Nuru Osmaniye 3203 (copied in 890/1485). See Storey/Bregel 1972, vol. 2, 769-775, and Afshār/Dānishpazhūh 1973, vol. 2, 98-100.

101 As Flügel pointed out in 1865 (vol. 2, 188), the various existing glossaries and commentaries on this work would facilitate such a task.

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require the common efforts of a group of specialists from different fields to make Vaṣṣāf's history available in a critical edition.

Postscript: Since the symposium where the present paper was presented, the digitalization and publication of Hammer's hitherto unpublished German translation of volumes 2-5 of the *Tajziyat al-amṣār,* of which the original autograph copy and a typescript are extant in the archives of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, was undertaken at the Institute for Iranian Studies in Vienna under the supervision of Dr. Sibylle Wentker. The project is still in progress, and its results are certainly something to look forward to. See: http://www.oeaw.ac.at/iran/ (under "Projekte").

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Oral and Written Traditions

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Turning a Tradition into a Text:
Critical Problems in Editing the *Mahābhārata*

Aditya Adarkar

This paper will discuss some critical problems in editing the *Mahābhārata*, problems that arise, it seems, from the attempt to turn a tradition into a text. The first part of this paper will contextualize the *Mahābhārata tradition* in two ways: as part of the academic discussion about orality and literacy, and then in terms of the types of South Asian canonical literature. Given the aims of the conference where this paper was presented, the second part of the paper will look at one attempt to create a fixed version of the *Mahābhārata*, the Poona critical edition.

The *Mahābhārata* is a Sanskrit epic which had its origins in oral tradition and was formed, scholars believe today, sometime between 400 BCE and 400 CE. The text has remained alive both in oral and written forms to this day. The *Mahābhārata* is massive text, comprising traditionally some one hundred thousand couplets, ten times longer than the Iliad and Odyssey combined. The text is divided into eighteen 'parvans,' books, each of which is organized by sub-books and chapters.

The epic pervades daily life and consciousness in many parts of South Asia, and there, as A. K. Ramanujan once remarked, "no one hears the *Mahābhārata* for the first time." The *Mahābhārata* is sometimes embraced as the 'national epic' of India, and it is frequently regarded as a sacred text in Hinduism; it is part of *smṛti* – a set of texts which interpreted the Vedas (the most ancient of Hindu texts) and indeed constitute a *tradition* of interpretation. The *Mahābhārata* explores how to get to heaven, how gods and human beings interact, and the nature of sacrifice, mythology, and ritual. It contains the *Bhagavad Gita*, a text often extracted from the context of the *Mahābhārata* and sometimes presented as *the* central statement of Hinduism.

Common assumptions about oral vs. written texts

Now one of the most interesting and rewarding aspects of studying a text like the *Mahābhārata* is how different it is from most other 'texts.' In a profound way, the *Mahābhārata*, and the South Asian literary tradition in general, stands as a glaring counterexample to many prevalent beliefs about orality, literacy, and their consequences. As Madeleine Biardeau puts it,

> In the West, oral tradition refers essentially to the manner that popular beliefs, myths, and legends, which were in olden days narrated by more or less skilled people, are transmitted. The narrators were not necessarily specially authorized for this activity;

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> rather they were appreciated on the basis of their ability to tell stories... Oral tradition in this sense is considered to be authorless, or rather, anonymous and collective. As such it is in opposition to written literature, which is comprised exclusively of works composed by individual authors, whether known or unknown, and which are maintained unaltered, as far as possible, through the manuscripts tradition... Since the written literature in the West is valued more highly than the oral tradition, the specific features of the latter were ignored for a long time. The rules of textual criticism were evolved for only the written literature and their main purpose was to reconstruct, out of the variations of manuscripts, the original work of an author.[1]

And even though it is widely recognized that the "current modern identification of literacy with civilization as such was [only] crystallized during the eighteenth century,"[2] "at some time or the other almost every feature of the modern Western world has been linked closely to literacy."[3] One prominent example of this tendency is the work of Jack Goody and Ian Watt, who "argue that it was writing which in [ancient] Greece had produced democracy, rational thought, philosophy, and historiography... [Even though] Goody and Watt warned against seeing literacy as the sole cause [of these ideas], any original reservations were forgotten by their followers."[4] And there is a related tendency as well to think of the arrival of literacy as a quantum break in history, a moment when minds and society evolve. As Walter Ong famously formulated it, writing is "a technology that restructures thought."[5]

To these theories, the South Asian tradition looms as a large and unassailable counterexample.[6] Here is a tradition which has not been radically transformed by the arrival of writing, in which rationality is alive and well, and in which the oral word has been central, and often dominant, throughout the last three millennia.[7]

One primary locus of orality in the South Asian tradition is in the canonical texts classed as *śruti* and *smṛti*. Literally, the Sanskrit term *śruti* means 'the heard' and *smṛti* means 'the remembered;' *śruti* texts were the Vedas, the most ancient of Hindu texts, and texts at the heart of both the structure and meaning of society. There are four bodies or 'schools' of Vedic texts, of which the most famous is headed by the Rig Veda. The Vedas represent a direct transmission from the gods to human beings. And in some sense they also represent the *only* such

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1 Madeleine Biardeau, "Some More Considerations About Textual Criticism," *Purana* 10 (1968), pp. 116-7.

2 Rosalind Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1991), p. 2.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

6 Another counter-example may be Ancient Greece itself, but that is a topic for a separate exposition.

7 William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 66.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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communication: to understand *śruti* is to understand what the gods meant to tell us the single time they communicated with us.

Complementing *śruti* is *smṛti*, a set of texts which interpreted the Vedas and indeed constituted a *tradition* of interpretation. It is in *smṛti* that we find the *dharmaśāstras* 'the compendia of laws,' such as those of Manu and Yāj̃navalkya. And it is in *smṛti* that we find the *Mahābhārata*. Interestingly, sometimes the *Mahābhārata* is referred to as "the fifth Veda" a phrase which indicates both euphemistically a text which one knows affectionately or intimately as well as, literally, a text which one holds in reverent awe.

One marker of the difference between *śruti* and *smṛti* is the social relations of the text. As Madeleine Biardeau writes,

> For each school of each Veda there is a group of brahmins who should recite only the particular recension of the school; the text of each recension is thus related to a permanent social group and made inseparable from it. If the text disappeared there would no longer be a basis for the distinction of the group... On the other hand, the smṛti texts, which also probably in one for or other date back to a very early period, embody the entire popular lore, with occasional marked difference in the degree of brahminic orthodoxy. They were probably never exclusively in the hands of the brahmins, and for centuries they have conveyed in a striking manner the beliefs and ideals of the people.[8]

In order to see the textual culture in which the *Mahābhārata* exists, in what follows, I'll examine in detail first *śruti* and then *smṛti*; I'll use the Rig Veda as the main example of *śruti*.

"An eighteenth century pundit is said to have given [the following answer] to a European Christian who inquired about 'the Vedic books:' 'Veda is that which pertains to religion; books are not Veda.'"[9] And according to J. L. Mehta, the "paradigmatic mode of being [of the Rig Veda] is to exist in the hearts and minds of men ... and to be recited and chanted by them."[10] As the highest form of literature, *śruti* reveals the truth to the individual through the individual *hearing* the immutable words or sentences. "The emphasis here is placed on the hearing rather than on the reciting of what has been heard."[11] And because hearing it is so important, it is in the recited or chanted form that the Rig Veda is reverenced. This oral form is the only fully acceptable and authoritative form of the Rig Veda, and has remained so "for two, possibly over two and a half, millennia *after* the implementation of writing."[12]

How do we know the Veda was transmitted orally? As Louis Renou writes,

> not only is there a negative argument, absence of all ancient reference to writing, but there are positive arguments: the insistence with which they deal with questions of

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8 Biardeau, "Some More Considerations About Textual Criticism," p. 120.
9 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion,* pp. 72-3.
10 *Ibid.* pp. 72-3.
11 Biardeau, "Some More Considerations About Textual Criticism," p. 117.
12 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion,* p. 68.

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> accent, of euphony, the cutting up of texts into mechanical sections super-imposed on the cutting up resulting from the internal logic, finally the presence of vikriti 'modified types' of recitation, whose sole object is the guaranteeing of an oral text sheltered from all alteration.[13]

The Veda was memorized through wonderfully complex modes of recitation known as *pātha*. For example, the *jatā-pātha* repeats each pair of word three times in the order ab, ba, ab; bc, cb, bc; etc; on the other hand, *ghana-pātha* is: ab, ba, abc, cba, abc; bc, cb, bcd, dcb, bcd; etc. "In these ways, together with strict traditions of accentuation and melodic rendering, the base text is mastered literally backward and forward in fully acoustic fashion as a hedge against faulty transmission of any word or syllable."[14]

Accompanying the oral transmission of the Veda was an active resistance to allowing the Veda to become a written artifact. One reason for the resolve to preserve it in writing was that "it was a magic text, whose power must not fall into the wrong hands... If the sacred chants were spoken by [the wrong] people, it was believed, the words would be polluted like milk contained in the skin of a dog."[15] The following list illustrates this principle vividly: "the Aitreya Aranyaka, a late Vedic text, speaks explicitly of writing as a ritually polluting activity... '[the student] should not learn when he has eaten flesh, or seen blood, or a dead body, or done what is unlawful... or had intercourse, or written, or obliterated writing.'"[16]

Moreover, learning from books was treated with suspicion. One Sanskrit proverb runs: "As for the knowledge that is in books, it is like money placed in another's hand: when the time comes to use it, there is no knowledge, there is no money." And Renou notes that "knowledge drawn from the Veda is without fruit if the Veda has not been understood or rather if it has been learnt in writing."[17] Ananda Coomaraswamy writes, "From earliest times, Indians have thought of the learned man, not as one who has read much, but as one who has been profoundly taught. It is much rather from a master than from any book that wisdom can be learned."[18]

Despite the emphasis on a formalistic memorization of the syllables of the Rig Veda, the tradition did not lose sight of interpretation. Though the emphasis on meaning is greater in the interpretation of *smṛti* text, the interpretation of *śruti*

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13 Louis Renou, *Destiny of the Veda in India* (Delhi 1965), p. 26.

14 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*, p. 72.

15 Wendy Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes* (Chicago 1995), p. 57.

16 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*, p. 74.

17 Renou, *Destiny of the Veda in India*, p. 84.

18 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*, p. 75. Graham goes on to write: "the transmission process, of course, implies a guru who speaks and a disciple who listens, but the correct hearing and remembering practically ends the work of the shishya. From ear to mouth of the same speaker, no word should be altered; the speaker's mind should not be allowed to interfere with the received message."

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was still important. Yājñavalkya says that "understanding the meaning of the Veda renders a man fit to obtain [*mokśa* 'liberation']."[19] The stages of traditional study are also illuminating: appropriation/memorization; then discussion; then studying it, or reciting it aloud to oneself; and finally reciting it publicly, presumably in a ritual context.[20] Therefore even if, for *śruti*, "the meaning, in relation to the form, had only a minor importance,"[21] the traditional model of transmission and teaching did not exclude meaning altogether.

The oral form of the Veda not only prevented the Veda from being polluted, it also kept the human beings who used it *safe*. As Wendy Doniger writes, "you couldn't take the Rig Veda down off the shelf in a library, for you had to read it in the company of a wise teacher or guru, who would make sure that you were not injured by its power as the sorcerer's apprentice was injured when he meddled with magic he did not understand."[22] Such safety also preserved the text intact. Perhaps the most famous story of the Rig Veda's oral transmission is the myth of its transition into written form. When Max Müller decided to edit a critical edition of the Rig Veda, he had it recited by brahmins from all over India; each of them had different mother tongues, but each of them said every syllable of the Rig Veda as the others had. Of course, like most European indologists, Müller produced his edition from manuscripts, not from oral recitation,[23] but the story does remind us of how amazing it is that the Rig Veda was preserved orally for over two millennia.

When we examine *smṛti* texts like the *Mahābhārata*, the fixity of the text dissolves. As a 'remembered' text, a *smṛti* text is acknowledged to have been reconstructed by human authors; *smṛti* texts too are canonical and have authority, but they are often written down. Instead of fixing the text, writing it down has had the opposite effect: there are widely disparate variants of the text among even the manuscripts that have survived for us to see.[24]

Although we can now specify the main period of the formation of the *Mahābhārata*, this period only demarcates a central range; the epic continued to evolve, in both its written and oral forms after this period. Indeed, the epic is as much a 'text' as it is a 'tradition.' The editor-in-chief of the critical edition, V. S. Sukthankar, wrote: one "essential fact in *Mahābhārata* textual criticism [is] that the *Mahābhārata* is not and never was a fixed rigid text, but is a fluctuating epic tradition ... not unlike a popular Indian melody. ... "[25]

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19 Renou, *Destiny of the Veda in India*, p. 25.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
22 Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes*, pp. 57-8.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
24 *Ibid.*, pp. 58-9.
25 Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, "Prolegomena," in *The Mahabharata, Vol. 1, Adi Parvan*, ed. Sukthankar *et al.* (Poona 1933), p. cii.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000141

And even at the time that the epic was set down into writing, it was not a rigid, stable form that found a written image. The epic tradition is one of constant change. To quote Sukthankar again, "The view that the epic has reached its present form by a gradual process of addition and alteration receives strong support from the fact that the process is not stopped by scriptural fixation."[26] Doniger has compared the epic to a Banyan tree: the banyan tree grows upwards but also sideways and downwards.[27] Its branches grow down to establish new trunks. Over time some trunks die and new ones form. Coming to the tree after years of growth, how can one tell which was the 'original' trunk? And what would be the point of such an identification?

As a living tradition, the *Mahābhārata* comprehends much more than any fixed set of knowledge. As David Shulman writes, "It presents itself not as a work of art but as reality itself. No boundary marks off this text from the rest of the world."[28] As the epic itself says, "Whatever is here ... that is found elsewhere. But what is not here is nowhere else."[29] Thus the *Mahābhārata* becomes a repository for all kinds of wisdom, from the esoteric theological kind to political to folk.

One might expect that once the epic was written down, the oral component of the tradition weakened. In fact, just the opposite was the case. Oral performance of *smṛti* texts such as the epics was only stimulated by printing.[30] Moreover, in areas with high illiteracy, oral performances remain popular for they remain the path of access to the cultural tradition We must remember that the oral is authoritative, and people even quarrel over which oral variant is correct. For example, William Sax noted the Garhwalis arguing "about which version is the 'correct' one because the Pandavlila [their dramatic enactment of the *Mahābhārata*] is important to them."[31]

Let me emphasize again the idea that the *Mahābhārata* is a tradition: Alf Hiltebeitel calls it "a work in progress"[32] and the epic says of itself: "Poets have told it before and are telling it now, and will tell it again."[33] Thus even the extant written manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* represent only part of a tradition that is simultaneously dynamically oral and textual.

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26 *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi.

27 Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes*, pp. 59-60.

28 David Shulman, "Toward a Historical Poetics of the Sanskrit Epics," *International Folklore Review* 8 (1991), p. 11. Quoted in Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes*, p. 59.

29 *The Beginning*, trans. J.A.B. van Buitenen, *The Mahabharata* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 130 (*Mahabharata* 1.56.34).

30 Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion*, p. 76. Also Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes*, p. 61.

31 Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes*, p. 67.

32 Alf Hiltebeitel, *The Ritual of Battle: Krishna in the Mahabharata* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 14-15. Quoted in Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes*, p. 59.

33 *The Beginning*, p. 21 (*Mahabharata* 1.1.23).

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Concretizing an Oral Tradition

I want to turn now to examine one attempt to bring fixedness to this fluid oral and textual *Mahābhārata* tradition, to examine the difficulties in turning a tradition like this one into a text. Trying to capture a dynamic object in a stable form may never be possible; as Doniger has written, "to attempt to pin down the *Mahābhārata* in a critical edition is to attempt to make a strobe photograph of a chameleon."[34] Nevertheless, the Poona critical edition is a considerable, perhaps even spectacular, scholarly achievement, and a source of some nationalist pride. After a European attempt to create a critical edition had stalled (due in part to World War One), the new Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute began the project afresh in 1918. The last volume of the critical edition undertaken at the Institute was published in 1970. The time it took to complete this project I hope suggests both its difficulty and its magnitude.

In addition to complexities we've discussed above, there were several other text-critical Problems facing the editors of the *Mahābhārata.*

Different parts of the epic evolved in different ways, in different scripts, and along different literary lines. For example, Sukthankar found that "[t]he gulf between the Northern and Southern recensions is [...] vast..."[35] Moreover, even after it had been written down, the *Mahābhārata* was not handed down as a unitary whole – that is, as all eighteen parvans together: "The parvans are mostly handed down separately, or in groups of few parvans at a time, at least in the oldest manuscripts now preserved."[36]

The relative independence of parvans produced, in turn, an internal textual heterogeneity. As Tamar Reich has observed, "the shape of *certain* parvans... has been definitely fixed by a single act of committing the text to writing. Some of these, however, have been so much expanded afterwards that the process of expansion must be counted as a later major stage in their formation. *Other* parvans ... have not been through such a centralized standardization process at any stage."[37]

The South Asian 'culture of the book' also contributed significantly to the current state of manuscripts. "An Indian book consists of a number of loose leaves held together by two loose boards and tied by a piece of string through one or two holes in the leaves and the boards."[38] Paper came to South Asia after 1000 CE; before that the leaves of a book were made of birch bark or palm leaf,

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34 Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes,* p. 59.
35 Sukthankar, "Prolegomena," p. cv.
36 *Ibid.*, p. v.
37 Tamar Chana Reich, "A Battlefield of a Text: Inner Textual Interpretation in the Sanskrit Mahabharata" (Chicago 1998), p. 79.
38 *The Beginning* (Trans. J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Mahabharata,* Chicago 1973), Translator's introduction, pp. xxviii-xxix.

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neither of which could weather the seasons very well. Moreover, arranging a book as loose leaves made it easy to insert a leaf, if a scribe would so desire. Finally, there would always be such opportunities, since "for a text to survive it was necessary for it to be transcribed regularly."[39]

Thus when it came time to establish a Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the project was much broader than just collecting and organizing all the different manuscripts. The project itself raised the issue of what was meant by the term 'text' as well as what text-critical assumptions could be then applied to the *Mahābhārata*. How could an editor apply Western philological techniques and text-critical assumptions to the *Mahābhārata*'s dynamic textual tradition?

This issue of the recensions[40] of the epic make even seemingly straightforward questions like "how many manuscripts exist? And how old are they?" difficult to answer. First, counting manuscripts is difficult because, as we saw, the entire text is not transmitted regularly. Does a manuscript of just one parvan, or a part of a parvan, count? In any case, manuscripts appear plentifully, if one looks for them. For example, for the Ādiparvan, the editors collected 235 manuscripts; they collated only 60 though, the rest being of "late and questionable value." Second, with respect to dating, the oldest manuscript the critical edition collated is dated 1511, which is, as we have noted, relatively late.

The editors of the critical edition found that the extant recensions fell into Northern and Southern families. The Northern family was represented by the Calcutta edition, the so-called "Vulgate," which became the *editio princeps* for the critical edition. The Northern family had another line, clustering around the Bombay edition, an edition which was supposed to include as well the scholium of the 17th century scholar Nilakantha Caturdhara. Sukthankar, however, felt that the manuscripts of the Bombay recension contain "many readings and lines which are not to be found in Nilakantha manuscripts, and are therefore not wholly reliable."[41] The Southern recension is best represented by P.P.S. Shastri's edition. Sukthankar praised this edition, but did not feel that Shastri was presenting a critical edition: even though Shastri wanted "to print the text of the selected manuscript as it is, only correcting clerical errors, ... he constantly flout[ed this principle] in pursuit of some imaginary norm."[42]

Given these myriad difficulties, what did Sukthankar and his team do? Sukthankar felt his duty, as a textual critic, was "to restore the text, as far as possible, to its original form,"[43] and Sukthankar's methodology towards this end was

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39 *Ibid.*, Translator's introduction, p. xxix.

40 A 'recension' here will refer to a relatively stable state of a particular literary work. It can refer thus to stages in an oral evolution, or, as we'll use it here, to families of manuscripts which can be naturally grouped together.

41 Sukthankar, "Prolegomena," p. civ.

42 *Ibid.*, p. cv.

43 *Ibid.*, p. cvi.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000144

based on stemmatics. The first part of the critical edition project was collation, and this proceeded as follows: each *śloka* (stanza) of the Vulgate was written out on its own sheet of paper, with variants listed below the original, character for character. "Additional" stanzas which came before or after this stanza in other editions were noted in the margin, or on additional sheets. The collations were checked and then handed to an editor for "the constitution of the text." And the methodology of this constitution was encapsulated in two principles:

1. "To accept as original a reading or feature which is documented uniformly by all manuscripts."[44]
2. Doubts and conflicts should be resolved (consistently) by following the Northern recension.

These two principles guided Sukthankar to produce what he calls "the constituted text:" which was "a modest attempt to present *a version of the epic as old as the extant manuscript material will permit us to reach* with some semblance of confidence. ... " But Sukthankar also cautioned that "the constituted text cannot be accurately dated, nor labeled as pertaining to any particular place or personality... It goes without saying that (precisely like every other edition) it is a mosaic of old and new matter... This unevenness and these inequalities are inevitable, conditioned as they are by the very nature of the text and the tradition."[45] Such disclaimers notwithstanding, the constituted text was eventually published alone and became more and more canonical. The English translation of the epic uses this constituted text.

There were – and are – at least two veins of criticism of this project. The first may be termed 'Bedierian criticism' and include such critics of the Critical Edition as Sylvain Levi and Madeleine Biardeau. Instead of searching for an ur-text, these critics would have taken one established, widely used text as representative of the tradition. In that vein, they recommended the recension that the commentator Nilakantha had edited. In that way, the Critical Edition's critics claimed, the project would avoid simply creating another recension of the text.

Many well-known episodes of the *Mahābhārata* have been relegated to the appendix of the critical edition and are hence excluded from the constituted text.

For example, the story of how the *Mahābhārata* was written, a story that might be of particular interest to philologists is among them. The story runs like this:

> Vyāsa, the author of the epic, conceived of the poem as containing almost everything, but confessed that no scribe could be found on earth for his composition... Vyāsa then thought of Ganeśa, and when the god appeared, asked him to write down the epic Vyāsa knew orally as Vyāsa recited it. Ganeśa agreed to do so, as long as he never had to stop writing, a condition to which Vyāsa agreed as long as Ganeśa would not write anything that he did not understand... Vyāsa perhaps for the sake of diversion, perhaps because

44 *Ibid.*, p. lxxxvii.
45 *Ibid.*, p. ciii.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000145

> he was worried about keeping up with Ganeśa, wove knots into his recitation... [Because of these knotty verses,] even the omniscient Ganeśa would ponder for a moment, and all the while Vyāsa created many more verses.[46]

Thus the *Mahābhārata* itself accounts for the "knotty" philological problems that its editors and translators grapple with!

Other episodes, frequently part of performances of the epic, are also relegated to the appendix; a famous example is Draupadī's endless sari, a miracle that prevents her utter humiliation, and a miracle that she is granted through prayer and devotion to the god Krishna.

Note that there are also examples which seem to work in the opposite direction: accretions which have been termed as an integral part of the text. Take, for example, the very first *śloka* 'stanza' of the constituted text. Interestingly, this *śloka* was also the *śloka* that was read at the inauguration of the project of making a critical edition. Sukthankar himself honestly points out that "this stanza is foreign to the entire southern recension of the epic!"[47]

The second vein of criticism is based on Tamar Reich's distinction between omission and insertion. Reacting to the assumption that scribes never omit passages, Reich questions the first of Sukthankar's principles. To Reich, "we must begin to think of expansion as a practice constitutive to the *Mahābhārata*, and not as an aberration of the tradition."[48] This text-critical principle, we should note, corresponds well to the content of the epic, where characters often provoke another cycle of stories by posing a quandary or asking about the identity of a certain character; the episodes are motivated, one to the next, by such questions. Reich argues that many passages in the constituted text might have been additions, and that there would be no way for an editor to tell. For example, a popular text like the *Bhagavad Gita*, could well have been a relatively late addition in every tradition. (Again, because most of our extant manuscripts are relatively recent, we would not be able to tell.) But if expansion were the norm, then why should an editor leave out a passage which is attested to in, say, all but one manuscript? Universal attestation, the core of Sukthankar's first principle, then would seem ill-fitted to this sort of textual tradition. Furthermore, as Reich wisely notes, "the question of [scribal] omission and the question of universal insertion are logically intertwined."[49]

Notwithstanding all the debate surrounding the text, we should also note that some of these issues *are* addressed within the *Mahābhārata* tradition itself, the text self-consciously asserts its own legitimacy and accuracy through such devices as

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46 Bruce M. Sullivan, *Seer of the Fifth Veda: Krsna Dvaipayana Vyasa in the Mahabharata*, 1st Indian. ed. (Delhi 1999), pp. 11-12.

47 Sukthankar, "Prolegomena," p. iii, footnote 1.

48 Reich, "A Battlefield of a Text: Inner Textual Interpretation in the Sanskrit Mahabharata," p. 50.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000146

verse counts and tables of contents. These are emphatically part of the Ādiparvan, 'the book of the beginning.' The Ādiparvan also legitimizes itself through stories about its own creation (as we've discussed) as well as the succession of it tellers, tellings, and re-tellings.

Interestingly, the Ādiparvan seems to give itself authenticity but limits, in a way, its own absoluteness. Vyāsa taught it to five disciples; one of these, Vaiśampāyana, is the singer of our version of the epic. Vyāsa too was present as Vaiśampāyana recited the epic, adding even more legitimacy to this version. But even as our version is legitimated, and even if our version does contain all that human beings need to know, our version is still one of many.

Sanskrit itself does have a sophisticated literary critical tradition, and versions of the *Mahābhārata* have been edited before the 20th century. For example, in the 17th century, Nilakantha gathered, in his own words, "many manuscripts from different regions and critically established the best readings."[50] Nilakantha aimed at an edition which collected, as completely and as authoritatively as possible, the epic stories his contemporaries knew and recognized, conscious both of religious considerations and of issues of legitimacy.[51]

To round out our picture of this critical edition, we will examine in this next section the conceptual universe in which Sukthankar was trained. This is, I want to suggest, the Renaissance Humanistic tradition that can be seen, via the work of Anthony Grafton, to encompass Lachmann and Wolf. In *Defenders of the Text*,[52] Grafton traces how European Renaissance Humanism far outlasted the time traditionally associated with its demise. He first tells us that "modern historians ... have treated Renaissance humanism as an influential but transitory effort to renew Western culture by reviving a classical literary education and applying the tools of philology to ancient texts. They have agreed that newer men with newer scientific brooms swept the humanists from the center stage of Western thought after 1600."[53] Grafton proposes instead that "humanism remained a rich and vital – though also a varied and embattled tradition – for at least two centuries after the end of the Renaissance."[54]

We must remember that Renaissance humanism was a complete system of education (a complete alternative to Scholasticism), not just a particular way of approaching ancient texts. This accounts, on the one hand, for its lasting power: European rulers recognized how effective the humanistic education was in turning out able historians and diplomats. But it also accounts, on the other hand,

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50 Nilakantha, *The Mahabharatam with the Bharata Bhadweepa Commentary of Nilakantha*, ed. Pandit Ramchandrashastri Kinjawadekar, 6 vols., vol. 1 (New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1979), p. 5 (Introduction, verse 6).

51 Biardeau, "Some More Considerations About Textual Criticism," p. 121.

52 Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge 1991).

53 *Ibid.*, p. 3.

54 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000147

for the schism that would mark the history of humanism. Using the exchange of two minor scholars, Massari and Guidetti, Grafton illustrates that in the Renaissance there was a clear split as to what the "task of the interpreter" should be: "For Massari, [...] the task of the interpreter [...] is to decipher, phrase by phrase, what it meant to its author and its original readers; for Guidetti, the task of the interpreter is to amass around the individual words of the passage general information useful to the modern student."[55] Guidetti saw scholarship as serving pedagogy: by teaching the students how to write and read Latin, students would then be able to see for themselves the literary and moral value of the classics before them. For Massari, scholarship produced, or strived to produce, a scientifically accurate picture of the past – all the details of, say, the world that Cicero lived in as well as what Cicero meant when he said what he did. For Guidetti, the classics stood forth as ideal artifacts: they were fully formed and ready to spread their learning. For Massari, the classics were ancient and problematic texts, texts which were difficult (perhaps impossible) to ever fully know, and whose least difficulty could require massive philological apparatus to solve.

When we watch how this tradition passes down to Wolf, we can sympathize with Grafton when he writes, "To watch Wolf applying his general programme to a specific document is to confirm the view that much of his work was traditional in character."[56] Grafton suggests that much of the philological theory that Wolf used to start his 'revolutionary' *Altertumwissenschaft* 'knowledge of human nature in antiquity' was borrowed from the sophisticated methods that had developed at his time for Biblical scholarship. Specifically, Wolf was influenced by the work of J. G. Eichhorn, another student of Heyne. Grafton reconstructs the intellectual genealogy that leads from Joseph Scaliger to Wolf.

Karl Lachmann would take up the idea, which Wolf stressed, that the techniques for the critical study of the Old and New Testaments were the same techniques that a philologist could apply to any ancient text. Lachmann, it might seem, went from editing Lucretius to editing the New Testament, but for Grafton, Lachmann was, like Wolf, "annex[ing] for classical studies the most sophisticated methods of contemporary biblical scholarship."[57] Lachmann's goal in his version of the New Testament was to create a scientific version of *the* text of the fourth century (just after the New testament had been compiled). Both Lachmann and Wolf revitalized historicism in classical scholarship. Their works were major victories for the historicist side of the humanist tradition, the side represented above by Massari.

Sukthankar's philological approach to the *Mahābhārata* seems to continue in the vein of Wolf and Lachmann. Reich characterizes the entire project of the critical edition as Lachmannian and Sylvain Levi writes, "Mr. Sukthankar,

55 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 220.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000148

schooled both by pandits and by German philology, is torn between the indigenous tradition and Wolf."[58] Assuming that Reich and Levi's characterizations are fair, and that Grafton's intellectual history is accurate, Sukthankar would have seemed to inherit a philological training whose roots lie in Renaissance humanism. Moreover, we can also see that it is the 'Guidetti' tradition in Renaissance humanism with which the philological tradition that includes Wolf, Lachmann, and Sukthankar has always been (and perhaps continues to be) in dialogue.

It is thus not surprising that Sukthankar would sacrifice certain kinds of merits (for example stories that "everyone" knows) for a version of the text that is as ancient as possible. It is again valuing the Massari humanistic lineage over the Guidetti one. We should not forget that Sukthankar himself wrote of the constituted text: "It is, in all probability, not the best text of the Great Epic, possible or existing, nor necessarily even a good one."[59]

In that sense, Sukthankar was caught between what the public, both scholarly and popular, demanded of him and the realities of the dynamism of the *Mahābhārata* tradition. His own detailed introduction to the critical edition captures this dilemma. At the start, he quotes Maurice Winternitz: a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* was "wanted as the only sound basis for all *Mahābhārata* studies... for all studies connected with the epic literature of India."[60] And he himself envisions the project as producing "a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* in the preparation of which all important versions of the Great Epic shall have been taken into consideration, and all important manuscripts collated, estimated, and turned to account. ... It will be a veritable thesaurus of the *Mahābhārata* tradition."[61] A hundred pages later, near the end of the same introduction, he cautions the reader that the constituted text "is not anything like the autograph copy of the work of its mythical author, [Maharshi] Vyāsa. It is not, in any sense, a reconstruction of the Ur-*Mahābhārata*... that ideal but impossible desideratum. [...] It will, therefore, be prudent not to claim too much for the first critical edition, or to expect too much from it."[62] Providing a critical edition – which sadly even he cannot claim as the best edition – is perhaps the best that an editor of dynamic textual tradition can do. Still, the myriad advantages of having a critical edition – and the discussions and scholarship that a stable version of the text opens up – would seem in the long run to outweigh the disadvantages.

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58 Reich, "A Battlefield of a Text: Inner Textual Interpretation in the Sanskrit Mahabharata," p. 16.

59 Sukthankar, "Prolegomena," p. ciii.

60 Moriz Winternitz, "The Critical Edition of the Mahabharata," *Indologica Pragensia* 1 (1929).

61 *Ibid.*, pp. iii-iv.

62 *Ibid.*, pp. ciii-civ.

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Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men: Narratives of Hero and Saint at the Frontier of Orality and Textuality

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Most of our principles and assumptions about editing Islamic manuscripts have been worked out in the context of a relatively limited range of literary genres, encompassing works that little affected, and were little affected by, the more 'public' oral venues for the transmission and circulation of knowledge and rhetoric (or, works for which possible oral 'variants' could be, arguably, ignored); these include chronicles and geographical works, produced in the environment of court chanceries and often for royal presentation, whose contents were typically *not* part of ongoing popular transmission or elaboration as a living tradition, as well as juridical and credal works, produced in environments that maintained, by their very nature, a highly controlled relationship between the written text and oral modes of instruction and transmission. With many hagiographical sources,[1] however, and with other genres filled with what we might classify as 'folkloric' material (such as popular local histories, historical *dāstān*s or heroic and romantic epics), we are typically faced with textual recordings and adaptations of 'content' that continued to develop in oral venues, separately from the written tradition – sometimes parallel to it, sometimes divergent from it, and sometimes, it would seem, repeatedly intersecting with it. With such material, we risk not only significant errors in the editorial interpretation of manuscript versions of a given narrative, but often serious misunderstandings of the essential meaning, purpose, and 'reading' of a narrative, if we approach the text solely on the basis of a manuscript tradition.

The transmission of the narrative corpus surrounding a popular Sufi saint indeed raises a host of special issues important for religious and social history, as well as for our understanding of the interaction of oral and textual traditions and their role in yielding the extant manuscript recordings of the narrative corpus in question. These issues include the multiple venues in which a saint's legacy may be cultivated (and, hence, in which narratives may be transmitted, both orally and textually); the relations between these venues and modes of transmission; the character of the hagiographical and/or doctrinal material also circulated

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1 This applies especially to hagiographical works created as part of the rhetorical self-justification of specific Sufi communities (i.e., those linked with the saint or lineage that is the subject of a given work by bonds of natural descent or initiatic transmission), and less so to the better-known 'literary' hagiographies such as 'Aṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyā* or Jāmī's *Nafaḥāt al-uns*.

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about the saint; the accretion of popular narratives focused on other types of figures – rulers, heroes, ancestors, communal founders, etc. – to the hagiographical personality of the saint; and the impact of the compilers of hagiographical works – Sufis themselves, with literary "motives" reflecting specific doctrinal, experiential, and polemical circumstances – in recasting and reinterpreting hagiological narratives circulated originally – or, at least, when the hagiographers got hold of them – for quite different purposes and in venues quite different from that of a Sufi community.

In addition, a host of more narrowly textological issues – the relationship between a particular narrative tradition and the larger hagiographical work in which it is embedded, the relationships among multiple narrative traditions, of diverse origins, included within single hagiographical works, the relationships among the same narrative traditions reflected in, and put to diverse uses within, a variety of hagiographical works, basic textual choices and interpretations made by the compiler of a hagiographical work in the course of transmitting narratives received orally and in written form, and so on – bear directly upon our understanding both of the proper *object* of our critical and comparative attention, and of the *purpose* of that critical study.

Is the object a single 'work' to be studied and edited on the basis of an exhaustive analysis of manuscript copies of the presumed single work, with the aim of yielding an 'original' text? Is it a narrative corpus focused on a single saint, extracted from multiple sources with the aim of establishing the 'earliest' narrative image of the saint, or even of tracking the development of his or her narrative image through several centuries? Or is it a single narrative motif as applied to multiple saints in a wide range of sources, with the aim of discovering shared patterns of religious, ritual, or even institutional developments through the use and adaptation of narrative structures? There are other possible permutations, of course, and each approach may hold particular value in specific instances, but underlying all these issues is a fundamental distinction between the hagiographical and 'sacred historical' genres, on the one hand, and the types of Islamic texts that hitherto have drawn the greatest attention from historians and philologists, on the other.

The narrative corpus surrounding Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī – a Sufi saint of Central Asia who most likely lived in the latter 12th century – provides an excellent vantage point from which to explore many of these issues, not only because of the long time-span covered by recorded narratives focused on him (from the 14th century through the 20th), and the relatively limited geographical arena in which he was the subject of a living narrative tradition, but also because of the distinctive character of the hagiographical material focused on him. Simply put, the extant body of narratives about Aḥmad Yasavī is unusual compared to the stories circulated about other Sufi saints of roughly the same era: while the latter, both in content and in setting, reflect a focus primarily on the interests of a Sufi

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000152

community (e.g., issues of daily life in a *khānqāh*, relations among a master's disciples and between the master and particular followers, a shaykh's method of instruction and training, etc.), the extant narrative repertoire focused on Aḥmad Yasavī consists primarily of miracle stories, and above all of accounts of spectacular wonders such as conjuring storms, calming fires, flying through the air, and turning men into dogs. Similar stories, of course, are preserved about other saints of roughly the same period, but in the case of Aḥmad Yasavī, very few stories reflecting the typical interests of a functioning Sufi community have come down to us. For Yasavī, almost all we have is grand miracle stories, and often larger complexes involving such grand miracle tales, which in turn betray evidence of development outside Sufi circles; they suggest that the narratives were developed and transmitted, at some stage (if not necessarily "originally"), not in the context of a Sufi community, but in some other environment.

I have recently discussed one such complex, which links Aḥmad Yasavī to narratives of Islamization and to specific evocations of ritual and devotional practice centered at his shrine in the city of Turkistān, and which suggests the centrality of 'public' constituencies based at Yasavī's shrine, rather than any Sufi tradition stemming from him, in the preservation and transmission of the narrative corpus later drawn upon by Sufi communities claiming connections with Aḥmad Yasavī.[2] Here I would like to consider another complex, of even wider ramifications, comprising a set of stories focused on Aḥmad Yasavī's conflict with a particular community that dwelled near him. The causes for the conflict between Yasavī and this community are almost never explained in any detail, but the gist of the conflict itself is recounted in three ways: in some versions, the focus is on the murder of Yasavī's son by this community; in others, it is the false accusation by the community that Yasavī stole an ox (or a cow, or a horse) from them; and in others, both elements are found, usually combined rather clumsily. The consequences of the conflict, however, are reported in much the same fashion in nearly all versions, and they are as peculiar, from the standpoint of the narrative's own logic, as they are dramatic: Aḥmad Yasavī turns his enemies into dogs, then reconciles with the community of Dog-Men, but curses them with some visible sign of their former enmity (usually the sign is the canine tails they are said to bear).

The story of Aḥmad Yasavī and the men he turned into dogs was mentioned already in Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's now quite dated study of the Yasavī Sufi tradition;[3] Köprülü was unaware of many versions of the story found in manuscript sources, primarily from Yasavī Sufi circles, dating from the 14th–20th centuries, and in any case the story has not drawn significant critical attention since Köprülü's time. What has gone unnoticed, in particular, is the broader narrative

2 See DeWeese 2000a.

3 Köprülü 1918/1984, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, 39-40.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000153

repertoire to which the story clearly belongs. This repertoire includes two basic sets of stories: first, narratives focused on a hero's conflict with men who have the form (or name) of dogs, associated with a wide range of Inner Asian figures, but especially with heroic ancestors and rulers known from traditions circulated about and among the Oghuz and Türkmens; and second, narratives clearly derived from the story linking Aḥmad Yasavī with the Dog-Men, and preserved in the oral tradition of the Qazaqs, Qaraqalpaqs, Uzbeks, and above all Türkmens, recorded by ethnographers in the late 19th and 20th centuries (these narratives usually, though not always, preserve the name of Aḥmad Yasavī, as well as specific features of the stories of his dealings with the hostile community).

This broader narrative repertoire suggests that the story of Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men in all likelihood reflects the appropriation and adaptation of a narrative motif that was widespread in Inner Asia during the Mongol era (and probably earlier) in the context of multiple layerings of hagiographical traditions, focused on the saint, that were developed in quite different venues; the ethnographic recordings, in particular, confirm the continued circulation of the tales focused on Yasavī – which were, not surprisingly, put to different uses – outside the hagiographical venues of the Sufi community linked to the saint. At the same time, the narrative repertoire as a whole reminds us of the problems, of both text and meaning, posed by the extant manuscript recordings of the tale of Yasavī and the Dog-Men when considered in the context of narratives that clearly had a much wider range of both oral and written circulation.

Space constraints will not permit a thorough discussion here of either the Inner Asian hero-stories, or the broader range of more recently recorded oral versions, that parallel the story of Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men; we must at least briefly take stock of that broader narrative repertoire, however, in order to understand the likely place of the Yasavī stories, and the specific features that recur, within it. As a basis for comparison with these features, we may first summarize the central elements of the basic stories about Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men:

(I) The stolen ox: The hostile community's leaders hide an ox in Yasavī's *khānqāh* (or kitchen, or barn), and then accuse him of stealing it; when they come on the pretext of investigating, Yasavī tells them to go in and look, addressing them as "You dogs," whereupon they turn into dogs and devour the ox. In some versions, the Dog-Men turn on one another as well and kill each other; in some versions, the Dog-Men are restored to human form; in some versions, the rest of the Dog-Men's people are spared the canine transformation, but are chased to a new abode by their erstwhile leaders. In most versions, all the members of the community bear tails ever afterward.

(II) The murdered son: The same community renews its enmity with Yasavī; its leaders find the shaykh's son Ibrāhīm asleep beside a stream, beneath a tree, and cut off his head. They wrap it up and take it to Yasavī, saying it is a melon; the saint complains only that they picked it still unripe, and here too he reconciles

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with the community, serving as their counselor and thereby providing an example of saintly forbearance (in some versions he even gives his daughter in marriage to his son's killer).

To these basic, synthetic summaries should be added two points. First, in some early versions of the story, the hostile community is identified by the name "Ṣūrī" (or "Sūrī"), a term that is nowhere explained in the extant versions. Second, many versions of the story – most of the 'ethnographic' recordings, though not the earliest manuscript versions – assign names to two individuals among the hostile community who are portrayed as the most wicked of the saint's offenders and, in some cases, the only ones among them who are transformed into dogs (or who remain in that state): Aqmān and Qarāmān. These names form a contrastive pair – i.e. "black and white" – and as such are often assigned to two closely related figures (e.g., brothers) in folklore; but they also reflect ethnonyms found most commonly among the Türkmens, with the personal and ethnic name "Qaraman" particularly widespread (it was applied to the well-known Anatolian principality, rival to the early Ottoman state, whose origins were linked already by Rashīd al-Dīn to Türkmen groups that originally dwelled along the lower Syr Daryā and near the Balkhān mountains near Khwārazm, and remains today one of the chief divisions of the Salïr [Sālūr] tribe of the Türkmens). Although these names do not appear in any of the reliably datable textual variants until the beginning of the 19th century (and then only in a source that is now lost),[4] they must be of some antiquity, since they appear in versions of the story preserved among the Salars of China (whose departure from the larger body of Sālūrs in Central Asia is dated by their own traditions to the latter 14th century).[5]

With these basic elements in mind, we may briefly consider the broader narrative repertoire noted above. To begin with, the body of stories focused on Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men bears unmistakable connections with widespread legends about men who have the shape and manner of dogs, and about heroic figures who encounter such creatures. While these traditions go back ultimately to classical stories of the Dog-Headed Men and the Amazons,[6] they are echoed with particular relevance for our purposes not only in contemporary oral tradition recorded among the Türkmens, but in textual sources produced in the Islamic world from the 14th to the 17th centuries, above all in the traditions focused on the history of the Oghuz preserved in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh*, in the

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4 The lost work, assigned the title "*Tārīkh-i mashāʾikh at-turk*" and written in the early 19th century, was studied by Zeki Velidi Togan (see Togan 1946, *Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş*, 311 and 466, n. 27, and Togan 1953, 525), citing MS Halis Efendi No. 199, but noting already its disappearance.

5 The Salar versions, however, have lost specific mention of Aḥmad Yasavī as the saint with whom their ancestors quarreled. On the Salars and their traditions, see Tenishev 1964, *Salarskie teksty*, 119-25; Ataev 1993; and Ma Jianzhong and Kevin Stuart 1996 (with further references).

6 See the wide-ranging survey of such lore in White 1991, *Myths of the Dog-Man*.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000155

Book of Dede Qorqut, and in Abū'l-Ghāzī's *Shajara-i tarākima*. The hagiographical echoes of such stories strongly suggest that Aḥmad Yasavī has been fitted into a narrative complex otherwise encountered in connection with heroes, rulers, and communal ancestors, more often than not with Yasavī himself serving in the role of the hero; in addition, the written recordings of these tales attest to the circulation of a body of oral tradition that clearly must have played a role in shaping the eventual recording of narratives about Aḥmad Yasavī, but which continued to circulate in various oral venues, independent of the written tradition, for many centuries.

There are four major narrative parallels of this sort that appear to be relevant to the story of Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men:

(I) The story, recorded first by Rashīd al-Dīn, of the campaign by the eponymous figure of Oghuz Khān against the country of Qïl Barāq, ruled by Īt Barāq ("*it*" and "*barāq*" are Turkic terms for "dog" and a mythical dog-like creature, respectively), where the men resembled dogs, and made themselves impervious to their enemies by immersing their bodies successively in two vats, one full of white glue, the other full of black glue, and then rolling in sand. Oghuz was eventually able to defeat the Dog-Men (thanks to the treachery of their women) and to incorporate their realm into his domains; the tale concludes with some genealogical and 'ethnogonic' consequences of his stay in their country.[7]

(II) The account, included in the *Shajara-i tarākima* of the 17th-century Khivan *khān* Abū'l-Ghāzī, of the enmity between the hero of the Sālūr tribe, Sālūr Qazān, and another tribe, referred to as the "Īt Bechene" (a name combining the word for "dog" with a tribal designation, "Bechene," that reflects the name of the historical enemies of the Oghuz, the Pechenegs, but was included already by the 11th century among the subdivisions of the Oghuz). According to Abū'l-Ghāzī, the Īt Bechene carried off Sālūr Qazān's mother, who was returned after three years upon payment of an enormous ransom; Abū'l-Ghāzī in fact gives two versions of the aftermath of these events, one of which affirms that Sālūr Qazān's mother returned to the Sālūrs pregnant, and that the son she bore, of a man from among the Īt Bechene, was held by some to be the ancestor of a particular group among the Sālūrs.[8] These stories seem clearly to echo traditions of Sālūr enmity toward a community identified, at least figuratively, as dogs, and to combine them with traditions

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7 See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Die Geschichte der Oġuzen des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, ed. Jahn, 68. Similar stories, recounting a campaign by the Mongols into the land of the Dog-Men, circulated already in the 13th century, and were recorded by John of Plano Carpini, leader of a papal mission to the court of the Mongol khān Güyük in 1245-47 (see the translation in Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission*, 23).

8 Abū'l-Ghāzī, ed. Kononov, *Rodoslovnaia turkmen*, 56, 71, 73-74 [tr.], 41, 66, 70 [text]; ed. Ölmez, *Şecere-i Terākime*, 168-169, 209-210, 215-216.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000156

about the descent of at least one group of Sālūrs from one of those canine enemies; the Dog-Men are thus both enemies and ancestors (a dual role found also in many oral versions of the story of Yasavī and the Dog-Men, and a combination undoubtedly quite useful in the context of Islamization).

(III) The story of the pillaging of the home of Sālūr Qazān in the well-known Oghuz epic compilation, the *Book of Dede Qorqut*. In this story, the hero catches up with his enemies just as they are about to kill his captive son, beneath a tree; surprisingly, Sālūr Qazān declares that he will consent to the enemy holding his son (and his wife as well) captive if only they will release his mother.[9] The story clearly echoes Abū'l-Ghāzī's account of Sālūr Qazān and the Īt Bechene; and although this version from the *Book of Dede Qorqut* merely calls Sālūr Qazān's enemies "infidel dogs," with no other evocation of their canine character, the clear expression of the hero's willingness to countenance the loss of his son marks yet another point of contact with the hagiographical stories told about the murder of Aḥmad Yasavī's son.

(IV) In a more distant echo, Rashīd al-Dīn gives an account of a prince, descended from Oghuz Khān, who understands the speech of animals, and is aided by a holy dog in protecting his people's livestock from a band of hungry wolves; in return for this, the dog asks only that the hero-prince give him the fatty-tail (*dunba*) of one sheep (in language that vaguely echoes the story of Yasavī condemning the Dog-Men, even though reconciled with him, to bear tails). Eventually the prince fathers a son who, while playing with another boy on the bank of a stream, grows angry with his playmate and strikes him with a reed, cutting off his head.[10]

All of these hero-stories, recorded in manuscript sources, are linked in some way with a stock of narratives recounting the origin and legendary history of the Oghuz and Türkmen tribes; the first and second explicitly include a legend of origin for particular communities, the third focuses on an eponymous hero of the Sālūr tribe, and the fourth involves a hero within the lineage stemming from Oghuz Khān. This 'ethnogonic' element appears even more strongly in the ethnographically-recorded versions of the story of Yasavī and the Dog-Men; indeed, in nearly all of these oral versions, the focus of the story shifts from the saint's forbearance and patient endurance of the troublesome community's offenses, to

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9 *Dede Korkut Kitabı*, ed. Ergin, I, 95-115; tr. Lewis, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, 42-58. The women who figure in several of these stories – the hero's wife and mother in this case, his mother in Abū'l-Ghāzī's version, and the wives of the Dog-Men who became enamored of Oghuz Khān's men in Rashīd al-Dīn's account – clearly play a central role in the 'ethnogonic' focus of these tales of the Dog-Men, but their functions also parallel the 'flexible' and, as a rule, mutually exclusive roles of the women highlighted in the lore about Aḥmad Yasavī (separate traditions stress the roles of his mother, sister, or daughter; see DeWeese 1999b, 512-14).

10 Rashīd al-Dīn, *Die Geschichte der Oġuzen*, tr. Jahn, 51-54.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000157

the saint's role in forming and naming a community. The story becomes, in short, a legend of communal origin, with the saint's 'victory' over the community understood as the formative moment in the community's history.

The ethnographic recordings of these traditions from the 19th and 20th centuries significantly expand the range of variants, and of 'peoples' whose origins are linked with the story of Yasavī and the Dog-Men, beyond those that figure in the earlier written versions.[11] As an example of such tales, and of the rich array of folkloric motifs they often incorporate, we may consider a version recorded among the Ersarï Türkmens in 1964;[12] here the names of Yasavī's antagonists have been changed, though they retain their allusion to black and white, but the 'moral ambiguity' of the Dog-Men as both enemies and ancestors is accentuated through their identification as saints themselves, with the conflict between the Dog-Men and Yasavī cast as a contest of miracle-working holy men. According to this tale, the brothers Aq Ishan and Qara Ishan lived among the ancestors of the Türkmens in Manghïshlāq and were regarded by them as saints; but the people also revered Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī, and his son, of Turkistān, who had built a mosque with the offerings they received from the people, thus provoking the jealousy of Aq Ishan and Qara Ishan. The ruler of Manghïshlāq learned of these saints' rivalry and decided to test their power by asking them to move a great mountain that hid the sun; the two brothers failed, but Yasavī managed to induce the mountain to move by itself, thus releasing the sunlight and winning the admiration of the people and the ruler. The two brothers, seeking revenge, placed a dead horse in Yasavī's mosque and accused him of stealing it; to prove his innocence, Yasavī had to perform a miracle, and therefore declared that Aq Ishan should turn into a white dog and Qara Ishan into a black one. His words had their effect, as the two brothers turned into dogs with human heads and began eating the horse's carcass. Thus thwarted, the two Dog-Men went atop a hill and addressed their 'tribe,' calling those of the "Uz" people (i.e., "Oghuz") who belonged to the tribes "Aq" and "Qara" to follow them; a thousand households answered the call and set off toward the west, among them the ancestors of the Ersarï.

The narrative clearly reflects specific elements known from the hagiographical lore focused on Aḥmad Yasavī; the mention of Yasavī's son suggests that at one point the episode might also have included an account of the boy's murder, but in fact nothing more is heard of him in this version. Yet the other narrative elements, not typically found in connection with the stories of the stolen ox and

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11 For an older recording of such stories, see Khoroshkhin 1874, 328; more recent recordings are summarized in Agadzhanov 1969, *Ocherki istorii oguzov i turkmen*, 227-229 (with further references). See also, in addition to versions cited below, a variant from southern Kazakhstan discussed in Taizhanov and Ismailov 1986, 111-112, and the extensive discussion, with additional versions, in Dzhikiev 1991, *Ocherki proiskhozhdeniia*, 243-253, as well as Dzhikiev 1977.

12 Dzhikiev 1972, *Ètnograficheskii ocherk*, 44-46; cf. Dzhikiev 1977, 124.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000158

the murdered son, are also of interest. One element, for instance – the saintly contest to move a mountain that was blocking the sun – recalls an altogether different story told about Yasavī in the works of Ḥazīnī (discussed below), in which Yasavī, as a child, conjures a storm to move a mountain;[13] another, the apparent allusion to the Dog-Men's people as the Oghuz, evokes an ethnonym that would seem to root the story in a quite archaic period of Türkmen history. The oral tradition may thus have grown by accretion, 'picking up' originally unrelated elements that do not appear in written versions; or it may have retained specific elements of the story of the Dog-Men that have disappeared entirely from its hagiographical and 'ethnogonic' adaptations.

Students of the 'ethnographic' recordings of the tales have been unaware, for the most part, of the evocations of these motifs in the earlier manuscript sources from the Yasavī Sufi tradition; they have also tended to approach the narratives as evidence on the historical location and migrations of particular tribes during the 12th century (based on the presumed lifetime of Aḥmad Yasavī). Some have gone so far as to see in the narratives – usually shorn of the 'miraculous' element that lies at their heart, namely the transformation of the Dog-Men – a more-or-less straightforward reflection of the historical Aḥmad Yasavī's interaction with a community, typically understood as nomadic, dwelling in the middle Syr Darya valley in the 12th century; the prevalence of Türkmen versions among the modern, ethnographically recorded variants of the tale, has led to the story being used as historical evidence of the residence of particular Türkmen groups in the middle Syr Darya valley during that time, and of their migrations from that region to other parts of Central Asia (and beyond), and according to one Soviet-era researcher, flush with antireligious fervor, the story reflected a memory that the migrations of certain groups among the Türkmens were initiated in response to their oppression by the "Muslim clergy."[14]

A more fruitful approach to these oral versions of the story of Aḥmad Yasavī and the Dog-Men must begin with acknowledging not only the full range of the motif of an 'ethnogonic' encounter between a hero and a community of Dog-Men, but the multiple layers and mutual intersections of the oral and written versions of the tale. The developments evident in the various versions of these stories suggest (1) interesting conclusions about religious developments and the reclassification of pre-Islamic Inner Asian traditions (possibly both ritual and narrative) as Muslim legends of origin,[15] and (2) possible ethno-historical

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13 See Köprülü 1918/1984, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, 29-31.

14 This is the claim of Dzhikiev 1972, *Ètnograficheskii ocherk*, 44-50 (see also Dzhikiev 1991, *Ocherki proiskhozhdeniia*, 243-53). The view that the story reflects historical migrations in the lifetime of Yasavī is advanced also in Agadzhanov 1969, *Ocherki istorii oguzov i turkmen*, in Tolstov 1947, and more recently in Ataniiazov 1988, *Slovar' turkmenskikh ètnonimov*, 17, 102-103, and Atanïyazov 1994, *Shejere*, 37-39.

15 See my preliminary discussion of such traditions, but with a focus on tales of Kubravī rather than Yasavī provenance, in DeWeese 2000b.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000159

implications, in view of the persistent echoes of connections with the Türkmens, and with the Sālūrs in particular.

The figure of Sālūr Qazān is indeed one of the chief points of contact between the ethnographic recordings and the earlier accounts from the work of Abū'l-Ghāzī and the *Book of Dede Qorqut* (though the name of Oghuz Khān also survives in some oral versions of these tales); a wide range of stories about Sālūr Qazān continues to circulate among the Salïrs and other Türkmen tribes, often formulating quite clearly the descent of several contemporary tribes – including the Teke, Ersarï, Sarïq, and Yomut – directly from Sālūr Qazān.[16] The stories of tribal origins stressing the role of Sālūr Qazān appear to alternate, however, with stories stressing the role of Aḥmad Yasavī and his encounter with the Dog-Men, and the distribution thus implied suggests that Aḥmad Yasavī has in effect 'replaced' the epic hero Sālūr Qazān, in some traditions, as the focal point of the conflict with the Dog-Men.[17] The role of Sālūr Qazān, moreover, may be echoed, faintly, in Yasavī lore as well, which preserves a story about the saint's magical flight to Egypt;[18] the story begins with a ruler called "Qazān Khān" summoning Yasavī, and one version ends affirming that the ruler and his troops became Yasavī's disciples following his miraculous flight. We may be justified in seeing this narrative as evidence that Yasavī and Sālūr Qazān were indeed linked in an earlier story – which may have recounted the ruler's submission to the saint, or even the ruler's conversion by the saint – which developed in two ways, one stressing the ruler's role and the other the saint's; earlier layers of Sālūr (or general Türkmen) lore may have ensured the attachment of the motif of the conflict with the Dog-Men to both 'heroic' figures.[19]

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16 For versions of recently recorded tales about Sālūr Qazān (among the Salïrs, Sarïqs, and Yomuts), see Dzhikiev 1991, *Ocherki proiskhozhdeniia*, 206-17; Dzhikiev 1977, 122-24; Dzhikiev 1972, *Ètnograficheskii ocherk*, 7-37; and Basilov 1974.

17 Such a complementary distribution may also be echoed, in a different way, in a tale, recorded among the Salïrs of Sarakhs, that traces the long wanderings of the Salïrs, before settling in Sarakhs, to their murder of the 14-year-old son of a Muslim named "Seyit Khojam," who then cursed Sālūr Qazān and his people; see Dzhikiev 1972, *Ètnograficheskii ocherk*, 14, 46, 107 (the story reflects, for Dzhikiev, a time when the still-pagan Salïrs "fought against Muslim missionaries"). The complexity of the relationship between the two heroes, however, is clear from another episode in the *Book of Dede Qorqut*, in which Sālūr Qazān is captured, while out hunting with birds of prey, and lowered into a pit, from which he speaks to his captors, telling them how he torments their dead from his underground enclosure (*Dede Korkut Kitabı*, ed. Ergin, I, 234-43; tr. Lewis, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, 171-81); the motif of hunting with birds of prey is a recurrent element of Aḥmad Yasavī's saintly persona, and the narrative cycle involving his subterranean enclosure was noted above.

18 See DeWeese 2000a, 362-3.

19 This, in turn, may itself be of relevance for the question of narrative transmission. As noted, our earliest recordings of the narratives identify the people who quarrel with Aḥmad Yasavī as a community called "Ṣūrī;" this form might be interpreted, in an entirely Sufi context, as referring to the shaykh's opponents as "formalist" enemies of Sufism, but another old written version of the narrative gives the people's name (or that of their

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000160

With our present focus on the transmission of these narratives, and especially on the problems involved in our written sources, we may consider a few examples that remind us, above all, that the versions found in individual sources often make little or no sense in isolation, and must be studied together. We can, of course, look simply at textual variants within the manuscript versions of a single work (where multiple copies are available), but even then our understanding will suffer if we ignore the entire narrative complex as reflected in other written sources, and other oral versions, and also if we insist that earlier recordings are necessarily more 'complete' or accurate, and that anything not evidenced in an earlier recording must necessarily be a later accretion.

The written versions of the stories of the stolen ox and the murdered son, as linked with Aḥmad Yasavī, are preserved in a relatively small body of manuscript sources. Our earliest written recording of the tale of the stolen ox is evidently the version preserved in Bektāshī tradition from Anatolia, recorded, apparently by the late 15th century, in the *Vilāyat-nāma* of Ḥājjī Bektāsh; though surviving manuscripts of this text were copied later than the works of Ḥazīnī, discussed below, and thus could reflect material added on the basis of Ḥazīnī's fuller versions of the story of the stolen ox, the very simplicity and 'isolation' of this version – and the fact that it is both preceded and followed, in the *Vilāyat-nāma*, by stories about Aḥmad Yasavī that are not paralleled anywhere else – suggests that the Bektāshī tradition indeed reflects the earliest recorded version of the tale.[20] According to this account, "several people," otherwise unidentified, sought to slander Aḥmad Yasavī and put an end to the respect he enjoyed among the people of his town;[21] to this end they slaughtered an ox one night, at the edge of the town, and, leaving its entrails and head and legs where they had killed it, they took its flesh and hung it in Aḥmad Yasavī's kitchen. The next morning they

village) as "Sūrī," with a *sīn*. Even though we can find scattered references, in sources from the 13th, 16th, 19th, and 20th centuries, to a toponym of the form "Sūyrī," or the like, in the vicinity of the town of Turkistān, it is tempting to see in the orthographic form "*sūrī*" or "*ṣūrī*" a simple error, through the omission or misinterpretation of a *lām*, for the ethnonym "*s.lūrī*" or "*ṣ.lūrī*" (the error is perhaps more understandable if we assume an original form with *ṣad* rather than *sīn*, but is plausible in either case); to do so, however, requires us to suppose a textual, rather than oral, transmission at a very early phase in the development of these traditions.

20 The problem of the relationship between the Yasavī and Bektāshī Sufi traditions is a complicated one and cannot be explored here, but we may note that the claims of an intimate connection between the two traditions, in terms of doctrine, practice, or organization (with the latter even posited as a 'branch' of the former), have no foundation; what is perhaps most significant about the preservation, in Bektāshī lore, of old narrative traditions focused on Aḥmad Yasavī is that such traditions appear in fossilized form, not as the subject of ongoing elaboration and development (since, after all, the central character for the Bektāshīya was not Aḥmad Yasavī, but Ḥājjī Bektāsh himself, who became the focus of the tradition's narrative development).

21 The town's name is given in the form "*y.s.w*," suggesting a back-formation from the saint's *nisba*, and in turn further suggesting the fossilized character of the traditions about him.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000161

pretended to search for it; first they went to the place where they themselves had killed the beast and 'found' the traces of it, and then, accompanied by the townspeople, they came to Yasavī's dwelling place and asked permission to search there. The saint allowed them in, and they searched the place; at last,

> they entered the kitchen and saw the flesh hanging there. When they saw that flesh, Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī besought God, and [God] changed those persons into the form of dogs; they came and ate up the flesh entirely, and when the flesh was gone, they tore one another to pieces and destroyed one another.

Thereupon the people of the city realized the truth, and their faith in the saint grew even stronger.[22]

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22 *Vilāyat-nāma*, ed. Gölpınarlı, 14; ed. Korkmaz, 32-3; tr. Gross, 29; cf. the versified version, ed. Noyan, 113-15, and Köprülü 1918/1984, *Türk edebiyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, 39. Gross' German paraphrase raises an additional complication possibly rooted in a defective text: it makes Yasavī himself, and not his accusers, undergo the pivotal canine transformation. According to his rendering, when the culprits entered Yasavī's dwelling and accused him, "he changed himself into a dog and tore them to pieces." It has not been possible, unfortunately, to consult the manuscript Gross used as the basis for his study, or the other copies he consulted; Gross identified two families of manuscripts, which he says differed with respect to the order of the stories about Ḥājjī Bektāsh's youth (including, implicitly, the stories about Yasavī), and although Gross says nothing about this specific element of the story as a point of difference between the two manuscript groups, it is possible that his rendering indeed reflects a manuscript variant that might signal, in turn, a significantly different tradition about the climactic moment in the story of Yasavī and the Dog-Men. However, none of the other available renderings or studies of the *Vilāyat-nāma* of Ḥājjī Bektāsh give such a version: Gölpınarlı's version makes it clear that it is Yasavī's accusers who are transformed into dogs, and the manuscript he used (of which a facsimile was included in the first printing of his work) would appear to belong to the family of manuscripts that Gross adopted as the basis for his study as well (by contrast, the early 19th-century manuscript published in facsimile in the second printing of Gölpınarlı's work appears to represent the second group of texts identified by Gross, since its account of Yasavī's miracles follows an account of Ḥājjī Bektāsh's relationship with Luqmān Paranda, without the episode of Ḥājjī Bektāsh rescuing Quṭb ad-Dīn Ḥaydar and converting Badakhshān intervening [see *Vilāyat-nāma*, tr. Gross, 219, for the sequence of these sections in the manuscripts he used], but this later manuscript too leaves no question about the canine transformation of Yasavī's accusers, not of Yasavī himself); the versified *Vilāyat-nāma* published by Bedri Noyan likewise affirms that the accusers were transformed into dogs, as did the versified version utilized by Köprülü. The text available in the 1990 printing of Gölpınarlı's work, to be sure, is quite unambiguous, specifying "*ol kimseler*" as the object of the canine transformation, and it is difficult to imagine Gross having so misconstrued the text; yet it is equally troubling that he made no mention of any discrepancy (he cites Köprülü's work, after all, which alludes to the Bektāshī version of the story of the slaughtered ox in the course of recounting Ḥazīnī's version; unfortunately Gölpınarlı made no reference to Gross' study of the text, or of any difference on this point among manuscript versions, while other students of the *Vilāyat-nāma* have tended to ignore Gross' work). On balance, the weight of the multiple versions suggests that the text utilized by Gross was somehow ambiguous, and that, because he was unfamiliar with the gist of the story as given in other sources, he read the text as affirming that Yasavī himself turned into a dog and attacked his accusers; it is of course possible that this indeed reflects a variant tradition, but it seems more likely that Gross' rendering should remind us, again, of the potential pitfalls of approaching such a narrative in isolation.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000162

This Bektāshī version, on the one hand, is full of details – the place where the ox was slaughtered and dismembered (and the culprits' pretense of finding evidence of the ox's killing there), the fact that only its meat was carried to the saint's dwelling, the culprits' successive search of the town, Yasavī's home, and finally his kitchen, and the specific moment in their search when they were turned into dogs – that are missing altogether from other versions of the story, but on the other hand it in turn omits elements that became central in those other versions, namely the curse of bearing tails, and its hereditary and communal character; the Bektāshī tradition also omits, of course, the entire 'other half' of the story, namely the murder of Yasavī's son, but many oral and written recordings omit this as well. In any event, the preservation of irrelevant details, alongside the omission of the central point of the story as developed in other versions, again seems to point to the essentially fossilized nature of the story within Bektāshī tradition.

Unfortunately, in terms of textual 'control,' the story of the stolen ox is not found in the most important Yasavī hagiographical work produced in Central Asia, the *Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quds*, by 'Ālim Shaykh of 'Alīyābād, from the early 17th century – which does, however, include the account of the murder of Yasavī's son – but it is clearly echoed in a work from the same era, the Sayyid Atā'ī *Manāqib al-akhyār* (which, in turn, omits any hint of the story of Yasavī's son).[23] According to the latter work, the "chastisement of the Sūrīyān," as the hostile community is collectively called, was among the compelling miracles of Aḥmad Yasavī, and this hostile community's effrontery entailed clear communal consequences:

> ... one night, out of utter villainy, the elders of that blameworthy tribe slaughtered a cow and hid it in one of the corners of his *khānqāh*. In the morning they raised an outcry, saying, "He stole our cow last night and killed it in this *khānqāh*!" The holy saint said, "If you find a trace of it, I will submit." Then those wretches hurried to the place where they had hidden the slaughtered cow, in order to find the evidence, heaping scorn on the saint as they went; when they came upon the cow, God gave them the appearance of dogs. And to this day, whoever has come into existence from the stock and lineage of that despicable group has borne a tail (*dumdār būd*).[24]

By far the fullest hagiographical versions of the story of the stolen ox, finally, appear in two works by Ḥazīnī, an important Yasavī writer who was born in Central Asia, in Ḥiṣār (in present-day Tajikistan), but moved to Istanbul; in each of these works, Ḥazīnī includes both the account of the stolen ox and the story of the murdered son, and stresses the spiritual lessons to be drawn from each account. The earliest version appears in Ḥazīnī's Persian *Jāmi' al-murshidīn*, written

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23 On these two works, respectively, see DeWeese 1999a and DeWeese 1993.

24 Muḥammad Qāsim "Riżvān," *Manāqib al-akhyār*, MS India Office, f. 23b (described in Ethé, *Catalogue*, cols. 268-270, No. 644); MS Rampur, ff. 29b-30a.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000163

in 972/1564-65;[25] it identifies the culprits as "a people from the village called Ṣūrī," who conspired together and one night killed a cow, which they secretly placed in Yasavī's *khānqāh*, through a window, planning to accuse him, the next day, of theft. When morning came, they gathered and demanded that Yasavī allow them to search for their missing cow in his *khānqāh*; several men hurried in, and Yasavī said, "*kiring itlär*" ("Go in, dogs!"), or, as Ḥazīnī translates, "Enter, you wicked and malicious dogs!" Some of those who had gathered hesitated to go in, and when they looked inside, they saw that those who had hurried into the *khānqāh* appeared in the form of dogs, tearing at the cow's flesh and snapping at one another. The "tribe" became apologetic and sought Yasavī's forgiveness; the shaykh blessed them, and told them that their hesitation had saved them. Nevertheless, "tails remained upon them, and their children and descendants as well are not free of tails, down to the present, so that they call those hypocrites 'Tail-bearing'" (*dunbagī*).[26]

Ḥazīnī's Ottoman Turkish *Javāhir al-abrār*, completed in 1002/1593-94, gives much the same account, but adds a few elements worth noting.[27] It adds that by Yasavī's prayers, even those who had taken on the appearance of dogs regained their previous form, but emphasizes that the tails borne by "their tribe and people and descendants" were intended to set them apart and curse them. It also adds what may be an allusion to the cause of the conflict between Yasavī and "the people of the village of Ṣūrī," who, we are told, sought water, in the town of Yasī, for their fields, thus leading them into a quarrel with the shaykh. The precise character of the quarrel is not clarified, but the ensuing dispute, writes Ḥazīnī, ultimately led the people to "destroy their fields in the next world and burn the storehouse of their posterity." On the one hand this element serves Ḥazīnī's constant purpose of 'spiritualizing' the narrative and drawing specific doctrinal lessons from it; on the other hand, a quite 'external' dispute over water rights figures in oral versions of the story. A variant recorded in southern Kazakhstan, for example, retains neither the murder of Yasavī's son nor the stolen ox, but explains the departure of Aqman and Qaraman from Turkistān as a result of Yasavī's refusal to give them water with which to irrigate their fields; Yasavī

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25 Ḥazīnī, *Jāmiʿ al-murshidīn*, MS Berlin, ff. 76a-77a (see the description in Eilers and Heinz, *Verzeichnis*, 274-5, No. 352).

26 Ḥazīnī's 16th-century reference to this apparent communal designation is not reflected in other sources, but is echoed in the familial group of southern Kazakstan known as the Quyïmshaqtï khojas; their name alludes to a small bone (*qŭyïmshaq*) associated with the fatty tail (in Persian, *dunba*) of a sheep, and their oral tradition affirms that the killers of Yasavī's son were among their ancestors. According to their traditions, Yasavī asked God to place a distinguishing mark on the killers and their descendant; God thus caused a small protrusion to appear on the tip of the killers' spines, and from then on, generation by generation, members of the clan descended from the killers have been marked by this distinctive feature (Mustafina 1992, *Predstavleniia*, 53, 76-77).

27 Ḥazīnī, *Javāhir al-abrār*, MS Istanbul, 101-103; ed. Okuyucu, 60.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000164

instead cursed them and turned them into man-eating dogs.[28] A final and more significant addition, however, is Ḥazīnī's affirmation in this work of a specific link between the narrative's content and actual ritual practice at Yasavī's shrine: those who now appeal for some blessing through Yasavī's spirit, Ḥazīnī tells us, and sacrifice an ox at his shrine (fulfilling other conditions as well), will obtain their goals. As in another case we will note below, this ritual connection noted by Ḥazīnī confirms the role of Yasavī's shrine as a focal point for narrative traditions, in oral circulation, that were drawn upon by compilers of hagiographical works.

As noted, our earliest recording of the full story of the murder of Aḥmad Yasavī's son appears only in the works of Ḥazīnī from the 16th century. There is clearly an early echo, however, of a tradition about such an event already in the Turkic treatise of Isḥāq Khwāja b. Ismā'īl Ata, who belonged to an important but little-known Yasavī Sufi lineage, from the mid-14th century.[29] Here the account follows a discussion of the Prophet's solicitude even for the souls of unbelievers, relating how he prayed to God not to destroy the *kāfir*s, but to show them the right path; Yasavī, likewise, we are told, did not even sigh when the "persecutors" (*mudda'ī-lär*) martyred his only son, but implored God to show the killers the straight path, and further used the occasion to instruct his disciples about the difference between the retributive impulse represented in the *sharī'a*, and the higher path of the *ṭarīqa*, which, he explained, consists of patience and forbearance, even to those who do you harm. This brief account provides no narrative details or explanation, but affirms that Yasavī's reaction to the death of his son was one of stoic acceptance; it is doubly instructive insofar as it records the doctrinal lessons of this event in words ascribed to Aḥmad Yasavī himself, thereby reminding us that for a Sufi community linked to Yasavī, such doctrinal lessons – especially those born of bitter experience whose pain hardly needed any narrative elaboration – were of central importance, the "story" that underlay them less so.

A possible, but in several respects problematical, earlier allusion to the death of Aḥmad Yasavī's son – one that casts his death as purely hypothetical, however – may be found in the well-known *Manṭiq al-ṭayr* of Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, where a figure called the "*Pīr* of Turkistān" is reported to have lamented his own "idolatry" in holding dear his horse and his son; "Should I receive word of the death of this boy," he is made to declare, "I would give up the horse in thanksgiving at the news."[30] It is possible that the "Pīr-i Turkistān" known to 'Aṭṭār was indeed Aḥmad Yasavī, and that this brief passage alludes to a story, perhaps in circulation quite early, about the martyrdom of Yasavī's son; however, the hypothetical

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28 See Agadzhanov 1969, *Ocherki istorii oguzov i turkmen*, 228.

29 Isḥāq Khwāja b. Ismā'īl Ata, *Risāla*, MS Kabul, f. 253b; MS Tashkent, No. 252, f. 74a, and No. 3004, f. 172b.

30 'Aṭṭār, *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*, ed. Javād-Mashkūr, 170; ed. Khūshnavīs, 135; tr. Darbandi and Davis, *The Conference of the Birds*, 129.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000165

character of the statement, as well as the absence of any allusion to the son's *murder*, suggests that the account might well have referred originally to some other figure (or to some symbolic personage), and only later came to be linked with the specific content of narratives about Aḥmad Yasavī (there is in fact no echo, in 'Aṭṭār's brief account, of that specific content, involving the hostile community, the scene of the murder, or the conceit of the unripened melon). It is also possible, of course, that stories about the death of Yasavī's son were developed already in response to this passage from 'Aṭṭār's work, once Aḥmad Yasavī became known as the preeminent saint of "Turkistān."

In any case, there is no doubt about the impact of 'Aṭṭār's verse on at least some literary formulations of hagiographical narratives about Aḥmad Yasavī; both of Ḥazīnī's versions of this story unmistakably echo 'Aṭṭār's account of the Pīr-i Turkistān (though only the later one explicitly refers to it). In his earlier work, the *Jāmi' al-murshidīn*, Ḥazīnī begins his account by affirming that Yasavī one day noted that he still bore attachments to two things, as to an idol: "one is my son Ibrāhīm, and the second is my piebald horse; I will give that horse to whoever brings news of my son's death." After this clear evocation of 'Aṭṭār's verse, Ḥazīnī then explains that the same malevolent people who had earlier plotted against the saint "found the 'prince' Ibrāhīm, who was twelve years old, and had not yet reached the age of majority, asleep at the place of seclusion, and martyred him." The killers then took his head, in a kerchief, to Yasavī, and explained that it was newly picked fruit; Yasavī declared, "It would have been better if they had plucked it ripe." Ḥazīnī here adds – whether merely to continue the metaphor or to explain away what might be construed as a somewhat flippant comment – that these words were based in part upon recognition that the boy, if he had grown up, would have found "the sweet taste of servitude to God." In any event, Ḥazīnī then affirms that Yasavī indeed gave his horse to the boy's killer, and gave him also "a daughter from his family" in marriage, "so that from then on no one would stir up disputes with him or claim a blood-price, and he would remain secure."[31]

In his later *Javāhir al-abrār*, Ḥazīnī gives essentially the same account, but comes close to implying that the renewed hostility of the "people of Ṣūrī" was in effect inspired by Yasavī's "offer" to give his horse to whoever brought him word of his son's death; the episode ends with Yasavī giving his horse and its gear to the murderer, and giving his daughter as well, "to serve as the blood-claim," so

31 Ḥazīnī, *Jāmi' al-murshidīn*, MS Berlin, ff. 77b-78a. The element of the marriage with Yasavī's daughter does not usually figure in the 'ethnographic' recordings of the tale, but there may be an echo of it in some versions, when, for example, the Dog-Men Aqman and Qaramān are portrayed as chasing the community of which they were lately part toward their eventual new homeland, and as demanding a maiden to eat, each morning, from the people they trapped; this practice supposedly continued until one prospective victim's brother finally killed the last of the Dog-Men (cf. Joräev, ed. 1993, *Ipäk yoli äfsanäläri*, 97-98).

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000166

that enmity might not endure between them, and in this case Ḥazīnī affirms that "Shaykh ʿAṭṭār" had learned of this story and included it in his *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*.[32] The latter element, of course, appears transparently tendentious, and indeed the initial explanation for Ibrāhīm's murder – that the people of Ṣūrī were, in effect, inspired to kill him by Yasavī's announcement of a "reward" for whoever brought news of his son's death – seems a quite clumsy and superfluous narrative device through which to link the deed of a people explicitly described as hostile to Yasavī with the content of ʿAṭṭār's account. We may rightly suspect, then, that both of Ḥazīnī's accounts were heavily shaped, in their presentation, by his acquaintance with the *Manṭiq al-ṭayr*.

However, Ḥazīnī's account also makes it clear that he had direct acquaintance with narrative tradition rooted at the shrine of Aḥmad Yasavī, where, no doubt, the specific content of the story of the murder of Yasavī's son was in oral circulation, quite independent of ʿAṭṭār's literary allusions: each year, Ḥazīnī tells us, "blood flows openly from the place where [Ibrāhīm] was killed beneath the tree," and is collected in red bottles; pilgrims (*zāʾirān va ṭāʾifān*) take the blood and use it to cure many illnesses. As noted, Ḥazīnī also described a ritual tie-in in connection with the story of the stolen ox, but this case is more clearly of interest with regard to the construction of Ḥazīnī's version of the narrative; this echo of shrine-centered tradition suggests that Ḥazīnī has fused local orally-circulated lore from Yasï/Turkistān with elements of ʿAṭṭār's literary account, and other elements too suggest that his account has merely been shaped, and not formulated entirely, on the basis of ʿAṭṭār's verse (including the mention of Yasavī's daughter, given in marriage to the murderer, an element that may well reflect narratives circulated at Yasavī's shrine by claimants to descent from Yasavī through his daughter, or by rival groups,[33] but one to which ʿAṭṭār makes no allusion whatsoever).

As it stands, then, Ḥazīnī's account would seem to reflect an interweaving of elements clearly drawn from oral tradition with elements so closely paralleling ʿAṭṭār's story that we must assume either a straightforward recounting of real events by both ʿAṭṭār and Ḥazīnī, or the latter writer's heavy debt to the former. The second alternative seems preferable, since it appears likely that Ḥazīnī simply framed his understanding of the traditions he received about Yasavī and the people of Ṣūrī in terms of the "classical" treatment by ʿAṭṭār; indeed, what distinguishes Ḥazīnī's two versions from other treatments is the obvious attempt to clothe the narratives in Sufi terminology and interpretation, in order to draw lessons from them suitable for Sufi adepts. Ḥazīnī has fleshed out the stories considerably, and has done so on the basis of both literary reference (which makes the story more widely resonant) and ritual performance (evidently based upon

32 Ḥazīnī, *Javāhir al-abrār*, MS Istanbul, 103-105; ed. Okuyucu, 61.

33 On the major genealogical traditions focused upon Aḥmad Yasavī and his shrine, one of which traces descent from him through his daughter, see DeWeese 1999b.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000167

traditions about Yasavī's shrine known to the author through his own *ziyārat* there, as seems likely, or through second-hand reports).

A generation after Ḥazīnī wrote, and quite independently of his works, 'Ālim Shaykh included in the *Lamaḥāt* an account of the murder of Yasavī's son; it bears no evidence of familiarity with 'Aṭṭār's account, but includes the specific 'folkloric' elements found in Ḥazīnī's versions and in other recordings as well. The account from the *Lamaḥāt* is quite concise: when Yasavī began urging the people of Turkistān toward the path of God,

> a group of ignorant people called Ṣūrī, because of their wholesale hatred and internal malevolence toward that holy man, in utter contempt dispatched his beloved son, still a child, to the rank of martyrdom; they wrapped up the head of that delicate youth in a kerchief and brought it to Sulṭān [Khwāja Aḥmad Yasavī], saying it was a melon. Before he opened it, he said, "They have picked it before it was ripe;" and for their offense, God made tails appear among that tribe.

Nevertheless, concludes the account, Aḥmad Yasavī stayed there and gave advice and counsel to that community.[34]

The *Lamaḥāt*'s account thus shares with others an emphasis upon Yasavī's forbearance, and affirms the shaykh's continued relationship with the community responsible for his loss. What is most remarkable, perhaps, and most indicative of a much broader narrative repertoire from which 'Ālim Shaykh may have condensed his terse account, is the absence of any explanation of why bearing *tails* should have been an appropriate punishment for the murder of the saint's son; the *Lamaḥāt* thus omits the entire story of the stolen ox, but transfers the consequence of the canine transformation involved in that story into the account of the murdered son. This in itself is significant, for it implies that the stories of the stolen ox and the murdered son were indeed transmitted together down to some indeterminable time prior to their partial dissociation in the *Lamaḥāt*'s text. It is of course difficult to judge whether the story of the stolen ox was consciously omitted by 'Ālim Shaykh, as an 'editorial choice' made in the course of adapting whatever narrative source, oral or written, was available to him; the story may have been omitted already in that source. Even if the omission should be ascribed to 'Ālim Shaykh himself, we cannot automatically assume that this reflected his suspicion of the story, or even his doubt about its didactic worth, and, consequently, his conscious decision to suppress it; after all, the spare, telegraphic version of the story in the *Lamaḥāt* may simply suggest that the narrative was widely known and could be fleshed out, during recitations at Sufi gatherings, for instance, on the basis of the work's narrative 'prompts.' Alternatively, it is quite possible that the version of the story received by 'Ālim Shaykh, whether in oral or written form, had already been garbled and simply made no sense to him. In

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34 'Ālim Shaykh, *Lamaḥāt*, MS St. Petersburg, f. 14b (described in Miklukho-Maklai, *Opisanie*, 133-35, No. 187).

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short, even if we had a clearer understanding of the sources available to ʿĀlim Shaykh, we would be quite limited in what we could rightly infer from his curious treatment of a narrative we know more fully from other oral and written versions.

For a reader unfamiliar with more complete versions of the story, however, the *Lamaḥāt*'s account would undoubtedly make little sense, and could thus lead not merely to misunderstandings, based on the uncertainties inherent in a textual transmission, but to the willful introduction of extraneous interpretations rooted in a desire to make sense out of a story already excessively abbreviated, and hence garbled, in transmission. A 19th-century scholar of Bukhārā, for example, who was clearly unfamiliar with the point of the stories, repeated the *Lamaḥāt*'s brief account, but added his own explanation of the punishment assigned to the offending tribe; and even though the manuscripts of the *Lamaḥāt* I have been able to consult (and of another work that repeated the *Lamaḥāt*'s version of the story) explicitly vowel the significant word as "*dum*," meaning "tail," this author evidently interpreted the word as "*dam*" ("breath," "odor"), and explained further that the offending tribe took on a "horrendous odor" as punishment, such that "no one can stand in a room where even one member of that tribe might be," due to the intensity of the stench.[35] When we see the textual development that has led to this sort of gross misunderstanding, we are justified in asking how many of our earlier written versions of these narratives – including not only these hagiographical adaptations, but those incorporated into the 'historiographical' venues of Rashīd al-Dīn or Abū'l-Ghāzī – reflect a similar pattern of misunderstandings, abbreviations, or conscious 'doctrinal' adjustments of a story preserved more completely (though with a different complement of adaptational parameters) in some oral versions.[36]

Regardless of the obvious value of a datable written recording, then, the written venues have several limitations (rooted not only in the interests of their constituencies, but in specific misunderstandings within an often 'telegraphed' narrative form); more broadly, we must be cautious in assuming the greater 'reliability' or thoroughness of early written versions of such narratives, and we must recognize the dangers inherent in understanding and interpreting such narratives entirely from within a particular textual or manuscript tradition.

As a final example of a written work reflecting multiple layers of oral and written versions we may consider the account of a 20th-century shrine-guide to the region of Turkistān, compiled by a certain Ṣafā-bék-ulï Ṣādiq (1904-1982); in this case we have versions of both stories, and they seem to be based on oral tradition,

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35 Mīr Musayyab Bukhārī, untitled hagiographical compendium, MS St. Petersburg, f. 444a (see the description of the manuscript in Tagirdzhanov, *Opisanie*, 362-68, No. 150).

36 Such 'doctrinal' adjustments are also encountered in oral versions, of course, as in the explanation of the origin of the peculiarly Yasavī form of the vocal *dhikr* from the saint's cry upon learning of his son's murder; see Troitskaia 1928, 186.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000169

or to reflect considerable development, in an oral venue, of versions perhaps drawn originally from written sources.[37]

This work's account explains that Yasavī's enemies in Turkistān, jealous of his success in attracting followers, one day found the shaykh's son Ibrāhīm near an irrigation ditch (*arïq*) and shut him up in a "coffin" (*tabït*); they took it to Yasavī and told him it was a certain kind of melon, whereupon Yasavī declared that it was not yet mature and had been picked unripe. He said nothing else, the account affirms, but one of the Sufis with him could not match his master's restraint, and began to hurl curses at the culprits: their melons would be the size of apples, their hair would fall out, their sons would be dull-witted, their daughters would be mute, and protrusions would appear on their tail-bones (if they tried to hide this, moreover, they would die). These words could not be taken back: each had its effect, and all the curses were fulfilled; in this context we learn, moreover, that stunted melons grew in their fields along the irrigation ditch called "Süyır," thus echoing the name of the 'village' or 'tribe' known from earlier recordings of the story. At this point, however, the account shifts its focus to two men identified as Yasavī's first enemies in Turkistān, who are assigned the names "Akhman" and "Qaraman:" they killed an ox, hid it in Yasavī's barn (*sabankhāna*), accused him of stealing people's cattle by night, and appealed to the *khān* (who is not assigned a name) to investigate. The *khān* agreed, and Akhman and Qaraman themselves went into the barn to get the carcass they had placed there; but as they came out, Akhman turned into a white dog and Qaraman into a black one, and the two dogs began fighting over the animal's flesh. The people acknowledged Yasavī's sainthood and drove the dogs away; they eventually migrated westwards, harming each community they came to and then fleeing, until both dogs were at last killed by a young man named Mangghïtay.

This exceptionally rich written version not only combines both "halves" of the tale (the murdered son and the stolen ox), but includes various details attested already in Ḥazīnī's account – the ruse of the melon, the tails – as well; it also includes the name of Yasavī's son, which is omitted in many versions, and clearly echoes the name "Ṣūrī," which in this version, however, has become merely the name of an *arïq* (an irrigation canal by that name is indeed mentioned in 18th- and 19th-century descriptions of the environs of Turkistān).[38] This account is also noteworthy for distinguishing the community condemned to bear tails from the culprits who were turned into dogs, and for deflecting responsibility for the curse onto one of Yasavī's disciples; the curse itself is significantly expanded, with elements seemingly drawn from oral venues. The curse of bearing tails (or the equivalent), moreover, is linked not with the story of the stolen ox, where it

37 Sapabekūlï, "*Türkïstandaghï tarikhi ziyarat*," eds. Imanzhanov and Zhüzbaeva, 126-128; the original account was written in Qazaq using the Arabic script.

38 Bekchurin 1866, 216; cf. Dobrosmyslov 1912, *Goroda Syr-Dar'inskoi oblasti*, 113, citing earlier accounts.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000170

makes more sense in the narrative's moral logic, but with the story of the murdered son, echoing the misplaced handling of the tails evident in the *Lamaḥāt* (which, however, unlike this version, omitted the story of the stolen ox altogether); yet it is not the tails that are highlighted as the communal consequences of the offense against the saint, but the stunted melons their fields brought forth, marking a quite different, and otherwise unattested, evocation of the story's moral symmetry, this time rooted in Yasavī's lament about the unripened melon. The transition to the second episode, in any case, is altogether abrupt and disjointed, suggesting on the one hand some distance from the contrived transition supplied in the literary versions, and on the other hand an understanding that the two parts of the story, however unconnected they may seem, were nevertheless received together as a single narrative unit. The appearance of a ruler in the story of the stolen ox is also noteworthy; his absence from the literary versions might suggest a later insertion here, but in fact the ruler serves no evident purpose in the narrative (such as would suggest some motive for a later addition), while a ruler does figure in several oral versions of the story, and his absence from the literary versions might represent yet another example of a hagiographical author's disregard for a part of the received oral tradition not immediately relevant to a spiritualized telling of the tale. Finally, the name "Mangghïtay," assigned to the dogs' killer, is otherwise unknown in this context, but the role he plays – as a hunter, in effect, who pursues the dogs – is echoed in several versions of this story preserved in Qazaq, Qaraqalpaq, and Türkmen oral tradition; yet despite retaining this and other echoes from the oral variants that serve as communal legends of origin, this version once again focuses on the saint rather than on any community formed through the encounter with him.[39]

This version, in short, seems to represent an almost seamless interweaving of elements drawn from, and elaborated within, oral tradition, with elements reflected quite similarly in earlier literary versions. It is unfortunately not clear whether this version's author had access to any of the known literary accounts; he almost certainly did not know any of Ḥazīnī's works (each of which survives in only one manuscript, preserved outside Central Asia), but it is possible that the *Lamaḥāt* or some account based upon it was available to him. It is more likely, however, that the author had access only to oral versions of the story,

39 The retention, in the more restricted venue of hagiographical traditions about a particular saint, of narrative elements suggestive of the saint's role, at some point, in broader legends of communal origin, is evidenced in another set of stories about Aḥmad Yasavī (discussed in DeWeese 2000a), to some degree in stories about Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī (see DeWeese 1992, 149-53), and possibly in the case of Najm ad-Dīn Kubrā (see DeWeese 2000b); a similar pattern is evident in traditions about the Islamizing saint Sayyid Ata. A contrary process, of the virtual disappearance of a saint's hagiographical personality and a concomitant elaboration of his role in communal origins, is evident in the traditions I have elsewhere explored about Bābā Tükles, though even in this case, examples may be found of attempts to reestablish the saint's hagiographical profile (e.g., DeWeese 1994, *Islamization and Native Religion*, 352-81).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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which earlier had been shaped in part, perhaps, by literary versions such as the *Lamaḥāt*'s. In any case, this late literary version may offer the best illustration of the long development of intersecting oral and written accounts, and of the inadequacy of approaching its text without consideration of the fuller narrative repertoire, drawn both from earlier written accounts and from oral recordings.

More broadly, these few examples may suggest some of the issues we face in the written records of narrative traditions that continued to develop independently in oral venues, and continued to intersect with and reshape the written versions that have come down to us. Attempting to trace specific narrative elements in and out of oral and written venues is in itself a useful and informative task, but it also has implications for our understanding and treatment of the extant written sources in which our narratives are preserved. Even with the surviving textual records of such narratives as we have considered here – whether in hagiographical works or the broader range of 'sacred historical' sources – we are often dealing with texts that were never regarded by their authors or compilers or copyists as unique works whose proper mode of transmission lay in the correct copying, so far as could be achieved, of an original text without alteration, without modernization, and without revitalization – in short, without reflecting a living and changing tradition.

On the contrary, to speak of hagiographical sources alone, we often encounter not separate and inviolate texts focused on a particular saint, but families of texts that grew 'in contact' with one another, even when maintaining a formally separate identity, under a specific title and linked with a specific author; as examples may be noted not only the relatively sparse body of hagiographical and narrative material surrounding the figure of Aḥmad Yasavī, but the several hagiographical works, and their redactions, produced by the first generation of the disciples of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, or the hagiographical corpus focused on the 16th-century Kubravī saint of Central Asia, Ḥusayn Khwārazmī (there are numerous other examples). In such cases, it may make little sense to edit a single 'work;' what is needed is a comprehensive study of the entire family of clearly related texts, and the development of an appropriate (and quite possibly ad hoc) mode of presenting both textual and narrative variants, across both redactions and mere copies, without, however, obscuring the actual structure of existing texts (and in the process, ideally, incorporating relevant variants of specific narratives preserved outside the given family of texts – since, after all, each narrative, or narrative complex, even, is itself a 'text' susceptible to an editor's analysis, and indeed needful of such analysis, if it is to reveal its secrets).

The point here is that we are still ill-equipped, in terms of theory and methodology, to deal with this material. The issues faced in dealing with such material are not wholly or even largely covered by theoretical and methodological frameworks developed for historical analysis, for which we have, readily at hand, a series of 'advantages' (though in some cases they may be thought of as limitations)

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000172

that we do not possess when our task is the tracking and analysis of narrative traditions in their own right; that is, for historical analysis we have not only other types of sources (both written and 'plastic,' i.e., other products of material culture), but a presumed underlying historical reality that is reflected, approximated, or purposefully distorted in a given textual source. In the case of our hagiographical or 'sacred historical' sources, however, we have only the narrative traditions themselves, which can occasionally be construed, to be sure, as reflections or evocations of an actual life or event, but which are more often much richer semantic structures, fraught with adaptations of symbolic and prescriptive conventions that shape and inform a paradigmatic life, and construed for didactic, exemplary, and competitive purposes that are in themselves potentially revealing about social history.

To deal with such material, I would argue, it is important to understand the religious meaning underlying both oral and written representations of a given narrative as itself a 'text' constructed out of multiple sources (including, in the present case, Islamic paradigms as well as elements of pre-Islamic lore), and to understand that this meaning is 'written' not only in books, but in the memories of those to whom it is *meaningful*; it is then 'written' even more broadly, beyond the explicit narrative form in oral tradition, when it shapes shrine landscapes and structures that are 'read' by pilgrims, and shapes ritual and devotional practices that are performed by still wider social circles. Each of these venues – written hagiography, oral tradition, shrine 'architecture,' and ritual performance – must be explored as, in effect, a source of 'textual' variants that must be consulted in understanding and interpreting the system of meaning conveyed or reflected at any given moment; and here, naturally, the goal cannot be simply the pursuit of an archetypal meaning, but an understanding of each 'variant,' and of each audience that brought to the 'text' its own expectations and references.

If, then, our goal is to understand the religious meaning conveyed by particular hagiographical traditions, to understand that religious meaning as an integral part of the history of its age, and to understand that religious meaning as itself an important 'text' that can illuminate the history of its age, we must develop other strategies for analyzing such traditions; those strategies must naturally include analytical frameworks for understanding religious change as a social process, but they will also inevitably include new approaches to the interplay of written and oral traditions and to the interpretation of older textual recordings of orally transmitted narratives.

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The Library of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī and its Books

Mikâil Bayram[*]

Introduction

Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī (d. 673/1274), a scholar of the Anatolian Seljukid period, was the son of Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq of Malatya (d. 618/1221) (also known as the teacher of sultans) and the son-in-law and student of the famous Andalusian Sufi Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1241). Shortly before his death Qunavī wrote a will ("*Vaṣiyyat-nāma*")[1] in which he expressed his feelings, thoughts, advice and requests for his relatives and friends. In this approximately two-page long *Vaṣiyyat-nāma* there are certain requests pertaining to the books he owned. These requests are as follows:

Those books related to philosophy should be sold, and the resulting revenue should be distributed among the poor as alms.

The books about medicine, *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* should be taken to Damascus to form an endowment for those who occupied themselves with *'ilm*.

The works he authored were to be given as a memory to 'Afīf al-Dīn, the husband of his daughter Sakīna.

He also states that nobody after himself should look for or interpret inner meanings (*mawājid*) both in the works of his shaykh Ibn al-'Arabī and in his own works because this path ends with himself.

In this paper I shall give some information about the books owned by Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī and retrace their seven century-long adventure.

A. The Library of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī in Konya

Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī died on 16 Muḥarram 673/22 July 1274. None of his requests were fulfilled except for the third item in his will, which stipulated that the works which he had authored should be given to his son-in-law 'Afīf al-Dīn.[2]

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* Selçuk Üniversitesi. Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü. The English translation of this article, which was originally submitted under the title "Sadru'd-din Konevî Kütüphanesi ve Kitapları," was prepared by Ertuğrul İ. Ökten and revised and edited by İ. Evrim Binbaş. The original was published in Mikâil Bayram, *Türkiye Selçukluları Üzerine Araştırmalar,* Konya: Kömen Yayınları, 2003, 190-203.

1 There are quite a few manuscript copies of this *Vaṣiyyat-nāma.* Osman Nuri Ergin published one of these in facsimile form. *Şarkiyat Mecmuası* II (1957), 82-83. Another copy was published by İ. Hakkı Konyalı in *Konya Tarihi,* Konya: 1964, 496-498, again in facsimile form.

2 In fact, certain other requests in his will were also not followed. For example, although he did not want a closed structure (*kümbet*) to be built over his tomb, long after his death a

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His students, relatives, and friends, as well as the statesmen of his time, could not consent that these materially and spiritually valuable books be sold or taken to Damascus, an act that would have deprived Anatolia of a treasure. In the months following his death, they built a soup kitchen (*imārat*) and a library between his tomb and his mosque-*madrasa* complex, endowing these books here in his name. This has found its expression in the still extant inscription above the exterior gates which lead to the mosque, *imārat* and the library. The translation of this inscription is as follows:

> This blessed soup kitchen, the tomb in which Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Isḥāq is buried, and the library (*dār al-kutub*) which contains his books endowed in accordance with the endowment act, are built in the name of his pious companions in the months of the year 673 (1274).

By whom this soup kitchen was built is not stated. However, as mentioned above it can be deduced that it was someone from the close circle of Qunavī and contemporary notables who planned and executed the building, perhaps with the consent of Qunavī's daughter Sakīna and her husband 'Afīf al-Dīn. Nevertheless, the information we have from the later periods tells us that works authored by Qunavī and his private notebooks were not put in this library, but given to 'Afīf al-Dīn as required in his will.

After Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's library was founded in this manner, other people also occasionally donated books to the library. On the cover pages of these books there are records saying "this book is an endowment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī." By contrast, in those books which were left by Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī himself Qunavī's signature of ownership is found instead. Quite a few of them have listening (*samā'*) and reading (*qirā'a*) records by the teachers of Qunavī and his close friends.

The building referred to as Sadru'd-din Konevî Külliyesi still exists today. However, the *madrasa*, the soup kitchen and the mosque have not survived. The library consists of two parts. The stairs in the inner courtyard reach a spacious reading room on the second floor. The books were kept in the space located in the Ka'ba direction of this second-storey reading room. The structure was renovated several times during the Ottoman period. Ferid Paşa, the governor of Konya during the reign of Abdülhamid II, carried out the last extensive repairs in 1317/1899. To what degree the structure has changed through all these repairs must remain the subject of another study.

As a result of a rearrangement of local libraries in Anatolia carried out by the Turkish government in 1926, the collection was transferred from its original location to the Yusufağa Library in Konya, where it is still in the service of readers. In

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cage-like structure was built. al-Dhahabī (*Ta'rīh Islām*, 93) states that although Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī requested that his corpse be taken to Damascus and buried next to his Shaykh Ibn al-'Arabī, this was also not carried out.

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this paper, I shall examine a number of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's books, and the question of how many of them have come down to us.

B. The books of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī

Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's father, Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq of Malatya, served under the Anatolian Seljuks and visited Baghdad several times on diplomatic missions. During his travels to Baghdad he met with the well-known scholars of his age, such as Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Jawzī and his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Mosul and the Jazīra, and acquired their works as well as those of others. Many of these works, which passed on to his son Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī, are either autographs or copies by or in the hands of their close friends. Moreover, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī stayed in Syria and Egypt with his step-father Ibn al-ʿArabī; several works passed from his step-father to him. Among these works are autograph copies of Ibn al-ʿArabī's own works and some other works that Ibn al-ʿArabī had brought from the Maghrib.

The autograph copies of Qunavī's own works were also among these books. He also collected certain small treatises and letters between him and his friends, prominent statesmen, and others in private notebooks. These notebooks provide a rich archive of the scholarly, political and cultural life of the Anatolian Seljukid period. In short, he possessed a rich, voluminous collection.

When books authored by Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī were placed in the library built in his name, the following endowment record was written on the title page of each book:

وقف هذا الكتاب الشيخ الامام العالم الراسخ صدر الدين ابو المعالي محمد بن اسحق بن محمد وهو من جملة منشأته رضى الله عنه و عز سلطانه على دار الكتب المنشأة عند قبره لينتفع به سائر المسلمين و شرط ان لا يخرج منها الا برهن و لا بغيره بل ينتفع به في موضعه فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فانما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم

The translation of this endowment record is as follows:

> The learned and erudite Shaykh and Imam Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī Abū al-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad endowed this book which is from among the works he authored – may God have mercy upon him and strengthen his authority – to the library which was built next to his tomb so that the Muslims can benefit from it. He stipulated that it [the book] should not be taken out of it [the library] except in return for a security deposit, and not without it. Rather, they should make us of it or in its location. He accuses of sin those who alter it [*i.e.*, this stipulation] after hearing it more so than those who alter it [without being aware of the stipulation]. God is all-hearing, omniscient.

This statement is the endowment record we find on folio 1a of his work *Miftāḥ Ghayb al-Jamʿ* copied by Yūsuf b. Aḥmad of Denizli in 672 (1273). Similar endowment records on the title pages of all his other books imply that after his

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death all of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's books were registered. However, no list with titles and numbers of these books has survived. Therefore, we do not exactly know how many books he possessed. Nevertheless, following the Ottoman conquest of Karamanid territories during the reign of Meḥmed II, the surveyors (*il-yazıcıları*) who were sent there in 880/1475-76 to register the endowments also recorded Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's endowment in Konya. In the course of their work, they included the books in Qunavī's library. According to their record, the number of books endowed by Qunavī was more than 200.[3] When one compares this list to Qunavī's books now in the Konya Yusufağa library, one notices that many books were lost during the more than 700-year long interlude. Before proceeding to the question of how these books were lost, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate some important historical information about the personal books of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī.

When Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī was alive, he was surrounded by the many students who pursued their studies under his supervision. They read his and his master Ibn al-'Arabī's works, and copied them, and even came to prepare commentaries and author original works with his encouragement and guidance. Some of his students who authored original works also gained recognition after his death. The best-known among them are:

1. Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 710/1310)
2. Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Jandī (d. 700/1301)
3. Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289)
4. Shihāb al-Dīn Chubān al-'Irāqī (?)
5. Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Fighānī (d. 692/1393)
6. Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 678/1279)
7. 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shirvānī (?)

Occasionally, famous scholars came from distant places to Konya to make use of Ibn al-'Arabī's and Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's works in the original. They worked in Qunavī's library, and copied the works of these two. Some of these well-known scholars are:

1. Yār 'Alī Shīrāzī (814/1412);
2. Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (816/1414)
3. the famous linguist Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fīrūzābādī (817/1414);
4. the teacher of Fātiḥ Sultan Meḥmed, Akşemseddin (862/1457);
5. Mullā 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī (898/1492).

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3 İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, 501-503.

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C. Qunavī's personal writings and notebooks

According to Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn's historian 'Azīz-i Astarābādī, Yār 'Alī Shīrāzī, one of the scholars of the Eretna period, came from Kayseri to Konya with several carpets and offered them as presents to Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī.[4] On this occasion, Yār 'Alī found the opportunity to examine for some time the personal notebooks of Qunavī in Konya; he then composed two *Majmū'at al-rasā'il* consisting of the letters and pamphlets in these notebooks. One of these collections is registered as Ms. no. 2349 in the Ayasofya (Süleymaniye) library. In this collection Yār 'Alī Shīrāzī brings together the correspondence between Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī and Khvāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, also known as Aḫī Evren. However, Yār 'Alī thought that this correspondence was between Qunavī and the Persian philosopher Khvāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and suggested as much in his collection. After Yār 'Alī, other copyists and authors also made use of these letters or simply copied from Yār 'Alī's work, and consequently, it became a widespread conviction that Qunavī and Ṭūsī corresponded.[5]

The second collection which Yār 'Alī copied from the private notebooks of Qunavī is currently in the Bursa Eski Eserler Library, Hüseyin Çelebi section, Ms. no. 1183. In this collection, Yār 'Alī included some pamphlets which he thought important, as well as the correspondence between Qunavī and his close friends, both of which he found in Qunavī's private notebooks. He marked these by using statements such as صدرت من حضرت الشيخ (I took it from his Highness the Shaykh), نقل من دفتر الشيخ (transmitted from the notebook of the Shaykh), and منقول من دفتر الشيخ (transmitted from the notebook of the Shaykh); using these formulae, he made clear that this collection was copied directly from the notebooks of Qunavī.[6] As mentioned above, when Ottoman surveyors registered the endowments of Karamanid territory, they also registered the titles of the books in Qunavī's library, and this list lacks the titles of Qunavī's autograph works and his personal notebooks. This implies that these books were already missing at the time of the survey.

Like Yār 'Alī Shīrāzī, others had the oppurtunity to see his original works, personal notes and letters that were in the possession of Qunavī's descendants. For example, in 898 (1493) a certain Ḥājjī Mu'min Khalīfa had access to autograph pamphlets and letters of Qunavī, and added them to the end of the *Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya* which he copied.[7] During my library research I found out that several people like him had benefited from Qunavī's private notebooks, and made copies

4 *Bazm u Razm*, Istanbul 1928, 384.

5 For further information see Mikâil Bayram, "Sadru'd-din Konevî İle Ahi Evren Şeyh Nasirü'd-din'in Mektuplaşması," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Edebiyat Dergisi* II (1983), 51-73.

6 *Idem*, 53-54.

7 Konya Mevlânâ Müzesi Library, Ms. no. 1633.

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from his autograph works. Among other examples, the copy of the *Mukātabāt* in the Ayasofya (Süleymaniye) Library Ms. no. 2412, and similarly the *Musāri' al-musāri'* copy in Ayasofya (Süleymaniye) Library Ms. no. 2358 are reproduced from Qunavī's private notebooks. It is not necessary to list more of them here, yet I would like to mention that one of the private notebooks of Ṣadr al-Dīn, which is in the Konya Yusufağa Library Ms. no. 7850, has survived to our time. Thus, other libraries might have the notebooks of Qunavī and autograph copies of his original works.

Conclusion

During the time of the Seljuks of Anatolia Konya was the foremost center of religious and spiritual learning (*'ilm va 'irfān*) in the Islamic world. Throughout the Seljuk and Ottoman periods it assumed the role of being the center of two great spiritual movements. One of these intellectual and spiritual movements was the "Jalāliyya" movement started by Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. After Mawlānā this movement continued under the name of "Mawlaviyya" (Mevlevîlik) in the form of a *ṭarīqa*. The other intellectual movement which originated in Konya was the movement of "Akbariyya." This movement was named after Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī who was called "al-Shaykh al-Akbar," and was started by Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad of Konya.

Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī stayed for a long time with his step-father and teacher Ibn al-'Arabī, who settled in Damascus; he became his best-known student and follower. In 645 (1247) Qunavī returned to Konya and stayed there until the end of his life. When he returned, he brought with him a large collection of books which he had inherited from his father Majd al-Dīn Isḥāq and his step-father Ibn al-'Arabī. In Konya, he occupied himself with teaching and writing, and made Konya the center of the intellectual movement called "Akbariyya." He taught the works of his teacher, commented on them and trained many students. His student Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Jandī says the following in the elegy he wrote on the occasion of Ṣadr al-Dīn's death:[8]

> The Caliph of the world, the word of humanity, the sea of meaning, the source of deep knowledge passed away.
> After the death of the Shaykh al-Islam no signs of perfection and clarity remained. If only he had not departed from us.
> Has any solver of problems and manifestor of truths remained after him?
> Is there anybody except him who shed light onto the dark valleys like the morning star at the peak?

[8] This elegy is in Jandī's *Nafaḥāt al-rūḥ wa tuḥfat al-futūḥ*, Bursa Eski Eserler Library, Hüseyin Çelebi Section, Ms. no. 1183, fol. 120b. The contemporary historian Karīm al-Dīn Āqsarā'ī (*Musāmarat al-akhbār*, Ankara 1944, 119-120) included this elegy in his work.

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O the Shaykh of our century and the one who shows us our way in dark labyrinths! Greetings to you!

Today there are 168 books in the Konya Yusufağa Library that are the endowment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī. Some of them are books endowed to his library after his death. In those books which came from the scholar himself, there is the signature of ownership or endowment record. In the reading and listening records (*kıraat ve sema kayıtları*) and margins of many of these books in his personal collection, we see the hands of his teachers, close friends, students and of himself.

During the intervening years, at least some of Qunavī's books were borrowed from his library for a security deposit in accordance with the regulations of the endowment; nonetheless, they were not returned.[9] Several books of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī were lost in this manner. For example, a copy of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya* in the Istanbul İslamî Eserler Museum used to be in Konya. Probably, it was lent out in the above manner and was not returned. Similarly, the autograph copy of Ibn al-Athīr's *Jāmi' al-uṣūl* which used to be in Qunavī's library is today in the İzzet Koyunoğlu Library in Konya.

The above two volumes have resurfaced after being removed from Qunavī's library; it is not possible, however, to trace the works which were passed on to his son-in-law 'Afīf al-Dīn and his daughter Sakīna. Qunavī and Khvāja Naṣīr al-Dīn, who was known as Aḫī Evren, constantly corresponded with each other and sent each other the works they authored.[10] Probably, these also came into the possession of Qunavī's daughter and son-in-law. These also did not survive to our day, or at least their whereabouts are unknown.

Finally, I would like to point out that in the year 2000, 172 books were stolen from the Yusufağa Library in Konya, a large portion of which belonged to the collection of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī. The resulting lawsuit is still going on in the Konya 1st Criminal Court for Major Punishments.

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9 At that time it was common practice to lend books in this fashion. Thus, the books could be taken away to distant places. For example, a copy of the *Dīvān-i kabīr* in the Mevlânâ Müzesi Library was lent out in return for a security deposit and was taken as far as Herat. The book stayed there for years, and the famous author and Sufi Ḥusayn Vā'iẓ al-Kāshifī wrote notes on the margins, and in the end it was returned to the lodge of Mawlānā. *Dīvān-i kabīr*, Mevlânâ Müzesi Library, Ms. no. 67.

10 Mikâil Bayram, "Sadru'd-din Konevî İle Ahi Evren Şeyh Nasirü'd-din'in Mektuplaşması," *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Edebiyat Dergisi* II (1983), 63-64.

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Rāgıb Meḥmed Paşa and His Library

Nevzat Kaya *

Rāgıb Meḥmed Paşa lived between 1111-1176/1699-1763. His father, Meḥmed Şevkī Efendi, was a scribe in the Office of the Registry (*defterḫāne*). Rāgıb Meḥmed, who was born into a learned family, must have drawn attention with his training, intelligence and diligence, for he started working in the Office of the Registry at a young age. Showing significant progress in a short period of time, he was only twenty-five years old when he was assigned to the survey of the lands occupied during the war against Safavid Iran. Rāgıb Paşa, a scholar, poet, writer, was to become a powerful statesman of his age, serving as the finance minister (*defterdār*), secretary-in-chief (*reīsü'l-küttāb*), and vizier. He was also appointed to the governorships of Egypt, Saida, Aleppo and Damascus, and ultimately became grand vizier in 1756. He was the seventh and last grand vizier of Sultan Osman III (r. 1754-1757), and the first in Muṣṭafā III's (r. 1171-87/1757-74) reign. Until his death on 24 Ramaẓān 1176/8 April 1763, he managed to remain in that office. He is buried in the tomb he built in the garden of his library in the Laleli-Koska quarter of Istanbul. The sources mention him as "the highest scholar among the Ottoman grand viziers and the last to acquire the quality of a great statesman."

His Works

1. The Dīvān-ı Rāgıb

It was Rāgıb Paşa's contemporary Ottoman scholar and calligrapher Müstaḳīmzāde Süleymān Sa'dettīn Efendi (d. 1202/1788) who collected Rāgıb Paşa's poems in a *Dīvān*.[1] There are 176 *ghazal*s, seven quatrains (*rubā'ī*), and three couplets (*bayt*) in his *Dīvān*. Like the poetry of Necātī (d. 914/1509) and Nābī (d. 1124/1712), his poems also contain certain verses that have acquired proverbial quality:

Muzaffer, vakt-i fırsatta adûdan intikam almaz
Mürüvvet-mend olan nâ-kâmî-i düşmende kâm almaz

The victorious one does not take revenge from the enemy when opportunity arises
The generous one does not find pleasure in the downfall of the enemy

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* Director of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul. The English translation of this article, which was originally submitted under the title "Râgıp Mehmet Paşa ve Kütüphanesi," was prepared by Ertuğrul İ. Ökten and edited and revised by İ. Evrim Binbaş.

1 On Müstaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Sa'dettīn Efendi, see Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, "Müstaḳīmzāde," *EI*^{2} 7 (1993), 724-725.

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Together with Rāgıb Paşa's *Münşe'āt* the *Dīvān-ı Rāgıb* was published by the Būlāq press in 1253/1837 in Cairo, attesting to its great popularity.[2]

2. The Münşe'āt-ı Rāgıb (Telḫīṣāt)

Prepared by Aḥmet Nuzhet, the *Münşe'āt-ı Rāgıb* consist of *telḫīṣes* written when Rāgıb Mehmed Paşa was the secretary-in-chief of Maḥmūt I (r. 1730-1754), as well as his later official writings and letters.

The *Münşe'āt* contain samples related to almost every aspect of daily, official and private life. They contain a variety of items ranging from the pādişah's *şerbet* drinking to his moving to the summer residence, or invitations issued on the occasion of the completion of certain galleys with various names. As mentioned above, the *Münşe'āt* were published in 1253/1837 by the Būlāq press in Cairo.

3. The Mecmū'a-i Rāgıb

The *Mecmū'a-i Rāgıb* is a selection compiled from various divans and literary works. It contains many literary pieces and pamphlets both in verse and in prose in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. There are around 65 *qaṣīdas*.[3]

4. The Safīnat al-Rāghib wa dafīnat al-maṭālib

The *Safīnat al-Rāghib wa dafīnat al-maṭālib* is a work mainly in Arabic, with some Persian texts, and was first published in 1255/beg. 17 March 1839. It deals mainly with Qur'ānic exegesis, Islamic doctrines, and philosophy.[4]

5. The Taḥḳīḳ ve Tevfīḳ

The *Taḥḳīḳ ve Tevfīḳ*, written in Ottoman Turkish, comprises an introduction, three chapters, and a conclusion, and is about the differences between the Sunni and the Imami paths written with the aim of bringing the members of those

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2 Selections of Rāgıb Paşa's poems were also recently published by Hüseyin Yorulmaz under the title *Koca Ragıb Paşa*, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998.

3 See *İA* 9, 597. Murad Molla Ktp. 1468 and Bayezid Ktp. 833.

4 The 680 page long *Safīnat al-Rāghib wa dafīnat al-maṭālib li al-Imām al-Rāghib* was published a second time, with notes revised by Muḥammad al-Sabbāgh at Būlāq: al-Maṭba'a al-Khidiwwiyya, 1282/1866. See also the following, recent publication, which attests to its popularity until today: *Mawsū'at mustalaḥāt al-mawḍū'āt fī Safīnat al-Rāghib wa-dafīnat al-maṭālib*; taqdīm wa-ishrāf wa-murāja'at Rafīq al-'Ajamī; taḥqīq 'Alī Dahrūj; naqala al-naṣṣ al-Fārisī ilā al-'Arabiyya 'Abd Allāh al-Khālidī. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān Nāshirūn, 2000. As this version contains both the original Arabic and Persian texts, as well as the Arabic translations of the Persian texts (as the editors explain, the Arabic translation was highlighted through special fonts, and the Persian original was moved into the footnotes (p. xii), this edition is 913 pages long.

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paths together. Mostly based on observation, it contains correspondence and valuable information about the negotiations between the Ottoman and Safavid envoys. It was only recently published for the first time.[5]

6. The ʿArūẓ Risālesi *(A pamphlet about prosody).*

7. The Tercüme-i Maṭlaʿu's-Saʿdeyn

This is an incomplete translation into Ottoman Turkish of ʿAbd al-Razzāq Samarqandī's (d. 887/1482) work about the history of the Chinggisids and the Timurids during the period 704-854/1307-1450.[6]

8. The Hüsniyye ve Ṭâ'ifiyye

The *Hüsniyye ve Ṭâ'ifiyye* deals with the campaigns of the Prophet Muḥammad and specifically the conquests of Mecca and al-Ṭā'if. It was printed in 1253/1837 by the Būlāq Press together with his *Münşe'āt.*

9. The Feṭḥiyye-i Belgırāt

The *Feṭḥiyye-i Belgırāt* is about the Ottoman re-conquest of Belgrade which again was printed by Būlāq.[7]

10. The Futūḥu'l-Ḥaremeyn

His Library

The Hungarian François Baron de Tott (1733-1793), who worked in Istanbul from 1755 to 1763 as the secretary of the French ambassador Vergennes, refers to the library in the following manner:

> Among the Turks enlightened men are rare, except for Rāgıb Paşa. He built a large building with a dome spending his own money in order to annihilate ignorance and to leave for future generations a lively example of his taste and love for culture. In this building he established a large public library. There had not been such a library in Istanbul before. He endowed 1000-1200 Arabic and Persian manuscripts to this library which he had collected before.[8]

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5 *Taḥkīk ve tevfīk: Osmanlı-İran diplomatik münaseḅetlerinde mezhep tartışmaları.* Ed. Ahmet Zeki Izgöer, Istanbul: Cağaloğlu, 2003.

6 According to Babinger, p. 290, there are no known manuscripts of this work.

7 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Nr. 220 (Pertsch, Katal. 248f).

8 *Mémoires du Baron de Tott, sur les Turcs et les Tartares.* Amsterdam: [s.n.], 1784, vol. I, 164.

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The Italian monk Giambattista Toderini (1728-1799) opposed Baron de Tott's opinion. In *De la Littérature des Turcs* he expressed that Baron de Tott did not investigate and read about the issue sufficiently, and that libraries had existed in Istanbul before Rāgıb Paşa.[9] The first library was opened during the reign of Fātiḥ Sulṭān Meḥmed (r. 1444-46, 1451-81), and in the later periods the number of these "decorations of peace" increased gradually due to the grants of generous rulers, viziers and intellectuals.

Toderini related his meeting with the librarian during his visit to the library in the following manner:

> The librarian whom I talked to was a very polite man. He showed me the catalogue and some of the rare manuscripts. It was May, an hour past noon. There were nine Turks in the library, seven occupied with reading, two with copying out manuscripts.

The Library's foundations were laid on 8 Muḥarram 1175/9 August 1761, and it came into service on 15 Sha'bān 1176/1 March 1763. The square-plan structure, still situated in a wide garden today, has a lead-sheeted dome and a basement consisting of a central hall surrounded by five chambers. Each side of the building is 14 m long. The walls are covered with 18th century European style tiles, above which there is a marble surrounding-inscription of the *Qaṣīda-yi burda* in *thuluth* style. There are 34 windows located on the walls in two rows.

Nine small domes surround the large dome in the center under which a bronze cage of 5.70 m. width and 3.50 m height protects the storage space (*ḫazīne-i kutub*) for the books (see plate 5). The books are kept here in original three-shelf cupboards with glass panes. There are 7,198 volumes in the library, 1,274 of them are manuscripts, 1,074 printed works in Arabic script, and 4,220 printed works in Latin script.

The endowment deed (*vakfiyye*) is the primary source of information about the Rāgıb Paşa library. The following is a summary of the most important points laid out in it.[10]

The library was established in Laleli-Koska on a lot of 5,497 cubits (*zir'a*). This piece of land was to host a library, a school, a house, four rest-rooms, ten shops, five under-ground store-rooms, five taps for ablution, a big fountain and two public fountains.

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9 *De la Littérature des Turcs*, par Mr. l'Abbé Toderini; traduit de l'italien en françois, par Mr. l'Abbé de Cournand, Paris: Poinçot, 1789, vol. II,33. The original, *La Letteratura Turchesca*, was first published in 1787 in Venice.

10 For a publication of the original in romanized letters, see Ahmet İhsan Türek, "Râgıp Paşa Kütüphanesi Vakfiyesi," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 1 (Ekim 1970), 65-78.

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Staff [and their wages are as follows]:

The first librarian (*ḥāfiẓ-ı kütüb*)	120 *akçe*s daily
The second librarian	100 *akçe*s daily
These should be from the learned or pious people (*'ulemā' ve süleḥādan*), without any trouble, peaceful, praised among the people and trustworthy. They should not have duties anywhere else.	
Assistant librarian	15 *akçe*s daily
These assistants will help the librarians every day. They will take the books out from their locations and put them back once they are done with them. These should be trustworthy, capable of moving quickly.	
Teacher	40 *akçe*s daily
Assistant Teacher	20 *akçe*s daily
Calligrapher	10 *akçe*s daily
Door-keeper (*bevvāb*)	10 *akçe*s daily
Sweeper (*ferrāş*)	3 *akçe*s daily
Keeper of the tomb (*türbedār*)	5 *akçe*s daily
If he also does cleaning, opens and closes the doors, takes the fountain cups at night and puts them back in the morning, then	28 *akçe*s daily.
Upkeeper of the water-channel	6 *akçe*s daily
A certain amount of water (three *māsūre* of water) is brought over from Küçükköy through the water-channel of the Bāyezīt endowment for six *ḳurūsh* annual maintenance fee. [He is responsible for] the constant flow of a specified amount of water, preventing cut-offs day and night.	
Upkeeper of the fountain	4 *akçe*s daily
Sweeper (of the rest-rooms and the outer gates, *kennas*)	7 *akçe*s daily
Secretary (*kātib*)	10 *akçe*s daily
calculates the income and the expenditure of the endowment.	
Rent collector (*cābi*)	5 *akçe*s daily
Inspector	4800 *akçe*s annually
At the beginning of each year in the month of Muḥarram the superintendent of the endowment summons an inspector, gathers the trustee (*mütevellī*), secretary and the employees (*ḫādemeler*), and in the	

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000193

presence of [the inspector] they count the endowed books one by one comparing each volume to the register.

Each student — 2 *akçes* daily

The stipends should not be handed out through the teacher, his assistant, or an employee. At the beginning of each month, a trustee should deliver them to the boys directly.

For trashing the waste — 4 *akçes* daily

No specific person should be appointed for carrying the waste collected by the sweepers. Whoever is available should do it.

Each spring, the trustee should spend for taking the students to the countryside — 2400 *akçes* annually

Books should not be taken outside [the library], not a single volume. [Things should be facilitated] for the reader; he should be able to read comfortably whichever book he wishes, no prohibitions should be imposed on him. The reader should be encouraged, not made weary. It is even stipulated that the librarians should respect the reader and greet him.

The library opened an hour after dawn, and closed an hour before sunset, six days a week, except for Fridays. Even if nobody comes to the library, the library should not close until an hour before sunset, and the staff should not quit their duties. They should be swift in their jobs, and should not leave them either by taking turns [for each other] or leaving a deputy behind. If one has a good reason then he should be granted leave; if these conditions are not obeyed then he should be dismissed.

When the first librarian quits the job, the assistant librarian should be promoted to that position, and a new person should be employed for his position. When a librarian dies, his son should be appointed if he is qualified. If he is not qualified, he should not be appointed. In the two rooms at the back, a librarian should be on duty each night in shifts.[11]

Slides of the Library Building

Let me illustrate several of the above points with the help of plates. The Rāgıb Paşa Library is a building in two parts. In the front, there are shops on the lower level, and what was formerly a school on the upper level is now a children's library. At the back, there is the Library building in the middle of the garden (Plate 1).

11 This is the first time that we see work at night, and six days per week.

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The main gates display inscriptions (Plate 2), and so do the tiles on the inner walls, with *thuluth* style surrounding-inscription (Plate 3). Some of the tiles represent bundles of flowers on the tiles as well (Plate 4). The storage-room for books surrounded by a bronze cage has already been mentioned (Plate 5). The vaults of the dome and the chandelier also feature aphorisms carved on wood on each side. (Plate 6). The writings include such phrases and expressions as *bism Allāh, mā shā'a Allāh, wa mā tawfīq illā bi-Allāh, yā huwa.*

Rāgıb Paşa did not acquire for his library whatever work he could find, but he bought books selectively, and when he was not able to find a required work, he had copies done. Among these are,

Selected Books

Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) famous work *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, registered under ms. Nos. 85, 86, and 87 for the three volumes respectively. The work comprises 686 folios. The *naskh*-style copy was prepared by a copyist named Jalāl in 1175/beg. 2 August 1761.

Ms. 694 is the *Miṣbāḥ al-qalb* (*Sharḥ Miftāḥ al-Ghayb*)[12] of Oṣmān Faẓlı İlāhī al-Atpazarī (d. 1102/1691).[13] The *naskh*-style and 245-folio work was copied by Muḥammed Shākir b. Muṣṭafā al-'Umarī in 1174/beg. 13 August 1760.

Ms. 100 is Mu'īn b. Ṣāfī's *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* in *naskh*-style, in 454 folios. It was copied by a certain Muḥammed in 1171/beg. 15 September 1757.

Ms. 405 is Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hamza al-Mullā Fenārī's (d. 834/1431) *Ḥāshiya 'alā fuṣūl al-badāyi' fī uṣūl al-sarāy*, 274 folios in *naskh* style, copied by Ismā'il al-Ḥalabī in 1175/beg. 2 August 1761.

Ms. 97 is Niẓām al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Nīshābūrī's (wr. 15th c.) *Gharā'ib al-Qur'ān wa raghā'ib al-Furkān*[14] in 665 folios. It was copied by a certain Ḥāfiẓ 'Uthmān in Ramaḍān 1165/beg. 13 July 1752, in *ta'līq* style. The Qur'ānic verses in it are written in *jāḷī*-style, sometimes with interlinear Persian translation. At the end there is a collation note which goes: "*wa qad balaghat al-muqābalatu wa al-taṣḥīḥ ilā khitām 'alā yad 'Alī Kārshī fī Ayā Ṣūfya, Ramaḍān, 1165.*"

Ms. 1521, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Khalīl's *al-Mukhtār min rasā'il Abī Isḥāq*. In *naskh* style, 175 folios. Copied by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd al-Magribī in Cairo in 1159/beg. 24 January 1746. The note of comparison dated 1159 says "*wa kānat muqābalatun min awwalihi ilā ākhirihi 'alā yad Shaykhihi wa ustādhihi al-'ārif bi Allāh tā'ālā Abī al-Ma'ārif al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Sulṭānī al-Shāfi'ī*

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12 This *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb* is, of course, Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī's (d. 673/1274) famous work. The autograph of the *Miṣbāḥ al-qalb* is found as well in the Süleymaniye Library (Reîsülküttâb no. 511/2).

13 On Atpazarî, see Sâkib Yıldız, "Atpazarî, Osman Fazlı," *DVİA* 4 (1991), 83-85.

14 This thirty-volume work was published by Ibrāhīm 'Awad in Egypt (Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī wa awlāduhu, 1962-1970).

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ghaffara Allāhu lahu...tammat fī yawm al-ithnayn wa al-'ashrīn min Dhī al-Ḥijja al-ḥarām 'ām tis'a wa khamsīn wa mi'a wa alf min al-Hijra lahu al-'izzu wa al-sharaf. (1159)"

Ms. 32, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī's (d. 736/1335)[15] *Ta'wīl tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm*, 186 folios. Nāfiẓ b. Shihāb al-Astarābādī copied it in 890/beg. 18 January 1485. It carries the ownership signature (*temellük imẓāsı*) of Rāgıb Paşa: "*Min kutub al-faqīr ilā Allāhi rabbihi dhī al-mawāhib Muḥammad al-maduww b. al-wuzarā' bi al-Rāghib 'afā 'anhu.*"

Manuscripts dedicated to prominent statesmen are also part of the collection. Among these are:

Ms. 16, Fakhr al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī's *al-Muwazzah fī wujūh al-qirā'āt*, comprising 293 folios. Copied in 551/beg. 25 February 1156, this work was dedicated to the Saljuqid Amīr Sunghur b. Mawdūd.

Ms. 285, Yūsuf Efendi-zāde Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh's *Necmü'l-ḳāri' li-Ṣaḥīḥü'l-Buḫārī/Najm al-qāri' li Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, dedicated to Aḥmet I (r. 1603-17), 742 folios.

Ms. 692/3, Muḥammad b. Quṭb al-Dīn's *Şerḥ ḥadīṯ min cevāmi'ü'l-kelīm*, 226-230 folios, copied in 863/1459, and dedicated to Grand Vizier Maḥmūt Paşa.

Ms. 1416, Ebū Bekr Muḥammed el-Anbarī's *Kitāb el-ẓāhir*, 314 folios, copied by Abdülbāḳī Şākir Efendi in 1109/beg. 20 July 1697. Köprülü-zāde 'Abdullāh Paşa commissioned its copying.

Ms. 633, *al-Fatāwā al-'Ālamgīriyya* (wr. 1664-1672),[16] 500 folios. 'Abd al-Mannān b. Muḥammad Ibn Sukayr Shābān copied it in 1106/beg. 22 August 1694. The Mughal emperor Ibn al-Muzaffer Awrangzīb (1658-1707) commissioned this copy from a scientific committee of scholars.

Ms. 524, Ibn al-Sā'ātī's (d. 694/1295) *Majma' al-baḥrayn wa multaqā al-nayyirayn*, 315 folios. This was copied in 715/beg. 7 April 1315 by 'Azīza bt. 'Alī b. Tha'lab al-Sā'ātī; the copyist is the sister of the author.[17]

Ms. 1094, Jamāl al-Dīn Ilyās b. Yūsuf's *Khamsa-yi Niẓāmī* of Niẓāmī Ganjavī, 390 folios in *ta'līq* style. Muḥsin al-Kātib āl-Shīrāzī copied it in 934/beg. 27 September 1527. It is a perfect manuscript in terms of the arts of the book. It has 36 miniatures; its binding, gilding and the calligraphy are exceedingly beautiful. It contains the *Makhzan al-asrār, Khusraw va Shīrīn, Layla va Majnūn*, the *Haft Paykar*, The *Iskandar-Nāma*, and the *Iqbāl-nāma*.

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15 On Kāshānī, see Süleyman Uludağ, "Kâşânî, Abdürrezzâk," *DVİA* 25 (2002), 5-6.

16 On this work, see Ahmet Özel, "al-Âlemgîriyye," *DVİA* 2 (1989), 365-366.

17 For more information on Ibn al-Sā'ātī, who received less than four lines in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, see Ahmet Özel, "İbnü's-Sââtî, Muzafferüddin," *DVİA* 21 (2000), 190-192.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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Ms. 1106 contains the *dīvān* of Sā'ib Tabrīzī, comprising 430 folios. It was copied by 'Alī b. Dervīş el-Keşmīrī, in *ta'līq* style, in 1068/beg. 8 October 1657. It has lacquered binding with artistic gilding of high quality.

Ms. 34, Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāq Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshānī's (d. 736/1335) *Ta'wīlāt tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. 321 folios, copied in *naskh* by Sayyid Ḥasan b. al-Ḥāfiẓ in 1174/beg. 13 August 1760. The title and *sūra* headings and the conclusion have excellent gilding. All the border lines are in gold accompanied by a fine binding. The back of the manuscript carries an alternative title.

Ms. 37, *Ta'wīlāt al-Qur'ān* of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. ca. 333/944), 716 folios. Composed in *naskh* style in 1164, 'Abd Allāh al-Shahavī is the copyist. It has an outstanding binding and gilding.

Ms. 910 is Ibn Sīnā's (d. 428/1037) famous work *Kitāb al-shifā'*. The headings of all four sections are in different styles and colors with superb gilding. The binding is also artistic.

Ms. 789 is the *Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar* of Bahā' al-Dīn-zāda Muḥammad b. Bahā' al-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh al-Bayramī. This 196 folio long work which was written in 925/beg. 3 January 1519 might be an autograph copy. The commented text is in *naskh* style as opposed to the *ta'līq* style of the commentary.

Ms. 929 is an astrolabe produced by Muḥammed 'Alī b. Khalīl Ustā in the shape of a heart. It is useful for calculating the position of the stars and the beginning of day and night. It is also convenient in estimating the distance of an inaccessible place, the height of a building, or the depth of a well.

All in all, the Rāgıb Paşa Library and the collection contained in it, while small in size in comparison to some of the other libraries located in Istanbul, bear the distinct impact and vision of its founder, and hosts numerable gems of Islamic writing, both in form and contents. The endowment deed which is still in our hands provides excellent insights into the workings of an 18th century Ottoman library founded by a private patron, and in its spirit can still be taken as a model for libraries today.

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Copying Processes

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Le rôle des conservateurs des *khazā'in al-kutub* dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes

Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid

Les biographes d'Ibn al-Nadīm, l'auteur d'*al-Fihrist*, disent qu'il était *warrāq*, marchand de livres, libraire au *Sūq al-warrāqīn* de Baghdād à la fin du IVe/Xe siècle. Mais le *warrāq* désigne aussi le copiste "*al-nāsikh*". Les grandes bibliothèques royales ou publiques avaient toujours un grand nombre de copistes à leur disposition pour la reproduction des livres.

Selon Ibn Khaldūn, qui en donne une définition dans sa *Muqaddima*, le *warrāq* est celui qui travaille à copier des volumes, à les corriger, à les relier ; bref, il est celui qui s'occupe de tout ce qui concerne les livres et les recueils. La *wirāqa* est un art tout à fait spécifique aux grandes villes où la civilisation est très avancée.[1] Elle est l'office des libraires : elle est l'art de fabriquer un livre.

La transcription (*al-naskh*) fut l'une des principales opérations de la *wirāqa*. Elle se pratiquait généralement dans les ateliers (*dakākīn*) des *warrāqīn* qui s'étendaient le long du *sūq al-warrāqīn* des grandes villes comme Baghdād, le Caire, Damas, Alep et Cordoue. Il existait aussi des pièces spécialement conçues à cet effet dans les annexes des *khazā'in al-kutub* royales ou publiques.

La transcription est habituellement un travail solitaire. On trouvera la plupart du temps le nom de copiste inscrit dans le colophon si le manuscrit n'est pas mutilé à la fin. Dans ce cas, les manuscrits sont exécutés pour une bibliothèque royale ou publique ou pour un bibliophile (fig. 1).

Mais une autre méthode existait aussi qui consistait à copier collectivement et simultanément des ouvrages encyclopédiques. Ceux-ci exigeaient, de par leur nature et leur ampleur monumentale, plusieurs copistes à la fois. Cela permettait d'éviter les altérations graves et les erreurs commises lors d'une transcription exécutée d'une seule main. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a rapporte que le *Tārīkh Dimashq* d'Ibn 'Asākir (m. en 571/1175) fut exécuté d'après le manuscrit autographe par dix copistes qui ont achevé les 80 volumes de l'ouvrage en deux années de travail.[2] Ce cas reste exceptionnel. Peu d'exemples de ce genre nous sont à ce jour parvenus.

Dans la plupart des cas les volumineux ouvrages sont exécutés par un seul copiste. C'est le cas du manuscrit du *Kitāb al-aghānī* d'Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī qui est conservé à Istanbul, au Caire, à Rabat et dans la Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague. Il est composé de 20 volumes copiés entre 614 et 616 de l'hégire par un certain Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Badrī, peut-être à Baghdād ou à Damas puisque le lieu de la transcription n'est pas indiqué dans le colophon (fig. 9).

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1 Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddima*, Le Caire 1979, I, p. 973.

2 Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'uyūn al-anbā'*, Le Caire 1882, II, p. 236.

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De cet exemplaire en vingt volumes originaux, reconnaissables par une miniature en frontispice, il ne reste aujourd'hui que huit volumes répartis entre quatre bibliothèques: *Dār al-kutub* (le Caire) : les volumes 2, 4 et 11 ; *Khizāna Ḥasaniyya* (Rabat) : les volumes 5 et 6 ; Bibliothèque Feyzullah (Istanbul) : Les volumes 17 et 18 ; Bibliothèque Royale (Copenhague): le volume 20.[3]

* * *

Cet art de la *wirāqa* est apparu avec l'effloraison des mouvements de traduction et de rédaction, au moment même où se répandait la fabrication du papier (*waraq, kāghid*) à Baghdad dans le dernier quart du deuxième siècle de l'hégire. Le terme même *wirāqa* utilisé pour définir cette industrie provient du mot papier (*waraq*).[4]

Plusieurs *'ulamā'*, hommes de lettres et linguistes pratiquaient ce métier. L'ouvrage *Tārīkh Baghdād* d'al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī et le *Mu'jam al-udabā'* de Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī contiennent de nombreuses informations à ce sujet et nous renseignent sur sa pratique.

Il est à remarquer que la *wirāqa* n'attirait pas le commun des mortels et qu'il n'était pratiqué que par les maîtres et leurs élèves. Ainsi, plusieurs *fuqahā'* et *muḥaddithūn* gagnèrent leur vie par ce biais. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Marzubānī, al-Ṣīrāfī al-Naḥwī (m. en 368/798), par exemple, ascète et savant ne gagnait sa vie que par les revenus provenant de son travail de copiste ou de correcteur de texte.[5]

Il est l'auteur du fameux commentaire du *Kitāb* de Sībawayh et des *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn* édité en 1939 d'après l'unique copie de la Bibliothèque Şehit Ali Paşa à Istanbul par Fritz Krenkow. A côté de son travail de copiste, cependant, il avait encore une autre source de revenus. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī prétend avoir entendu des *warrāqīn* de Baghdad dire que lorsqu'ils désiraient vendre un livre à bon prix, ils demandaient à Sīrāfī d'écrire à la fin du manuscrit – alors qu'il n'avait sans doute jeté aucun regard sur le texte – : "*Qāla al-Ḥasan b. 'Al. qad quri'a hādhā al-kitāb 'alayya wa saḥḥa,*" c'est-à-dire "ce livre a été lu devant moi et je l'ai trouvé correct". Le livre était alors vendu à un prix élevé.[6] Abū Ḥayyān avait raison : l'unique copie de l'ouvrage d'al-Mubarrid *al-Muqtadab*, un des plus anciens manuscrits arabes, conservée à la Bibliothèque Köprülü (No. 1507 – 8) dont la première page du deuxième volume copié par Muhalhil b. Aḥmad, un élève de notre Sīrāfī, en 347 h. porte la phrase suivante (fig. 1) :

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3 Rice, O.S., "The Aghani Miniatures and Religious Painting in Islam," *The Burlington Magazine* 95 (1953), pp. 218-34; Fāris, B., *Sawāniḥ masīḥiyya wa malāmiḥ islāmiyya*, Le Caire 1961, pp. 45-60; Stern, S.M., "A New Volume of the Illustrated Aghani Manuscripts," *Ars Orientalis* II (1957), pp. 501-503.

4 Fu'ād Sayyid, A., *al-Kitāb al-'Arabī al-makhtūb*, Le Caire 1997, pp. 20-31.

5 al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* VII, p. 342; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* VIII, pp. 146-47.

6 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* VIII, p. 190.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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« قرأت هذا الجزء من أوله إلى آخره و أصلحت ما فيه و صححته فما كان فيه من إصلاح و تخريج بغير خط الكتاب فهو بخطي. و كتب الحسن بن عبد الله السيرافي. »

Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf al-Aṣamm (m. en 346/957) fut un des grands *'ulamā'* et *muḥaddithīn* de Khurāsān qui vivait également de son travail de copiste.[7]

Abū Zakariyya Yaḥyā b. 'Adiyy b. Ḥamīd al-Manṭiqī (m. en 364/975), un des plus grands philosophes du IVe/Xe siècle, avait copié de sa propre main deux exemplaires du fameux *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* d'al-Ṭabarī. De sa main Ibn al-Nadīm trouva plusieurs copies, dont le catalogue des ouvrages d'Aristote.[8]

Au début de l'époque abbaside, les traductions et les compositions d'ouvrages originaux enrichissaient les bibliothèques publiques, et en révélaient l'orientation intellectuelle. Les *warrāqūn* participaient ainsi activement aux travaux entrepris dans les *khazā'in al-kutub*.

L'institution semi-publique fondée par al-Rashīd et al-Ma'mūn – *Bayt al-ḥikma* – était dirigée par des conservateurs qui pratiquaient le métier de copiste. Ce fut le cas de 'Illān al-Shu'ūbī qui travaillait pour al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn et les Barāmika. 'Illān avait, parallèlement à son office, une boutique dans laquelle il vendait des livres à Bāb al-Shām à l'ouest de Baghdad.[9]

Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥamīd, le conservateur du *dār al-kutub al-qadīma*, copiait également les livres qu'on lui commandait pour l'excellence et la précision de son écriture.[10]

Abū Aḥmad 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī connu sous le nom d'al-Waykā (m. en 405/1014), philologue, *muḥaddith* et récitateur de poésies, était chargé de surveiller la bibliothèque fondée par le vizir Sābūr à Baghdad. Al-Ṣafadī le décrit "ayant une belle écriture et une vocalisation correcte."[11] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī trouva plusieurs livres de sa main. Al-Qiftī mentionna que Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abbād al-Naḥwī confia à 'Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī l'écriture de son ouvrage *al-Waqf wa al-ibtidā'*.[12] 'Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī relate "je lui ai copié un exemplaire sans la vocalisation qu'il entreprit lui-même."[13]

Aucun autographe de 'Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī ne nous est parvenu. Seul le manuscrit "*Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*" d'Ibn al-Sikkīt, conservé à la Bibliothèque Köprülü d'Istanbul (Köpr. 1209) a été copié par 'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Shīrāzī en Sha'bān 447, à partir d'un original sur lequel figure une *qirā'a* (certificat) de la main de 'Abd al-Salām al-Baṣrī datée de l'an 385 h.

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7 Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* VI, p. 386.
8 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, pp. 311-13.
9 Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* p. 118; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* XII, p. 192.
10 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* XVII, p. 267.
11 Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* XVIII, p. 419.
12 Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* III, p. 18; V, p. 116; VII, p. 132.
13 Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* III, p. 213.

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Le métier de *wirāqa* exigeait trois qualités essentielles : la perfection de l'écriture, l'exactitude du texte et la précision de la vocalisation. La qualité de l'écriture a progressé avec la fondation du *Bayt al-ḥikma*. Il n'y avait pas d'autres moyens pour enrichir les fonds de bibliothèques que le recours aux copistes qu'on commença alors à salarier. Ces *warraqūn* développèrent aux IIIe et IVe siècles de l'hégire une écriture qui leur était propre appelée *muḥaqqaq*. Le copiste était tenu de se soumettre aux règles linguistiques et littéraires, d'appliquer les règles de l'orthographe et de maîtriser les lois de la transmission (*al-riwāya*) en toutes ses étapes. Tout cela se trouve chez les copistes que nous appelons *al-nussākh al-'ulamā'* "les copistes savants" : 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Wadā' al-Azdī (m. 230/844), Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār al-Aḥwāl qui avait copié à Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq pour une somme de 20 *dirhams* tous les 100 feuillets, Abū Mūsā al-Ḥāmiḍ (m. 305/917), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd al-Azdī connu sous le nom d'Ibn al-Kūfī (m. 348/960), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Khallāl (m. 381/991), Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jurjānī (m. 392/1002), Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād al-Gawharī (m. en 346/1006) et Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār al-Simsimānī (m. en 415/1024).[14]

Le IVe/Xe siècle est une étape importante dans le développement de l'écriture arabe. Des calligraphes comme Ibn Muqla, Muhalhil b. Aḥmad et al-Yazīdī introduisirent des notions mathématiques qui marquèrent de manière définitive l'écriture. Un groupe de copistes savants fit le lien entre Ibn Muqla et Ibn al-Bawwāb. Ces savants, originaires d'Iraq, excellaient dans l'écriture *warrāqī* : Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. Ukhay al-Shāfi'ī duquel on a retrouvé un manuscrit du *Dīwān* d'al-Farazdaq copié d'un exemplaire de la main d'Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkārī (Ẓāhiriyya 8800) (fig. 2), et Muhalhil b. Aḥmad disciple d'Ibn Muqla qui copia à Baghdad en 347 h. un exemplaire de l'ouvrage d'al-Mubarrid intitulé *al-Muqtadab fī al-naḥw* (Köpr. 1507-1508) (fig.1). Le nom de Muhalhil est souvent lié à celui d'Ibn Muqla : leur calligraphie est en effet donnée en exemple par les *'ulamā'*.

Vers la fin du Moyen Âge les *warrāqūn* portent également le titre de *kutubī*, pl. *kutubiyyūn*. Parmi eux citons Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, plus connu sous le nom de al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī (mort en 718/1318), auteur de la première encyclopédie composée à l'époque mamelouke intitulée *Mabāhij al fikar wa manākij al-'ibar*.[15] Citons également Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī (m. en 764/1362), l'auteur de deux ouvrages : *Fawāt al-wafayāt* et *'Uyūn al-tawārīkh*.[16]

14 Fu'ād Sayyid, A., *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.
15 Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* II, pp. 16-18, Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* III, pp. 385-86.
16 Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina* IV, p. 71; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* VI, p. 203.

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Les marchés de livres furent nommés autrement : *sūq al-kutubiyyīn*.[17] Le commerce des livres y florissait avec des centres de copistes, des ateliers de relieurs et de *mudhahhibīn*. Cela témoigne de la grande activité culturelle de l'époque mamelouke. Les *madāris* (écoles) ont sans doute grandement aidé au développement de ce commerce.

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La tâche la plus délicate à laquelle les copistes devaient s'astreindre était sans nul doute la collation. Cette opération, en arabe *muqābala* et *mu'āraḍa* (figs. 5, 6 et 7), consistait à vérifier, par comparaison au texte source, la conformité de la copie. Le texte source pouvait être un autographe ou déjà une copie. Al-Fīrūzābādī a copié un exemplaire de l'ouvrage d'al-Saghānī intitulé *al-Takmila wa al-dhayl wa al-sila* à Baghdād en 754/1353 d'après l'autographe de l'auteur. A la fin du manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque Köprülü sous le n° 1522 (fig. 4), il écrit :

بلغ العراض بالأصل المُصَحَّح المضبوط بخط المصنف جزاه الله تعالى بحسن جزائه وآواه اعالى جناته في ضنائن عبدائه وصَحَّحه لنفسه وأصلحه أحقر العبيد أبو طاهر الفيروزآبادي كاتب الأصل صفح الله تعالى عن شهوات جنانه وطمس على شهوات لسانه وذلك بمدينة السلام بغداد.

Voyez également le manuscrit *Sharḥ mushkil al-ṣaḥīḥayn* d'Ibn al-Jawzī conservé à *Dār al-kutub* au Caire sous le n° 493 *ḥadīth* où le copiste a écrit à la fin du manuscrit (fig. 8)

بلغ مقابلة على الأصل الذي سمع على الشيخ الإمام العالم سيد العلماء والحفاظ جمال الدين أبي الفرج عبد الرحمن بن علي بن محمد بن علي الجوزي المصنف بتاريخ السادس والعشرين من صفر سنة تسع وستين وستمائة بالحرم الشريف وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلم.

De même le volume quatre de l'ouvrage intitulé *al-Mabsūṭ* de l'Imām al-Sarakhsī copié de la main de 'Alī b. Manṣūr b. Abī Bakr à Damas en l'an 639, où il a écrit en fin du manuscrit (fig. 3):

قوبل هذا المجلد وهو الرابع من المبسوط لشمس الأئمة السرخسي رحمه الله مع الشيخ الإمام العالم زين الدين عثمان بن أبي بكر الحنفي بمدرسته الطرخانية : بنسخته التي سمعها على الشيخ الإمام العلامة سيخ الإسلام جمال الدين الخضيري. قدس الله روحه ونور ضريحه وذلك في مجالس آخرها الرابع من ذي القعدة من سنة إحدى وأربعين وستمائة وصُحِّح بحسب الإمكان قابله صاحبه الفقيه الإمام العالم قطب الدين أبو الربيع سليمان الحبشي رزقه الله تعالى فهمه والعمل بما فيه آمين، والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلامه.

[17] Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* I, pp. 374, 375, II, p. 102.

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The copyists' working pace: Some remarks towards a reflexion on the economy of the book in the Islamic world

François Déroche

> Les copistes sont en grand nombre en Perse, surtout dans les grandes villes; mais le métier leur donne à peine du pain; ils n'y gagnent d'ordinaire que 15 sols par jour, à écrire du matin jusqu'au soir. Le plus qu'on puisse écrire, quand on est très expert et qu'on travaille sans interruption, est de cinq à six cents distiques par jour ... [Le plus grand inconvénient] consiste en la multiplication des fautes, qui souvent sont telles, qu'on ne trouve point de sens à ce qu'on lit. Ces fautes arrivent par l'ignorance des copistes, et par leur inattention, à force d'aller vite, en ne prenant pas garde à leur original, et en ne relisant pas.[1]

From these remarks by Chardin who travelled to Persia during the 18th century, it appears that the speed with which the scribes were working was not without consequences on the transmission of the texts. Within the scope of this conference, I felt that this topic could be addressed, since the actual conditions of the copyists' work and more generally the whole economy of the handwritten book should not be neglected by the philologist. In some instances, they might even provide him with a clue for what he is actually seeing on the manuscript.

At the beginning of the Islamic period, scholars started discussing whether it was lawful or not to receive wages for the copying of the text of the Qur'ān:[2] professional copyists, that is persons making a living out of the copying of texts, were already at work and their work was perceived as part of the economic sphere. The speed with which they were copying became obviously part of the issue. That this question was addressed at an early date makes one hopeful that data relating to the cost of the copy, to the price of the books and so on would have been collected over a long period of time and duly commented upon by scholars. Unfortunately, things evolved differently and, as we shall see, information about the wages of the professionals who were transcribing texts are lacking, and that about the organisation of their work is very limited and scattered. Understanding how professional copyists were working will certainly take much more time and effort; I shall limit myself here to a low-key approach of the pace with which the texts were written, that is only a part of the larger question of the economy of the book. I only intend to offer a few comments on the conditions under which the copyists were working and on the sources available to estimate their working pace.

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1 Chardin 1811, 281-282.

2 Ibn Abī Da'ūd, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, 131-133.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000207

In order to answer the latter question, one has first to note that all copyists were not working under the same conditions. Among those who contributed to the enormous handwritten heritage of the Islamic world, some were earning a living by copying texts for paying customers whereas others were amateurs transcribing texts for their own use, or for a relative or a friend.[3] This does not mean that the quality of the copies made by copyists belonging to the latter group was always inferior, as far as writing is concerned for instance. Since one of the goals of classical education was precisely to achieve a certain level of proficiency in calligraphy, it is no wonder that copies made by 'amateurs' for their own use reached sometimes very high standards. But time was not a factor as important for them as it was for those who were expecting some money for their work – and Chardin's text indicates that they were in a real predicament in the 18th century. It is to this group that we shall devote our attention, as far as we can identify them: a scholar or a student who was earning a living in this way could also make copies for private use, becoming 'amateur' for a while. In later times, we know instances of this kind, but when we rely only on the colophons to decide if the manuscript was the work of a professional or not, things tend to become difficult.

Working conditions are influencing heavily the copying pace: we shall briefly recall some of the most obvious factors, beginning with a definition of the sources used. Quite often, the manuscripts we are dealing with are the result of the transcription from an original which the copyist had in front of him; this 'normal' situation becomes sometimes more 'real' when the colophon describes his model.[4] Anyhow, copying is not reproducing exactly the original: it is indeed unusual to find copies of the same work with identical features (page setting, for instance) on each single page. In the introduction to this translation of the *Fihrist*, Bayard Dodge wrote: "Arabic scholars have explained that when a medieval scribe copied a manuscript he reproduced not only the words, but also the handwriting of the author and the arrangement of the page."[5] This remark was probably an explanation of the note found on the oldest extant copy of Ibn al-Nadīm's work, ms Dublin, CBL 3315, where a note (*ḥikāya khaṭṭ al-muṣannif*) found on the title page of various chapters suggests that the copy was a facsimile. However, this situation is quite exceptional and in fact we can wonder whether the note was not meant to enhance the value of the manuscript. For the copyist, trying to reproduce the script or the layout would obviously have been an hindering factor. An opposite situation has been analysed by Michele Bernardini who suggested that copies of Hātifī's work were customized, the work being adapted to the particular wishes of the patron – in this case affluent people but

3 Cf. for instance *FiMMOD* n° 40, 55, 56, 57...
4 Şeşen 1997, 202-203, n° 24, 26, 27; see also Rosenthal 1947, 23.
5 Dodge 1970, XXVII.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000208

in no way high-ranking individuals.[6] Under such circumstances, the work would have been obviously slower.

Copyists are not only relying on written models. Dictation also played a role as shown by an anecdote about al-Farrā' (died 207/822): during public talks, he was transmitting the text of a *tafsīr* while two *warrāq* were writing down his words.[7] Colophons actually note that the text was dictated by a transmitter, as is the case in a manuscript dated 649/1251 now in Tashkent.[8] In our first example, it is evident that professional copyists, here *warrāq*, were working in this way. We also have to take into account that in a society which was giving a very important role to the memory in the educational process, some copyists knew by heart the text they were transcribing, the more so when they were copying it frequently. The case of the Qur'ān is particularly interesting in this respect. And to make things more simple, the possibility of a double source (dictation and copy from a model) should not be left aside.

Economic factors also influenced the pace of the work: time is money and affluent patrons could spend money in order to have a copyist devote the time needed for the best result. There are many anecdotes about famous calligraphers spending much time in order to copy a text – even if things may have been quite different in real life. According to D. James, between twelve and eighteen months were needed in order to complete the first seven *juz'* of the Qur'ān which Öljeytü had ordered for his mausoleum.[9] But this example is very far from the daily experience of the common copyist in the Islamic world.

One also has to take into account the possible team work, which completely altered the pace of the copying process – either working in turns, or dividing the copy between people working simultaneously. In the great majority of the cases, copying was a solitary experience: the same man or woman usually transcribed the text by him or herself from beginning to end. But instances of collective work do exist, even if it is sometimes difficult to reach a certainty when there is no colophon. When dealing with copies of the highest calligraphic level, there may be a doubt. One of the goals of the student calligrapher was to reproduce the script of his master:[10] the great Egyptian calligrapher Ibn al-Waḥīd, in the 7th/13th century, had his students copy the text, then added his name at the end; they received almost nothing from him, but he was paid huge fees by the patron.

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6 Paper on "Late Timurid literary patronage" read during the conference on *Le patronage dans la culture indo-persane*, Paris, 21-23 March 2001.

7 Pedersen 1984, 45.

8 *FiMMOD* n° 250 (IOB 3105).

9 James 1988, 95.

10 See for instance Déroche 1995, 83.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000209

As recalled by Rosemarie Quiring-Zoche[11] or Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid,[12] instances of team work are rather numerous, even in the earliest period. Two fragments in the *ḥijāzī* style, one in Sanaa,[13] the other one in Paris,[14] were respectively transcribed by three and by two persons; in both cases, the various copyists did not even bother to find a common style. Later manuscripts of an ordinary level of craftsmanship may also be the result of team work: a copy of the *Wiqāya* by Maḥbūb b. Ṣadr al-Sharī'a is particularly interesting in this respect. In 996/1587, 25 copyists started working jointly in Focha:[15] they seem to have been all 'amateurs,' but the same situation on a more limited scale may have occurred in workshops.

There is a last element which should also be investigated, since it may have been interfering with the pace of the copying process. In the BNF collection, an 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Mawlānā 'Arab Marvdashī transcribed twice the same historical text, while Mirzā 'Alī b. Muẓaffar Ja'far Kātib Khātūnābādī copied an impressive list of historical texts between 1588 and 1627.[16] Were both men copyists specialised in historical works? Were there in the Islamic world copyists who were specialists of certain texts? This of course has been the case with the Qur'ānic manuscripts, but it might have happened with other texts.

Where did our copyists work? Here again, a wide range of situations can be identified. The workshop/studio close to the royal patron is well attested in the sources and the manuscripts. Integrated commercial workshops like those of Shīrāz in the 10th/16th century are for the moment an isolated instance: "in every house of this city the wife is a copyist, the husband a miniaturist, the daughter an illuminator and the son a binder; thus any kind of book can be produced within one family."[17] But the trades involved in the process suggest that the Shīrāzī workshops were producing only higher quality manuscripts; were the texts accurately transcribed or were the conditions so poor that the books were full of errors, like those in Chardin's time?

Copyists were usually working alone, in a variety of places.[18] For many professional copyists, home or possibly a small shop was the working place. Quite a few colophons witness this situation: for instance, a section of the *Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ* was completed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ... al-Wadī-Ashī in his house, close to

11 Quiring-Zoche 2003.
12 See his paper in this volume.
13 DAM Inv. 01-25-1 (*Maṣāḥif Ṣan'ā'* 1985, 60).
14 BNF Arabe 328a (Déroche 1983, 59-60, n° 2; see the facsimile Déroche & Noja Noseda 1998).
15 Ms Sarajevo, HBB 142, 155-159 (Dobraca 1972).
16 I owe this example to F. Richard – to whom I express my thanks. It is illustrated, *inter alia*, by the mss Paris BNF Suppl. persan 225 and 164.
17 Akimushkin & Ivanov 1979, 50.
18 See a short survey in Déroche *et al.* 2000, 204-209.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000210

the Great Mosque in Almeria, in 723/1323.[19] Texts also document situations of this kind: Yāqūt tells of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī who was spending his time meditating and transcribing texts in his poor dwelling.[20]

A first answer to our question about the copyists' pace can be gleaned in the texts. According to biographical sources, Ibn al-Jawzī is said to have covered daily four quires with his writing, some sources even stating that it was actually nine quires;[21] but the man being also an author, it is difficult to distinguish between his work as a copyist and that of original literary composition. Not unfrequently, the treatises on calligraphy record the number of Qur'āns and/or of other texts which were transcribed by such and such calligrapher during his life. al-Zabīdī's *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* which was written towards the middle of the 12th/18th century took over a fair amount of information from an Ottoman model as yet unidentified.[22] Some of the entries include the number of Qur'āns written by a calligrapher, but always remain vague about other texts (either Qur'ānic extracts or devotional works); the only exception in the latter case being Şeyh Hamdullah who is said to have copied thousand books of this kind.[23] Are the figures reliable? A closer look shows that the same Şeyh Hamdullah transcribed 44 Qur'āns, but Derviş Ali, nicknamed 'the second Şeyh' wrote significantly enough twice as much, that is 88![24] A few lines later we even hear that this 88th Qur'ān was in fact completed by a student of Derviş Ali, Ismail Efendi Halife, who was himself responsible for 44 copies of the text.[25] A Ramazan b. Ismail is even said to have produced 360 Qur'āns![26] From the generation after Şeyh Hamdullah, Muhyi al-Din Celal-zade transcribed 97 times the Qur'ān, Hüsam al-Din Halife 89 and Recep Halife 93.[27]

When we turn to the period closer to the author's time, we find that Ahmad Ef. Kazancizade only wrote 19 Qur'āns and Ahmad Ef. Şeyhzade 17.[28] al-Zabīdī's almost contemporary Ḥusayn Ef. al-Jazā'irī wrote a Qur'ān in 30 *juz'* and 2 one-volume Qur'āns;[29] he even started writing the third when he died, so that it was left to his pupil, Ḥasan al-Ḍiyā'ī to complete it.[30] From this short sample, we can conclude first that figures were obviously important to people interested in calligraphy; they conveyed information which helped estimating a calligrapher's

19 *The Qur'an* 1999, 40, n° 20.
20 *Kitāb al-irshād*, 39.
21 Hartmann 1989, 25; Ibn Khallikān, 141.
22 al-Zabīdī, 62-98.
23 al-Zabīdī, 89.
24 al-Zabīdī, 92.
25 al-Zabīdī, 93.
26 al-Zabīdī, 92.
27 al-Zabīdī, 89 and 90.
28 al-Zabīdī, 93 and 94.
29 al-Zabīdī, 94.
30 al-Zabīdī, 94.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000211

status. They were then to some extent symbolic as indicated by some of the figures. They were however not completely alien to the actual production of a copyist – except in the case of Ramazan b. Ismail; the information from the colophons of Ottoman Qur'āns give almost the same results – the symbolic left aside.

But all these texts record preferably the exceptional, they pay more attention to the records – speed as well as slowness. Anecdotes relying on this kind of feats are more likely to be found than what is close to the usual. At the beginning of the 13th/19th century, a professional, Fāzil *dīvāna* ('the mad'), is said to have transcribed in 40 days a manuscript of a text by Bidîl which had been ordered by the emir of Bukharā; in the same time, but during the night, he made an abridged copy of the same work for his own use.[31] According to a catalogue describing a copy of the latter, it contained the *Nikāt, dīwān* and *qaṣā'id*, which even abridged were certainly still a fair amount of verse. Another man, who was *muftī* and *mudarris*, was able to copy in one night the *Mukhtaṣar* of the *Wiqāya*.[32]

Chardin's text is another source of information about the copyists' pace: travellers in the East saw these men at work, and when they were themselves trying to buy manuscripts they were sometimes interested in the way in which the copyists were actually working. From Chardin's report, we hear that a daily output of 500 to 600 *bayt* was the most which could be achieved; O. Akimushkin, A. Khalidov and E. Rezvan consider that 160 to 210 was the normal amount of verse copied in a day, adding that it was even less if the copy was carefully written.[33] The *vaqfiyya* of Ragıb Pasa reminds us that other sources of income (in this case teaching) were available and took time off from the transcription of texts.[34]

Archive documents provide important information about the work in the palace workshops; they concern a limited part of the production, usually outstanding manuscripts which are of little help when it comes to evaluating the average copyist's pace. The arrangements set out in Rashīd al-Dīn's *vaqfiyya* are nevertheless interesting as they give an idea of what a powerful and wealthy patron could ask for:[35] every year, it was expected that two carefully executed copies – one in Arabic, one in Persian – of each of the six treatises which the Ilkhanid vizier had written should be produced; some of the works extending over a few volumes. The *vaqfiyya* includes very carefully defined specifications on the copying process, but the task of recruiting the copyists was apparently left to the supervisor of the foundation. Their number was not stated in the document; Sheila Blair notes that they were not enjoying a high status.[36] The whole process

31 Vahidov & Erkinov 1999, 147.
32 *Ibid.*
33 *De Bagdad à Ispahan* 1994, 49.
34 See N. Kaya's paper in this volume.
35 Afshar & Minovi 1356/1978 (eds); trans. in Blair 1995, 114-115.
36 Blair (in press).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000212

seems however to have taken more time than foreseen and Rashīd al-Dīn had to put pressure on his staff. One wonders if the copyist of the *Majmū'a* now in the BNF, who styled himself "the speedy writer from Baghdad" (*zūd-navīs al-Baghdādī*) was hired on account of his ability to write fast.[37]

Other documents contain relevant information about our subject. It is the case of the catalogue written by the end of the 13th/19th century and beginning of the 14th/20th in Central Asia by the bibliophile Ṣadr-i Dhiyā.'[38] He often included in this register information about the number of works which the copyists he knew and hired now and then had transcribed. A Dāmullā Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥmān A'lām Mullā copied 1000 works on various topics, Ṣiddīq-Jān 500, Dāmullā Raḥīm-Jān 200, 'Ināyatallāh more than 150 and his brother Mīrzā Ḥikmatallāh Maḥmūd over 370.[39] Unfortunately, these figures cover works of various sizes, so that they cannot help us in evaluating the production rate of these men.

Let's now turn to the manuscripts themselves. The colophons are an important if yet underused source of information. These short texts provide us with data ranging from the more general indications to an accurate evaluation of the pace with which a precise manuscript has been written. As 'general information,' I would mention here the Ottoman Qur'āns since the calligraphers often state that the copy they just completed was number X in their production. Here are a few instances. The manuscript Leiden, University Library Or. 12454 was copied in Iran or Anatolia by Ibn Muḥammad Ḥusayn Muḥammad Ṣādiq in 1083/1672-3: it was the copyist's 69th Qur'ān.[40] Hafiz Salih Çemsir finished his 125th Qur'ān in 1213/1798-9.[41] As for Kayiszade Hafiz Osman Efendi, he completed his 60th Qur'ān in 1290/1873;[42] according to Uğur Derman, he copied another 46 Qur'āns during the 21 years he was to live after this date, which means that he needed 5 or 6 months to transcribe a Qur'ān. If we take what I called the standard Ottoman Qur'ān (=*ayet ber-kenar* system) as the basis for an estimate, it means that the last mentioned calligrapher wrote daily from 3 to 4 pages of 15 lines. In order to make comparisons easier, this can be converted into letters per day: according to one of our sources, the Qur'ān contains 321.250 letters, which means that a page of our standard Ottoman Qur'ān contains roughly 535 letters. Three pages are then the equivalent of 1605 letters, four to 2140. This kind of information is valuable, but relies too heavily on estimates. Was the calligrapher devoting part of his time to other works? In the afore mentioned instances, the copyists seem to have been working at least continuously, even if they did not spend all the day on the transcription of texts. We also have to consider the

37 Paris, BNF Arabe 2324.
38 Vahidov & Erkinov 1999.
39 Vahidov & Erkinov 1999, 147.
40 Witkam 1993, 62.
41 *L'empire des sultans* 1995, 70.
42 *Calligraphies ottomanes* 2000, 130.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000213

possibility of interruptions for various reasons: five years were necessary to copy the Il-khanid Mosul Qur'ān, but the *juz'* of the first half of the text were completed in 706/1306-07, those of the second half bearing dates from various months of 710/1310-11.[43]

We can even get a little closer to the actual conditions of the copyists' work with other colophons which indicate not only the day on which the copy was completed, but also the day when it was begun – or the number of days devoted to the transcription. It is then no longer a question of estimates, we can compute the pace at which the work has been progressing. The copyist of BNF Persian 266 thus says that he spent 15 days transcribing the 273 folios of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnavī*;[44] with almost 450 lines per day, he is closer to what Chardin reported than what Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan's estimate. In the colophon of a Qur'ān completed in Dhū al-Qa'da 912/March 1507, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāliḥī al-Dimashqī states that three months and twenty days were necessary for the copying and illumination of the manuscript, which means that he wrote the equivalent of almost 82 lines of standard Ottoman Qur'ān per day at least (the time devoted to the illumination has to be taken into account), or 2915 letters.[45] This figure is slightly higher than Kayiszade Hafız Osman Efendi's output, and closer to the estimates by Akimushkin and his colleagues. There still remains a doubt about both copyists' status: the colophon contains nothing which could allow us to conclude that they were indeed professional; and we had to rely on a highly subjective estimate of their work in terms of legibility and regularity to decide about it.

Still more interesting for our purpose are the manuscripts with intermediary colophons: in the case of works divided into broad textual units (books, sections and so on), the copyists sometimes indicated the date of completion of each unit. This is for instance the case of the manuscript BNF Arabe 3280 with six colophons dated between the last Wednesday of Rajab 616/9 October 1219 and the last Friday of Shawwāl in the same year/3 January 1220.[46] We can therefore follow the progress of the work for the last five sections – the copyist does not indicate when he started working. His pace is somewhat irregular, varying from 1,32 pages to 2,9 pages (that is almost 3 pages) per day, the average running at 1,95 pages (almost 2 pages), that is 41 lines of text (which are roughly equivalent to 2870 letters, the lines in bigger letter size being excluded of this calculation). This figure is lower than the lower speed indicated by Akimushkin, Khalidov and Rezvan, but the two best results by our man (namely for section 3 already mentioned and section 5 with 2,7 pages per day) are well within their estimates. On the other hand, this average speed is very close to 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dimashqī's

43 James 1988, 101.
44 Richard 1989, 277.
45 *Rares manuscrits* 1999, lot I.
46 See *FiMMOD* n° 142.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000214

pace. Why these variations? Obviously, many parameters are lacking: illness, feasts... Moreover, the copyist of Arabe 3280 was working for himself.

The Qur'ānic manuscripts are obviously a field for further research, even if one could object that they are too specific and would distort the picture of book production in the Islamic world. There is a number of Qur'āns in multi-volume sets, of which the *juz'* are certainly giving the most detailed view of a copyist's work. In the BNF collection, one can find the *juz'* 23 to 29 of an Egyptian Qur'ān from the 12th/18th century.[47] The size of the text in each volume is almost equivalent, which greatly helps estimating the copyist's speed. Our man was working rather regularly: he needed nine days to complete *juz'* 24, eight days for *juz'* 25 to 27, seven days for *juz'* 28 but twelve days for *juz'* 29. On the other hand, his pace is rather slow: if we consider that he has been working every day, his output does not exceed two folios of nine lines, which seems quite low. The completion of the whole Qur'ānic text can be tentatively estimated on the basis of a *juz'* in eight days; 240 days were therefore necessary and the rubricated frames for the text were certainly not delaying the progress of the copy. Anyhow, he was slower than this 'Abdallāh mentioned earlier who transcribed the same text in less than 4 months, than Kayiszade Hafiz Osman Ef. who needed 5 to 6 months; if we convert this amount into letters per day, he wrote only 1340 letters against the former's 2915 and between 1605 and 2140 for the latter. And our copyist cannot even claim that the high quality of his script explains his slowness. Others are certainly working even at a slower pace, like the calligrapher in charge of the huge Qur'ān which Öljeytü ordered for his mausoleum: as indicated previously, the first 7 *juz'* were completed in at least 12 months – but the script is really of outstanding level.[48]

It is of course impossible to reduce the copying of manuscripts to figures. Many factors should obviously be taken into account when trying to evaluate this process; some of them are closely connected with the individual's history and will therefore definitively remain outside of our reach. Others are known, but difficult to assess: this is for instance the case of calligraphy which might have been slowing down the copyists' pace in a variable proportion. The actual conditions under which the manuscripts were transcribed need to be better investigated in order to get a better understanding first of the transmission of the texts, then more broadly of the economy of the book in the Islamic world which was aptly described by Muhammad Arkoun as a "société du livre." But this goal can only be reached if more attention is paid to these "minute details" of the manuscripts which are so relevant for the historian of the book.

The Arabic script allowed copyists to write faster than their colleagues from other Middle Eastern manuscript traditions: such was the opinion of al-Kindī,

47 Ms Arabe 534-536, 538-540 (see Déroche 1985, 80-81).
48 James 1988, 95.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000215

quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm in the IVth/Xth century: "[The Arabic writing] makes possible greater speed than can be attained in other forms of writing."[49] Did it make our copyists' lot happier? Chardin's remarks suggest that they only tried to write faster.

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[49] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 10; ed. Tajaddud, 13; (trans.) Dodge 1970, 19.

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Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts

Adam Gacek

It goes without saying that no modern critical edition of a text can ever be published without thorough knowledge not only of the subject matter of the work in question but also a good understanding of the codicological and palaeographical phenomena encountered in Arabic manuscripts. This knowledge should include familiarity with the way manuscripts were transmitted, and the types of errors committed, as well as correction methods used by scribes and scholars. Furthermore, a good grasp of the various abbreviations used in the text and marginalia is fundamental to the correct understanding of the transmitted text. Unfortunately, there exists as yet no systematic study of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts, while the information on this subject is scanty and dispersed throughout various works dating from the manuscript age to the contemporary era. What follows therefore is a preliminary survey of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts. Before entering, however, into this short analysis it is necessary to recall three important points.

1. Arabic literature, especially the literature on *ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* and *adab al-ʿālim wa-al-mutaʿallim* provides us with a very interesting picture of how to copy and correct manuscripts. Some of this literature was exposed and surveyed by F. Rosenthal and myself.[1] One important element that emerges from the gathered data is that the collation of the text and the construction of a critical apparatus was deemed essential for the soundness of the transmitted text.[2] The other thing is that medieval scholars could not always agree on the meaning of some of the abbreviations used in manuscripts. For example: the letter ح used to separate one *isnād* from another was thought by some to have stood for *ḥāʾil* or *ḥaylūlah* ('separation') and by others for *ḥadīth* and even صح.[3] Some scholars even thought that the letter ح should be pointed خ (*khā'*

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1 Rosenthal 1947, *Technique and approach*, and Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices." Apart from the sources mentioned in this article see also Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bāʿith al-ḥathīth*, 132-139; al-Jaʿbarī, *Rusūm al-taḥdīth*, 66-73; al-Ṭībī, *al-Khulāṣah*, 147-152; al-ʿĀmilī al-Ḥārithī, *Wuṣūl al-akhyār*, 193-201; al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Riʿāyah*, 323-327; as well as the *Alfiyah* by al-ʿIrāqī and its commentaries, namely a commentary by al-ʿIrāqī himself, entitled *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 230-269; al-Azharī, *Fatḥ al-bāqī*, 370-426; al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ Alfiyat al-ʿIrāqī*, 199-223, and al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 3; 30-158.

2 The soundness or correctness of the text is expressed in Arabic by the word *ṣiḥḥah*, as opposed to *saqam* or *maraḍ*, faultiness; thus *nuskhah ṣaḥīḥah* (codex sanus) and *nuskhah saqīmah* (codex vitiosus).

3 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 56. al-Jaʿbarī, *Rusūm al-taḥdīth*, 69. The صح can either be understood as the verb *ṣaḥḥa* ('it is sound, correct') or an abbreviation of *ṣaḥīḥ* (Gacek

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mu'jamah) to stand for *isnād ākhar* ('another *isnād*').[4] The contemporary scholar may face a similar dilemma.

2. Abbreviations in manuscripts are often unpointed and appear sometimes in the form of logographs. Here the context, whether textual or geographical, is of great importance. Thus, for example, what appears to be the letter ط may in fact be a ظ and what appears to be an *'ayn* or *ghayn*, in its initial (ع) or isolated form (ﻉ), may actually be an unpointed *nūn* and *khā'* (for *nuskhah ukhrá*, i.e., 'another copy'). Similarly, the same word or abbreviation can have two different functions and/or meanings. For example, the words *ḥāshiyah* and *fā'idah* can stand for a gloss or a side-head ('*nota bene*'), while the ص or ﺻ can be an abbreviation of *ṣaḥḥ* (when used for an omission/insertion or evident correction) or *aṣl* ('the body of the text'), or it can stand for *ḍabbah* ('door-bolt') – a mark indicating an uncertain reading, and, having, for all intents and purposes, the function of a question mark or *sic*. Also, the abbreviation ن may stand for *bayān* ('explanation') or *nuskhah ukhrá*, the latter often found in manuscripts of Persian/Indian provenance.
3. Apart from the advocated methods of corrections we find a number of systems of abbreviation, which were introduced by individual scholars or came into use in different scholarly circles, periods of time and/or geographical regions. For example, Maghribi scribes and scholars developed a number of features unique to manuscripts of that region. We notice a similar situation in manuscripts produced in central Arab lands in the Ottoman period (10/16th century onwards), as well as in manuscripts produced in the Shi'ite (i.e. Imami and Zaydi) milieu. Observing the methods employed for the correction of manuscripts can thus be very helpful in determining their provenance.

Collation of the text (mu'āraḍah, muqābalah)

The critical apparatus in manuscripts is a direct result of the collation of the text. This was done either directly against the exemplar or against both the exemplar and one or two other copies (or more) in the presence of the author/teacher or without it. Some manuscripts, especially from the medieval period, exhibit many characteristics of primitive editions. Depending on the mode of collation Arabic manuscripts may contain a variety of marks and statements. Apart from the words *'ūriḍa* (abbrev. ع) and *qūbila* ('it was collated') we find in this context a large number of expressions and statements, many of which begin with the word *balagha* ('he/she reached here') or *buligha* ('this point was reached') or *anhāhu/hā*

2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 82; Sellheim 1976, *Materialien*, 1: 21, 174, 225 and 2: 73). For the sake of uniformity I have used it as *ṣaḥḥ* throughout.

4 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bā'ith al-ḥathīth*, 139.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000222

('he finished it').[5] The mode of collation may be expressed by such words as *samāʿan (ismāʿan)* ('by audition'), *ʿarḍan* (*ʿirāḍan, muʿāraḍatan*) ('by presentation through public recitation'), *qirāʾatan* ('by reading, recitation'), *taṣḥīḥan* ('by correction, emendation'), *ḍabṭan* ('by pointing and/or vocalization'), *tanqīḥan* ('by reading over and correcting'), *taḥqīqan* ('by verification, determination'), *itqānan* ('by perfecting; emendation'), *fahman* ('by correct understanding'), *istishrāḥan* ('by asking for elucidation'), *darsan* ('by reading, study'), *taḥrīran* ('by making a text accurate'), *ḥadīthan* ('by narration'), *baḥthan* (*mubāḥathatan*) ('by examination, study'), *taʿmīran* ('by restoration, repair'), *qiṣāṣatan* ('by recitation'), *muṭālaʿatan* ('by perusal'), and the like.[6]

Corrections were either made in the body of the text (*matn, aṣl, umm*), if the interline was wide enough, or in the margins or both. When a copy was collated with the exemplar, the scribe tried to locate the involuntary mistakes he committed. He could also indicate any difficult words or unusual words and lacunae in the text copied from. He might also use other manuscripts to emend his text. This would result in a primitive apparatus criticus, and if the variants recorded in this kind of apparatus were incorporated in a copy made from this exemplar, it would inevitably yield a contaminated tradition.

Scribal corruptions in all traditions can be either involuntary (unwitting) or intentional (deliberate). Most, but not all, scribal corruptions are involuntary. The involuntary mistakes are caused by a number of factors, not the least being a loss of concentration resulting in misreading or mishearing or even a lack of familiarity with a given script or the hand of the exemplar from which a copy is made. Generally speaking, the best manuscripts are those copied by scholars who are familiar not only with a given field or subject but also with various scribal hands and scripts. A lack of familiarity with the subject of the work and the script (especially when a Maghribi manuscript is copied by a scribe who is not familiar with it) is often a cause of major errors and unjustified emendations.[7]

Intentional (deliberate) variations introduced by copyists occur when copyists 'correct' the text from which they are working (exemplar), thinking that it contains an error, or else introduce a variant reading, which in their opinion is more correct. These variants can be 'linguistic,' where the copyist replaces one word with another or modernizes Middle Arabic features, or 'doctrinal' where he changes the text to adapt it to the mentality of the reader.[8]

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5 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 56; Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 14, 98, 112, 146.

6 Gacek 1985, *Catalogue*, xii; Ḥusaynī 1395/1975, *Fihrist*, 1: no. 221, 12: no. 4557.

7 Witkam 1988, "Establishing the stemma," 90-92.

8 See e.g. Mahdi 1995, "From the manuscript age," 10-11.

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Abbreviations, logographs and other marks

Abbreviations (*'alamāt, rumūz, muṣṭalaḥāt, iṣṭilāḥāt, mukhtaṣarāt)* in Arabic manuscripts fall into four main categories: contractions, suspensions, *sigla*, and abbreviation symbols (logographs). All four types can be found in the body of the text and marginalia. Perhaps the most interesting is the case of suspensions which look like, or were considered by some, as numerals. It has been suggested by some scholars that the figure ١٢ stands for the numerical value of *ḥadd* ('end,' 'terminus') or represents a quotation from a work by a Shi'ite Imami author.[9] However, because this is not the only combination of 'figures' encountered at the end of glosses, as well as the fact that they are often provided with a tilde-like mark (sign of abbreviation), the most likely origin of such 'numerals' as ٢, ٢٢, ٢٢٢,١٢, ٤ (٤),١٤ is the Persian expression *tamām shud*, a synonym of ٥ (or ٥ or ٥) which stands for *intahá* ('it is finished'). In other words, they represent unpointed and suspended forms of this phrase.[10] Another case involves the 'numeral' ٣, which may (if it is not a reference mark) actually represent an unpointed and suspended form of the letter ش , an abbreviation of *sharḥ* ('comment').[11]

The circular device (*dārah, dā'irah*), although often just a paragraph mark (divider), and therefore a synonym of *intahá*, should also be carefully considered. Arabic texts on the written transmission of *ḥadīth* mention the use of the circle as a collation mark. It appears that sometime in the 5/11th century the circle used to separate individual *ḥadīth*s assumed the function of a collation mark. Arabic sources associate this phenomenon with al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) who regarded the existence of the circle in the text as a proof of its having been collated and therefore approved for transmission (*al-dārah al-ijāzah* - 'the circle is the licence') and who advocated leaving the circle empty so that when the *ḥadīth* was collated the second time (or subsequent times) a dot (or dots) or another mark (such as a short vertical line) could be placed inside it.[12] This recommendation is repeated in many books on the transmission of *ḥadīth*. Ḥusayn al-'Āmilī al-Ḥārithī (d. 984/1576), for example, states that each time a collation is made and a dot is placed in the circle this results in greater confidence in the copy.[13] A good illustration of the use of the circle and dots as collation marks may be a 6/12th century copy of *al-Wajīz* by al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111). Here, at the end of a chapter we find three or possibly four marks consisting of a closed dotted circle, a superscript open dotted circle, three dots, a circle with an inner vertical line and a subscript dot (Fig. 7h).

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9 Al-Māmaqānī 1992, *Mu'jam*, 199 and Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 30.
10 Gacek 1985, *Catalogue*, xiii.
11 This word is also quite often seen in the form of a logograph (Gacek 1985, *Catalogue*, 68).
12 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 55.
13 al-'Amilī al-Ḥārithī, *Wuṣūl al-akhyār*, 195.

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Logographs are a category of symbols (graphs) representing words. Probably the best example of a logograph is a horizontal stroke (sometimes hooked at the end), which represents the word *sanah* ('year'). Other examples, in the context of marginalia, include such words and expressions as *sharḥ*, *faqaṭ* ('only,' 'that is all'), and *raḥimahu Allāh* ('may God have mercy on him'). Here of special interest are tilde-like marks used over abbreviations, especially at the end of glosses. It is very likely that these marks are either overlinings or originated from the overlinings used in the text for drawing attention to a word or a group of words. Apart from a horizontal stroke, we encounter two distinct types of overlinings: Figure 1 and Figure 2 (see below). The origin of the first one is most likely the word قف (*qif* - 'stop here'), or the abbreviation قـ (for *fa-ta'ammalhu/hā* – 'reflect on it').[14] The second type may have originated either from يه (possibly for *tanbīh* - '*nota bene*') or ته (for *ta'ammalhu*).[15]

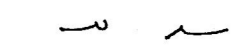

Figure 1 *Figure 2*

Reference marks or correction signs (Fr. '*signes de renvoi*,' '*appels*') are known as *khaṭṭ al-takhrīj*, *'alāmat al-takhrīj*, *takhrījah* (*kharjah*) and *'atfah*.[16] They are placed in the body of the text over the word to be corrected or glossed or in the case of omissions between words. The latter practice is almost always respected. In some manuscripts the reference mark in the text can be repeated next to the word in the margin (see ISL, MS 95-).[17] In medieval manuscripts the most often used mark is a curved line ⌠ or ⌡ or ¬ or ⌐ (*'atfah*) (see e.g. Figs. 1a, 1b, 1d, 5e). It was used predominantly, but not exclusively, for omissions. Omissions were also indicated by a continuous or a dotted line linking the place of omission with the omitted word (insertion) inscribed in the margin. The inverted *caret* (Lat. 'it needs,' 'is lacking'), i.e., a mark in the shape of ∨ (sometimes with its extended arm pointing to the margin in which the omission is placed), is another sign used mostly for omissions, but also for corrections, variants and glosses (Figs. 1g, 3g, 4h, 5g).[18] Sometimes it is seen with a dot in the middle (Gacek 1991, fig. 54; Gacek 1985, xiii). The numeral ٢ (*bā' Hindīyah*) is used for omissions, corrections

14 Gacek 2001, *Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, 153.

15 The abbreviation ته is mentioned by al-Māmaqānī 1992, *Mu'jam*, 109. Both words (*qif* and *ta'ammalhu*) have their equivalents in the *manicula* (a small hand closed in a fist with one finger pointing in the direction of a word or passage in the text) used in Western manuscripts.

16 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 58. For the last two terms see al-'Amilī al-Ḥārithī, *Wuṣūl al-akhyār*, 197.

17 ISL before MS refers to Islamic Studies Library, McGill University.

18 This appears to be an inverted Greek *lambda* (Muzerelle 1985, *Vocabulaire*, 126). There is an interesting parallel between the use of this mark (also known as caron or haček) as a sign of omission and undotted letters (*ḥurūf muhmalah*).

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and variants (Figs. 4b, 4g, 6b, 6d, 6h). The deliberate use of ٢ for a variant (*nuskhah ukhrâ*) is a natural choice. The other signs include a cross (+), × or ┼ (Fig. 1e), a horizontal or slightly slanted line, a horizontal line with a small loop or circle at its one end (°¯ or ¯°)(Fig. 5f), or even abbreviations used for a particular correction, e.g. ن or خ (both for *nuskhah*) (Gacek 1991, no. 123).

Glosses are often introduced either by numerals (١, ٢, ٣, etc.) (Gacek 1991, no. 2; Gacek, 1984, 10), often supported by a stroke or line, or letters of the alphabet (e.g. عط , عصـ , هصـ , ع , عه , see Gacek 1991, nos. 3/2, 62, 104/4, 138). The abbreviation ع or عه is usually understood as *'alāmat al-raj' ilá al-hāmish* ('mark pointing to the margin').[19] The ره (jointed together), which is used as a support for a numeral, is most probably an abbreviation of either *rāji'hu* ('look it up') or *numrah* ('number').[20]

Typology of scribal errors

In the Arabic context we encounter the following types of scribal errors:

i. Omissions. They are the most common errors in Arabic manuscripts. Here mention should be made of haplography, which is the error of writing a sequence of letters (or a word) once, when they should have been written twice. A similar omission known as *saut du même au même* occurs when a word or group of words is repeated at a short distance (proximity) from each other. The scribe then copies what follows the first occurrence after the second occurrence.[21] Omissions also take place when two words in close proximity have the same ending or beginning. These mistakes are technically called homoioteleuton (homoeoteleuton) and homoioarcton (homoeoarcton) or homeoarchy, respectively.

ii. Cacography (or cacographical errors). These errors occur when the word is written illegibly, or smudged due to too much ink at the tip of the calamus.

iii. *Taṣḥīf*. Errors resulting from erroneous letter-pointing.

iv. Metathesis or transpositions. These errors fall into two categories: *taḥrīf* and *al-taqdīm wa-al-ta'khīr*. The *taḥrīf* is an error resulting from transposition of letters because of their close similarity or similar shape or spelling or bad vocalization.[22] The *taqdīm wa-al-ta'khīr*, also known as *al-qalb al-makānī*, is a transposition of words in a sentence.

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19 Gacek 2001, Arabic manuscript tradition, 53.

20 Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 144. This is not be confused with the same logograph which in manuscripts of Persian/Indian provenance also means *raḥimahu Allāh*.

21 Déroche 2000, *Manuel*, 214.

22 Both the *taṣḥīf* and *taḥrīf* were well-known to the Arab scholars in the manuscript age and Arabic literature includes a number of compositions on this subject. F. Rosenthal, however, argues that there was no difference between these two terms (see Rosenthal 2000, "Taṣḥiḥ," 347).

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000226

v. Additions (*ziyādāt*). These can be of two kinds: a repetition of a few letters or a word or a group of words (known as dittography or double writing) or interpolation, that is an introduction of an extraneous element from elsewhere (e.g. variant tradition or version) or a more substantial segment of the text in the form of explanatory or illustrative matter (e.g. interlinear or marginal gloss). The extraneous elements can derive from deliberate activity of the scribe who tried to emend the word or passage, which he thought difficult or corrupt.
vi. Substitutions. Errors resulting from alteration of words by their substitution on the basis of conjecture or from a different tradition (especially when collating the text on the basis of a number of manuscripts). This action may result in the contamination of the text and prevent the establishment of a genealogical tree.

Corrections of involuntary mistakes

In order to remedy the errors committed in the process of transcription the scribe had recourse to a number of techniques, which sometimes differed from region to region and period to period.

a) Omissions

In Arabic technical literature an omission is traditionally referred to as *saqṭah* (*sāqiṭ*), *naqṣ* (*nuqṣān*, *nāqiṣ*), *takhrīj* and *laḥaq* (*ilḥāq*). This type of error was very common in manuscripts. Omissions are either placed in between lines (if the space allows) or in the margin. In some old manuscripts we find full expressions which indicate an omission. For example, *saqaṭa* or *saqaṭa minhu* or *saqaṭa min samāʿinā* ('it was omitted from our audition'). There is a great variety of practices which we encounter in this connection. The omitted word(s) (to be inserted in the body of the text) are usually clearly marked by writing at the end or above the omission the word *ṣaḥḥ* or its abbreviation صـ (often in its suspended form) (Gacek 1984, 123; Gacek 1985, 122; Figs. 1b, 1d, 1e, 1g). Sometimes the *ṣaḥḥ* is written twice or three times. Among other practices we find: *ṣaḥḥ* and the next word in the text;[23] *ṣaḥḥ* and the next word(s) in the text (deleted) (Fig. 1a); the next word in the text plus *ilkh* (= *ilá ākhirih*); the next word in the text plus *aṣl* (or *umm* or *matn*); *ṣaḥḥ ruji'a* (or *raja'a*[24]); *ruji'a* on its own; *intahá al-laḥaq*; *ṣaḥḥ* and *aṣl* (or *aṣlan*, see Gacek 1985, no. 143); *aṣl* and *ṣaḥḥ* superscript (often in Maghribi manuscripts); *aṣl* or *matn* superscript with *ṣaḥḥ* at the end of omission (Fig. 1b); and *ṣaḥḥ* plus *matn*. An interesting example of marking omissions and evident

23 Gacek 1989a, "Arabic calligraphy," 50.
24 Al-Ja'barī, *Rusūm al-taḥdīth*, 70.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000227

errors is found in ISL, MS172, where omissions and other corrections found in the model copied from are marked with the word *aṣl* and those omissions made in the surviving copy are marked with the *ṣaḥḥ*.

b) Cancellations, deletions (ḍarb)[25]

One of the ways to delete a word or a group of words was to draw a continuous or interrupted line (often consisting of dots)[26] or a line with slightly curved ends (like an inverted ب), above the main letter shapes. Other methods included the use of round brackets (*taḥwīq*) or drawing a circle (*ṣifr, dā'irah*) at the beginning and the end of the words or a line around the phrase to be cancelled, as well as writing the number of words to be deleted in the alpha-numerical system (*abjad*) in the margin.[27] In addition to the above we find the use of a number of expressions or symbols above the line (at its beginning and end) *lā ... ilá, lā min... ilá, min ...ilá* (Fig. 7e), *mukarrar min ...ilá, mukarrar ...sahw sahw sahw* ('repeated ... [by] negligence')[28], *zā'id* (or *zāy) ... ilá* ('additional ... put to this point') (Fig. 7f).[29] Cancellation by mistake was traditionally indicated by writing the word *ṣaḥḥ* (sometimes written several times) above the cancellation line.

c) Cacographic errors (cacography)

Here we find a number of possibilities such as the spelling out of the affected word in the margin by writing it out in isolated letter forms, repeating the word in the margin and writing under each letter of the word its miniature forms or writing the words *bayān* or *bayānuhu* (or their abbreviations: ن or ب) (Figs. 7a-d) above the restored word in the margin.[30] In Shi'ite Imami manuscripts these errors are often corrected by using the word *badal* ('substitution') or its abbreviation ل (see below).[31]

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25 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 58-59.

26 The practice of using dots as a means of deletion has a parallel in Western manuscripts. Known as subpunction, in that context the dots are placed under the word to be deleted and not over it.

27 Al-Mashūkhī 1994, *Anmāṭ*, 278, 279; see also al-'Amilī al-Ḥārithī, *Wuṣūl al-akhyār*, 198, and al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 3:81.

28 Al-Mashūkhī 1994, *Anmāṭ*, 283, 284. This type of cancellation has a parallel in the Western practice in what is known as vacation, i.e. the writing of the verb *vacat* either above a word or a string of words in the text or in the margin.

29 Al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol.102; al-Māmaqānī 1992, *Mu'jam*, 32, 33.

30 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 58. Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 16.

31 Al-Mashūkhī (*Anmāṭ*, 71) links the abbreviation *bā'* with *badal*, which appears to be unlikely.

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d) Metathesis (word transposition)

Transposed words may be indicated by writing above them in full *yu'akhkhar min ..... ilá* or *yuqaddam min .... ilá*.[32] Other practices include the use of abbreviations placed above the relevant words. For example, خ = *mu'akhkhar*; ق = *muqaddam* or *qabla*; ق خ = *mu'akhkhar muqaddam*; م ق = *mu'akhkhar muqaddam* (Fig. 7g); م = *muqaddam*; مم = *muqaddam mu'akhkhar*; م خ = *mu'akhkhar muqaddam*; ب = *ba'da*.[33]

Deliberate emendations and annotations

a) Lacunae in the text

When copying from a faulty exemplar the scribe would normally draw the reader's attention to the blank spaces or gaps in the text. Larger missing portions of the text are usually indicated by the word *bayāḍ* or *hunā bayāḍ*.[34] If the gap is there by mistake and nothing is missing the usual expression is *(al)-bayāḍ ṣaḥīḥ* (*hic nihil defectus est*) or *ṣaḥīḥ al-bayāḍ* or *hādhā al-bayāḍ sahw* ('this lacuna is by mistake'). Blanks often involve unfilled rubrics. This is for example the case of ISL, MS 226 (Gacek 2002) where we find such expressions as *bayāḍ* and *taraka hunā bayāḍ 'ishrūn kalimatan*. The last phrase estimates the size of the gap (20 words). Sometimes the abbreviation ض is used for *bayāḍ*.[35]

b) Sic/thus (ṣaḥḥ, kadhā, ḍabbah)

In order to show that a given word was copied faithfully, the scribe had at his disposal several devices. One of these methods, known technically as *taṣḥīḥ*, involved the word *ṣaḥḥ* being inscribed above the relevant word in the text to mean 'thus' or 'sic' (Figs. 2d-f, h-i).[36] The marking of the word with *ṣaḥḥ* in the text usually indicates that the reading of the word (as far as transcription is concerned) is correct even though there may be some doubt about it. Another, similar method was to use the word *kadhā* (or *hākadhā*) ('thus,' '*sic*'), known as *takdhīyah* (abbrev. ؎, Fig. 3e). The *takdhīyah* can be inscribed in the text (Fig. 3h) or, as often is the case, in the margin (Figs. 2b, 2e, 3b-g). Among the marginal *takdhīyah*-statements we find: *kadhā fī al-umm wa-fī umm ukhrá* ...('thus in the model

32 Al-Mashūkhī 1994, *Anmāṭ*, 72.

33 Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 59, n.79; al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 89; Al-Māmaqānī 1992, *Mu'jam*, 120.

34 See, for example, an interesting collation note in Ḥusaynī 1395/1975, *Fihrist*, 13: 25.

35 Gacek 2001, Arabic manuscript tradition, 16.

36 Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, Gacek 1989c, "Technical practices," 57; al-Ja'barī, *Rusūm al-taḥdīth*, 71. It is worth noting that the *kāf* of *kadhā* is sometimes written without the horizontal line (*shaqq*) and with a *yā'* as opposed to the *alif* of prolongation (Figs. 2e, 3c, 3d, 3f).

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and in another copy...') (Fig. 2b); *kadhā fī al-aṣl wa-al-ṣaḥīḥ*... ('thus in the exemplar but the correct [version] is...') (Fig. 3b); *kadhā waqaʿa fī nuskhat al-samāʿ wa-aẓunnuhu*...('thus found in the audition copy but I deem it to be ...') (Fig. 3c); *kadhā naqaltuhu min khaṭṭihi* ('thus I copied from his holograph') (Fig. 3f); *kadhā wa-bi-khaṭṭihi fī al-ḥāshiyah*... ('thus, but in his own hand in the margin...') (Fig. 3d); *hākadhā nuskhat al-Ṣafadī* ('thus [in] al-Ṣafadī's copy'); *hākadhā wajadnā bi-khaṭṭ al-Ṣafadī* ('thus we found it in the hand of al-Ṣafadī'); *hākadhā bi-khaṭṭ al-Ṣafadī al-qāriʾ ʿalá al-muṣannif* ('thus in the hand of al-Ṣafadī, read in the presence of the author').[37]

The following is an example of a *samāʿ*-note originally written by Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī, known as al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 782/1380), which mentions the use of the *takdhīyah* in the text. It reads as follows:

> (...) The afore-mentioned copy contained many misreadings (*taṣḥīfāt*) marked with the word *kadhā* and the copy made from it contained additional linguistic errors (*ghalaṭ fī al-ʿArabīyah*) and these were also marked with *kadhā* (...).[38]

Another way of marking uncertain or doubtful readings in the medieval period was by using a sign called *ḍabbah* (also referred to as *ʿalāmat al-taḍbīb* or *al-tamrīḍ* or *tashkīk*), which resembles the initial form of the letter *ṣād* (صـ).[39] The word in the text marked with the *ḍabbah* was often repeated in the margin in the same form or a different form also accompanied with the *ḍabbah*. This practice implied that doubt as to its corrected reading still persisted. Later the صـ came to be regarded as an abbreviation of *ṣaḥḥ* and correctors were instructed to add to it (i.e. the *ṣād*) the letter ح (*ḥāʾ*) if the reading was confirmed or the correct version was to be inscribed in the margin. Other scholars used ضـ as an abbreviation of *ḍabbabtuhu* ('I have locked it,' i.e., 'I have put a *ḍabbah* over it'). The use of the *ḍabbah*-mark is attested in many corrected medieval manuscripts (see e.g. Figs. 2a, 2b, 2g, 2j, 3a, 3b, 3e).[40] The afore-mentioned Shiʿite author Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī al-Ḥārithī tells us that in his time the mark of *taḍbīb* in the form of a small *ṣād* was little used. As an alternative practice, scholars employed the figure ٢ (*bāʾ Hindīyah*), both in the body of the text and in the margin next to the corrected word (see e.g. Fig. 6d). Furthermore, some used three dots (...) for this same purpose.[41]

Correction of the words marked with *ṣaḥḥ*, *kadhā* and *ḍabbah* was usually done in the margins, where the corrected forms were accompanied by such expressions

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37 Witkam 1989, *De egyptische arts*, 139.

38 Amīnī 1409/1988, *Ganjīnah*, 1: 581.

39 Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 87; Gacek 1989, "Technical practices," 57.

40 See also al-Qālī, *al-Kitāb al-bāriʿ*, 4, 38, 87, 90, 138. The initial صـ however is not to be confused with a reference mark for a gloss (ISL, MS 48) or an *ʿalāmat al-ittiṣāl* used in the *isnād* (al-Māmaqānī 1992, *Muʿjam*, 50).

41 See his *Wuṣūl al-akhyār*, 197-198.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000230

as: *ṣaḥḥ*, *ṣawābuhu*,[42] *nuskhah*, *aẓunnuhu* and *laʿallahu* (Figs. 2c, 2g, 2h, 3a, 4d, 4e). Some scribes and correctors, however, preferred to place the more correct word in the body of the text and relegate the rejected word from the exemplar to the margin (Figs. 2f, 2j). This is also often the case with variants, which are incorporated into the text and the rejected word (with the superscript *aṣl* or ص) placed in the margin (see below).

c) Conjectures

Most corrections or emendations are in a sense conjectural. They are intelligent guesses, which may or may not be, strictly speaking correct. In other words, what a given scribe or corrector regards as a certain (obvious) emendation may not actually be sound. Some scribes or correctors emend the text in a manner that seemingly points to their linguistic and scholarly confidence and command. This is seen clearly in manuscripts in which the reader or copyist is directed to substitute one word for another or is told flatly that a given word is more correct than another. These corrections are accompanied by such words and/or abbreviations as *ṣawābuhu* (Fig. 6a), *ṣaḥḥ* or *aṣaḥḥ* (Fig. 6c), *badal* (Fig. 6h), ل (for *badal*, Fig. 6f) or صح ل (Fig. 6g) (see below).

The more cautious scribe marks the doubtful words by using such words as: *laʿallahu* ('perhaps'), *aẓunnu(hu)* ('I think it to be'), *ẓann* ('opinion'), and *ẓāhir* ('alleged,' 'presumed') (Figs. 4a-h).[43] The word *laʿallahu* is quite often abbreviated as ء (*raʾs al-ʿayn*) or somtimes as عه.[44] The words *aẓunnuhu*, and *ẓāhir* can be abbreviated as ظ (either pointed or unpointed). The latter abbreviation is almost always used in the Persian/Indian context.[45]

d) Textual variants (khilāfāt, ikhtilāfāt)[46]

A common source of textual variations are misreadings in transcription, as well as the introduction into the text of words, phrases or short paragraphs, which were only marginal notes on the parent text; the new copyist, in doubt, would incorporate these notes into his text.

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42 Al-Māmaqānī (*Muʿjam*, 134) gives ص as an abbreviation of *al-ṣawāb*. Although in theory this is possible, it would be very difficult to establish if this letter really represents this word.

43 Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 96; Al-Jaʿbarī, *Rusūm*, 71.

44 Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 101; Al-Mashūkhī 1994, *Anmāṭ*, 71.

45 Gacek 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 96. The ظ or ط may also stand for *fīhi naẓar*, i.e. 'it requires consideration by reason of its want of clearness or perspicuity' (Lane 1984, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 2: 2812). This abbreviation usually stands on its own (without a suggested reading) (al-Mashūkhī 1994, *Anmāṭ*, 71. Al-Thaʿālibī, *Kitāb laṭāʾif al-ẓurafāʾ*, vii, 92, 99, 102, 116).

46 Gacek 1989, "Technical practices," 59. For a general discussion of a primitive critical apparatus see West 1973, *Textual criticism*, 12-13.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000231

Variations also result from the existence of several versions (recensions) of the same work (*nuskhah*, *riwāyah*) made either by the author himself during his life time or by the compiler/transmitter. These may include oral additions made during the reading to the author/teacher. In well-executed manuscripts these are listed in the margin and indicated by such expressions as *fī al-samāʿ* ('during the audition'), *aṣl al-samāʿ* ('[in the] audition copy') or *min famm al-muṣannif* ('from the lips of the author').[47] Yet another source of variants are blank spaces in the works of scholars left for a later insertion by themselves or others, of data which were not known to them at the time of writing.

The author's work could have a number of versions which he put out himself or recensions which came about as a result of dictating the original work and transmitting it through different reading sessions (*samāʿāt*). In the case of different versions of the same work, medieval scholars advocated the copying of the text based on one particular recension, and in the case of variants, indicating the name of the transmitter and/or additions and omissions using red, green (or other coloured) ink or round brackets (*taḥwīq*).[48] This can clearly be seen in a copy of *al-Jāmiʿ* by ʿAbd Allāh ibn Wahb (d. 197/813). Here for example we find the following marginal comments: *muḥawwaq ʿalá hādhā al-ḥadīth fī kitāb ʿĪsá* ('this *ḥadīth* in brackets is in the copy of ʿĪsá'); *kadhā fī kitāb Saḥnūn wa-ʿĪsá ḥāqa ʿalá hādhā* ('thus in the copy of Saḥnūn but in the copy of ʿĪsá it is in brackets'); *laysa ʿalayhi taḥwīq fī kitāb ʿĪsá* ('there are no brackets in the copy of ʿĪsá').[49]

It was common to employ *sigla* for various transmitters (*rāwī*). Thus for example in connection with the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) we may find the following: س = al-Sarakhsī, ح = al-Ḥamawī, ه = al-Kushmihānī, س and ح (sometimes suprascript) for both al-Sarakhsī and al-Kushmihānī (Fig. 5a). Other abbreviations are: ه = Abū Dharr al-Harawī, ص = al-Aṣīlī, ش = Ibn ʿAsākir al-Dimashqī, ظ = Abū al-Waqt, ست - al-Mustamlī, حس = al-Ḥamawī and al-Mustamlī, حه = al-Ḥamawī and al-Kushmihānī.[50] Another example may be the *Kitāb* of Sībawayh (d. ca. 180/796). Here among the abbreviations we find: مح = *nuskhat al-Mubarrad*, ح = *nuskhat Abī Isḥāq al-Zajjāj*, س = *nuskhat Abī al-ʿAbbās*, ف = *fassartuhu anā* (*min kalām Abī ʿAlī*) and ه = *min nuskhah kānat ʿinda Banī Ṭāhir*.[51]

Non-specific variants (usually from another copy) may be indicated as follows: *nuskhah*, *nuskhah ukhrá*, *fī nuskhah*, *fī nuskhah ukhrá*, *fī ukhrá*. These expressions are very often abbreviated in a variety of ways and may be pointed or unpointed. For example, خ , خ (Figs. 1d, 5b-g), خه , نخ , نخ , نخه and ن (mainly India). Both نخ

47 Witkam 1988, "Establishing the stemma," 96

48 Gacek 1989, "Technical practices," 59; Al-Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 93; al-Azharī, *Fatḥ al-bāqī*, 398.

49 Ibn Wahb, *al-Ǧāmiʿ*, ff. 2b, 3b, 6a. See also Muranyi 1999, *Die Rechtsbücher*, 56, 71, 84, 86.

50 See e.g. Fück 1938, "Beiträge," and Quiring-Zoche 1998, "How al-Buḫārī's 'Ṣaḥīḥ' was edited."

51 Sībawayh, *Le livre de Sîbawayhi*, 1: vi-xii.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000232

and نخ often look like the letter ء / ع or ۼ / غ while the initial form of *khā'* when unpointed may look like *dāl* (د).[52]

We notice also an interesting use of the word *lā* ('no') in conjunction with variants. Al-Māmaqānī mentions for example the expression لا س which means that a particular word or phrase is omitted in the copy of Ibn 'Asākir.[53] Sellheim notes the existence of the combination لا ص ... الى to mean that the given passage is not in the *riwāyah* of Ibn Abī Ṣaqr.[54] Also, in a copy of *al-Khiṣāl* by Ibn Bābuyah (d. 381/991) we come across an interesting note, which illustrates another way of using this expression:

> It (the text) was collated with corrected copies, one of which was characterised by having been written in an ancient hand and containing numerous collations marks and statements. I selected this copy as my base-text (*aṣl*). And what was in other copies I transcribed by marking it with the sign of *taṣḥīḥ* (i.e. *ṣaḥḥ*) if two or more copies agreed on the same reading. And if the words were identical they were not marked. What was in the base-copy I marked repeatedly with *ṣaḥḥ* and what was in the base-copy but was not in most of the other copies I wrote above it لا خ.[55]

Variants can be evaluated by the teacher or corrector or scribe. When the variant was selected as the more correct and written in the body of the text, it was accompanied by the خ (for *nuskhah ukhrâ*) and the rejected word was then written in the margin accompanied by the word *aṣl* or the siglum ص (Figs. 5b-d). In manuscripts of Persian/Indian provenance we often see the word *badal* ('substitute') or بد له (most probably *baddilhu*, i.e. 'replace it') (Gacek 1991, nos. 12, 145; Fig. 6h). This word can be abbreviated as ل (Figs. 6f, 6g; Gacek 1985, nos. 55, 118) or sometimes as د (Gacek 1985, 108). When used on its own it points to an unspecified variant, which is preferred to the word in the text, or it represents a substitute for an evident mistake such as a cacographical error (see e.g. ISL, MS 31). The ل often however appears with the خ (for *nuskhah ukhrâ*) i.e. خ ل (Fig. 5g) (sometimes خ ل) or ن ل .[56] The combination خ٢ may stand either for a simple variant (٢ = *ukhrâ*) or a variant, which is deemed to be more correct. In this case, the ٢ can be read as an unpointed and suspended *bā'* (= *badal*). Similarly, ٢ل might represent the word *badal* itself (with an unpointed *bā'*) or the reference mark ٢ (*bā' Hindīyah*, Māmaqānī 1992, 48-49) and ل (ISL, MS 95, f. 65b). The abbreviations خ , ل and خ ل are sometimes followed by the *ṣaḥḥ* or صد or ا صح (Gacek 1985, no. 118, 130A, ISL, MS 31, f.10b, 13a), in which case it is to be

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52 Gacek 2001, Arabic manuscript tradition, 140.

53 See his *Mu'jam*, 344.

54 Sellheim 1976, *Materialien*, 1:337.

55 Ḥusaynī 1395/1975, *Fihrist*, 26: no. 10010.

56 Sellheim 1976 (*Materialien*, 2: 73, 412) is of the opinion that the abbreviation ل stands for *aṣl*. Although it is possible, it is unlikely that it was used in this way in the Persian/Indian context. The usual abbreviation of the word *aṣl* is ص (See e.g. Sellheim 1976, *Materialien*, 1: 244).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000233

assumed that the word in the margin is thought preferable to the word in the text. Informed judgement may be the only criterion in this context.

e) Glosses and scholia[57]

Glosses and scholia were usually written in a smaller script than omissions or the main text.[58] It is interesting to note that in the Mamluk period calligraphers distinguished between the *naskh* script of the main text and the *naskh* used for glosses, by calling the former *al-matn* and the latter *al-ḥawāshī*.[59] The usual way to introduce a gloss was to write the word *ḥāshiyah* above the gloss in full or in the form of an abbreviation. Throughout the manuscript age different abbreviations for this word were used. Thus, we find ح , حيه , حشه , حه . Apart from this word other words were also used. For example, *ta'līq(ah)* (abbrev. ت or ع), *tafsīr*, *sharḥ* (abbrev. س often unpointed and suspended or logographed), *fā'idah* (abbrev. ف , فصل , فصد , فيه – the last two for *fā'idat al-aṣl*), *ṭurrah* (abbrev. ط) and *hāmish* (abbrev. ه or ٥).

An important category of glosses constituted annotations and comments, which in most cases can be traced to the author himself. They are usually signed with the expression منه (*minhu*), hence sometimes referred to as *minhīyāt*.[60] This expression may be followed by a pious invocation (*du'ā'*). The most common invocation is the *tarḥīm* (*raḥimahu Allāh*), but other supplications are also encountered. For example, *sallamahu*, *ayyadahu*, *madda or dāma ẓilluhu* or *'izzuhu*, all used for authors who were alive at the time of copying. Other expressions used in this connection are *min (bi-) khaṭṭihi* (Gacek 1985, no. 104A), *min lafẓihi* or *min famm al-muṣannif*.[61] The *tarḥīm* is often expressed in the form of a logograph (Gacek 1985, no. 113; Gacek 1991, fig. 9; ISL, MS 83 and 85).[62]

For other types of glosses either a short title (including the word *sharḥ*, often in the form of a logograph) or short name (or *sigla* for these) are used. Thus for example we read on a copy of *Majma' al-amthāl* by Aḥmad al-Maydānī (518/1124):

> *kull mā fī al-ḥawāshī bi-'alāmat* صى *fa-huwa min kitāb al-Mustaqṣá fī al-amthāl min taṣānīf Jādd Allāh al-'Allāmah al-Shaykh al-Imām Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī al-Khwārizmī raḥimahu Allāh*.[63]

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57 Gacek 1989, "Technical practices," 59. Gacek, 2001, *Arabic manuscript tradition*, 33, 76, 90, 101, 111,147. See also al-Ja'barī, *Rusūm al-taḥdīth*, 72.
58 al-'Āmilī al-Ḥārithī, *Wuṣūl al-akhyār*, 197.
59 Gacek 1989, "Arabic scripts," 145, 146.
60 Quiring-Zoche 2000, *Arabische Handschriften*, 5: xi.
61 Witkam 1989, *De egyptische arts*, 131.
62 See also Sellheim 1976, *Materialien*, 2: Taf. 16, 17, 19.
63 Arberry 1955, *Handlist*, 1: pl.3 (no. 3017).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000234

'Everything that is in the margins [is marked] with the abbreviation صى . For it is from the book *al-Mustaqṣá fī al-amthāl* by Jādd Allāh al-'Allāmah al-Shaykh al-Imām Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī al-Khwārizmī, may God have mercy on him.'

Other common references are to dictionaries, for example, ق for *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* of al-Fīrūzābādī, ص for *al-Ṣiḥaḥ* of al-Jawharī (Gacek 1985, no. 104A).[64]

The end of the gloss is usually indicated by words or abbreviations of words which carry the meaning of an end or finish. Here we encounter the following: ٥ (in the form of a circle) or ٥ (in the form of an inverted heart), ه (*hā' mashqūqah*), هى (*hā'* and *yā'*) or ه ا , all representing the word *intahá* (it is finished); تمت [65] or *tammat* plus source plus ه or just *tammat* plus ه);[66] number-like marks ٢ or ١٢ or ١٤ (= *tamām, tamām shud,* Persian/Indian context only, see above); فقط (Iran and India only), often as a logograph (Gacek 1984, 88); and يه (*nihāyah*, seen mostly in manuscripts of Indian provenance).[67]

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64 See also Ḥusaynī 1395/1975, *Fihrist*, 13: 81.

65 See e.g. Gacek 1981, *Catalogue*, fig. 5.

66 *Shāfī al-'alīl* by al-Najrī (Gacek 2002, "Yemeni codex").

67 Not to be confused with the abbreviation of *al-Nihāyah* (the title of a book) (see e.g. Gacek 1991, *Arabic manuscripts*, 79).

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Al-Jawā'ib Press and the edition and transmission of Arabic manuscript texts in the 19th century

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The Danish scholar Johannes Pedersen, in his standard work on Arabic book production in the manuscript era,[1] devoted a final chapter to the transition from manuscripts to printing. In it he considered the nature of the Arabic books printed in the Middle East in the initial period, corresponding roughly to the 19th century. In pursuance of the main theme of his book, he paid particular attention to printed editions of classical texts, from manuscript sources. His view of them was not favourable: "the exterior appointments of books printed in the Orient are often very poor. The paper, commonly yellow in color, is often coarse and loose, and the type is frequently indistinct. As a rule the words are set very close together, which makes reading difficult." Furthermore "the procedure adopted for the publication of early literature has quite simply been the same as for the copying of a manuscript. The book would be set according to a single manuscript, the typesetter taking the copyist's place and the publisher the corrector's. When the corrector found something that seemed to him to be wrong, he corrected it. For this reason many divergences can sometimes be found between different editions of the same work."[2] Probably few would dissent from this general assessment of 19th-century Arab text editions. But he then went on to say that "only in recent years [writing in the 1940s] have there appeared some indications of a change in this," and he cites as one of the first such manifestations the 1927 edition of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, published in Cairo, which he considered "a great advance."[3]

What follows is an attempt to show that the beginnings of this advance are to be found somewhat earlier. In 1870 a new Arabic press was started in Istanbul, entitled *Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib*, and this, I shall seek to demonstrate, played in some respects a pioneering role in the development of new standards for the publication of classical texts in the Middle East.

There was a general tendency in the Arab and Muslim world in the mid-19th century to regard printed editions merely as mechanically reproduced manuscripts. In the early catalogues of the Egyptian state (Khedivial) library, for example, manuscript and printed texts were not usually distinguished.[4] This practice was no doubt reinforced by their appearance and presentation. As Pedersen

1 Pedersen 1946, *Den arabiske bog* & 1984, *The Arabic Book*.
2 Pedersen 1984, *The Arabic Book*, 139-141.
3 Pedersen 1984, *The Arabic Book*, 141.
4 Sauvaire 1875, "Catalogue," 65.

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and others have observed, early printed editions in the Arab world generally followed the traditional styles of presentation established for manuscript texts.[5] A typical example (fig.1) is the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, with the commentary of al-Sharīshī, printed at the Būlāq press in Egypt in 1867. The text of the *maqāma* appears in the outer margin, with the commentary in the inner text block. The words being commented upon appear in brackets, which would correspond to rubrication, or other form of emboldening, in a manuscript. In other 19th-century printed editions, as Pedersen pointed out, the layout could be rather more complex than this: sometimes the text and commentary were both printed in the margin, with a supercommentary in the main text-block; or the former might appear within parentheses embodied within the text of the latter. Another not uncommon practice was to place in the margin not a commentary but a quite separate work related only by its broad subject-matter.[6]

The number of words on the page illustrated in fig. 1 is 542; the size of the page is 462 cm^2. This gives a density of about 1.17 words per cm^2. For Arabic this is quite high; it is achieved by minimizing the spaces between words and restricting the blank margins to fairly small widths. The paper used is quite coarse, and this has prevented a really clean impression from the types: the overall effect is rather blotchy and indistinct: although readable, it is not easy on the eye.

These characteristics were repeated across most of the books printed at the Būlāq press and other contemporary presses in Egypt, Turkey and elsewhere. These books were acceptable to dedicated readers reared in the scholarly scribal tradition, to which they presented a reasonably familiar appearance.

But the multiplication of texts by printing was creating the possibility of a new kind of reader, perhaps educated in the new schools, which were also being created in the mid-19th century. These readers were not *'ulamā'*: they were part of a new, more secular kind of reading class, which turned to literature, both classical and modern, for entertainment and information. They needed a new kind of book, which would use print technology to transform manuscript texts into something easier to read, assimilate and consult. At the same time they wanted texts that were reliable and conveyed as nearly as possible what the original authors had written. Only in this way could a new educated Arab and Muslim public recover and reassimilate its literary heritage.

The *Jawā'ib* Press in Istanbul was one of the first in Muslim hands to attempt to provide these desiderata. The founder of the press was Aḥmad Fāris Efendi, perhaps better known by his original Christian name of Fāris al-Shidyāq. He was born in Lebanon in 1805 or 1806 into a Maronite family of scribes, and worked as a copyist in his youth, cultivating a semi-calligraphic style for the purpose. This can be seen, for instance, in a copy of al-Zawzanī's commentary on the

5 Pedersen 1984, *The Arabic Book*, 140. See also Endress 1982, 295-96.
6 Pedersen 1984, *The Arabic Book*, 140.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000242

Mu'allaqāt made by him in Egypt in 1833.[7] He also acquired in his youth a taste for books and literature, which persisted throughout his life. In 1826 he entered the service of Protestant missionaries, who sent him to Malta. There he was employed by the English Church Missionary Society to assist in translating and editing religious and educational books for their Arabic press. This employment was interrupted by a period in Egypt, 1828-35, where he spent some time studying, and copying, Arabic literature with Muslim scholars in Cairo. After his return to Malta he continued to prepare Arabic texts for the press and also helped to design a new Arabic type-face.[8] He finally left Malta in 1848 and spent most of the next 10 years in Europe: mainly in Britain, where he prepared and saw through the press a new Arabic translation of the Bible.[9] He also spent some time in France in the mid-1850s and published his famous autobiographical and literary work *al-Sāq 'alá al-sāq* in Paris in 1855.

In 1857 he went to Tunis, where he became a Muslim; and in about 1860 he arrived in Istanbul to work at the Sultan's press.[10] The following year he started an Arabic newspaper there, called *al-Jawā'ib*. This gained a wide circulation in the Arab world and beyond, and brought him great fame as a writer and journalist. He also published at the Sultan's press in 1868 his own large-scale treatise on Arabic etymology: *Sirr al-layāl fi al-qalb wa al-ibdāl*, using a traditional style of book design.

Fāris, as already stated, throughout his life had a great reverence and enthusiasm for the Arabic literary heritage, especially poetry and *adab*. As a young man in Cairo he had experienced much difficulty in finding copies of the *dīwān*s of the great poets,[11] and he was well aware that a high proportion of valuable literature had been lost altogether through the destruction of manuscripts. Moreover, he wrote, "what remains is possessed by a few individuals who do not think it their interest to give it a wider spread among the people."[12] Even manuscripts which were accessible were often incomplete, or marred by copyists' errors (*al-taḥrīf wa al-taṣḥīf*).[13]

Quite early in his career he had become aware that printing, still a suspect novelty in the Muslim world, provided the best solution to these problems. Reflecting on the effects of its earlier introduction in Europe, he wrote: "After printing became widespread, there was no longer any likelihood of the disappearance of knowledge which had been disseminated and made public, or the loss of books as

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7 Brotherton Library, University of Leeds, Arabic MS 128. See Macdonald 1959, *Catalogue*, 28.

8 Roper 1988. *Arabic printing in Malta*, 204-30.

9 Arberry 1952, "Fresh light," *passim*; Ṣulḥ 1987, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, 63-75.

10 Ṣulḥ 1987, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, 76-128; Maṭwī 1989, 131-49; Roper 1995, "Fāris al-Shidyāq and the transition," 213.

11 Fāris ca. 1884, *Muqaddimat Dīwān*, 4.

12 [Badger & Fāris] 1840, *Kitāb al-Muḥāwara*, 103.

13 Fāris ca. 1884, *Muqaddimat Dīwān*, 4 & 16-17.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000243

was the case when they were written with the pen."[14] His responsibilities at the missionary press in Malta included the translation and preparation of Arabic educational texts, and also, as mentioned above, the design of a new type-face. They did not, however, allow him time or facilities to edit older manuscript texts for publication. There was just one exception: he did prepare the *editio princeps* of an 18th-century Arabic grammar, the *Baḥth al-maṭālib* of Jabrīl Farḥāt, published in Malta in 1836.[15] The presentation of this text makes good use of typography to provide clear and systematic presentation. This work, however, was used almost exclusively by Christian Arabs, and had little impact on Muslim readers.

So, when in 1870 a new press was established in Istanbul under his control, called *Maṭbaʿat al-Jawāʾib*, he was determined to use it not just to print the newspaper after which it was named, but also to publish a carefully chosen and prepared series of Arabic literary classics, and this he proceeded to do.

The first of these was al-Āmidī's *al-Muwāzana bayn Abī Tammām wa al-Buḥturī*, published in 1870. This had in fact previously been serialised in the newspaper. It was the first of some 75 books published at the press over a 17-year period. The output has been analysed by Muḥammad Alwan, and he established that 68 of them are in Arabic, 5 in Turkish and 2 combine Arabic and Turkish.[16] The Turkish titles include one literary work edited from manuscript: the *Dīvān* of the 17th-century Ottoman poet Mehmet Şerif Sabri, published in 1879.

Of the Arabic output, some consists of works by Fāris himself, and by his friends and patrons. But the most significant part is classical Arabic literature, newly edited for publication, and this is what gives the press its significance as a transmitter of manuscript texts. Some of the shorter of these texts were combined in *majmūʿa* form, following the manuscript tradition, and according to Alwan's calculations, this nearly doubles the number of Arabic titles published.[17]

Fāris himself took the lead in editing texts for publication: he spent much time in Istanbul mosque libraries studying and copying manuscripts for this purpose. Indeed he complained strongly about the working conditions in some of these libraries and the state of some of the manuscripts which he encountered, as well as sometimes their mysterious disappearance between his visits.[18]

But Fāris was also a journalist and newspaper editor, so he could not devote all his time to text editing, on a scale to match the book output of the press. Others therefore became involved, but no doubt working under Fāris's supervision and guidance. These included his son Salīm Fāris, who apparently managed the

14 [Fāris] 1867, *al-Riḥla*, 382.

15 Roper 1988, *Arabic printing in Malta*, 225-28.

16 Alwan 1977, "The history and publications," 5. His bibliography, promised in this article, was never published. However, a catalogue was issued by the Press itself, at the end of its existence: *Fihrist maṭbūʿāt al-Jawāʾib*, 1888.

17 Alwan 1977, "The history and publications," 5.

18 [Fāris] 1871-81, *Kanz al-raghāʾib* I, 155 & 186-87; Roper 1998, "Aḥmad Fāris," 242-44.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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day-to-day running of the press; but we do not know whether he did any text editing. In fact, we know the names of only two editors who worked on classical texts published at *Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib*. One is the Palestinian scholar Yūsuf al-Nabhānī (1849-1932). His name appears in five of the text editions as editor (*muṣaḥḥiḥ*). He had been educated at al-Azhar in Cairo and worked for a time on the editorial staff of *al-Jawā'ib*. He was later to become a judge in Syria and Lebanon and a prolific writer on *Ḥadīth*, Sufism and other popular religious subjects.[19]

The other is Rasūl al-Najjārī, who is mentioned in only one case (the *Dīwān* of al-Ṭughrā'ī, 1882); but his descendant Ḥaydar al-Najjārī nearly 100 years later insisted that he had edited others, including one of the largest and most important, the *Dīwān* of al-Buḥturī, 1882.[20]

* * *

Let us now consider some of the physical characteristics of these *Jawā'ib* press editions.

In the first place, all of them have title-pages. Not only was this not the normal practice in Arabic manuscripts, but title-pages in the modern sense were also unusual in 19th-century Arabic printed books up to this time. Those that did appear did not often present the information as systematically as the *Jawā'ib* Press normally did, that is: title – author's name – edition (first, second, etc.) – name of the Press – place of publication – date. Fāris almost certainly adopted this practice as a result of his acquaintance with European books, and with producing Arabic books for European publishers, earlier in his career. As already mentioned, some of the *Jawā'ib* Press books were *majmū'a*s, and in those cases the title-pages were rather more complicated (fig. 2). Not only were the titles listed on the main title-page, but there were sometimes separate additional title-pages for each work, which might carry different dates, although they were issued together. In this particular respect the press fell short of modern bibliographical norms. Most of the editions also have tables of contents, with page numbers, often quite detailed. These helped readers to refer to books as well as just reading them, which had been much more difficult with manuscripts.

At the beginning of the text, many earlier printed editions had imitated manuscripts by including decorative *'unwān*s, made from engraved blocks or elaborate combinations of fleurons or other typographic ornaments. But the *Jawā'ib* Press generally dispensed with these, leaving just a small blank area at the head of the text. This was more in accordance with modern book design, but individual owners could provide their own decorations if they wished.

Turning now to the appearance of the pages of text, we find that when Fāris published his own lexicographical work (*al-Jāsūs 'alá al-Qāmūs*) he adopted quite

19 Sarkīs 1928, *Mu'jam*, 1238-1242; Kaḥḥāla 1961, *Mu'jam* 13: 275-276.
20 Najjārī 1981, [Review]: 54-55.

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a conservative appearance, with text border, words relatively closely set and headwords overlined in the traditional manner. He does, however, provide running heads, with the title of the book and the title of the section: this was an innovative, modern aid to readers of Arabic books.

With classical texts he went further, and often adopted page designs which marked a distinct break with the previous norms of both manuscripts and earlier printed books. In the 1880 edition of the *Rasā'il* of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, for example (fig. 3), the margins are generous; so is the word spacing, and so also is the line spacing. The density of words per square centimetre here is 0.68 – little over half that in the Būlāq press book mentioned above (fig. 1). The result is a balance of black and white on the page which is pleasing to the eye. Furthermore the layout of text and headings is much more systematic and easier to read and construe. This can reasonably be regarded as a forerunner of modern Arabic book design.

Marginal commentaries are conspicuous by their absence. Usually commentaries were omitted and these mainly literary texts were allowed to speak for themselves. But if one was thought desirable, then it was generally printed as a separate section of the book, following the main text, as in the 1882 edition of *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ* by al-Ḥarīrī, which has the *Sharḥ* of al-Khafājī printed as an appendix.

The type-faces followed Ottoman *naskhī* norms, and avoided the "alien forms" (*shakl gharīb*), as Fāris called them, of European Arabic books. But they are rather more elegant than many of their contemporaries and predecessors; and the printed words appear much clearer. One of the main reasons for this was the use of higher-grade paper, allowing a cleaner impression. Also, Fāris had practical experience of printing processes in his earlier career, and probably insisted on high standards from both his compositors and his pressmen. In some texts intended for use in schools, such as Maydanī's *Nuzhat al-ṭarf fī 'ilm al-ṣarf* (1881), *ḥarakāt* (vocalisation marks) were used. They were skillfully and elegantly inserted, without excessive visual intrusion.

In one respect *Maṭba'at al-Jawā'ib* did not break with tradition: every book has the traditional tapered colophon, with statement of authorship, sometimes editorship, and press and date of printing given in the time-honoured manner.

In his earlier days at the Malta press, Fāris nearly always provided, at the end, a list of corrigenda, as in his edition of Farḥāt's *Baḥth al-maṭālib* (Malta, 1836). But they do not generally feature in his Istanbul editions of classical texts. It is not clear why this is so – maybe he was so confident of the accuracy of his compositors, and of his proof-reading, that he believed that all errors had been eliminated.

The *Jawā'ib* Press was one of the first in the Muslim world to adopt the European idea of a printer's device or insignia (fig. 4). Incorporating the name of the press and the date of its foundation, with the Ottoman crescent and star, it

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generally appeared on the last leaf of the book, and also on the cover. Many of these books were issued in publisher's bindings of cloth or roan, gilt embossed. This was yet another modernizing innovation, and it served to present books, including the classics, as standardized, mass-produced consumer commodities – a distinct break from scribal culture.

* * *

Let us now consider the texts themselves. How were they prepared for publication? In the way that texts were identified and edited, the *Jawā'ib* Press was something of a Janus: seen from our vantage point, it faced two ways, backwards and forwards. As Witkam has observed, the manuscript exemplars used in 19th-century printed editions generally remain unmentioned, or references to them are so general that they cannot be identified.[21] Nor is any *apparatus criticus* provided. The editing procedures cannot therefore be reconstructed, and such editions are just another part of the chain of transmission, often contaminated by the editorial merging of textual variants.

Many of the *Jawā'ib* Press editions, too, fall into this category. Fāris was not trained in any of the European schools of scholarly editing, such as that of Lachmann. Nevertheless, it does seem from external, and sometimes internal evidence that he and his colleagues did take considerable care to establish sound texts, even if they generally do not say how they did so. Often it is stated in the colophon that two or more manuscripts were used and compared, but without identifying them or their variations.[22]

But occasionally we do get a glimpse of their actual sources and methods. Sometimes a manuscript is mentioned on the title-page: in the case of the *Dīwān* of Buḥturī (1883), it is said to be a vocalised copy, of the "utmost accuracy and precision," written in Tabriz in 424 (1033) by 'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Shīrāzī. But no location is given (in fact it was in the Köprülü Library). A later editor of this work, Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, who used no fewer than 15 manuscripts, from the 40 of whose existence he was aware, was highly critical of this edition, which he claimed was stuffed with *al-taṣḥīf wa al-taḥrīf*, despite the accuracy of its exemplar.[23] Fāris would have been mortified to read this; but perhaps the blame should be laid at the door of Rasūl al-Najjārī, to whom, as we have seen, this edition has been attributed.[24]

More information was sometimes given in colophons. In that of the 1880 edition of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī (fig. 5), for example, Yūsuf al-Nabhānī tells us that he edited the text accurately and precisely from a manuscript in the library of Aya Sofya, written by Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawar[d]ī in the year 692

21 Witkam 1987, 116.
22 *Cf.* Ṣulḥ 1987, *Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq*, 132-33.
23 Buḥturī, ed. Ṣayrafī 1963-64, *Dīwān*, 24.
24 Najjārī 1981, [Review], 54-55.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000247

[1293], with the library mark of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Ẓahīr al-Dīn, and another in "old handwriting" in the Nuruosmaniye Library, which, although not of the first rank in terms of accuracy and editing, nevertheless contains *maqāma*s omitted from the first one. He goes on to explain how he introduced these extra texts, while taking as much care as possible not to alter the original; also some extra anecdotes (*mulaḥ*) of the author found only in the Suhrawardī manuscript. The titles of the *maqāma*s he says he invented himself, since none were found in either copy. He does not elucidate these matters in the text itself, nor does he provide any annotations to the text. Nevertheless we can perhaps see here the beginnings of a more modern scholarly approach to the editing and publishing of classical manuscript texts by Muslim scholars. It marked a definite departure from some of the earlier deficiencies which Pedersen and Witkam have described, and pointed the way to higher standards in the twentieth century.

* * *

Finally, we must consider briefly the effect which these editions had on contemporary and later readers and connoisseurs of classical Arabic literature. In the first place, it seems likely that they found a significantly wider readership than previous editions, and certainly much wider than for manuscript copies. Unfortunately we have no figures for the numbers of copies printed, but Alwan 1977, 7 suggests 3000 as a likely normal edition size. This compares with a range of 500-1000 for the classical texts published at Būlāq (which were mostly privately sponsored).[25] The *Jawā'ib* Press editions were also better publicized and distributed, by announcements in *al-Jawā'ib* itself and through agents in Egypt and elsewhere.[26] Prices were also moderate, generally not exceeding 30 piastres: in this respect also they compared favorably with Būlāq editions.[27]

This relatively wide availability and accessibility, to students as well as more prosperous readers, gave them a significant role in the revival of classical literature among both contemporaries and later generations. The writer and historian Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, for instance, wrote in 1922:

> Fāris [...] published a number of books of *adab*, language and poetry, such as the works of [...] Thaʿālibī, Tawḥīdī, Ṭughrā'ī, Badīʿ and other leading writers. He published them in the finest manner which gave pleasure throughout the [Arab] countries, and he offered them at very low prices, so that the benefit was widely spread, and students of literature began to vie with them in style. People have continued until this day to compete for the printed editions of *al-Jawā'ib* press, bibliophiles have collected them, and generations of readers have made use of them.[28]

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25 Riḍwān 1953, *Tārīkh*, 260-61.
26 Roper 1995, "Fāris al-Shidyāq and the transition," 218.
27 Riḍwān 1953, *Tārīkh*, 290-95.
28 Kurd ʿAlī 1923, *Gharā'ib*, I: 86-87.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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More than forty years later, another Arab historian could still write: "the letters of that [*al-Jawā'ib*] press are distinguished by beauty, accuracy and the rarity of errors on the printed [page]."[29]

These editions thus gave a significant impetus both to the transition from scribal to print culture and to the revival of the classical heritage. In many parts of the Muslim world, there had been an intermediate stage: lithography. Lithographic copies were considered to be, and in many respects actually were, essentially manuscripts, of which multiple identical copies could be issued. As such, they were initially preferred by conservative *'ulamā'* and students. For most of the 19th century, this method had been prevalent in Morocco, Iran, South and South East Asia, and made some inroads also in Egypt and Turkey. But around the turn of the century typography began to reassert itself, and this was at least partly because of the increased prestige of the Ottoman, and later Egyptian typographic presses.[30] This in turn was due to the higher standards of book production then introduced. The *Jawā'ib* Press, because of its pioneering role in adopting such standards, and the wide distribution of its products in the Muslim world, played a crucial part in this. Only when typographic editions had displaced lithographic copies could the scribal era be truly said to have ended.

In the pre-print era, much importance was given to the character and reputability of the transmitters of texts, whether orally or scribally; with printed books, this role passed to publishers, and trust in their reliability and accuracy became of equivalent importance.[31] The *Jawā'ib* Press, by earning that trust, as well as by its innovations in making texts readable and attractive, helped to consolidate the place of printing as the normal means of transmitting sound classical Arabic texts hitherto available only in manuscripts.

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29 Ṣābāt 1966, *Tārīkh*, 31.

30 Proudfoot 1997, "Mass producing," 182-84.

31 Wheeler 1999, *Transmission*, 16; cf. also Mahdi 1995, "From the manuscript age," 5: "printed books came to represent a degree of solidity and authority that went far beyond [that] of the manuscript copy or copies of the same book."

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The Theory of Editing

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Lachmann und der Archetyp

Walter Berschin

Abstract

In the early 19th century, the quality of the editing techniques of occidental texts took a leap forward which is associated with the name of Carl Lachmann (1793-1851). His method revolutionized the process of editing and has contributed to the fact that many 19th century editions have proved to be exceptionally lasting.

Lachmann's innovation was the distinction between two completely different procedures during the editing process, namely

1) Recensio
2) Emendatio

While the editor was bound by rigid rules during the *Recensio* (1), he was given the greatest possible liberty regarding the *Emendatio* (2). The point at which method 1 is replaced by method 2 is called the *Archetyp*. This was Lachmann's central concept. This paper attempts to place this innovation, which had a revolutionizing impact, in its historical context and shows with the help of modern examples that it is still useful to be familiar with Lachmann's method. Admittedly this is not an easy task as he himself has never explained his method in a coherent and comprehensive way.

Edieren ist eine alte Kunst. Man kann sie bis zu den Homer- und Platon-Ausgaben der griechischen Philologen im ägyptischen Alexandria um 200 v. Chr. zurückverfolgen. Auch im Mittelalter ist diese Art philologischen Arbeitens nie ganz ausgestorben. Es waren zum Beispiel im lateinischen Westen drei verschiedene Übersetzungen des Psalters im Gebrauch; diese Tatsache hat Anlaß zu Editionen des Psalters gegeben, die den Leser umfassend über die verschiedenen Versionen informieren wollten: Psalteria triplicia (tripartita),[1] psalteria quadrupartita.[2]

Bei den Humanisten nannte man die kritische Beschäftigung mit Ausgaben der hebräischen, griechischen und lateinischen Bibel "Philologia sacra". Erasmus von Rotterdam ging hier voran mit seiner 1516 erschienenen Ausgabe des griechischen Neuen Testaments, das er damals *Novum instrumentum* nannte. Dieses Buch ist typisch für die Editionen des XVI. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts: Erasmus hat

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1 Walter Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*. Von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues, Bern/München 1980, p. 68.

2 Bei diesem Buchtyp kam als vierte Kolumne der griechische Text des Psalteriums zu den drei lateinischen Übersetzungen hinzu; cf. Walter Berschin, "Salomons III. Psalterium quadrupartitum ...", in *Kaiserin Theophanu* t. 1, Köln 1991, pp. 327-333.

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seiner Ausgabe nur eine Handvoll Handschriften zugrundegelegt, alle aus dem XII./XIII. Jahrhundert. Diese Handschriften repräsentieren den sogenannten "byzantinischen Reichstext". Es handelt sich hier um die größte, späteste und schlechteste Gruppe von griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments.[3] Der von Erasmus hastig publizierte Text wurde die Grundlage fast aller griechischen Drucke des Neuen Testaments bis ins XIX. Jahrhundert. Man besserte zwar da und dort ein wenig herum, zum Beispiel am Ende der Apokalypse (22, 16-21). Denn die letzten sechs Verse dieses Bibelbuches hatte Erasmus in Ermangelung einer griechischen handschriftlichen Vorlage einfach selbst aus dem Lateinischen ins Griechische übersetzt. Insgesamt aber blieb das griechische Neue Testament des Erasmus für zehn Generationen der *textus receptus*. Ähnlich verhielt es sich mit vielen Ausgaben griechischer und lateinischer Klassiker aus der Feder der Humanisten. Die Handschriftengrundlage – und damit die Ausgangsbasis der Texte – behielt lange Zeit etwas Zufälliges.

Der Qualitätssprung der Editionstechnik abendländischer Texte erfolgte im frühen XIX. Jahrhundert. Er ist mit dem Namen Carl Lachmann (1793-1851) verbunden. Geboren als Sohn eines Pfarrers in Braunschweig 1793, studierte er Theologie und Philologie in Leipzig und Göttingen (1809-1813), habilitierte sich mit 22 Jahren und wurde mit 32 Jahren Professor für Deutsche und Klassische Philologie in Berlin. 1851 ist er gestorben.[4] Jakob Grimm sagte in der Gedenkrede auf ihn: "er war zum herausgeber geboren, seines gleichen hat Deutschland in diesem Jahrhundert noch nicht gesehn".[5] Lachmanns Methode hat die Editionstechnik revolutioniert und dazu beigetragen, daß viele Editionen des XIX. Jahrhunderts sich lange behauptet haben und zum Teil immer noch als maßgebend gelten. Worin besteht der Qualitätssprung?

Das Problem der Darstellung der Lachmannschen Methode ist, daß er selbst seine Prinzipien nie zusammenhängend und vollständig erläutert hat, sondern jeweils nur in den Vorreden das eine oder andere dazu sagte. Man muß sich also das System aus beiläufigen Zitaten zusammensetzen.[6] Das wichtigste steht in der Vorrede zur Ausgabe des römischen Dichters Lukrez von 1850. Dort findet sich auch ein entscheidender Begriff für die Neuerungen Lachmanns: *Archetypus*. Das Wort wurde damals nicht neu erfunden – schon Erasmus von Rotterdam hat es

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3 Kurt und Barbara Aland, *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, Stuttgart ^{2}1989, p. 14. Eine eingehende Darstellung der Schwächen der Edition des Erasmus gibt Frederick Henry Ambrose Scrivener, *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament* t. 2, London/New York ^{4}1894, pp. 182-187 ("the most faulty book I know", p. 185).

4 Zu Lachmanns Leben cf. Harald Weigel, *Nur was du nie gesehn wird ewig dauern.* Carl Lachmann und die Entstehung der wissenschaftlichen Edition, Freiburg i.Br. 1989.

5 Jacob Grimm, *Rede auf Lachmann*, Berlin 1851, p. 16.

6 nämlich aus den Praefationes zu seinen Ausgaben des Properz (1816), des Neuen Testaments (editio maior) und des Lukrez (1850), sowie seinem Aufsatz "Rechenschaft über Lachmanns Ausgabe des Neuen Testaments", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* t. 3/2, pp. 817-845 (= Karl Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften* t. 2, Berlin 1876, pp. 250-272).

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000256

in den *Adagia*[7] gebraucht; Carl Lachmann freilich hat dem Begriff in Auseinandersetzung mit einigen Zeitgenossen[8] nun einen scharf umrissenen editionstechnischen Sinn gegeben. Der Archetyp ist editorisch der Text, den man durch Abschreiben, Vergleichen und Gruppieren der Handschriften erzielen kann; er bildet den ersten Zielpunkt des methodisch wissenschaftlichen Edierens. Direkte Kopien werden, sobald man sie erkannt hat, ausgeschieden, womit sich die Zahl der für die Edition relevanten Handschriften verringert. Abhängigkeiten der Handschriften untereinander werden durch die Beobachtung von Fehlern ("common errors" bzw. Variationen = "common variations") festgestellt; die Fehler teilte man später ein in *errores coniunctivi* und *errores separativi*. Mit ihrer Hilfe wird der Rang der jeweiligen Handschrift in der Gesamtüberlieferung festgelegt. Entsprechend dem Rang der jeweiligen Handschrift wird ihr Text bewertet. Das Verfahren heißt in dieser Phase *recensio codicum*; sein Ergebnis ist der Archetyp. Der Archetyp ist textgeschichtlich definiert als "die Vorlage, bei der die erste Spaltung", d.h. die erste Divergenz der Handschriften, "begann ... Der Text dieses Archetypus ist frei von allen nach der Spaltung entstandenen Fehlern, steht also dem Original näher als der Text" der einzelnen handschriftlichen "Zeugen".[9]

Man darf den Archetyp nicht mit dem Original oder gar dem Autograph verwechseln. Der Archetyp ist vielmehr der Punkt einer Textgeschichte, bis zu dem man mit einem exakt nachprüfbaren, fast mechanisch zu nennenden Verfahren kommt. Hat der Editor diesen Punkt erreicht, so muß er seine *Methode vollkommen ändern*. Das ist das Neue, das wissenschaftlich Revolutionäre an der Lachmannschen Methode, daß der Editionsprozeß in zwei scharf getrennte Phasen aufgespalten wird, die vom Editor eine konträre Einstellung zum überlieferten Text verlangen. Es wird nämlich

1) in der *Recensio* der Text erstellt, der *ohne eigenes Urteil* nach Regeln der Fehleranalyse (Variationenanalyse)[10] und im einzelnen nachprüfbar rekonstruierbar ist: der Archetyp. Sodann hat
2) in der *Emendatio* der Editor die nur mit Einfühlungsvermögen zu lösende Aufgabe, verderbte Stellen zu heilen, um einen Text vorzulegen, der dem Original möglichst nahekommt: das ist der zu edierende Text.

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7 *Fit enim saepenumero, ut unius archetypi mendum... in universam deinde veluti posteritatem librorum propagetur*, Erasmus, Adagia I 6,36, edd. M.L. van Poll-van de Lisdonk/M. Cytowska, (*Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi* II 2) 1998, p. 63.

8 nämlich die Ciceroherausgeber Johann Caspar Orelli (1826) und Carl Gottlob Zumpt (1831), sowie Friedrich Ritschl (Theodulus, Ecloga, 1832) und Johan Nicolai Madvig (Cicero, 1833); cf. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *La genesi del metodo del Lachmann*, Florenz 1963, pp. 43 sqq. Als wirkungsgeschichtliche Fortsetzung des Buches von Timpanaro versteht sich die Dissertation von Giovanni Fiesole, *La genesi del lachmannismo*, Florenz 2000.

9 Paul Maas, *Textkritik*, Leipzig ^{4}1960, p. 6.

10 Den Begriff "Variationen" bevorzugt Leonard E. Boyle, weil er kein Urteil beinhaltet. "Optimist and Recensionist: Common Errors or Common Variations", in *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400-900*, (Festschrift Ludwig Bieler) Leiden 1976, pp. 264-274.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000257

In der ersten Phase arbeitet der Editor im Extremfall rein textgebunden, in der zweiten Phase mit aller denkbaren Freiheit gegenüber dem überlieferten Text. Das Neue war zur Zeit Lachmanns die *lex severa*[11] der Phase I: textgebundenes Arbeiten unter Ausschaltung eines jeden eigenen Urteils. Phase II: Prüfung des Ergebnisses anhand der Sprachnormen und des autorspezifischen Stils war dem XIX. Jahrhundert selbstverständlich. Darüber brauchte man nicht viel Worte zu verlieren.

* * *

An der Wende vom XX. zum XXI. Jahrhundert ist das umgekehrt. Selbstverständlich ist dem westlichen Mediävisten nunmehr die Handschriftenrecherche. Weniger selbstverständlich sind in der Mediävistik Kenntnisse der (alten) Sprachen und Wille oder Fähigkeit, sich in den Stil eines Autors einzuarbeiten. Das verführt manche Editoren dazu, handschriftlich breit dokumentierten Nonsens zu drucken, ohne sich zu fragen, ob solcherlei möglich und dem Autor zuzutrauen wäre. Was soll man zum Beispiel von folgendem Buchtitel des Aethicus Ister halten:[12]

INCIPIT LIBER ETHICO TRANSLATO PHILOSOPHICO EDITO ORACULO HIERONIMO PRESBYTERO...?

Das ist trotz aller ostentativen Handschriftentreue methodisch ein Rückfall um 170 Jahre – nämlich hinter Lachmann zurück. Wenn diese Wörter den Archetyp des Textes darstellen, also des Textes, der vor dem Auseinandergehen der einzelnen Handschriften bestand, dann müßte uns der Editor erklären, wieso er auf die Emendatio im Sinn des Stils des Autors verzichtet. Er müßte uns zum Beispiel beim dritten Wort erläutern, wieso der Verfasser die Genetiv-Endung *-i* (*Ethici*) mit der Dativ- bzw. Ablativendung *-o* verwechselt. Kann der Editor diese Erklärung nicht liefern, so muß er im Sinne des Autors verbessern.

Zweites Beispiel: In einer neuen Ausgabe der Grammatik Julians von Toledo († 690) steht der kuriose Vers:[13]

Adnexique globum zipheri freta cana secabant

Versuchsweise übersetzt heißt das: "Und die aschgrauen Meerengen durchschnitten die Masse des an [Sizilien] hängenden Zephyrium[-Gebirges in Brutium]". Trotz seines verquälten Inhalts ist das einer der am häufigsten geschriebenen Verse des lateinischen Mittelalters: Allein in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen findet er sich in mindestens zehn mittelalterlichen Handschriften.[14] Der Erfolg

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11 Carl Lachmann (ed.), *Albii Tibulli libri quattuor*, Berlin 1829, p. III.

12 Otto Prinz (ed.), *Die* Kosmographie *des Aethicus*, München 1993, p. 87.

13 Maria A. H. Maestre Yenes (ed.), *Ars Iuliani Toletani episcopi*, Toledo 1973, p. 121. Dem Vers scheint zugrundezuliegen Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia* II 115: *Sicilia aliquando, ut ferunt, continens et agro Bruttio annexa post freto maris Siculi abscissa est.*

14 Karl Schmuki, in *Vom Schreiben im Galluskloster*, (Ausstellungsführer) St. Gallen 1994, pp. 66-68.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000258

des Verses ist zu erklären: Er diente als Schreibübung für alle 23 Buchstaben des römischen Alphabets. Also müssen in dem Hexameter, wenn wir ihn kritisch edieren, auch alle 23 Buchstaben des römischen Alphabets vorkommen. Wir wollen es der Editorin glauben, daß das Ergebnis der Recensio codicum so aussieht, wie man in der oben eingerückten Zeile sieht. Aber es fehlt die Emendatio, bei der wir den Archetyp so verbessern müssen, daß auch y *(ziphyri)* und k *(kana)* in dieser Probatio pennae vorkommen:

Adnexique globum ziphyri freta kana secabant.

Gegenwärtig ist das Interesse vieler edierender westlicher Mediävisten für die theoretischen Grundlagen des Edierens gering. In einem Band *Probleme der Edition mittel- und neulateinischer Texte* stellt ein Mittelalter-Historiker "Überlegungen eines Editors" an, in denen er von "Lachmanns Forderung nach einem Handschriftenstammbaum"[15] spricht. Dieser Editor hat Lachmann nie studiert; sonst wüßte er, daß das Stemma codicum weder von ihm erfunden noch postuliert noch realisiert wurde. Das Stemma ist für die Lachmannsche Methode auch unerheblich, weil es lediglich zur Veranschaulichung einer Phase der Recensio codicum dient. Friedrich Ritschl hat wohl als erster 1832 ein solches Stemma codicum gedruckt.[16]

* * *

Die Trennung des Arbeitsprozesses beim Edieren in einen Teil, bei dem der Editor strengsten Regeln unterworfen ist, und einen zweiten, bei dem er größte Freiheit hat, ist das Novum. Edieren im Sinne Lachmanns heißt also, weder sklavisch eine Handschrift kopieren und eine Art Faksimile oder diplomatische Edition zu liefern, noch phantasievoll darauflos zu konjizieren, sondern methodisch vorzugehen in *zwei völlig verschiedenen* Arbeitsweisen. Der Punkt, der den Perspektivewechsel signalisiert, ist der Archetyp. Das ist nicht die Textphase, die man schon ohne weiteres drucken darf, sondern die, bei der die Frage erlaubt und erforderlich ist: Ist der Text sprachlich, inhaltlich richtig, kann er dem Autor zugetraut, dem Leser zugemutet werden usw.?

Im einzelnen muß natürlich jede Edition der Überlieferungslage angepaßt werden. Spätestens ab dem X. Jahrhundert verfügen wir im Westen über Autographe oder Handschriften, die in der unmittelbaren Umgebung des Autors geschrieben wurden wie die Opera omnia der Hrotsvit von Gandersheim.[17] Solche Überlieferungen entheben uns fast der Sorge um den Archetyp; sie machen aber nicht den zweiten Schritt überflüssig, die Phase des Edierens, die die Frage stellt: Hat der

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15 *Probleme der Edition mittel- und neulateinischer Texte*, (Kolloquium der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft) Boppard 1978, p. 13.

16 Friedrich Ritschl, *Thomae Magistri sive Theoduli Monachi Ecloga vocum Atticarum*, Halle a.d.S. 1832.

17 München, Bay. Staatsbibliothek Clm 14485, ed. Walter Berschin, *Hrotsvit: Opera omnia*, München/Leipzig 2001, pp. X-XV.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000259

Autor das, was in seinem Autograph steht, auch gemeint oder muß emendiert werden? Oft ist die Handschriftenüberlieferung so breit oder so divergent, daß der Editor entmutigt auf den Versuch verzichtet, bis zum Archetyp vorzustoßen. Man druckt dann nach einer sog. Leithandschrift eine vorläufige Edition.

Diese vereinfachte Editionstechnik kündigt sich am Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts an; der englische Philologe Housman hat gegen sie schon 1903 polemisiert.[18] Unter Berufung auf den französischen Romanisten Bédier[19] haben viele Editoren diese Editionsmethode befolgt, die manche die "optimistische Methode" nennen, weil sie dem Codex optimus folgt. Regelmäßig findet man in diesen Editionen die einschränkende Bemerkung, daß es sich um eine vorläufige Ausgabe handle: Die kritische Ausgabe, die alle Handschriften berücksichtigt, ist das Ideal geblieben.

Schließlich soll nicht verschwiegen werden, daß die Editionen Lachmanns nicht überall erfolgreich waren und teilweise zu Ergebnissen geführt haben, die heute auf Ablehnung stoßen. Das gilt für manche seiner Arbeiten auf germanistischem Gebiet, wo wohl Texte rekonstruiert wurden, die es so nie gegeben hat. Die latinistischen Editionen aber haben sich bewährt, besonders das Paradebeispiel Lukrez († 55 v. Chr). Sein Werk *De rerum natura* taucht im frühen IX. Jahrhundert in drei Exemplaren auf 1) am Hof Karls des Großen, 2) in der Schule des Iren Dungal in Pavia, 3) im Bodenseeraum. Die Handschriften 1 und 2 sind erhalten und liegen beide in Leiden.[20] Handschrift nr. 3 ist untergegangen, aber dennoch die erfolgreichste geworden. Poggio hat sie 1417 während seines Aufenthalts auf dem Konzil von Konstanz aus einer Bibliothek "befreit", die er namentlich nicht nennt.[21] Er brachte die Handschrift nach Florenz, wo sie bei den Humanisten größte Beachtung fand; von ihr gibt es mehr als 50 Abschriften. Die Bodensee-Handschrift selbst ist wie so vieles, was die Humanisten in ihren Privatbesitz überführten, verloren. Aus den drei Überlieferungen kann man nun den *Archetyp* rekonstruieren, das heißt die Handschrift, aus der alle drei erhaltenen Überlieferungen direkt oder über einen vermittelnden Textzeugen abgeschrieben waren. Diesen Archetyp hatte Lachmann so deutlich vor Augen, als hätte er ihn in einem früheren Leben schon einmal gesehen. Er war nach Lachmann in Capitalis rustica geschrieben, und hatte 302 Seiten; Seite 1, 190 und 302 waren nicht beschrieben; im übrigen hatten die Seiten je 26 Zeilen usw. Das

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18 "This method... saves lazy editors from working and stupid editors from thinking", Alfred Edward Housman, *M. Manilii Astronomicon liber primus*, London 1903 (repr. Hildesheim/New York 1972), p. XXXII.

19 Joseph Bédier, "La tradition manuscrite du Lai de l'Ombre. Réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes", *Romania* 54, 1928, pp. 161-196 und 321-356.

20 Leiden, Universiteits-Bibliotheek Voss.lat.F.30 und Voss.lat.Q.94, zuletzt beschrieben von K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani latini* t. 1, Leiden 1973, pp. 65-68, und t. 2, 1975, pp. 215-217.

21 Poggio Bracciolini an Francesco Barbaro, Epistolae, ed. A. C. Clark, "The Literary Discoveries of Poggio", *Classical Review* 13, 1899, pp. 119-130, hier p. 125.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000260

glaubt man ihm heute so nicht mehr.[22] Aber der Archetyp selbst ist nach Meinung aller Fachleute rekonstruierbar und er bildet die Grundlage für die Rekonstruktion des Originals. So kann man den Satz wagen, daß es sich für den Latinisten nach wie vor lohnt, die Lachmannsche Methode zu kennen und mit ihr zu arbeiten. Ihr zentraler Begriff ist der Archetyp.[23]

22 Übersicht über die neuere stemmatische Diskusssion bei L. D. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and Transmission*, Oxford ²1986, pp. 218-222.

23 Der Beitrag erscheint gleichzeitig in Walter Berschin, *Mittellateinische Studien*, Heidelberg 2005.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000261

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Variants and Invariants: The Logics of Manuscript Tradition

Alexander Kleinlogel

In my paper, I want to review some methodological aspects of recent developments in textual criticism and stemmatology. Much of what I am going to say has been sparked off by the discussion and the methodological innovations of the Amsterdam research team who over the past two decades have very successfully investigated manuscript traditions of mediaeval French, English and Oriental literature using various sophisticated computer based approaches.[1] Reference will be made to some of these innovations only as a starting point for discussing the 'state of the art' in general from the point of view of a classicist who in the face of the current methodological situation may feel he should ask himself not only '*stemmata quid faciunt?*' but also '*instrumenta computatoria quid faciunt?*'

For nearly a century now, mainly two objections have been repeatedly raised against the formerly authoritative stemmatic method associated with the name of Karl Lachmann[2] and systemized by Paul Maas:[3] on the one hand, it was suspected of granting the editor's subjectivity too much freedom in assessing variants as 'significant errors' used by this method as basic arguments to uncover manuscript relationships, to represent them in the genealogical pedigree of the 'stemma codicum,' and to reconstruct an archetype or a text version coming as close as possible to the putative original; on the other hand, any such reconstruction was likewise suspected of being nothing but contamination producing texts that could not claim to have historically ever existed.

In the course of the controversy, two solutions were proposed that were intended to minimize or even eliminate the adverse effects of the common error method. The first consisted in renouncing completely any attempt at reconstructing an archetype and in resorting to what has recently been called 'best-text historical editing,'[4] i.e., reproducing diplomatically the text of some prominent manuscript and letting the reader compose his own version from this text of reference and from the variants listed in the apparatus. This is what Joseph Bédier had recommended,[5] and though it amounts to no less than an invitation to uncontrolled contamination it was and is still looked upon as more objective and is

1 Cf. *Studies in Stemmatology* 1996, "Prologue: State of the art," vii-viii.
2 The development of textual criticism and Lachmann's rôle are still best described by Timpanaro 1981. Cf. Lutz-Hensel 1975.
3 Maas 1927 and 1960.
4 Robinson 1996, *Computer-Assisted Stemmatic Analysis and 'Best-Text' Historical Editing.*
5 Bédier 1928.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000263

frequently practiced, especially by editors of mediaeval and modern texts.[6] Another approach emerged with the advent of computers when philologists in search of more objective methods of determining genealogical kinship of manuscripts became aware of the potential of numerical taxonomic procedures that had been developed for other scientific disciplines, particularly in the area of biological systematics.[7] This methodological reorientation was largely motivated by what seemed to be a striking analogy between phylogenetic evolution and the branching process of manuscript traditions, but even more so by the expectation that numeric procedures could guarantee a superior level of objectivity as they allowed to renounce to the suspected 'error' criterion and to base the investigation on the 'variants' as neutral distinctive features without having to pass judgment on their originality or genuineness. These 'egalitarian' variants could then be used to calculate distances, similarities or correlations and to allocate the manuscripts like phylogenetic specimens ('taxa' as they are called by taxonomists) within a structure of mutual affinities. This, in turn, was assumed to constitute a more objective basis for editorial decisions. In the meantime, the dispute of 'error vs. variant' has been settled by what might be called a methodological compromise where, in a first step, numerical procedures are used to establish the network of mutual distances and a concatenated 'deep structure' and, in a second step, genealogically relevant variants or even significant errors serve to identify a point of origin by which the unrooted deep structure is transformed into a dendrogram, i.e., into a directed graph which will not only resemble the conventional 'stemma codicum' very closely, but is also intended to assume the rôle the stemma has played in traditional textual criticism.

The methodological procedure of splitting analysis up into concatenation and orientation in the manner described is nothing very new. It was first proposed in the twenties of the past century by Dom Quentin,[8] and became something like a methodological standard ever since the late sixties, when Dom Froger published his treatise on the applicability of formal methods and computer aided automization in the field of textual criticism.[9] Though I assume my audience to be familiar with this procedure, I think presenting an elementary illustration will prove helpful for understanding subsequent argumentation. The example is more or less fictitious.

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6 These and other modern approaches (edition as a description of 'Werkgenese,' i.e., of the genesis of the literary work) are discussed in detail in *Texte und Varianten* 1971.

7 One of the first to apply such taxonomic procedures was Griffith 1968; others followed, see *La pratique des ordinateurs dans la critique des textes.*

8 Dom Quentin 1926.

9 Dom Froger 1968.

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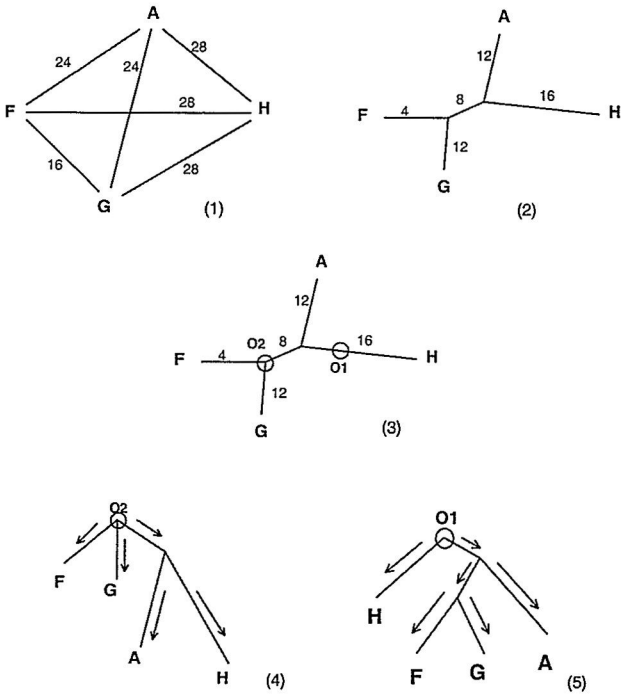

Figure 1

The numerical procedures applied have mostly been methods of cluster analysis of the single linkage type[10] and capable of producing what is called an undirected connected acyclic tree, i.e., a graph joining all nodes – in our case manuscripts – by one single line and without closed loops. Starting from a collation of manuscripts listing all instances of variation, the distance between any two specimens can be defined as the number of places where the specimens offer different readings. Summing up these differences for all pairs will then yield a matrix of mutual distances[11] from which the concatenated 'deep structure' or the underlying network is extracted by some clustering procedure.[12] As regards these procedures, the so-called Wagner network algorithm has been shown by the Amsterdam research group to be particularly well suited, especially as it is capable of interpolating hypothetical internodes corresponding to what in traditional stemmatics are lost intermediaries.[13] As there exist various implementations of this algorithm in computer programmes like MacClade (by Maddison and

10 Steinhausen/Langer 1977, 76-78.
11 Figure 1, (1).
12 Figure 1, (2).
13 For a detailed description of Wagner networks see Salesman 1996, 60-70.

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Maddison 1992) and PAUP (by D.L. Swofford 1991)[14] concatenation can readily be achieved even for large sets of data. Once the undirected dendrogram is established, it is given an orientation by selecting a point of origin[15] (or simply 'hanging' the structure from this point) and making all paths lead away from it.[16] Evidently, this step of selecting the origin is of crucial importance as it is only after introducing orientation that the previously undirected tree may be interpreted as reflecting dependence or derived stages of development; more importantly, it may even claim to reflect ancestry provided the respective selection is based on data of genealogical purport, such as on conventional significant errors or on whatever information may be available to determine which of the nodes or internodes is nearest to the putative original. This decision, however, will always have to be made by the analyst for even though programmes like PAUP are capable of proposing an orientation its selection will be but a formal one and will be made (as is indicated by 'Parsimony' in the acronym) with regard to minimizing the length of the tree (i.e., the sum of the branches weighted by their distances), however not with regard to genealogical considerations.

Thus, the genealogically indifferent character of the data used proves a serious drawback of any approach using numerical procedures. It is certainly not by mere coincidence that theoreticians of biological taxonomy, too, have always warned against interpreting findings from clustering procedures rashly as phylogeny (i.e., revealing ancestral relationships) instead of phenogeny (i.e., classification with respect to similarity without genealogical implications), especially when starting from data bases that consist exclusively of indifferent distinctive features and include no fossil evidence.[17] It is worth noting that similar warnings came from philologists when applying clustering procedures to data derived alone from pure distances between variants, particularly in the presence of contamination and in cases where such secondary shifting might have outnumbered the 'genuine' ancestral features like the significant errors that Paul Maas had compared to the geologist's fossil evidence.[18] Recent methodology has become aware of the implications of this handicap and has attempted to circumvent it by restricting the data used for calculation to what was styled 'genealogical variants' or 'genealogically relevant variants.' With this restriction, it was hoped that results could be obtained that could be interpreted as indicative of manuscript descent and that, at the same time, the side-effects of 'statistical noise' caused by contamination, by polygenesis of errors (parallelisms) and the like, could be reduced. As a consequence, methodology was faced with the crucial problem of defining what was to be understood by this term and of specifying criteria and conditions with which

14 PAUP: acronym for Phylogenetic Analysis Using Parsimony.
15 Figure 1, (3).
16 Figure 1 (4) for point of origin 02 in (3) and (5) for point of origin 01 in (3).
17 Sokal and Sneath 1963, *Principles*, 227-235.
18 Griffith 1979, 86; Galloway 1979, 91-92.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000266

variants had to comply in order to be qualified as 'genealogically relevant.' When reviewing the various definitions that have been proposed, we shall soon find that most of them postulate explicitly or implicitly that any such textual deviation or singularity has proved a stable element of the tradition, being of such kind as not to have provoked elimination by conjecture or spontaneous correction. This is exactly what, e.g., the notion of the genealogical quadruple or the type-2 variations of the Amsterdam team implies when postulating that the two variants be distributed on exactly two groups of at least two witnesses or when other rules stipulate that the respective variant fit well and inconspicuously in its context in order to have escaped alteration by conjecture,[19] or that the reading has been protected as part of a rhyme, etc. These definitions clearly converge and can be subsumed under the *proviso* which Paul Maas stated in connection with his fundamental concept of 'Leitfehler' (significant errors, the word being coined in analogy to the geological 'Leitfossilien,' the guide fossils mentioned above).[20] In this *proviso* he postulates that any such error, more specifically any separative error be (translation by Barbara Flower) "so constituted that our knowledge of the state of conjectural criticism in the respective period enables us to feel confident that it cannot have been removed by conjecture during this period."[21]

All of this may be considered a revival and even a rehabilitation of the 'Lachmannian' principles of traditional stemmatics. But it also resuscitates the old dilemma about the analyst's subjectivity merely because it is again up to him to pass judgment on a variant's genealogical quality and to decide, e.g., whether a variant is inconspicuous enough for not having provoked correction, or, more generally, because in assessing a variant's usability for stemmatic purposes the analyst has to resort to his knowledge of the historical conditions of textual reproduction. Since such knowledge can be acquired only by successful elucidation of individual manuscript traditions which in turn will require making use of the expert's experience and historical knowledge, reasoning is bound to become circular and may, indeed, become biased by subjective decisions as before. Though it is possible to base stemmatic research on circular reasoning and methods of such reciprocal illumination,[22] this is certainly no way to overcome the dilemma. But is there any way out?

An alternative solution will become discernible when we consider that manuscript transmission can be viewed either as a succession of states of a text or as a genealogical branching process of its records. It is for this reason that a basic distinction is to be drawn between a text as a text version, i.e., a linguistic or mental phenomenon, and a text in any recorded form ('codex' or 'witness').[23] Accord-

19 See Salesman 1996, 19 (type-2 limitation), 6 (inconspicuousness).
20 Maas 1960. "Textkritik. Anhang I (Leitfehler und stemmatische Typen)," 26.
21 Maas 1956, trans. Barbara Flower 1959, 27.
22 Uthemann 1996, "Which Variants Are Useful," 252.
23 Kleinlogel 1979, "Fundamentals," 194-195; see also Gŕski 1971, 340-343.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000267

ingly, all features which serve as arguments in establishing manuscript relations may be classified as either 'codicological' (external evidence) if due to peculiarities of material transmission (gaps, transpositions of pages and quires, addition of marginal notes and commentaries, joint transmission in a corpus combining it with other texts etc.) or 'textual' (internal evidence) if due to linguistic changes (like omissions, variations, interpolations, semantic shifting, orthographical and linguistic updating, or contamination by horizontal transmission etc.). Now, the historical process of manuscript transmission is primarily one of codicological character in that it was not normally only the text as an isolated text version that was copied but a codex in its entirety, including all of its additional and secondary components or even its defects caused by material damages and the like. In other words, it is not the succession of states of a text that is to be elucidated by genealogical analysis but the branching process of its carriers. And with the emphasis being upon this branching process, analysis will have to use as its primary evidence any specific peculiarity or innovation that has proved constant and irreversible under the process of successive copying, a property that can be best described as 'hereditary,' as a 'constante de la tradition verticale' as Jean Irigoin[24] has styled it or, using for the pun's sake a mathematical synonym, as an 'invariant.'

Returning to Maas' *proviso* and to the rules for identifying variants as genealogically relevant that appear to be converging towards this *proviso*, it can readily be shown to coincide with our conclusion if we rephrase its double negation as a positive statement postulating that in order to be genealogically relevant the respective feature or peculiarity should have proved stability and continuity under the process of transmission rather than '*not* having been *eliminated* by conjecture' or having '*escaped* correction by passing *unnoticed*.' In fact, whenever doubts have been raised about the argumentative value of any 'significant variant' or 'significant error,' or corroboration attempted, the discussion would focus upon the conditions which might decide on the variant's or the error's stability and irreversibility in the course of textual transmission, thus implicitly analysing its property of being hereditary or an 'invariant.' However, when we are to escape the dilemma about subjectivity in assessing variants we cannot let things rest with the irreversibility and invariance of errors, i.e., components of the linguistic level of the "text," but must extend the *proviso*'s purview to all aspects of manuscript transmission that may have proved hereditary and invariant, in other words, we must generalize Maas' *proviso* and include what the taxonomists and Maas meant when alluding to "fossils," namely: all material and codicological singularities or peculiarities of manuscript transmission such as the ones adduced above when making the distinction between text stages and witnesses, for the simple reason that these elements of the tradition showed much stronger a tendency to become and stay "invariants" as the following examples will demonstrate:

24 Irigoin 1977, "Quelques réflexions," 243.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000268

1. The so-called alphabetic plays of Euripides are mainly transmitted by two manuscripts L (Laur. 32,2) and P (Conv. soppr. 172) where for a long time it could not be decided whether they are entirely independent of each other or whether for certain parts P is to be regarded as a copy of L. Both manuscripts exhibit a number of conjunctive errors, the most absurd being a completely nonsensical punctuation mark, a colon, followed by an unusually large space in the middle of a sentence in verse 95 of the play Helena. When on June 3, 1960, Günter Zuntz[25] and the librarian of the Laurenziana checked the passage of L under the quartz lamp and the liabrarian ran her hand across the passage, the ominous colon disappeared, and a tiny bit of straw stuck to her finger that had come loose by the heat of the lamp. What had happened was obviously this: When the scribe of L incurred the obstacle of the paper he simply skipped it and left a space after it; the scribe of P, however, mistook it for a punctuation mark and faithfully reproduced it together with the space. Thus, a bit of straw furnished the proof that P had been copied from L and settled the dispute once and for all.
2. The manuscripts of the Athenian historian Thucydides have been enriched several times by abundant marginal commentaries that were referred to the words or the passages they explained by reference marks such as numbers (letters of the Greek alphabet) or symbols. When working on models containing these scholia the scribes frequently copied the respective reference marks together with the text and with the marginal apparatus leaving them unchanged as, on the one hand, this was a safe method not to disturb the coordination of text and scholia, and as, on the other hand, these marks, due to their purely functional and asemantic character, did not provoke changes by semantic shifting and the like. The remarkable thing about them, however, is the high degree of stability they have proved in this particular case: Although the manuscripts F (Munich, Mon. gr. 430), M (London, British Library, Add. 11727) and the corrector C^3 of C (Florence, Laur. plut. 69, cod. 2) derived their secondary material (scholia) from models that were separated by at least four stages of intermediaries and though some of them had been subject to intensive contamination these codicological elements have remained "invariant" and provide a convincing proof of the genealogical kinship of the texts involved.

I am fully aware that by adducing these and any other examples I have been telling nothing astonishingly new, nor has this been the point I wish to make. What I have found astonishing instead was the fact that many of the scholars who rely on computer based procedures to extract genealogical information from their collections of variants though they acknowledge by principle the argumentative potential offered by codicological features, they nevertheless show great

25 See his report in Zuntz 1965, 13-15.

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reluctance to take advantage of it and in most cases restrict themselves to adducing codicological and external evidence merely as a confirmation of the results obtained by numeric analysis. Stemmatic research, however, should proceed the other way around and base investigation primarily on codicological evidence, even if numerical procedures are envisaged.

This methodological reorientation seems more than justified when we consider its benefits:

1. Analysis of manuscript relationships can now argue by stringent logical inference from factual evidence rather than from probabilities and possibly subjective judgment such as the assessment of a variant's genealogical relevance. Even if we must make allowance for the investigator's subjectivity in diagnosing and evaluating codicological evidence, a higher level of certainty and objectivity will at any rate be obtainable by basing argumentation on 'invariants' instead of on indifferent 'variants.'
2. The results obtained by codicological analysis will enable the investigator to more reliably assess the status of the individual variant and to decide whether it is to be regarded as hereditary, hence genealogically relevant, or as secondary and due to conjecture, correction or contamination. In fact, whenever contaminated traditions have been successfully disentangled in the past, the crucial arguments for distinguishing the different layers and for identifying their possible sources came exclusively or nearly so from codicological evidence.
3. It is, therefore, primarily by codicologically oriented research that we will be able to acquire and expand our knowledge on the conjectural or, more generally, philological capabilites of different periods, of different centres of transmission, and of important historical personalities, etc., as implied and stipulated by Maas' *proviso* and that we can do so without running the risk of getting caught in circular argumentation.
4. It is only when based on codicological analysis that the 'recensio,' the elucidation of manuscript tradition and eventually its visualization by means of a stemma, can serve as a firm basis for editorial decisions by 'selectio' or 'emendatio,' and it is, indeed, only by a methodological reorientation as implied by the proposed codicological generalization of Maas' *proviso* that we can comply with Lachmann's famous postulate '*recensere sine interpretatione et possumus et debemus.*'[26]

So far, I hope that the question of *stemmata quid faciunt* could be given a satisfactory answer. As concerns the other question *instrumenta computatoria quid faciunt?* one important conclusion should have emerged from what we have discussed: Computer programmes and numerical procedures do not by themselves eliminate the analyst's subjectivity or guarantee more objective results. When

26 Lachmann 1842, *Novum Testamentum graece et latine*, praef. v.

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processing data based on purely textual features like variants they will produce little more than a classification with respect to similarity, which under favourable conditions may amount to an approximation of what the investigation is really aiming at. But it is only when feeding them data of genealogical relevance that they will be capable of uncovering genealogical relationship. So, once it has become evident that it is the data and not the computer or the computer programme that decides on the objectivity of our investigations we should concentrate on including in our collection the appropriate kind of data right from the beginning. The computer will nevertheless remain a useful or even indispensable means, especially when large masses of data are to be handled and processed. But it is in itself no guarantee for attaining a higher degree of objectivity.

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Editing Practice and Solutions

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Editing Problems of Persian Classical Texts and the Respect to Manuscript Authenticity

Iraj Afshar

At present, the oldest known dated and unaltered manuscript of a Persian text is *al-Abniya ʿan ḥaqāyiq al-adviya,* dated 447 (beg. 8 April 1055), belonging to the National Library of Austria. This manuscript was copied about one hundred years after its compilation. This manuscript owes its importance not only to its age. The name of the scribe Asadī-yi Ṭūsī, the composer of the *Garshāsb-Nāma* and the *Lughat-i Furs*, lends special weight and importance to the manuscript, as it was copied by a learned person and a philologist poet.

The next oldest manuscript is a fragment of the *Sharḥ-i Taʿarruf* of Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʾīl b. Muḥammad Mustamalī Bukhārī, dated 473 (beg. 22 June 1080), and belongs to the National Museum of Karachi. It is followed by the manuscript of the *Hidāyat al-mutaʿallimīn fī al-ṭibb* of Abū Bakr Rabīʿ b. Aḥmad Bukhārī, dated 478 (beg. 29 April 1085), which is preserved in the Bodleian Library (Oxford). These three texts have been published in a careful and scholarly manner. Generally, the editors of these texts, when transferring the original manuscript into the printed text, have reproduced the orthographic variations they found by using the four letters that are particular to the Persian orthography (پ، چ، ژ، گ). In the manuscripts, the first three letters were mostly written with one dot, and the fourth with three dots either over or underneath the oblique stroke. The indicated changes and alterations in the punctuation and paragraphing of the text are a manifestation of the difficulties and problems of transforming any Persian text from the handwritten manuscripts of past centuries into useful and scholarly editions.

In the texts published in Iran over the last sixty odd years, careful editors, in their introductions, have made known and described the manuscripts they used, indicating the order in which they transferred and edited the text. They have also described the emendations they undertook when editing the manuscripts, and they have especially pointed out the particular characteristics of the handwriting of the manuscript each chose as their exemplar manuscript. These experiments, taken as a whole, may lead us to decisive results about the strengths and weaknesses of the prevailing editing practice. The main characteristics and problems which were discussed in most of these introductions can be categorized as follows.

1. Each manuscript, even if we compare two manuscripts from the same century and period, features its own copying style. Even if there are several copies by a single scribe, they do not show likeness and unity in their calligraphy.

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Variations and differences are sometimes seen in consecutive lines even within the same page, which demonstrates that no scribe considered himself bound to a uniform orthography. As mentioned above, differences of copying style are not only related to the changes in handwriting over time, but even within the same period, the orthography varied from region to region. It is equally important to note that the reflection of dialects in the manuscripts is related to the peculiarities of the region the scribe hails from, which may be different from that of the author. A good example is the *bayāḍ* (notebook) of Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad Vazīr, which he compiled in 782 (beg. 7 April 1380; there are writings from eighty contemporary scholars and learned men all of whom were residents of Fars (one of the southern provinces of Persia), but each with a style of writing peculiar to himself.[1]

2. Among modern scholars, all the qualities related to the copying style and orthography of manuscripts have been referred to as "*rasm al-khaṭṭ*" (handwriting). But I believe that the copying style of old manuscripts should be divided into two elements. One is the general and common form of writing, such as the joining and separating of words; the indication of vocalization and diacritics; the use of other punctuation marks; and the use of Arabic orthography in Persian. The second element is the manner of writing letters, like the various representations of آ and especially the four particular letters of Persian (گ، ژ، چ، پ), which are not found in the Arabic alphabet. In addition, in old manuscripts and in the pronunciation of the period, there is a letter similar to ڤ/ڤ, which was probably pronounced somewhere between واو and فا (قام = وام). This category also includes dotted ذال after a vowel, such as in بیذ و بوذ و باذ, or attaching marks to similarly formed letters, because they were once accompanied by such marks, and those marks have now been completely abandoned, such as د – ر – ح – خ – ش – س etc. Perhaps this type of peculiarities may be called "*rasm al-ḥarf*" ('the spelling of letters').
3. The absence of diacritics in manuscripts is one of the causes of incorrect reading which particularly affects lost geographical and historical proper names, as well as scientific terms, especially in pharmacopeias and their like, and creates great difficulties. An example of a Persian text with very few diacritics is the *Lubb al-ḥisāb* written in the seventh/eighth century, which was published in a facsimile edition in Tehran (1368 sh./beg. 20 March 1989).[2] The lack of diacritics is not due to carelessness: according to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq Mayhanī, the author of the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* in 585 (beg. 19 February 1189), the absence of diacritics is part of good writing style, because

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1 Īraj Afshār, "Justārī dar nuskha-shināsī-yi Bayāḍ-i (Safina-yi) Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad-i Vazīr (mu'arrakh 782/[1380-81])." *Nāma-yi Bahāristān* 4, no. 1-2 (1382/2003-2004), pp. 35-62.

2 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī Munshī (6th c.), *Lubb al-ḥisāb*, published by Jamāl al-Dīn Shīrāziyān, Tehran: Markaz-i Intishārāt-i Nusakhhā-yi khaṭṭī, 1368/1409/1989.

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the reader of the letter should not be charged with ignorance. As Mayhanī put it,

> One should not put vowels and diacritical points and dots except at amiss places [*i.e.*, at places where a different diacritic would normally be expected]. However, providing diacritics and vocalization without any excuse is charging the addressee of a letter with ignorance.[3]

4. Regarding the four Persian letters, a particular rule cannot be derived from a comparison of the old manuscripts. Sometimes three dots were used to distinguish پ، چ، ژ and گ, and sometimes not. This has been mentioned before. The author of the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* put it as follows:

> And there are few letters in the Persian language which are not found in Arabic, such as ژ، چ، پ and گ. [The first] three all feature three dots so that it does not give rise to mistakes.[4]

He has another rule, too, for the letter گ; in words beginning with کاف مضموم [the letter 'k' marked with the vowel point "ḍammah" (ُ)] in order to avoid pronouncing it incorrectly, correct pronunciation is emphasized with the insertion of (or replacement by) ب. As an example, he added that گستاخ is written بستاخ.[5]

5. The punctuation in the middle and end of paragraphs is very limited in Persian manuscripts (as it is in Arabic), but nowadays in the printing of old texts, a European-based punctuation is used for the ease of reading and in order to separate the phrases from each other. The crucial point in this regard is that none of the editors has until now clarified which punctuation marks or dots were found in the manuscript itself and which ones were added by the editor himself. Often the editor, according to his understanding of the text, inserts a full stop which results in separating phrases in a way that the author did not necessarily intend. A practical way of distinguishing the editor's punctuation from that of the copyist has not yet been devised.
6. Paragraphing is one of the necessities which should now be implemented in all the old texts. In this regard, too, the editors do not indicate what the original condition of the manuscript was, and what form it has taken in the printed text.
7. The variations of pronunciation and letters in the manuscripts are of great importance both from the viewpoint of linguistics and for demonstrating the style and quality of the copying of manuscripts. Examples are لاجورد (Arabicized) and لاژورد (Persian); سرخ and صرخ (it is certainly written thus reflecting

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3 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mayhanī, *Dastūr-i dabīrī*, ed. Adnan S. Erzi, (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1962), p. 4.

4 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mayhanī, *Dastūr-i dabīrī*, p. 5.

5 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mayhanī, *Dastūr-i dabīrī*, p. xxx.

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some kind of pronunciation); طلخ and تلخ (such change is seen in many words with the letter ت). The author of the *Dastūr-i dabīrī* has written in this regard: "But صاد and طا is mixed with Persian. One should try to write it less as for instance one should write سرخ and شست and so on with سین."[6]

8. Separation in compound words occurs frequently but irregularly in old manuscripts. It results in difficulties such as دست گاه (دستگاه) پی روی (پیروی) هم دم (همدم) جوان مرد (جوانمرد) گل آب (گلاب). Ḥabīb Yaghmā'ī in the Sāmānid *Tarjuma-yi Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī* edition in seven volumes has retained most of the cases of separation (Tehran, 1340-1356).
9. The joining of two or three independent words is one of the difficulties of reading phrases such as کمعروفست (که معروف است); there are many similar examples (همینستکه = همین است که).
10. The manuscripts of geographical texts show at times 'unwritten' variations. While the places themselves have remained where they are – either above or underneath the ground – their names may have been written in different ways in the manuscripts. Sometimes none of the copies helps in editing the text. A good example can be found in the book *Masālik va mamālik* by Iṣṭakhrī (De Goeje's edition, p. 1302). There, the name of a place at a distance of six *farsakh* from Yazd is written as آبخیزه and some names identical to it have been given in the footnotes. But the name of the village whose place is determined by Iṣṭakhrī is انجیره, which is now situated in the same place, *i.e.*, 'the place which has fig trees,' and Iṣṭakhrī, too, in the continuation of the description of this place, has written: « و انماهی صحراه فیها اصول تین. » As none of the copies had written انجیره, De Goeje had no basis for inserting the correct toponym, or to mention in the apparatus that the place is locally called Anjireh.
11. The special pronunciation of Persian words such as بُرادر، سُخن، تُوانستن، جُوان، سُوار should be retained. A very exact example of a manuscript that preserves this orthography is the *Tavārikh* by Quṭbī Aharī which belongs to the Library of Leiden University (No. 2634), where most of the words are written in this form.[7]
12. A distinctive orthography for homophones with different meanings such as گزاردن and گذاردن, and خاستن and خواستن should be maintained, and the editor is obligated to write the correct form of it in the text. For instance, if the editor was to ignore this convention, the word (to demand) خواستن might be spelled (to rise) خاستن, which is wrong.

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6 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mayhanī, *Dastūr-i dabīrī*, p. 5.

7 See the catalogue, vol. V, p. 228, and the preface of the *Ta'rīkh-i Shaikh Uwais*, translated by Johannes Baptist van Loon, s'Gravenhage, 1954.

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13. The genealogy of the various manuscripts of a text is generally determined on the basis of the date when they were copied, but perhaps it is necessary to make a distinction between them if they belong to different cultural areas. For instance, the manuscripts that were written during the period of the Seljuks of Anatolia in the areas of Sivās and Arzanjān (Erzincan) show differences from the viewpoint of "*rasm al-khaṭṭ*" in comparison with the manuscripts written by Seljuqid copyists from Kirmān and Iṣfahān during the same period.

The Persian texts which have survived from the Sāmānid period (more than a thousand years ago) have been copied over the centuries in the prevailing scripts of each cultural region and with the changes that occurred in the orthography over the centuries.

Unfortunately, most of the time there is a gap of many years between the compilation of the work and the date of the oldest extant manuscript, and we are entirely ignorant of the author's orthography. For instance, the composition of the *Shāhnāma* was completed in 400 (beg. 25 August 1009), but the oldest known manuscript of this book is dated 614 (beg. 10 April 1217), and even this only became known some twenty years ago. Hence the editors who produced various editions of this epic from the nineteenth century onwards and until the discovery of the 614/1217 copy by Jalāl Khāliqī Muṭlaq, had to use manuscripts dating from the eighth century onwards.

Texts which were copied in calligraphy before the death of the author are rare; among these is the *Khatm al-gharā'ib* by Khāqānī (renowned as *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn*), which was penned two years before the death of the poet. This manuscript, which is dated 593 (beg. 24 November 1196), is part of the uncatalogued collections of the National Library of Austria, and remained unknown until recently.[8]

Undoubtedly the most significant difficulty in presenting an emended, definitive text that strives to retain the orthography used by its author is the absence of authentic manuscripts, or the fact that they remain unknown. If a manuscript copied from the autograph is not available, a copy close to the author's time must be used. Therefore one must expend great effort to find and use reliable and correct manuscripts for the purpose of the authoritative editing of the words of any classic author.

This list could be easily prolonged. It may suffice here to point out that the problems and questions the editor of Persian manuscripts is faced with are endless, and decisions need to be taken at each step to make the edition both meaningful and accessible. In the second part of this paper, I shall highlight a few of the achievements.

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[8] Īraj Afshār, Fihrist-i dastnivishā-yi Fārsī dar Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-yi Utrish va Arshīv-i Dawlatī-yi Utrish dar Viyan [*Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Austrian National Library and in the Austrian State Archives in Vienna*], Tehran: Fihristgān, 2003, pp. 84-87.

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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It is instructive to chart the development of authoritative editions of New Persian texts over the past two centuries, first under the efforts of orientalists, and later, Iranian scholars. While difficulties and problems existed, there are instances of excellent work as well.

The copying of manuscripts in respect to handwriting style is subject to the time and region where the copy was produced. Jalāl Matīnī in his outstanding research has specified three periods and has found some variations and differences in the handwriting style of each of these periods. Differences between several copies of a text are due not only to date; there may also be variations between several manuscripts of the same period if they were copied in different regions. Such differences may be found for instance among the copies of the *dīvāns* of the poets of the Safavid period which were produced in Iran and India.

During the millennium in question, the first eight hundred years are the period of handwriting, whereas the last two centuries witnessed the rise of print. These two centuries, in which copyists published classical texts from old copies in the form of edited books, start in India, where M. Lumsden published the first volume of the *Shāhnāma* in 1811 (1225) in typography and Nasta'līq script; thirty years later the *Lisān al-'Ajam* by Shu'ūrī was published in Constantinople in 1255 (beg. 17 March 1839). Following that, numerous texts were printed in India, whether by the Asiatic Society under the supervision of individuals like Sir William Jones and W. Nassau-Lees, or by publishers like Nawalkishore, and others.

After this initial period begins the era of editing Persian texts by orientalists in European countries. Among this generation, the names of Étienne Quatremère, Jules Mohl, Johann August Vullers, Il'ya Nikolaevich Berezin, Paul Horn, Louis-Amélie Sedillot, P.R. Seligman, Georg Graf, Albin de Biberstein-Kazimirski, Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, Valentin Aleksevich Zhukovskii and Edward Granville Browne may be mentioned by way of example.

At about the same time lithography became prevalent in Iran, the publishing of literary texts like the *Shāhnāma*, collected works (*kulliyāt*) of Sa'dī, the *Mathnavī* of Rūmī and the *Divān-i Ḥāfiẓ* were particularly regarded with favour. During the last twenty years of the Nāṣirī period (1875-1895), particular attention was paid to the correctness of the text. The critical notes which Amīr Niẓām Garrūsī added on the margins of the *Kalīla va Dimna* printed in Tabriz (1886) are examples of this. It is probable that Amīr Niẓām, who was a governor and an eloquent writer and calligrapher and who lived in Paris as an ambassador for some time, was acquainted with the orientalists (including Biberstein Kazimirsky) who were familiar with the Persian language and the scientific method of editing texts.

A few years earlier, in 1880, on the order of the army commander Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān 'Alā' al-Dawla, and with the efforts of a learned man named Mīrzā Ṭāhir Baṣīr al-Mulk Shaybānī, a lithograph edition of Mawlavī's *Mathnavī* was

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published (Tehran, 1882); this edition consisted of the *Kashf al-abyāt* (alphabetical index of couplets), and this kind of presentation was novel.

In 1862, an edition of the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī* was edited and supervised by Aḥmad Adīb Pishāvarī, a first rate poet of this time, and published in Tehran. Of course, before that, W. Nassau-Lees' edition was published in 1862 in Calcutta as a volume of the Bibliotheca Indica, but the advantages of Adīb's explanatory and marginal notes in the new edition would attract the attention of future scholars. I should also mention the famous edition of the *Shāhnāma* which was published by the order of Ḥusayn Pāshā-khān Amīr Bahādur-Jang by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Adīb al-Mamālik Farāhānī (the famous poet) and 'Abd al-'Alī Mubād Bīdgulī (a writer and poet who aimed at pure Persian writing) in the year 1907, and quickly gained renown.

Though some work has been done on these four works which shows some interest in the correctness of the text, and although there has been no taint of commercialism in their publication, they cannot be considered as completely scholarly publications, because they did not mention the exemplars on which the edition in question was based.

Perhaps by chance, it was at about the same time that in Ottoman Turkey Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī, who was an Iranian scholar and a man of letters, published two important texts, the *Dīvān-i aṭ'ima* by Bushāq-i Shīrāzī (Galata: Chāpkhāna-yi Abū al-Ziyā, 1884) and the *Dīvān-i albisa* by Maḥmūd Niẓām Qāri-yi Yazdī (Istanbul: Chāpkhāna-yi Abū al-Ziyā, 1885), following the copies he had seen in Istanbul. Similarly, the French orientalist H. Ferté, too, surely with the cooperation of Mirzā Ḥabīb, published a selection of 'Ubayd-i Zākānī's *Dīvān* the same year (1884). These three texts have been a source of reference for scholars ever since, though they lack the qualities of a critical edition.

The scholarly and critical editing and publishing of Persian texts commences with the activities of Muḥammad Qazvīnī in Europe. Initially working with Edward G. Browne, and then independently, he edited various texts; by publishing the three volumes of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy* by 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī in the Gibb Memorial Series, Qazvīnī proved his scholarly ability and critical sense and provided an example that later editors have tried to emulate. It is after the publication of the first works of Qazvīnī that scholars like Naṣrullāh Taqavī, Muḥammad 'Alī Furūghī, Muḥammad Taqī Bahār, 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Qarīb, Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Jalāl Tihrānī, Ḥasan Vaḥīd Dastgirdī, 'Alī 'Abd al-Rasūlī, Ḥabīb Yaghmā'ī, Ghulām-Riżā Rashīd Yasamī, Sa'īd Nafīsī, 'Abbās Iqbāl, Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Rażavī, Jalāl Humā'ī and Mujtabā Mīnuvī embarked on publishing texts with attention to introducing the manuscript exemplar, copies, and variant traditions. Of course, the editing methods differ slightly from one scholar to the next.

After this group, a large number of their students started publishing texts, a practice which has continued from generation to generation until now. At this

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stage, the names of the late Yaḥyā Mahdavī, Ẕabīḥullāh Ṣafā, Muḥammad Mu'īn, Parvīz Nātel Khānlarī, Ṣādiq Gawharīn, Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, Mahdī Bayānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith, Aḥmad Gulchīn Ma'ānī, Aḥmad 'Alī Rajā'ī and Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī should not be forgotten.

In conclusion of this brief account, which I believe was not fruitless for general knowledge, it is necessary to mention that although the Intishārāt-i Kulāla-yi Khāvar, the Idāra-yi Nigārish-i Vizārat-i Farhang and Tehran University took the lead in publishing texts, the first important and thoughtful step was taken by the Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb (Bureau of Translation and Publication of Books) by producing a collection of Persian texts under the supervision of Ehsan Yarshater; this series includes more than forty titles published between the years 1966 and 1978.

There are several collections which have become available through the Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān (Foundation of Iranian Culture) under the supervision of Parvīz Nātel Khānlarī between the years 1966-1978, in several different series such as *Tārīkh va jughrāfya-yi Īrān, Zabān va adabiyāt-i Fārsī, Farhanghā-yi Fārsī,* and others. Currently, the Mu'assasa-yi Mīrāth-i Maktūb have taken charge of publishing the texts of classical authors. Since 1994, it has published about a hundred titles and also publishes a magazine named *Ā'ina-yi Mīrāth* whose articles are concerned solely with introducing manuscripts, methods of editing texts, and criticism of published texts.

In the field of scholarly editions, which is based on the editor's intention to follow the exemplar while criticizing the various copies, certain difficulties in the editing of Persian texts have become gradually evident. In order to address one of these difficulties, a study of the gradual development of the evolution of Persian handwriting was carefully carried out. Any practical and accurate solution must include a method of addressing this orthography that takes into account both current linguistic rules and the special requirements of the Persian language, and efforts were made to find and apply an orthography that was suited to this age.

At the outset, Aḥmad Bahmanyār in 1944 and then Muṣṭafā Muqarrabī on the initiative of Parvīz Nātel Khānlarī in that year, and following them Jalāl Humā'ī, presented their suggestions on Persian orthography. After them, several other views were presented and some scholarly institutions proposed and introduced their particular orthographic style.

Recently the *Farhangistān-i zabān va adab* (The Persian Language and Literature Academy) has presented a new *Shīva-nāma* devoted to this purpose. In Jūyā Jahānbakhsh's treatise, which he had written for the Daftar-i Mīrāth-i Maktūb (Bureau of Written Heritage) on the guidelines for the editing of texts, one section is allocated to this very subject.

Without doubt the new methods which have been produced in these ways have naturally influenced the editing of texts and their orthography, and generally

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the problem which disturbs the minds of editors is to what extent the manuscript, *i.e.*, the old handwriting, should be followed, and to what extent it is necessary to apply more modern methods of orthography which facilitate the reading and printing of the text.

Whether one should completely surrender to the style of old manuscripts, as happened in the editions of the *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (1896) and *Kashf al-maḥjūb* (1926, posthumously) by Zhukovsky, and render all the letters in the same way as they are found in the original copy, is debatable. Mohl in his edition of the *Shāhnāma* in 1880, and Fritz Meier, in the *Firdaws al-murshidiyya* (Leipzig, 1948), e.g., held that the traditional orthography in the manuscripts should be abandoned and the pronunciation of contemporary Iranians and their recent way of writing should be adopted as the basis. Several text editors were inclined to advocate that the use of phrases and words remain faithful to the old manuscripts. Almost all the Iranian editors have followed this practice.

The need to apply consistent standards in editing the texts resulted in the translations of books on this subject by Gotthelf Bergsträsser (from Arabic into Persian), 'Abd al-Salām Hārūn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (from Arabic into Persian), though these three books are based on the study of Arabic texts and manuscripts and not Persian ones. Fortunately, before them, Jalāl Matīnī had presented his scholarly research on the development of the handwriting of Persian manuscripts, and Najīb Māyil Haravī has published the two useful and comprehensive books *Naqd va tasḥīḥ-i mutūn* (Mashhad, 1369/1990-91), and the *Tārīkh-i nuskha-pardāzī va taṣḥīḥī-yi intiqādī-yi nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī* (Tehran, 1380/2001-2002), describing the stages of codicology and the methods of editing Persian manuscripts. Most recently, the treatise "Rāhnamā-yi tasḥīḥ-i mutūn" (Guide to text editing) by Juyā Jahānbakhsh on the order of the Daftar-i Mīrāth-i Maktūb has also become available.

The editors have seen most of these instances in the manuscripts. The differences between the manuscripts are so great that it has made the uniformity of method a difficult task. Even my own paper did nothing but discuss the difficulties and problems of editing Persian manuscripts. I conclude my paper with the words of Muḥammad Qazvīnī, the first of the great 20th century editors:

> The writer of these lines has generally placed the old manuscripts as the basis of text and placed the rest of the important substitutes of the manuscripts in the margin, and entirely overlooked the innumerable unimportant substitutes which do not change the meaning and are subject to the carnal desires of the scribes like « "گردانید"، "ساخت"، "نمود"، "کرد"، "گرد" » and so on, because no line and rather no word in this introduction is free of difference in reading and has no use except for wasting the time of the reader and painlessly filling up the space.[9]

[9] Preface to the مقدمه شاهنامه ابو منصوری . Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīst Maqāla-yi Qazvīnī.* (Tehran: Chāpkhāna-yi Sharq, 1332/1953-54), vol. II, p. 28.

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Editorial choices in preparing the critical edition of the *Bābur-nāma*

Eiji Mano

Historical records concerning pre-modern Islam have come down to us in almost all cases in the form of written manuscripts which are copies of lost originals. Whether the language employed therein is Arabic, Persian, or Turkish, the manuscript copy is seldom in the hand of the original author. Original manuscripts have been lost over the course of changing times, and at present they are impossible to obtain in most cases. For this reason, if one wishes to learn about the form of an original manuscript, it is necessary to produce a critical edition.

Despite this fact, when it comes to the history of Islam, the number of critical editions that can be safely relied upon is even smaller. This is an unfortunate situation, and it might be said that its amelioration is a common task faced by all students of Islam throughout the world.

In the process of creating a critical edition, one is continually confronted with the problems of selection, such as which of several manuscripts will serve as the basic text, which words and which passages will be employed, and on the basis of which criteria. As an example of the problems of selection an editor may face in the process of creating a critical edition, I would like to share with you the problems of selection that I experienced when creating the critical edition in Arabic script of the *Bābur-nāma*,[1] which was written in Chaghatay Turkic. The *Bābur-nāma* is the memoirs of Bābur (1483-1530), who was born as a prince of the Timurids (1370-1507) in Central Asia in the second half of the fifteenth century and established the Mughal Empire (1526-38, 1555-1858) in India in the first half of the sixteenth century.

1. Selection of the basic text

There are known to be at least ten varieties of manuscripts of the *Bābur-nāma* written in Chaghatay extant in libraries in India, Iran, the United Kingdom, and Russia.[2] Which of these manuscripts was to be chosen as the base manuscript for

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1 Mano 1995.

2 As for the Chagatay manuscripts, *cf.* Mano 2001. 22-34. The following six manuscripts are important: Haydarabad ms. (Salarjung Museum and Library), Edinburgh ms. (National Library of Scotland, Adv. 18.3.18.), Tehran ms. (Kitābkhāna-yi Salṭanatī, 2249), London ms. (British Library, Add. 26324), St. Petersburg Kehr ms. (Sankt-Peterburgskij Filial Instituta Vostokovedenija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, D685), St. Petersburg Senkovski ms. (Sankt-Peterburgskij Filial Instituta Vostokovedenija Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, D117).

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a critical edition? In order to make this decision, it was necessary to view in person each of the actual manuscripts kept in the various libraries. In this case, I chose the Haydarabad ms. (copied possibly in the first half of the seventeenth century)[3] as the basic text as a result of these viewings. The reason for the selection was that this manuscript contained the greatest quantity of the contents of the original. In terms of quality, this manuscript was likewise superior.

When a manuscript is said to be superior in terms of quality, it means that the manuscript's quality has been determined on the basis of a number of factors, such as whether the characters have been written with precision, whether passages have been faithfully copied, whether proper names have been carefully transcribed, whether the scribe had been a meticulous copyist, whether miniatures are attached,[4] and the quality of the paper. When two parallel lines of text in a manuscript written in the same language begin with the same words, it is common for a scribe to skip one entire line when copying the original. When this occurs, a line that would have been found in the original is omitted from the copied manuscript. This variety of omission being common, the problem becomes one of determining the nature and extent of the errors in each of the manuscripts. The number of this sort of error was relatively small in the Haydarabad ms.

Furthermore, the age of the production of the manuscript is an important factor in determining its value. There is no problem regarding the age of the manuscript if it is noted in a colophon at the close of the manuscript. However, when no date is recorded, one must estimate the age of the manuscript by comparing contents, etc. As a general rule, it is thought that manuscripts that are closer in age to the original are of a higher value. Judging from the age of the copying of the manuscripts, both the Edinburgh (copied possibly at the beginning of the seventeenth century) and Tehran (copied possibly between 1589 and 1613) mss. are thought to have been produced prior to the Haydarabad manuscript.[5] This being the case, one might suppose that these two manuscripts would be more valuable. In reality, these manuscripts can be said to be of high quality, but, unfortunately, both these manuscripts contain a number of lacunae and are much inferior to the Haydarabad ms. in terms of quantity, and the completeness of the text. Due to this factor, I did not choose either of them as the base manuscript. In this fashion, the quantity of text contained in the manuscript is an important criterion in the selection of the basic manuscript.

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3 Reproduced in Beveridge 1905.

4 Miniatures are not attached to any of the Chagatay manuscripts.

5 The Tehran ms. is thought to have been produced between the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the Edinburgh ms. at the beginning of the 17th century, the Haydarabad ms. in the first half of the 17th century and the Kehr and the Senkovski mss. in the 18th century. Concerning the Chaghatay manuscripts of the *Bāburnāma*, cf. Mano 1996, xxxix, xliv-xlix; Mano 1999, 180-181; Mano 2001, 21-40.

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000286

2. The selection of manuscripts to be compared

I chose the Edinburgh and London (copied in 1039/1629-30) mss. as well as the Kazan edition published by N. Ilminski[6] from among the manuscripts available at the time of publication to compare them against the Haydarabad ms. because they were thought to be valuable in terms of quality. Were I making the choice today, I would add the Tehran ms. and the Kehr ms. in St. Petersburg (copied in 1737) to the list of manuscripts to be used in comparison. In preparing a critical edition, employing all manuscripts would be the ideal. However, because manuscripts are often scattered around the world, or cannot be used at all for a variety of reasons,[7] the realization of this ideal is an exceedingly difficult proposition. For these reasons, one can simply use those manuscripts to which one has access.

In the process of comparing manuscripts, I employed an older manuscript in addition to the Chaghatay texts, i.e., a manuscript produced closer in time to the original, which had been translated into Persian in India (copied in 1589).[8] The reason for this choice is that I felt that the Persian translation produced closer to the time of the original, was more likely to have correctly preserved the form of the original than the various Chaghatay mss. that were copied at later dates.

As was once noted by W. Erskine[9] and recently by W. Thackston,[10] the Persian version of the *Bābur-nāma* is an extremely faithful translation of the Chaghatay original. The Persian translation follows not only the wording, which may perhaps go without saying, but also the syntax of the Chaghatay original. Of course, Persian and Chaghatay Turkic belong to utterly disparate language groups. Thus, by attempting to faithfully conform to the syntax of the Chaghatay original, some rather strange Persian was created. Yet, this ironically proved quite convenient when it came to preparing a critical edition of the Chaghatay original in light of the Persian translation. It was particularly useful when words that were not ordinarily used in Persian had been adopted as is in the translation, and for words that had not been clearly written in the Chaghatay original. For these reasons, in preparing the critical edition, I employed the Persian translation to the fullest extent possible when there were problems in the original Chaghatay text.

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6 Ilminski 1857.

7 For example, as the Tehran ms. had been considered an extremely valuable volume of the former Iranian Royal Collection, and because Iran was passing through the vicissitudes of the Islamic Revolution, access to the manuscript was extremely limited. See Mano, 1999, 175-176.

8 *Wāqi'āt-i Bāburī*, British Library Or. 3714; *Wāqi'āt-i Bāburī*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. persan 265. The original Chaghatay text was translated into Persian by 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān-i Khānān in 1589.

9 Leyden, John & William Erskine 1826, lx.

10 Thackston 1993, I, xii-xv.

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In comparing texts for a critical edition, it can be concluded that a translation that was produced at a time not far removed from the date of the preparation of the original may be an ideal tool of comparison and control.

3. Selecting words

It is frequently the case that a single word has been written in a completely different form in the basic text and another manuscript.

In such cases, although this might be deemed only common sense, one must chose what appears to be the appropriate word based on whether it is included in the Turkic dictionaries of Zenker[11] and Clauson,[12] etc, the context, and whether it can be understood as Chaghatay.

For example, in the case of the word SWSWB SWB in the Haydarabad ms. 276b, which appears as SWRWSHWB in the Edinburgh ms. 228b, SWSWSHWB in the London ms. 81b, and is missing from Kehr ms. 670 and Kazan ed. 358, I employed the word from the London manuscript, which appears on page 444 of the critical edition. The reason for this choice is that the SWSWSHWB of the London ms., that is to say the *süsüshüp* form, appears as the base form of the verb SWSSHMEK in Zenker, and as SWSWSHWB can readily be understood as the converb form, it appears that it is appropriate given the context, meaning "pushing their heads together, their horns collided." Moreover, as the Persian translation uses the expression *yak dīgarrā rānda*, "trying to repel one another," in other words, almost the same meaning, this served as strong evidence for correctness of my choice of words. The fact that this was the correct choice was confirmed when the Tehran ms. 936a which later became available, revealed that it contained the same word form as that found in the London ms.

Additionally, there are extremely rare cases in which a certain word is not found in any of the manuscripts that have been employed, but one can surmise what in fact the word was from the context. In such cases, I entered the presumed correct word into the text of the critical edition and identified its nature using a symbol (*). For example, the word AWQ *oq*, meaning arrow, on page 269 of the critical edition, does not appear in any of the manuscripts. However, it is clear from the sentence *otuz qïrq batman yay bilä ni atïp*, "let fly 30 to 40 [batman] with a bow" that a word should be inserted between "let fly" and "with a bow." That the word should be *oq*, arrow, can also be seen from the expression *oqnï atïp* that appears four lines later in the text. It was not possible to confirm this from the Persian translation, as this passage is not found therein.

11 Zenker 1967.
12 Clauson 1972.

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In this fashion, whether the meaning of the passage is conveyed or not, that is to say, the appropriateness of the syntax, is frequently the criterion in selecting the correct word or expression.

4. The choice of spellings

Because the orthography of Chaghatay Turkic has not been fixed, a single word is often represented by a number of different spellings. For example, *ulugh*, meaning big, has been rendered in four different ways in the Haydarabad ms. alone, i.e., AWLWGH/AWLGH/ALWGH/ALGH. In such cases, I have chosen not to follow a standardized uniform spelling, but have maintained the original forms found in the base text in the critical edition. This is because I wished to indicate the multiplicity of Chaghatay spellings in the critical edition. Nevertheless, I did venture to standardize the spelling of certain words, such as *bir*, meaning one and written BYR/BR, because of the difficulty of distinguishing them in the manuscript. However, this was done only in the case of nine words.[13]

In effect, I chose in principle to respect the spellings found in the basic text.

5. Selecting passages

In some cases, rather lengthy passages, of perhaps three lines or even a page, are missing from the Hayardabad ms. Both the Persian translation and the other Chaghatay mss. have been useful in restoring the lost passages. In other words, when a passage is found in Chaghatay manuscripts and also in the Persian translation, it is clear that the passage was found in the original, and I have employed it in the critical edition without hesitation.[14]

Such cases occur quite frequently, and in creating the critical edition one is reminded of the importance of the existence of a translation produced at a time not far removed from the creation of the original.

6. The problem of selecting wording to be used in footnotes

In the process of editing the critical edition, when correcting the basic Haydarabad ms. in light of the other manuscripts, I have, with only a few exceptions, indicated in footnotes the name of each manuscript that served as the source of

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13 *bir, ber-, berkit-, beri, begim, biz, qïlïch, cherig, yer; cf.* Mano 1996, lv.

14 An example: The Haydarabad ms. 85a has *bu ish bilä bu alïsh arasïda köp farq bar dur.* The Edinburgh ms. 61a has *bu ish bilä ol ish araïda tafāvutlar dur vä ol alïsh bilä bu alïsh arasïda köp farq bar dur.* The Persian translation, 108b has *dar miyān-i īn kār wa ān kār tafāwut hāst wa dar miyān-i īn giriftan wa ān giriftan bisyār farqast.* The Critical edition, 125 has *bu ish bilä [ol ish arasïda tafāvutlar dur vä ol alïsh bilä] bu alïsh araïda köp farq bar dur.*

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the emendation. This method allows users of the critical edition to ascertain the basis for the emendation and should provide them the means to confirm the validity of the correction themselves.

There are cases in which wording does not correspond in each manuscript. In such cases, when it was unclear which wording should be adopted for the critical edition,[15] or when certain wording was not adopted but it was thought to have value as a reference,[16] those word forms were quoted in footnotes with the abbreviations for the manuscript as much as possible. This method should also provide users of the critical edition with sufficient material to judge for themselves the appropriateness of the wording selected for the critical edition.

However, I did not indicate in the footnotes those variants in the mss. that seemed to be particularly obvious errors.[17] As I was attempting to restore the original text, had I indicated such errors in the footnotes, it would have had little significance. Moreover, I felt that to indicate all such errors would make the text cumbersome and difficult to read.

There are no perfect critical editions. No matter how close to the original one comes, it is impossible to perfectly reproduce it. In this sense this author's critical edition is nothing more than one step forward in the development of further research to come.

In an effort that should secure this step forward, this author is now employing the Tehran ms. in the process of revising the critical edition. The number of revisions is not large, but it would be an unanticipated pleasure, were it possible to publish a more accurate second edition at some time in the future.

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15 For example, the word *avānïda* found near the end of 94a in the Haydarabad ms. appears as *vaqtïda* in the Kazan edition and as *zamānïda* in the Edinburgh ms., while this part is missing altogether from the London ms. In a situation such as this, one can only say with confidence that there was some word in the original text meaning "at the time when."

16 For example, the place name *Masīḫā* found on 14a in the Haydarabad ms. and also in the Edinburgh ms. appears as *Masīkhā* in the Kazan edition and as *Maschā* in the Persian translation, while this part is missing altogether from the London ms.

17 For example, I corrected *atagh* found on 3a in the Haydarabad ms. to *tagh* meaning "mountain," *shahr-nïng yavuqghïdïn* on 44b to *shahr-nïng yavughïdïn* meaning "from the neighbourhood of the town." Copyist's errors are obvious.

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Illustrations

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[*Sheila S. Blair* – Writing and Illustrating History: Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*]

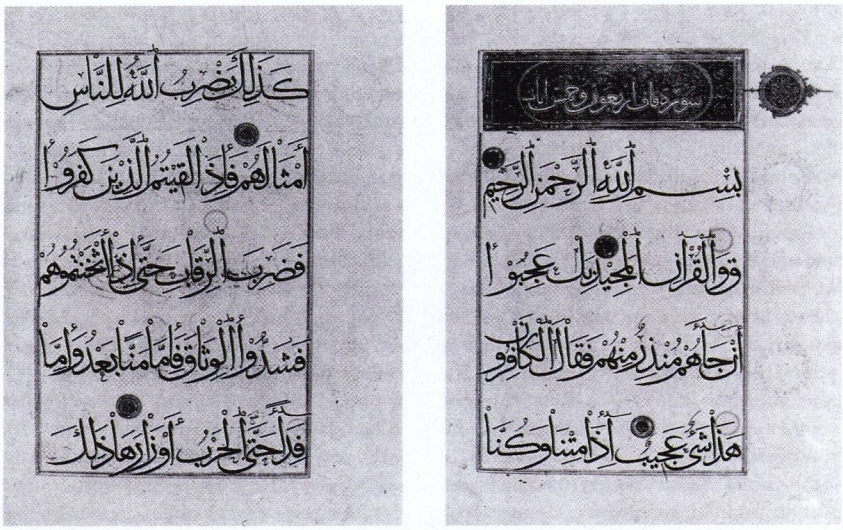

Fig. 1. Two pages from *juz'* 16 of a large, thirty-part manuscript of the Koran made for Rashīd al-Dīn in Ṣafar 715/April 1315. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum EH 248. fols. 43b and 16b (after James 1988, no. 46, figs. 84-85).



Fig. 2. Double page from a large, thirty-part manuscript of the Koran copied and gilded by 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Hamadānī in Jumādā I 713/September 1313 at Rashīd al-Dīn's pious foundation at Hamadan. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub ms. 72.

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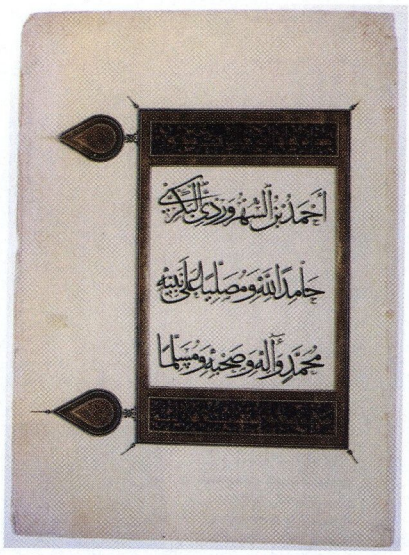

Fig. 3. Colophon from a large, thirty-part manuscript of the Koran copied at Baghdad by Aḥmad b. al-Suhrawardī between 701 and 707 (1302-08). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 55.44a.

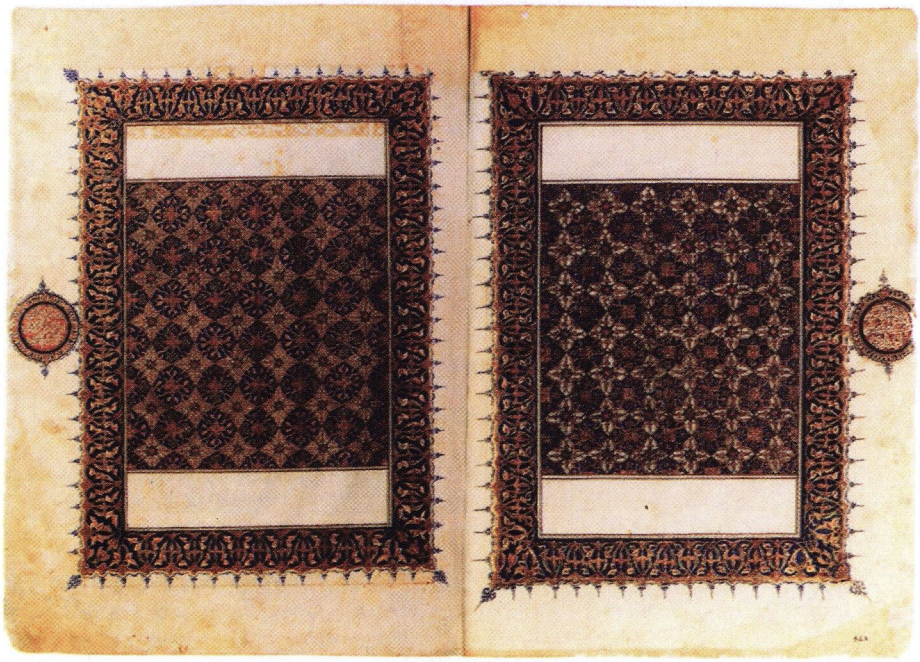

Fig. 4. Double page frontispiece from a copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's theological treatise *Majmūʿa-yi Rashīdiyya* transcribed by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Amīn and illuminated by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAfif al-Kāshī. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms arabe 2324, fols. 3b-4a (after Richard 1997, no. 12).

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Fig. 5. Page showing Jonah and the Whale from an Arabic copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* transcribed in 714/1314-15. London, Nour Foundation, ms. 727, fol. 299a.

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Fig. 6. Page showing Jonah and the Whale from a Persian copy of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh* transcribed in Jumādā II 714/October 1314. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum H 1654, fol. 291b (after Karl Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rašīd ad-Dīn*, Vienna, 1973, pl. 40).

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[*Jan Just Witkam* – The battle of the images. Mecca vs. Medina in the iconography of the manuscripts of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-Khayrāt*]



Fig. 1. Or. 25.418, f. 8a. Unillustrated manuscript from West Africa.

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Fig. 2. Or. 7057a (6), f. 32b. Single illustration (*Rawḍa*) from Banten, West Java.

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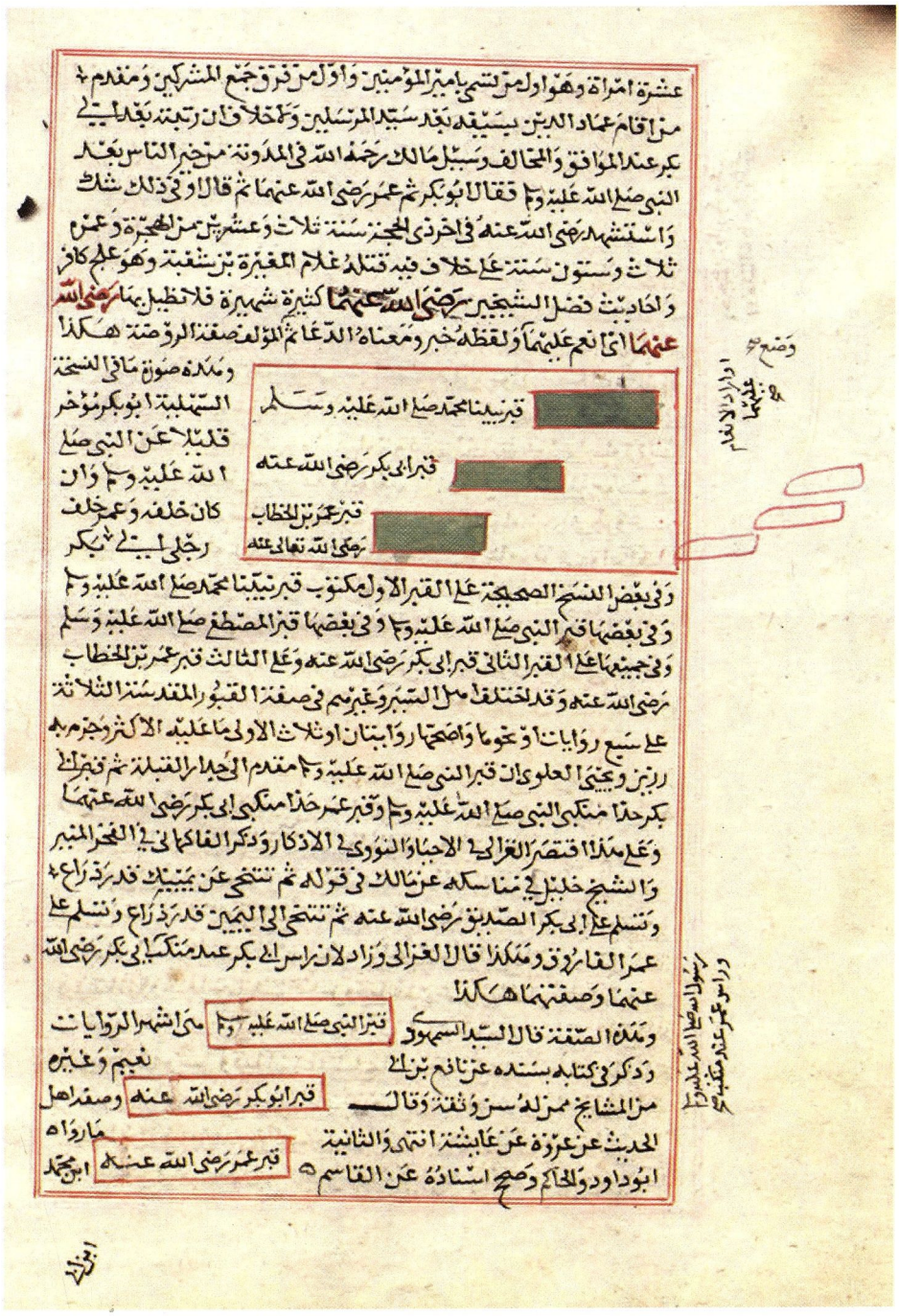

Fig. 3. Or. 12.121, f. 67b. Single illustration (*Rawḍa*) in al-Fāsī's commentary, in a manuscript from Egypt (?).

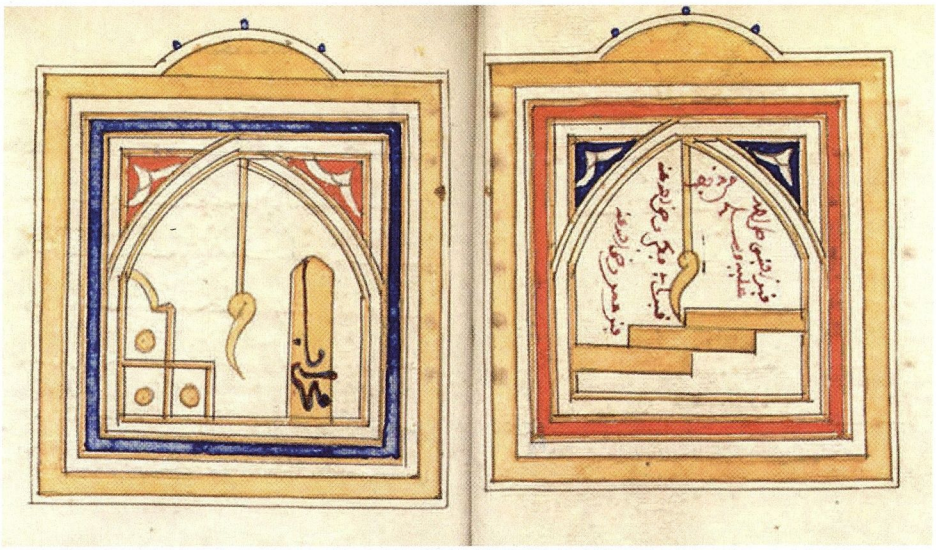

Fig. 4. Or. 23.263, ff. 21b-22a. Double image, *Rawḍa* and *Minbar* of Medina. Manuscript from the Maghrib.



Fig. 5. Or. 12.016, ff. 104-105. Double image, *Rawḍa* and *Minbar* of Medina, with captions for the Mekka-Medina double image. Manuscript and lithography from Istanbul.

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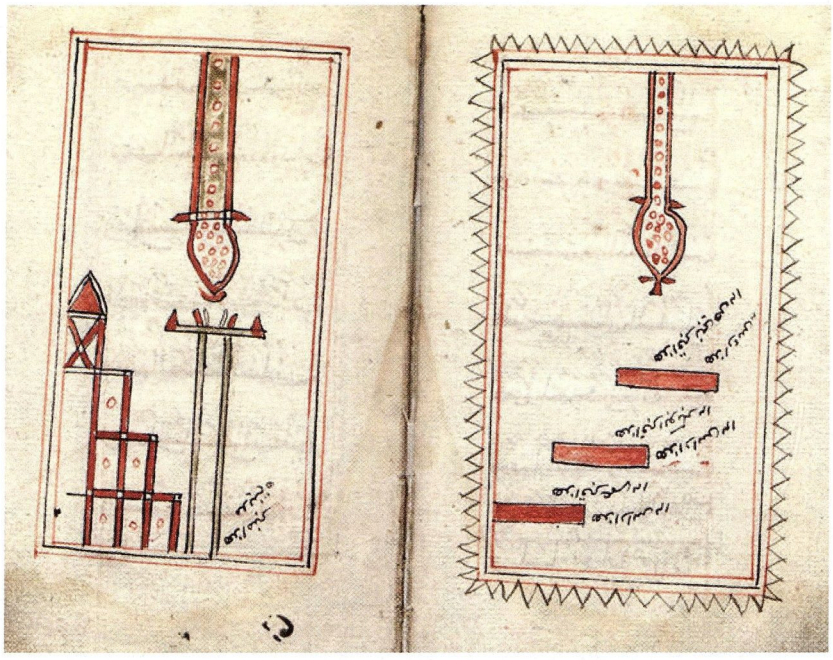

Fig. 6. Or. 10.806, ff. 33b-34a. Double image, *Rawḍa* and *Minbar* of Medina. Manuscript from Sumatra.

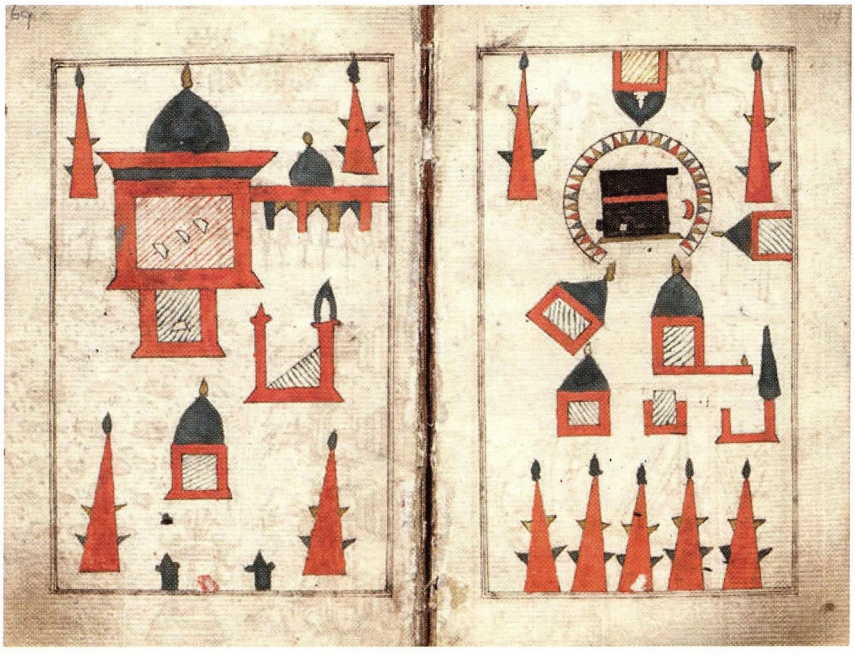

Fig. 7. Or. 1751 (14), ff. 127-128. Double image of Mekka and Medina, in flat projection. Manuscript from Sumatra, the prayer book of Imam Bonjol.

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Fig. 8. Or. 14.276, ff. 70b-71a. Double image of Mekka and Medina, in flat projection. Manuscript from Kashmir.

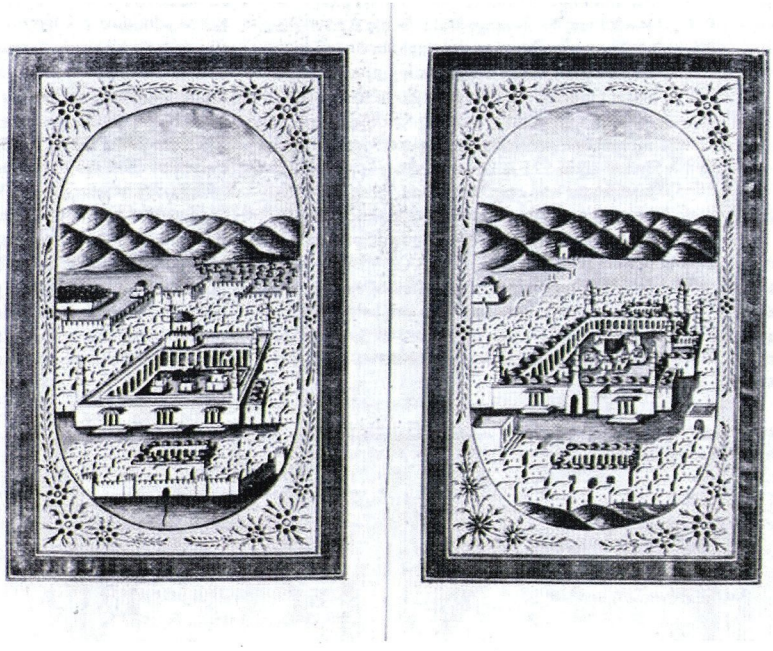

Fig. 9. Or. 12.455, ff. 15b-16a. Double image of Mekka and Medina, in perspective. Manuscript from Turkey.

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[*Nevzat Kaya* – Rāgıb Meḥmed Paşa and His Library]

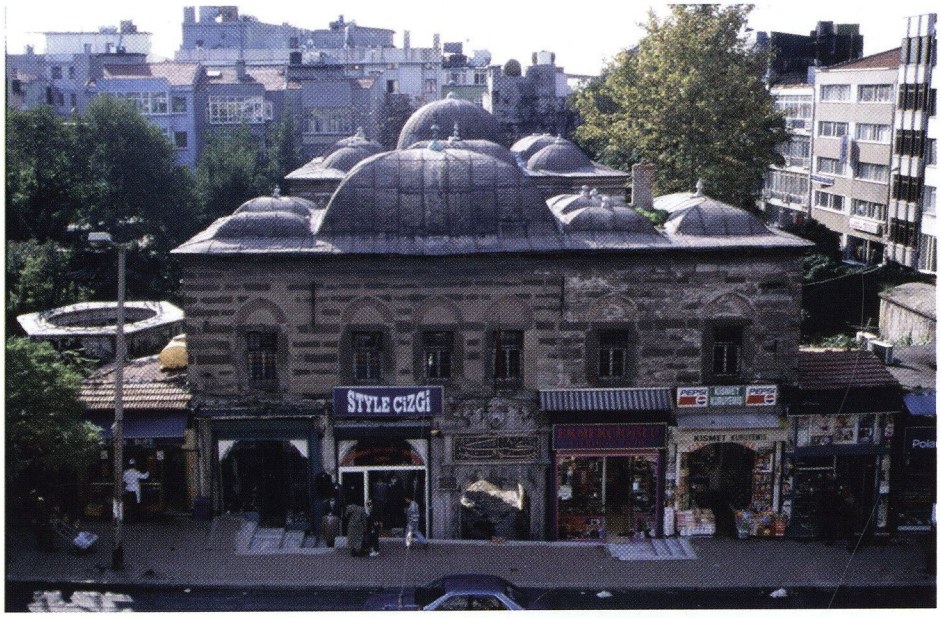

Plate 1. Library building in the middle of the garden



Plate 2. The main gates displaying inscriptions

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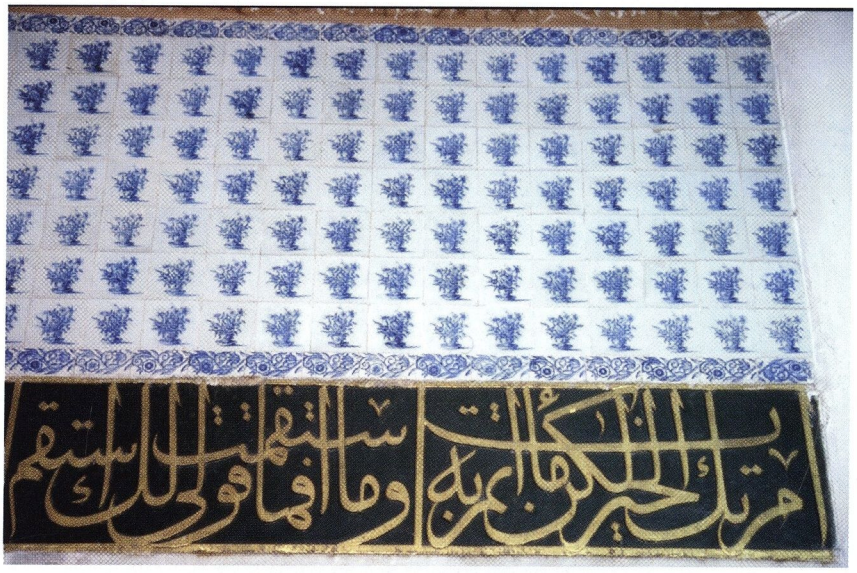

Plate 3. Tiles on the inner walls, with *thuluth* style inscription



Plate 4. Tiles representing bundles of flowers

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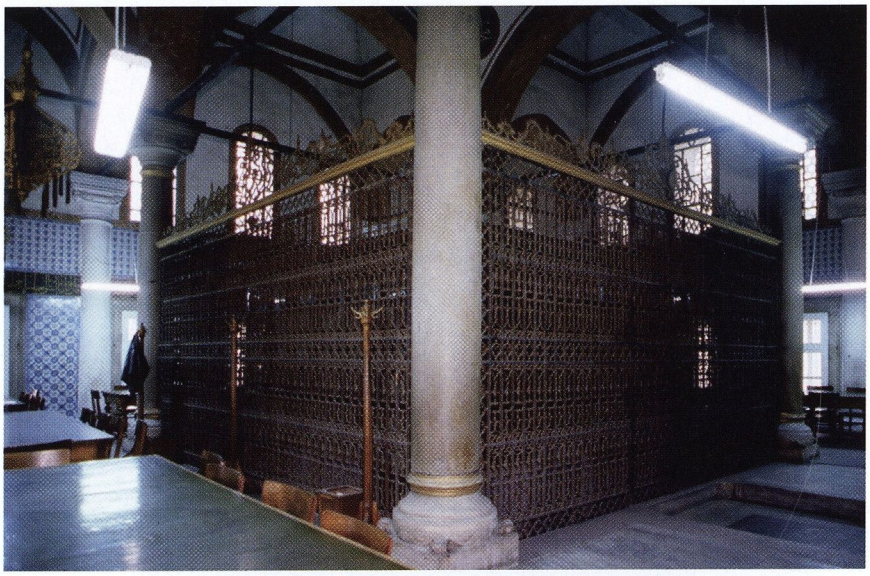

Plate 5. The storage-room for books surrounded by a bronze cage



Plate 6. The vaults of the dome and the chandelier feature aphorisms carved on wood on each side. The writings include such phrases and expressions as *bism Allāh*, *mā shā'a Allāh*, *wa mā tawfiq illā bi-Allāh*, *yā huwa*.

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[*Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid* – Le rôle des conservateurs des *khazā'in al-kutub* dans la reproduction des manuscrits arabes]



Fig. 1. al-Mubarrid, *al-Muqtadab fī al-naḥw* (Köprülü 1507-1508)

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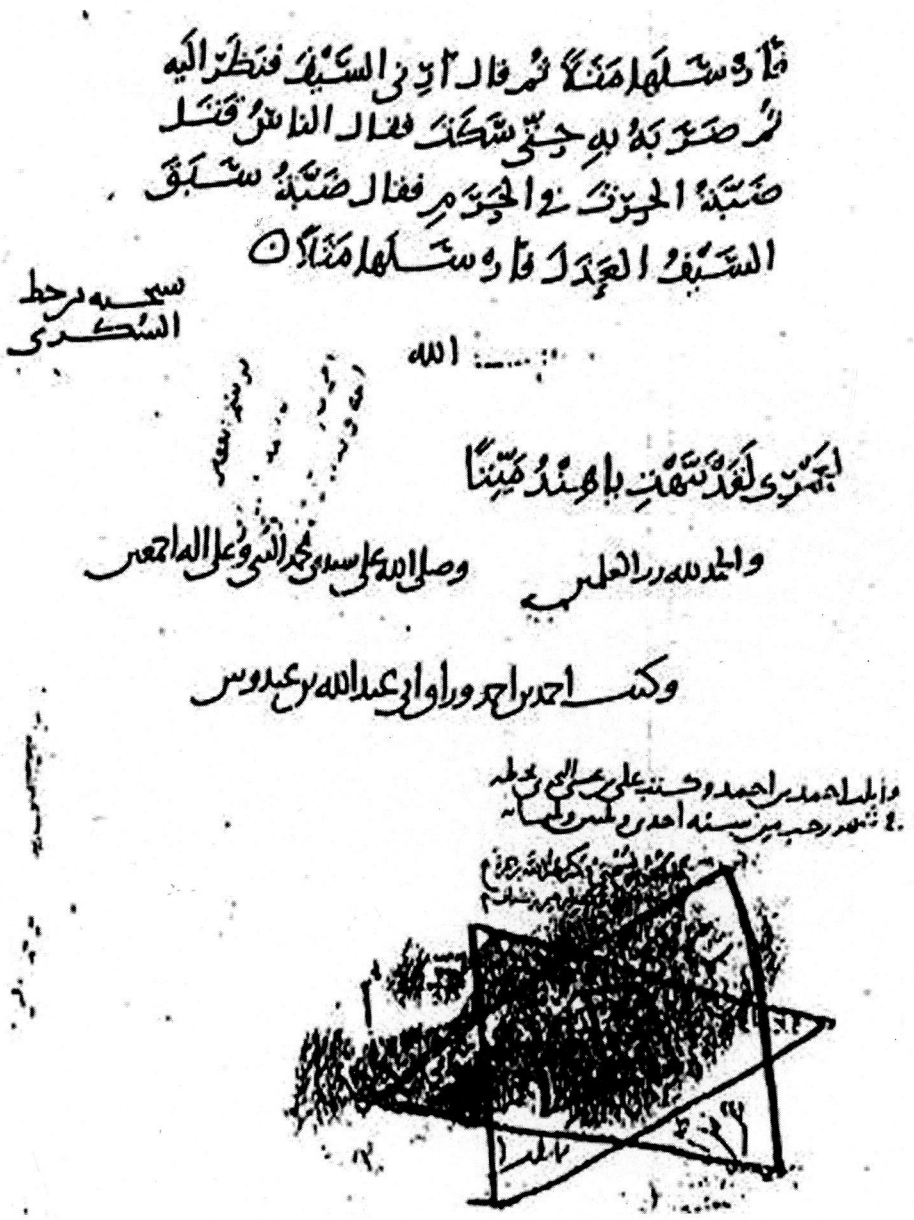

Fig. 2. al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, copié par Abū al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. Ukhay al-Shāfi'ī (Ẓāhiriyya 8800)



Fig. 3. al-Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, copié par ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Abī Bakr à Damas en l'an 639/1241-42



Fig. 4. al-Saghānī, *al-Takmila wa al-dhayl wa al-sila*, copié par al-Firūzābādī à Baghdād en 754/1353 d'après l'autographe (Köprülü 1522)

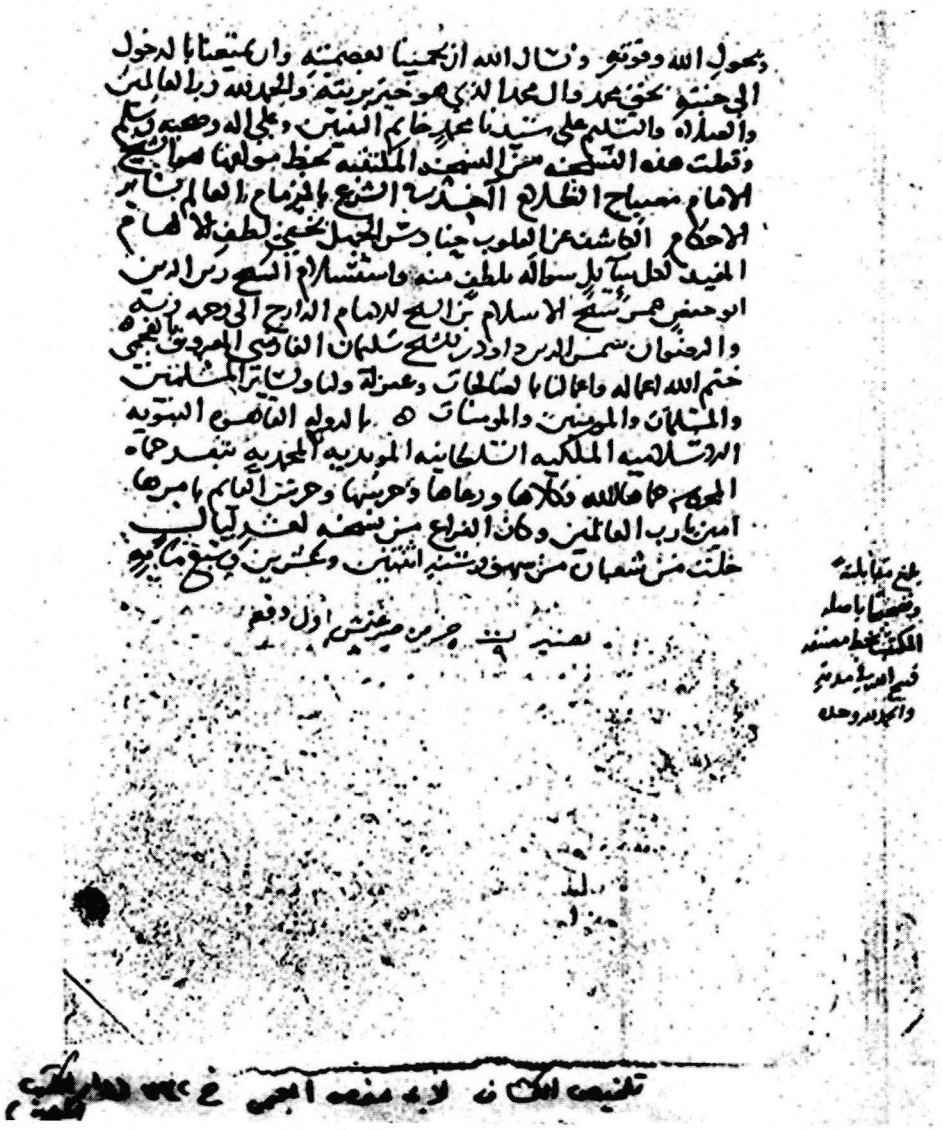

Fig. 5. Exemple de notes de collation (*muqābala*)

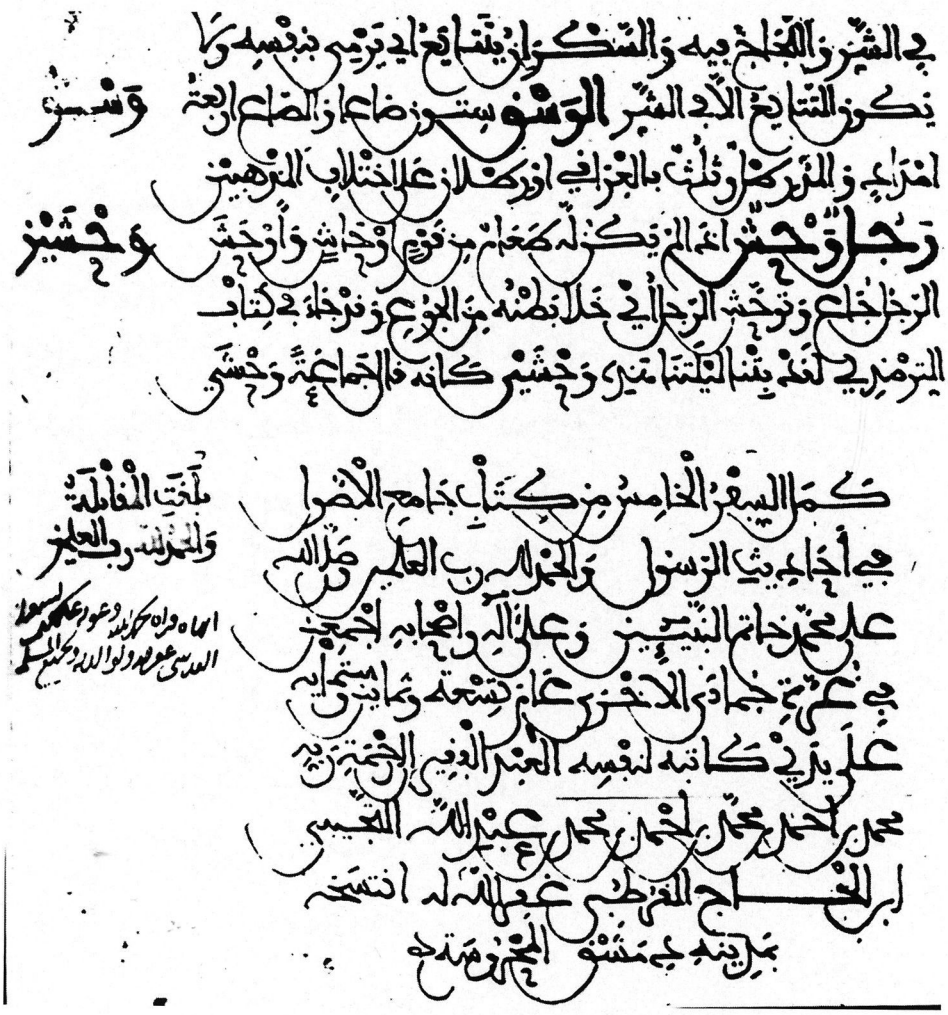

Fig. 6. Exemple de notes de collation (*muqābala*)

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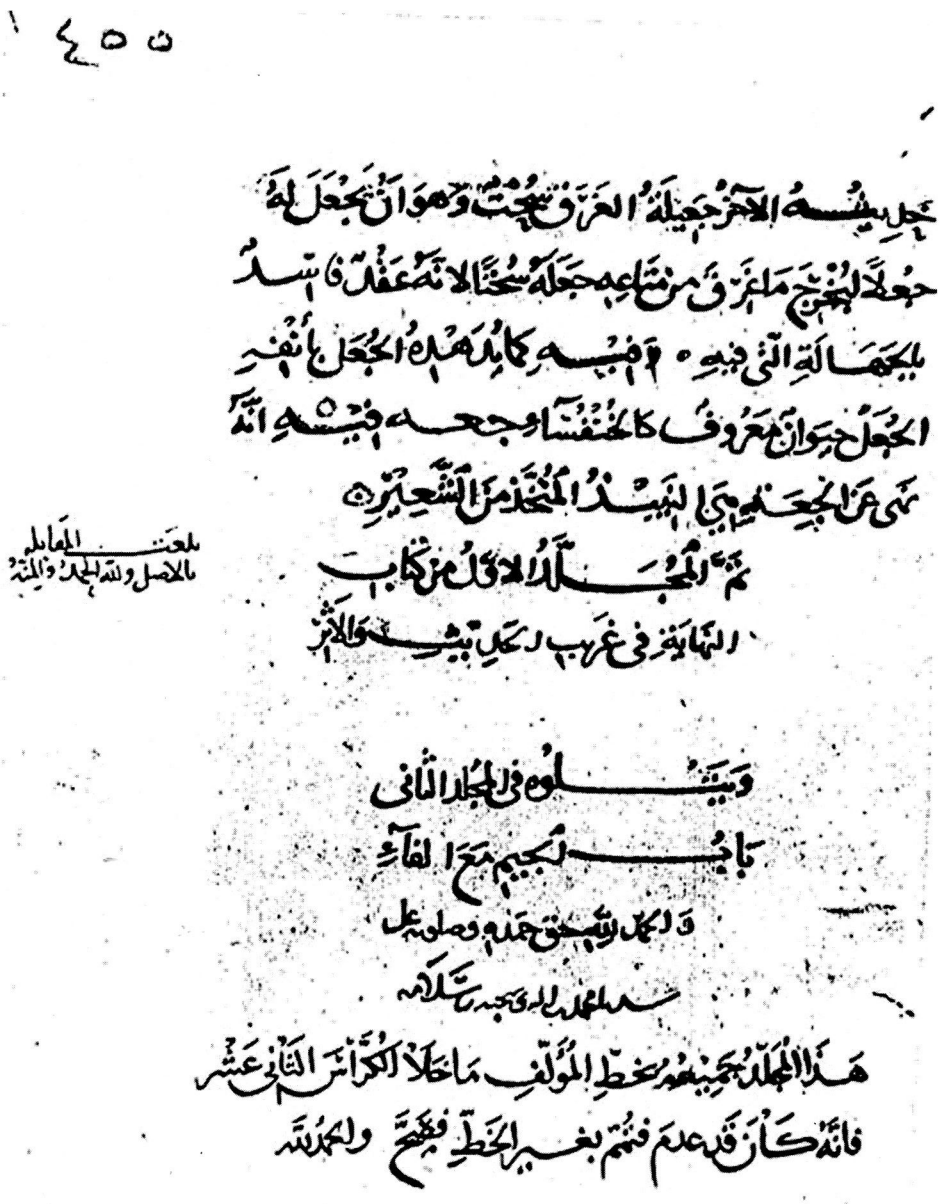

Fig. 7. Exemple de notes de collation (*muqābala*)

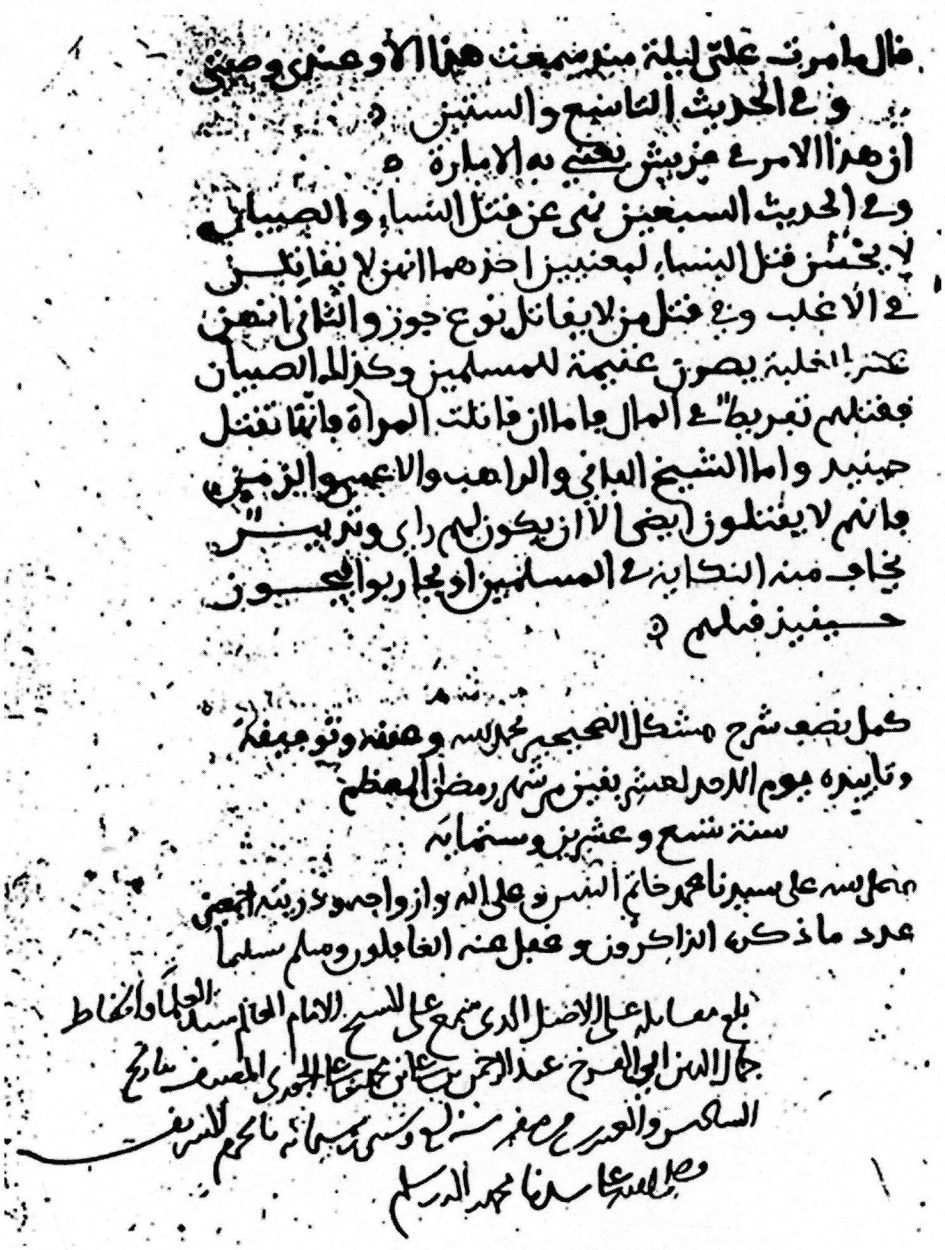

Fig. 8. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sharḥ mushkil al-ṣaḥīḥayn* (Dār al-kutub 493 *ḥadīth*)

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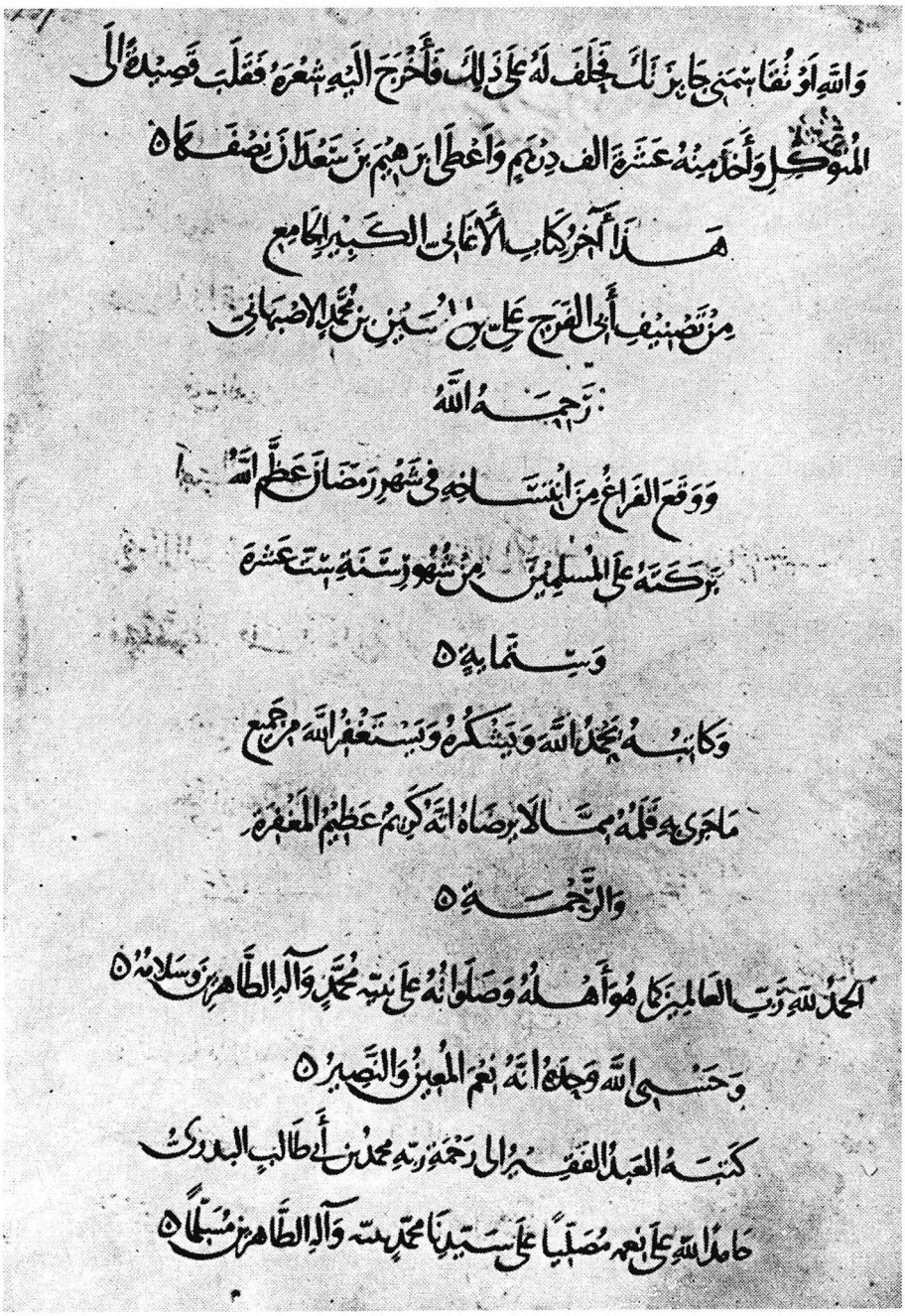

Fig. 9. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī*, copié par un certain Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Badrī

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[*Adam Gacek* – Taxonomy of scribal errors and corrections in Arabic manuscripts]



Fig. 1. a – Ibn Kāmil, *Kitāb al-jabr*, 51; b – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 403; c – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 403; d – Ibn Sa'd al-Nayramānī, *Manthūr al-manẓūm*, 27; e – Ibn Hibitnā, *al-Mughnī*, 1: 40; f – al-Majūsī, *Kāmil al-ṣinā'ah*, 2, pt.1: 4; g – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 102.

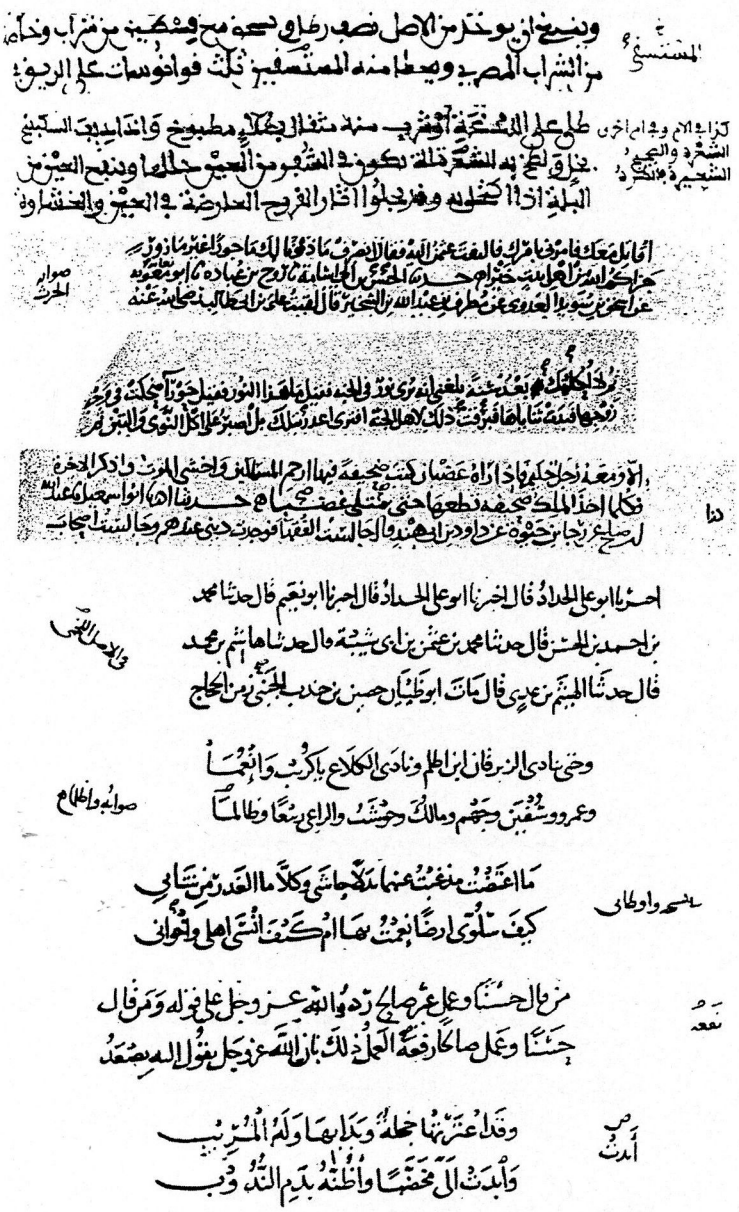

Fig. 2. a – Ibn Samajūn, *Jāmi' al-adwiyah*, 4: 46; b – Ibn Samajūn, *Jāmi' al-adwiyah*, 4: 116; c – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 45; d – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 146; e – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 432; f – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 6: 393; g – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 6: 415; h – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 6: 531; i – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 10: 28; j – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 10: 356.

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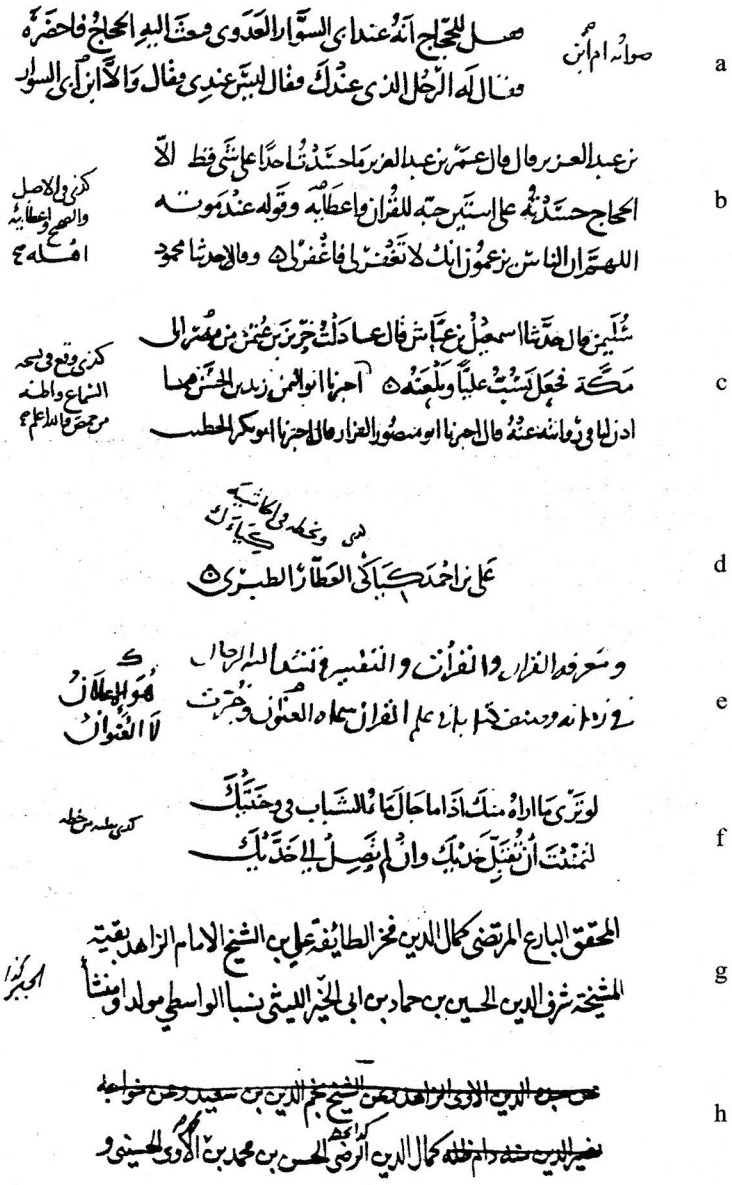

Fig. 3. a – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab,* 5: 36; b – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab,* 5: 71; c – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab,* 5: 217; d – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab,* 5: 554; e – Ibn al-Sha"ār al-Mawṣilī, 3: 409; f – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab,* 7: 237; g – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 105; h – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 106.

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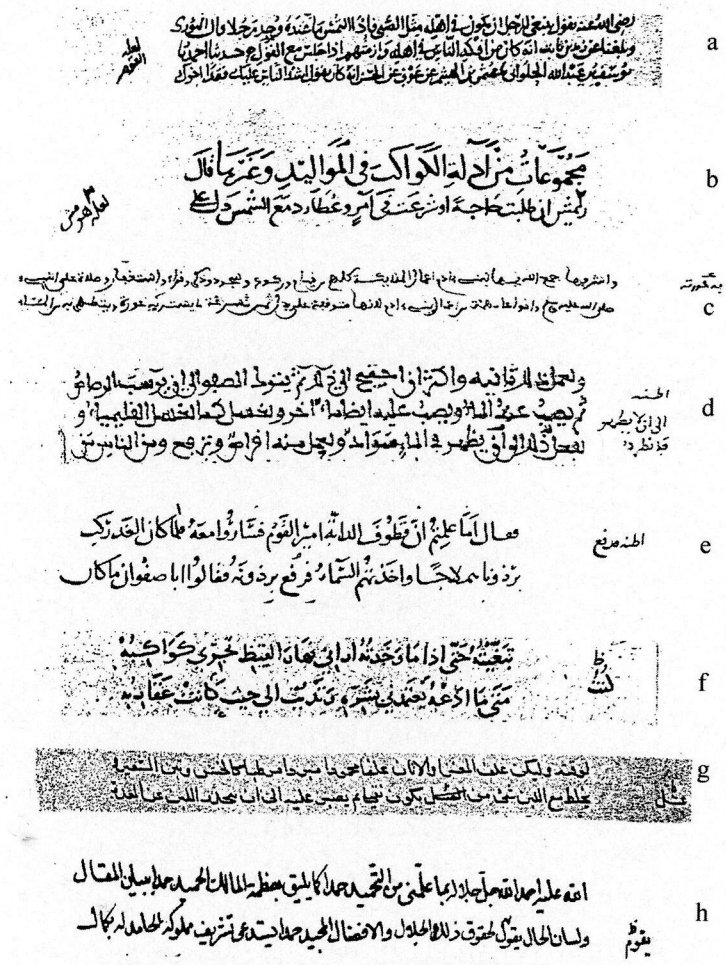

Fig. 4. a – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 161; b – Ibn Hibitnā, *al-Mughnī*, 1: 289; c – ISL, MS 172, f. 62b; d – Ibn Samajūn, *Jāmi' al-adwiyah*, 4: 76; e – Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab*, 7: 48; f – al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsah*, 352; g – al-Majūsī, *Kāmil al-ṣinā'ah*, 2, pt. 1: 50; h – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 104.

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Fig. 5. a – Ḥusaynī 1395/1975, *Fihrist*, 8: no. 2895; b – al-Isrā'īlī, *Kitāb al-aghdhiyah*, 1: 197; c – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 61; d – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah,* 131; e – al-Kashkarī, *Kunnāsh*, 256; f – Ibn Sa'd al-Nayramānī, *Manthūr al-manẓūm*, 4; g – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār,* vol. 102.

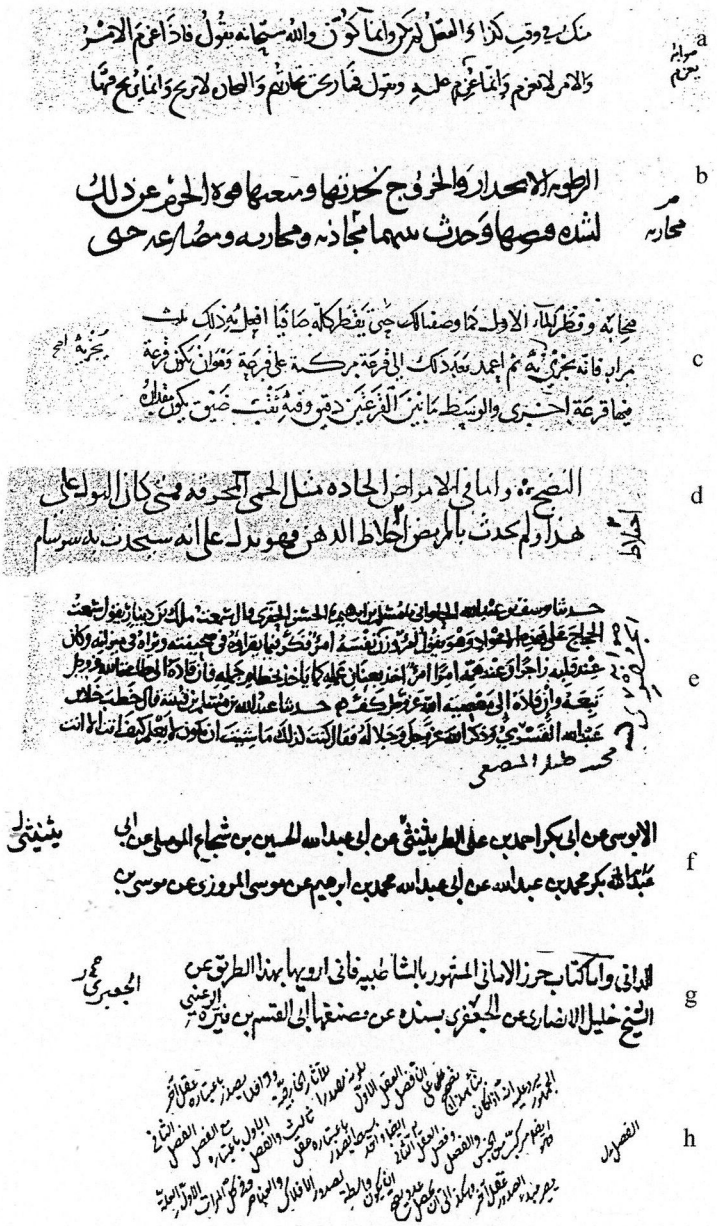

Fig. 6. a – Ibn Khalaf al-Kātib, *Mawādd al-bayān*, 160; b – al-Isrā'ilī, *Kitāb al-aghdhiyah*, 1: 42; c – Jābir ibn Ḥayyān, *Kitāb al-sab'īn*, 33; d – al-Kashkarī, *Kunnāsh*, 424; e – al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 146; f – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 104; g – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, vol. 106; h – Gacek 1985, *Catalogue*, 8.

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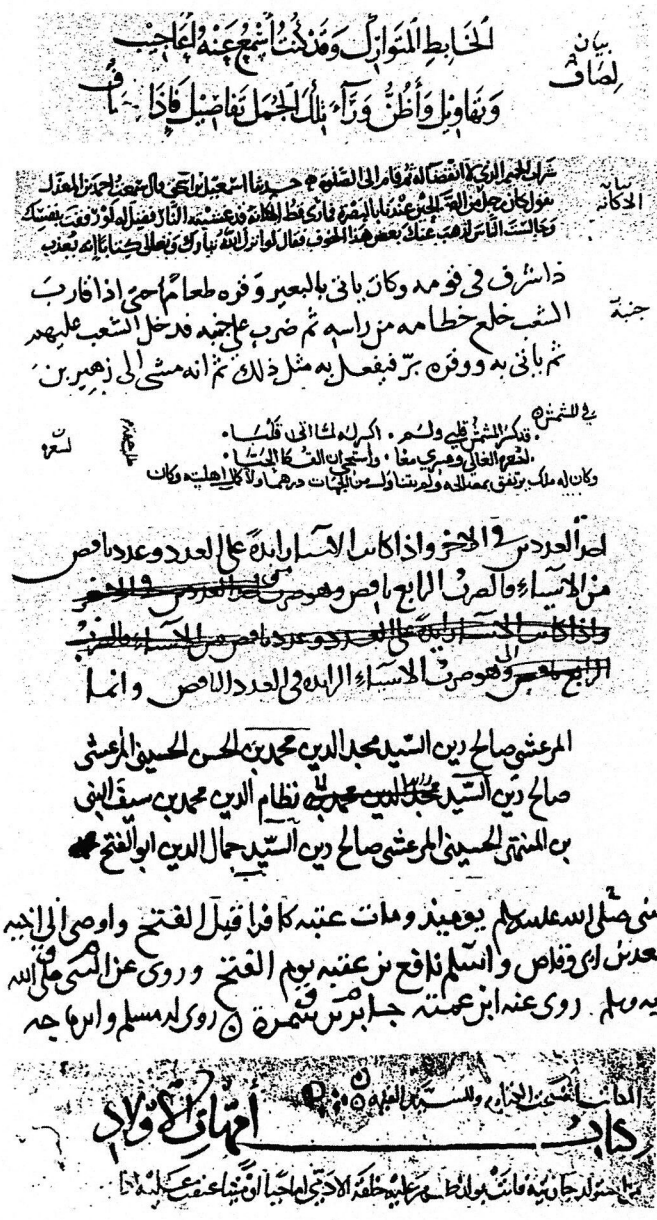

Fig. 7. a – Ibn Sa'd al-Nayramānī, *Manthūr al-manẓūm*, 192; b – 4, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Mujālasah*, 146; c – Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, 23: 284; d – al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'aṣr*, 1: 429; e – Ibn Kāmil, *Kitāb al-jabr,* 24; f – al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār,* vol. 102; g – Arberry 1955, *Handlist*, 5: pl. 152; h – Moritz 1905, *Arabic palaeography*, pl. 136.

[*Geoffrey J. Roper – Al-Jawā'ib* Press and the edition and transmission of Arabic manuscript texts in the 19th century]



Fig. 1. al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt*, with the commentary of al-Sharīshī (Būlāq, 1867)

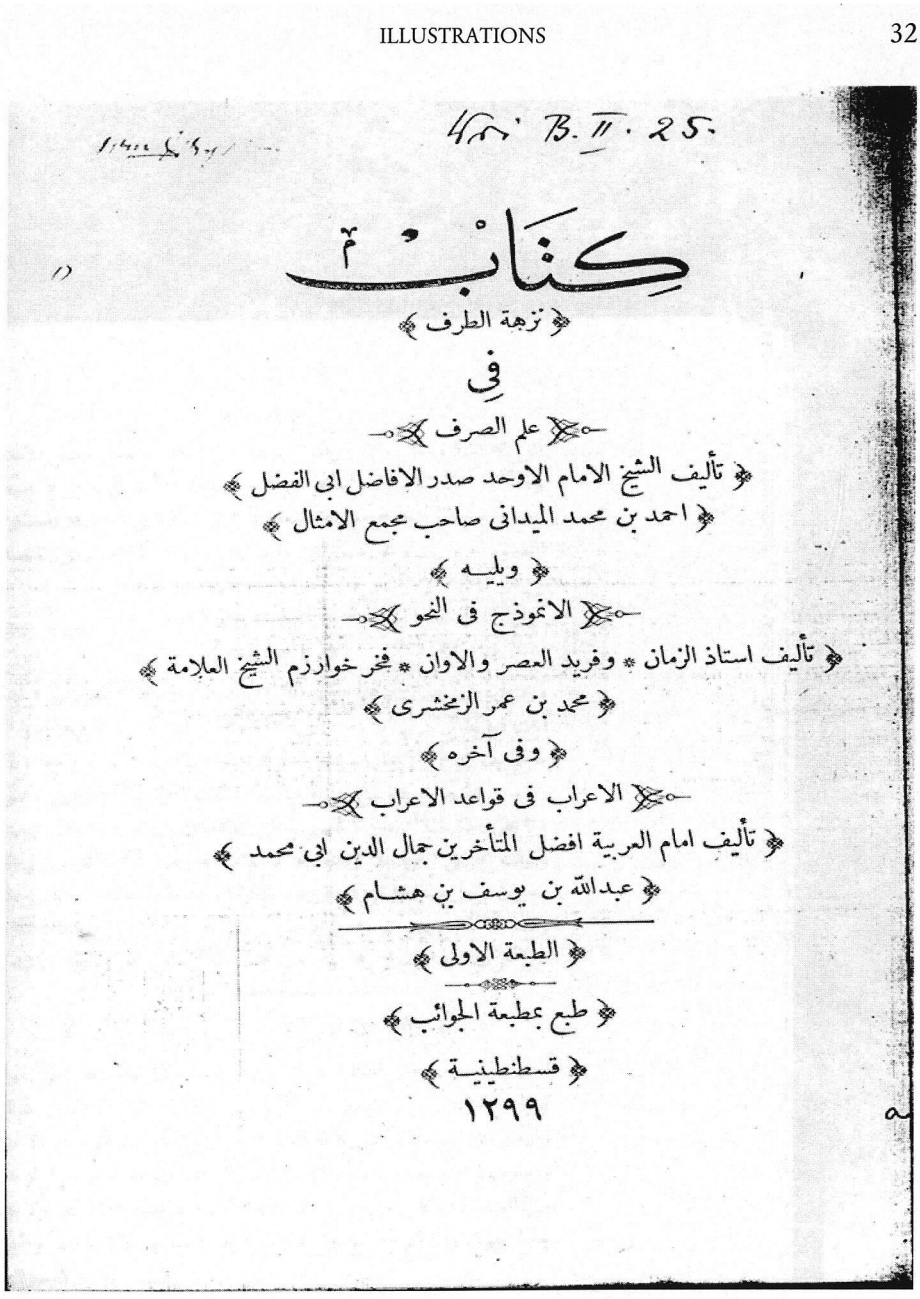

Fig. 2. Title page from a *majmūʿa* of the *Jawāʾib* Press (1882)

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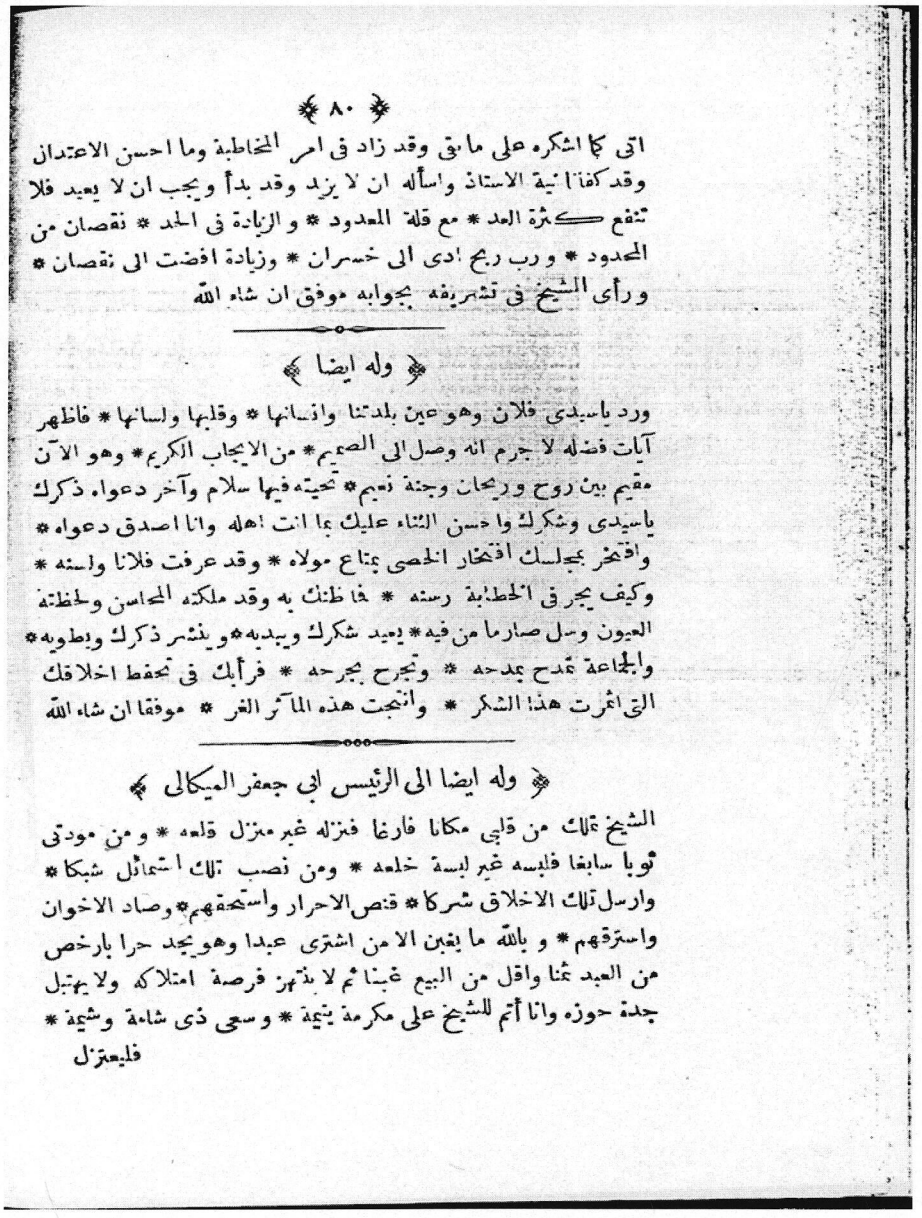

﴿ ٨٠ ﴾

اتى كما اشكره على ما بقى وقد زاد فى امر المخاطبة وما احسن الاعتدان وقد كفانية الاستاذ واسأله ان لا يزيد وقد بدأ ويجب ان لا يعيد فلا تنفع كثرة العد * مع قلة المعدود * والزيادة فى الحد * نقصان من المحدود * ورب ربح ادى الى خسران * وزيادة افضت الى نقصان * ورأى الشيخ فى تشريفه بجوابه موفق ان شاء الله

﴿ وله ايضا ﴾

ورد ياسيدى فلان وهو عين بلدتنا وانسانها * وقلبها ولسانها * فاظهر آيات فضله لا جرم انه وصل الى الصميم * من الايجاب الكريم * وهو الآن مقيم بين روح وريحان وجنة نعيم * تحيته فيها سلام وآخر دعواه ذكرك ياسيدى وشكرك وحسن الثناء عليك بما انت اهله وانا اصدق دعواه * واقتخر بمجلسك اقتخار الحصى بمتاع مولاه * وقد عرفت فلانا ولسنه * وكيف يجرى فى الخطابة رسنه * فما ظنك به وقد ملكته المحاسن ولحظته العيون وسل صارما من فيه * يعيد شكرك ويبديه * وينشر ذكرك ويطويه * والجماعة تمدح بمدحه * وتجرح بجرحه * فرأيك فى تحفظ اخلاقك التى اثمرت هذا الشكر * وانتجت هذه المآثر الغر * موفقا ان شاء الله

﴿ وله ايضا الى الرئيس ابى جعفر الميكالى ﴾

الشيخ تملك من قلبى مكانا فارغا فنزله غير منزل قلعه * ومن مودتى ثوبا سابغا فلبسه غير لبسة خلعه * ومن نصب تلك الشمائل شبكا * وارسل تلك الاخلاق شركا * قنص الاحرار واستحقهم * وصاد الاخوان واسترقهم * و بالله ما يغبن الا من اشترى عبدا وهو يجد حرا بارخص من العبد ثمنا واقل من البيع غبنا ثم لا ينتهز فرصة امتلاكه ولا يهتبل جدة حوزه وانا أتم للشيخ على مكرمة يتيمة * وسعى ذى شامة وشيمة * فليعتزل

Fig. 3. 1880 edition of the *Rasā'il* of Badī'al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (*al-Jawā'ib* Press)

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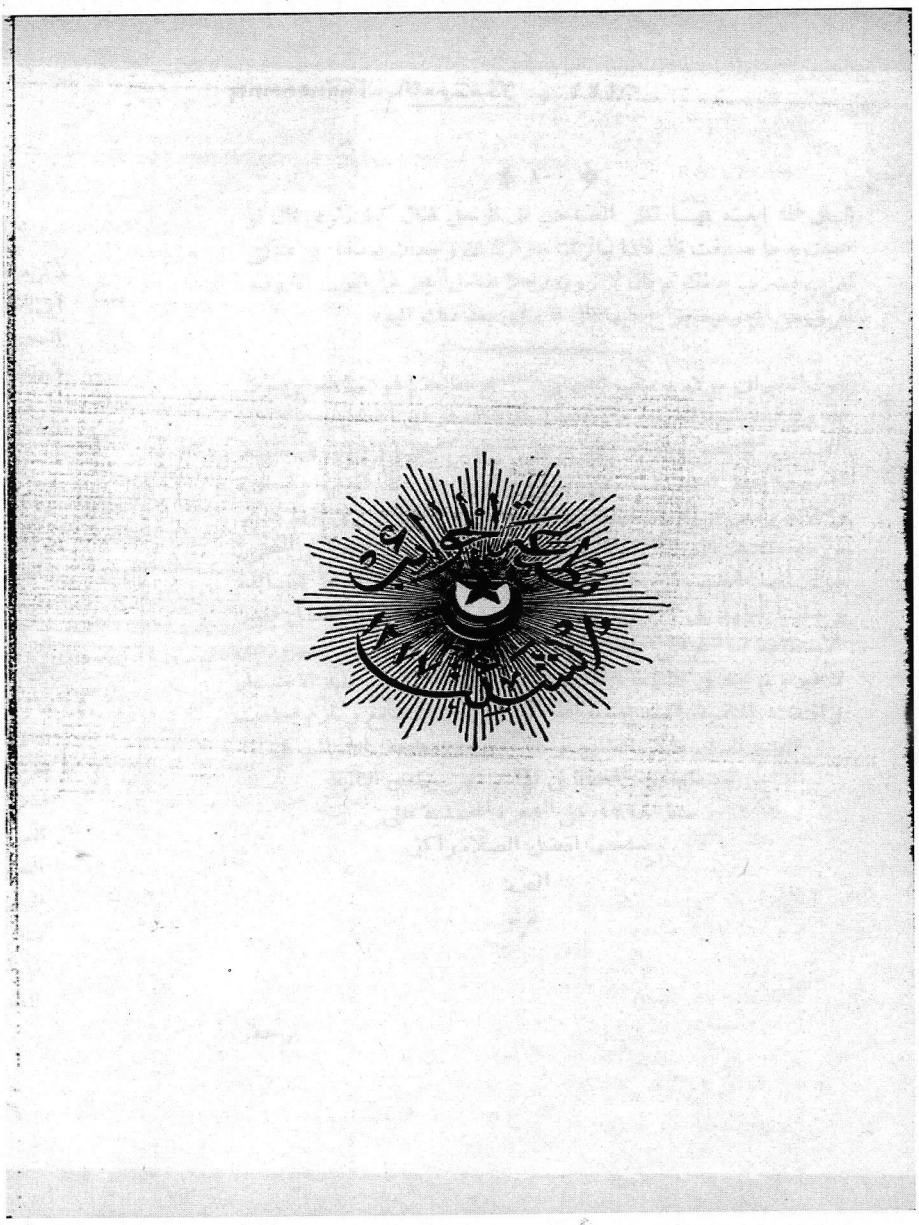

Fig. 4. Example of the printer's device or insignia of the *Jawā'ib* Press

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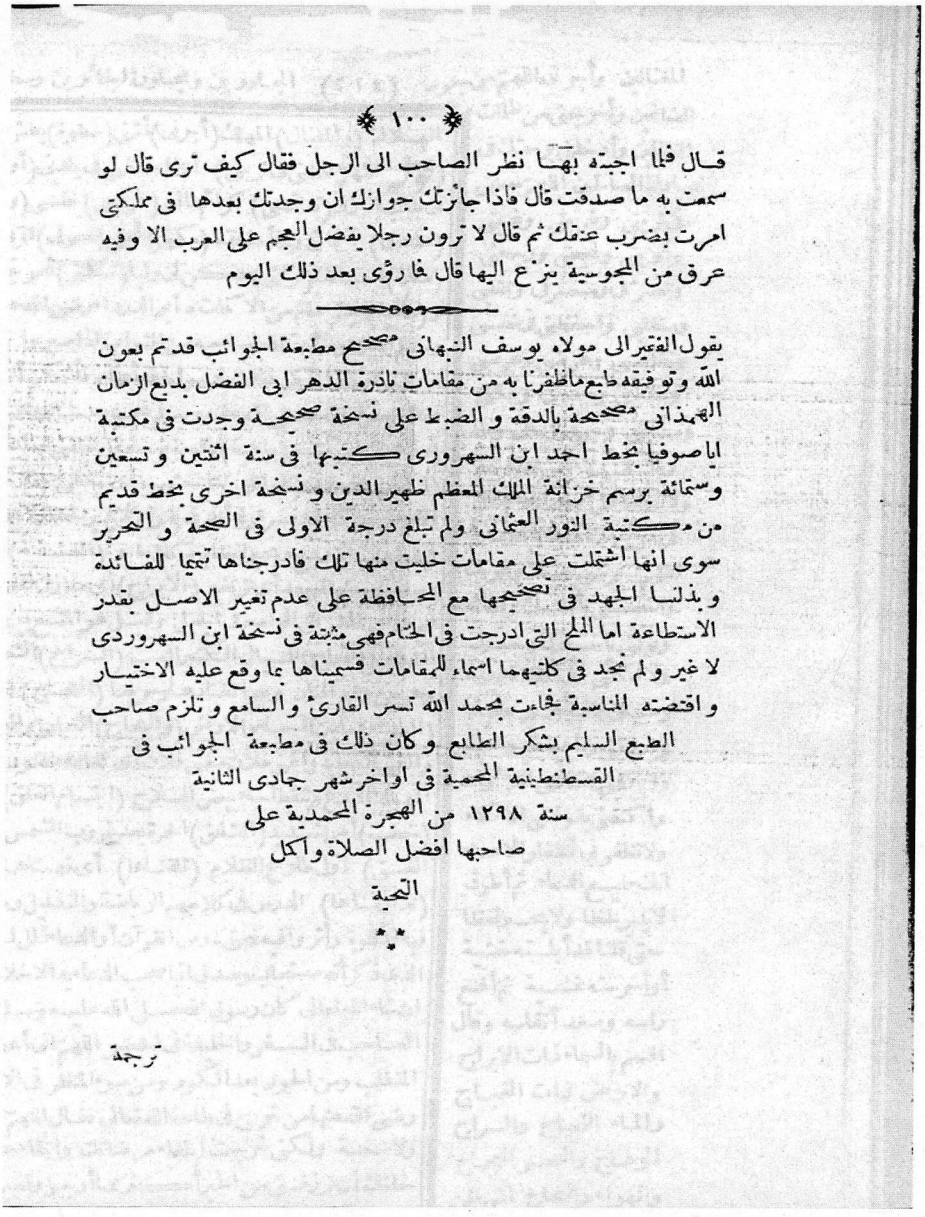

﴿ ١٠٠ ﴾

قال فلما اجبته بها نظر الصاحب الى الرجل فقال كيف ترى قال لو سمعت به ما صدقت قال فاذا جائزتك جوازك ان وجدتك بعدها فى مملكتى امرت بضرب عنقك ثم قال لا ترون رجلا يفضل العجم على العرب الا وفيه عرق من المجوسية ينزع اليها قال فما رؤى بعد ذلك اليوم

يقول الفقير الى مولاه يوسف النبهانى صحح مطبعة الجوائب قدتم بعون الله وتوفيقه طبع ماظفرنا به من مقامات نادرة الدهر ابى الفضل بديع الزمان الهمذانى مصححة بالدقة و الضبط على نسخة صحيحة وجدت فى مكتبة ايا صوفيا بخط احمد ابن السهرورى كتبها فى سنة اثنتين و تسعين وستمائة برسم خزانة الملك المعظم ظهير الدين و نسخة اخرى بخط قديم من مكتبة النور العثمانى ولم تبلغ درجة الاولى فى الصحة و التحرير سوى انها اشتملت على مقامات خليت منها تلك فادرجناها تتميما للفائدة و بذلنا الجهد فى تصحيحها مع المحافظة على عدم تغيير الاصل بقدر الاستطاعة اما الملح التى ادرجت فى الختام فهى مثبتة فى نسخة ابن السهروردى لا غير ولم نجد فى كلتيهما اسماء للمقامات فسميناها بما وقع عليه الاختيار واقتضته المناسبة فجاءت بحمد الله تسر القارئ والسامع و تلزم صاحب الطبع السليم بشكر الطابع وكان ذلك فى مطبعة الجوائب فى القسطنطينية المحمية فى اواخر شهر جمادى الثانية سنة ١٢٩٨ من الهجرة المحمدية على صاحبها افضل الصلاة واكمل التحية

***

ترجمة

Fig. 5. 1880 edition of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī by Yūsuf al-Nabhānī

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000328

Index

Abaqa, 57
Abbot, Nabia, 36
abbreviations, codicological, 217–31
'Abd al-Raḥmān III, 90
'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ibn al-Jawzī, 179
'Abd al-Tawwāb, Ramaḍān, 21
Abdülhamid II, 178
al-Abniya 'an ḥaqāyiq al-adviya, 271
Abū Bakr (caliph), 71
Abū Bishr Mattā, 88–89
Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, 197
  Kitāb al-aghānī, 197
Abū'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān, 152–53, 156, 165
Abū Sa'īd (Ilkhan), 108–109
adab, adab literature, 122, 239, 244
Aethicus Ister, 254
'Afīf al-Dīn, son-in-law of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī, 177–78, 183
Afughāl, 68
Aḥī Evren, 181, 183
Aḥmed Vāṣıf Efendī, 115
Ā'ina-yi Mīrāth, 278
'Ā'isha, 71
'alāmat al-takhrīj, 221
Akbar (Mughal emperor), 64
Akbariyya movement, 182
Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn al-baṣriyyīn, 198
Akhman, 166
Akşemseddīn, 180
Aleppo, 185
Alexandria
  Museum, 86
'Ālim Shaykh of 'Alīyābād, 159, 164
Alpay, Meral, 12
alphabet, 10
Alwan, Muḥammad, 240, 244
Amazons, 151
al-Āmidī, 240
  al-Muwāzana bayn Abī Tammām wa al-Buḥturī, 240
Anatolia, 178, 182, 275
Andalusia, 90
apparatus criticus, 11, 219, 243
Aq Ishan, 154
Aqman, Aqmān, 151, 160
al-A'raj, 68
Archetyp, archetype, 9, 103, 251–57, 259
Aristotle, 88–89, 199
  Categories, 85, 87
  Poetics, 89
al-Aṣamm, Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb b. Yūsuf, 199
aṣl, 218–19, 223, 226–27, 229
aṣl al-samā', 228
Astarābādī, 'Azīz, 181
'aṭfa, see also correction signs, 221
al-Atpazarī, Oşmān Faẓlı İlāhī, 191
  Miṣbāḥ al-qalb, 191
  Sharḥ Miftāḥ al-Ghayb, 191
'Aṭṭār, Farīd al-Dīn, 147, 161–64
Auendehut, Ioannes, 90
autograph, autographs, 9, 20–21, 28, 32, 34, 43–46, 179, 181, 183, 193, 199, 201, 253, 255, 275
Avicenna, 88, 90, 193
  De Anima, 90
  Kitāb al-shifā', 193
Awrangzīb, 192
Aya Sofya
  library, 243
al-Azhar, 241

bā' Hindiyya, 226, 229
Bābā Tükles, 167
Bābur, 281
  Bābur-nāma, 281–86
    Haydarabad ms., 282, 284–85
    Persian version, 283
backgammon, 111
badal, 224, 227, 229
Baghdad, 59, 61, 85, 90–91
Bahār, Malik al-Shu'arā', 113
Bahār, Muḥammad Taqī, 277
Bal'amī, Abū 'Alī, 93–103
  Tārīkhnāma, 97, 102–103
Balkhān mountains, 151
Banten (West Java), 77
Baqī' al-Gharqad (cemetery in Medina), 75
Bar Sahda, 86
Barāmika, 199
barāq, 152
Basṭām, 58
bayāḍ, 225, 272

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000329

bayān, 218, 224
Baybars al-Manṣūrī, 121
Bayhaqī
Tārīkh, 277
al-Bayramī, 193
Sharḥ al-fiqh al-akbar, 193
Bayt al-ḥikma, 199–200
Bechene, *see* Pecheneg
Bédier, Joseph, 256, 259
Bedierian criticism, 141
Bektāshī
tradition, 157, 159
tradition on Aḥmad Yasavī, 157
Belgrade, 187
Berezin, Il'ya Nikolaevich, 276
Bergsträsser, Gotthelf, 18–20, 46, 279
Biardeau, Madeleine, 133, 135, 141
de Biberstein-Kazimirski, Albin, 276
Bible, 239
Bibliothèque Orientale, 117
bindings, 243
al-Bitriq, 87
Blachère, Régis, 18
Boldyrev, 95
Bombay, 107, 112, 118
book, books
culture, 139
illustrations, 57
prices, 244
Britain, 239
Browne, E.G., 119–20, 176
al-Buḥturī, 241, 243
Bukhārā, 165
al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad
Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 192
al-Bukhārī, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Mustamalī, 271
Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf, 271
Būlāq press, 17, 47, 186–87, 238, 242, 244
Bungāh-i Tarjuma va Nashr-i Kitāb, 278
Bursa Eski Eserler Library, 181

cacography, 222, 224
Cairo, 186, 237, 239, 241
Calcutta, 63
calendars, 111
calligraphers, 69, 205, 207, 209, 211
calligraphy, 204, 207, 211
canonization, 9
Çavdar, Tuba, 12
Chagatayids, 109
Chaghatay Turkic, 281, 283, 285
orthography, 285
Chaqmaq (Mamlūk Sultān), 72
Chardin, 203–204, 206, 208, 210, 212
chess, 111
Chinggis, 114
Chinggisid, Chinggisids, 107, 109, 187
Church Missionary Society, 239
Cicero, 144
Clauson, Sir Gerard, 284
codex optimus, 256
codicilogy, codicological, 217
collate, collation, 101–103, 201, 218–20, 223, 229, 308–310
colophon, colophons, 97, 102, 197, 204–206, 208–10, 242–43
commentaries, 242
"common errors," 253
common error method, 259
"common variations," 253
computer, computers (used in editing), 260
concatenation, 260, 262
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, 90
Constantinople, 85, 90, 116
Constantinus Africanus, 90
contamination, 219, 223, 259, 262, 264–66
contractions, 220
copying
palace workshops, 208
speed, 203–12, *see also zūd-navīs*
style, 271–72
team work 197, 205–206
copyist, copyists, *see also zūd-navīs*, 9–11, 98, 100–102, 192, 197–201, 219
amateur, 204, 206
commercial, 206
female, 192, 205–206
professional, 203, 205–206, 210
working in team work, 206
Cordoba, 90
correction signs, 217–31, 265
corrections, 217, 219
corrigenda, 242
corruption, 94, 104
critical edition, 9, 36, 107, 120, 122–23, 133, 137, 140–42, 144–45, 218, 281–86

ḍabba, 218, 225–26
dā'ira, 220, 224

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000330

Dalā'il al-Khayrāt, 67, 69–78, 81
Damascus, 177–78, 182, 185
Daniel, Elton, 96
Dānishpazhūh, Muḥammad Taqī, 278
dār al-ḍiyāfa, 58
dār al-ḥikma (Baghdad), 86
dār al-kutub, 179, 197, 199
  in Cairo, 198, 201
ḍarb (cancellation, deletion), 224
Dastgirdī, Ḥasan Vaḥīd, 277
Dede Qorqut, Book of, 152–53, 156
'deep structure' (of the relationship between texual witnesses), 260–61
defterdār (finance minister), 185
defterhāne (Office of the Registry), 185
Delhi, Sultans of, 109
dendrogram, 260, 262
Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), 12
Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft
  Orient-Institut, Istanbul, 9, 11
diacritics, 272–73
Diem, Werner, 36
diglossia, diglossic, 26, 41
Dioscoride of Anazarba, 89–90
diplomatic edition, 36
distinctive features, 260, 262
dittography, 223
dīwān (poetry collection), 39–40
Dog-Headed Men, 151
Dog-Men, 147, 149–56, 158, 162
Dom Froger, 260
Dom Quentin, 260
Dominicus Gundisalvus, 91
Doniger, Wendy, 137–39
Dubeux, 94
dukkān, *dakākīn*, 197
Dumont, Paul, 12

editing
  pre-modern, 217–31
  puritanism, 48
  techniques, 251
editors
  scholar-editor, 17
Egypt, Egyptian, 185, 238–39, 244–45
  State (Khedival) Library, 237
emendatio, emendation, emendations, *itqān*, 36, 44, 51, 219, 225, 227, 251, 253–55
encyclopedism, 27
endowments, 180–81
  Karamanid, 181
  records, 179, 183
epic, 133, 137–43, 145
epistemology, 107
Erasmus of Rotterdam, 251–52
errors, 217–31
  common, 253
  errores coniunctivi, 253, 265
  errores separativi, 253
  obvious, 286
  scribal, 217, 222–23
  taxonomy, 217–31
Ersarï (Türkmens), 154, 156
Erskine, William, 283
Etienne d'Antioche, 90
Eustathe, 88
exemplar, *exemplars*, 218–19, 225–27, 256, 271, 277

al-Farazdag
  Dīwān, 305
Farḥāt, Jabrīl, 240, 242
  Baḥth al-maṭālib, 240, 242
Fāris al-Shidyāq (Aḥmad Fāris Efendī), 238
Fāris, Salīm (b. Aḥmad Fāris Efendī), 240
al-Fāsī, 70, 78, 297
al-Fatāwā al-'Ālamgīriyya, 192
Fātiḥ Sulṭān Meḥmed, 118, 188
Fatimids, 62
Fenārī, Mullā, 191
  Ḥāshiya 'alā fuṣūl al-badāyi' fī uṣūl al-sarāy, 191
Ferid Paşa, governor of Konya, 178, 180
al-Fighānī, Sa'īd al-Dīn, 180
fiqh, 177
Firdawsī, 93
al-Fīrūzābādī, Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad, 180
France, 239
Furūghī, Muḥammad 'Alī, 277
fuṣḥā, 25–26, 41
Futūḥ al-Ḥaramayn, 74
al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya, 183

Galen, 85–87
  Methodus medendi/de morbis curandis, 86
  on medical schools, 86
  on pulse, 86
Garrūsī, Amīr Niẓām, 276

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000331

genealogy, genealogical,
tree, 223
variants, 262
geographical texts, 274
George, bishop of the Arabs, 87
Gerard of Cremona, 90
Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens, (*see also* Hammer), 117, 119
Ghāzān Khān, 57, 59–60, 108
gloss, glosses, 218, 220–21, 223, 230
de Goeje, 95
Graf, Georg, 276
Grafton, Anthony, 143–45
Greetham, D.C., 13
Gregians
post-Gregians, 16
pre-Gregians, 16
Grimm, Jakob, 252
Grohmann, Adolph, 36
Gryaznevich, 95
Guidetti, 144–45
Gulchīn Ma'ānī, Aḥmad, 278

ḥadīth, 26, 39, 58, 177
Ḥāfiẓ, 276
Dīvān, 276
Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, 61
Ḥajj, 71
Ḥājjī Bektāsh, 157–58
Vilāyat-nāma, 157–58
see also Bektāshī
Ḥājjī Khalīfa, 27
Hamadan, 57–59
al-Hamadhānī, Badī' al-Zamān, 41, 243–44
Maqāmāt, 41, 243, 324
Rasā'il, 242, 322
Hammer(-Purgstall), 114, 116–19
Handschriftenstammbaum (*see also* genealogical tree), stemma, 255, 275
haplography, 222
ḥarakāt (vocalisation marks), 242
Haravī, Najīb Māyil, 279
al-Ḥarīrī, 38
Durrat al-ghawwāṣ, 242
Maqāmāt, 24, 38, 238, 320
Hārūn al-Rashīd, 86
Hārūn, 'Abd al-Salām, 21, 279
al-ḥawāshī, 230
hayūlā, 88
ḫazīne-i kutub, 188
Ḥazīnī, 155, 157–60, 162–64, 166–67
d'Herbelot, 117
Bibliothèque Orientale, 117
Hidāyat al-muta'allimīn fī al-ṭibb, 271
Hiltebeitel, Alf, 138
Ḥiṣār, 159
historicism, 144
historiography, 121
Ḥizb al-Falāḥ, 69
Ḥizb al-Jazūlī, 69
Ḥizb subḥāna al-Dā'im la yazūl, 69
homoioarcton, homeoarchy, 222
homoioteleuton, 222
homophones, 274
Horn, Paul, 276
Housman, Alfred Edward, 256
hûlê (Gr.), 88–89
Hülegü, 109
Humā'ī, Jalāl, 277–78
Humanistic tradition, 143
Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, 86–87, 89–90
Metaphysics, 88
Risāla, 86–87
Ḥusayn Khwārazmī, 168

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, 197
Ibn al-'Arabī, 177, 179–80, 182
Ibn 'Asākir, 31, 197
Tārīkh Dimashq, 197
Ibn al-Athīr, 179, 183
Ibn al-Bawwāb, 200
Ibn Gulgul, 90
Ibn al-Jawzī, 179, 201, 311
Ibn Khaldūn, 197
al-Muqaddima, 197
Ibn al-Muqaffa', 23, 38
Ibn Muqla, 200
Ibn al-Nadīm, 27, 197, 199
al-Fihrist, 27, 197
Ibn al-Sā'ātī, 192
Majma' al-baḥrayn wa multaqā al-nayyirayn, 192
Ibn Sīnā, *see* Avicenna
Ibrāhīm Ḥanīf, 115
ibrāza, *ibrāzāt*, 46
IFEA (Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes), 12
ijāza, 29, 43–44, 78, 220

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000332

ikhtilāfāt, khilāfāt, 227
Iliad, 89
ilkh (= *ilá ākhirih*), 223
Ilkhanid, Ilkhanids, 57–59, 62, 64, 107, 109–10, 121–22
  historiography, 107
  painting, 57–64
illumination, 59, 62
Imam Bonjol, 70, 77, 299
  prayer-book, 70, 77, 299
imārat, soup kitchen, 178
India, 107, 109
insertion, 142
intahá, 220, 231
internet, 11
interpolation, 223
intertextuality, 9, 10
invariants, 259
Iqbāl, ʿAbbās, 277
Iran, 245
ʿIrāqī, Fakhr al-Dīn, 180
Irigoin, Jean, 264
Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn, 86–87
Isḥāq Khwāja b. Ismāʿīl Ata, 161
Isḥāq, Majd al-Dīn, 178–79, 182
Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq, 199
Islam, formative period, 23, 35, 37, 39, 42, 52
Islamization
  narratives of, 149
isnād, 93, 100, 117
Istafan b. Basil, 90–91
Iṣṭakhrī, 274
  Masālik va mamālik, 274
Istanbul, 9, 159, 238–40, 242
  İslamî Eserler Museum, 183
  University, 9, 12
isṭaqis, 88
Istolni Belgrad (formerly Stuhlweissenburg), 78
it (dog-like creature), 152
Īt Barāq, 152
Īt Bechene, 152–53
Iznik tiles, 74
İzzet Koyunoğlu Library, *see* Konya

Jacob of Edessa, 87
Jahānbakhsh, Juyā, 279
al-Jāḥiẓ, 41, 113
Jalāliyya, 182
Jāmī, Mullā ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, 180
Jāmiʿ al-murshidīn, 159, 162
Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh, 57, 60–64, 151, 293–94
al-Jandī, Muʾayyad al-Dīn Maḥmūd, 180, 182
al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl, 26
al-Jāsūs ʿalá al-Qāmūs, 241
Javāhir al-abrār, 160, 162
al-Jawāʾib newspaper, 239
al-Jawāʾib press, 237–45, 321–23
al-Jazūlī, 67–82, 295–300
Julian of Toledo, 254
al-Jurjānī, Sayyid Sharīf, 180
Juvaynī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik, 108, 112, 277
  Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy, 108, 277

Kaʿba, 178
kadhā, 225–26, 228
Kāghit, 237–38, 242
Kalīla wa Dimna, 23–24, 38, 276
Karamanid, Karamanids, 180–81
al-Kāshānī, ʿAbd al-Razzāq, 192–93
Kashf al-ẓunūn, 27
kātib, 189
Kaya, Nevzat, 12
al-Khafājī, 242
Khāliqī Muṭlaq, Jalāl, 275
Khan, Geoffrey, 36
khanaqāh, 58
Khānlarī, Parvīz Nātel, 278
Khāqānī, 275
  Khatm al-gharāʾib (*Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāqayn*), 275
al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, 198
  Tārīkh Baghdād, 198
khaṭṭ al-takhrīj, 221
khazāʾin al-kutub, 197, 199
Khoury, Raʾif George, 36
Khudābanda, *see* Öljeytü
Khurāsān, 199
Khwārazm, 151
Kitāb al-Aghānī, 237, 312
Kitāb-i Akhbār-i ʿAjam, 100
kitāba, see also *mukātaba*, 29, 43–44
Konya, 177–79, 181–83
  İzzet Koyunoğlu Library, 183
  Yusufağa Library, 178, 180, 182–83
Köprülü Library, 243
Koran, *see also* Qurʾān
  Baghdad Koran, 59, 61
  Hamadan Koran, 59
  Mosul Koran, 60–61

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000333

Kurd ʿAlī, Muḥammad, 244
kutubī, *kutubiyyūn*, 200–201
al-Kutubī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Shākir, 200
Fawāt al-wafayāt, 200
ʿUyūn al-tawārīkh, 200

Lachmann, Karl [Carl], 143–44, 243, 251–57, 259
lacunae, 219, 221–223, 225
al-laḥaq (omission), 223
Laleli-Koska (in Istanbul), 185
Lamaḥāt min nafaḥāt al-quds, 159, 164–65, 167
Lārī, Muḥyī al-Dīn, 74
Leithandschrift, *see* exemplar
Levi, Sylvain, 141, 144–45
librarians, 188–90
wages, 189
library, libraries, 178
building, 178
catalogues, 188
Egyptian state (Khedivial), 237
in Istanbul, 188, 240, 244
İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, 9
İzzet Koyunoğlu Library, Konya, 183
Köprülü Library, Istanbul, 243
library staff, wages, 189
local libraries, in Anatolia, 178
opening hours, 190
stipulations for readers, 190
of Rāgıb Paşa, 187–93, 301–303
endowment record, 188–90
of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī, 178–79, 183
endowment record, 177–83
Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, 12
Yusufağa Library, Konya, 178, 180, 182–83
Lisān al-ʿAjam, 276
literacy, 133–34
lithography, 245
logographs, 218, 220–21
Lubb al-ḥisāb, 272
Lughat-i Furs, 271
Lukrez, 252, 256
De rerum natura, 256

Maas, Paul, 10, 259, 262–64, 266
proviso, 263–64, 266
mādda (as a synonym of *hayūlā*), 88
Mahābhārata, 133–45
Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt, 18–19
Mahdī, Mahdism, 68
Mahdī, Muḥsin, 41
Majmaʿ al-tavārīkh, 62
majmūʿa, *majmūʿas*, 49, 240–41
al-Majūsī, 90
Liber Regius, 90
Malta, 239–40, 242
Mamlūk, Mamlūks, 26, 109–10, 121–22
of Egypt and Syria, 109
al-Maʾmūn, 86, 199
Manāqib al-akhyār, 159
manāsik, 71
Manghïshlāq, 154
Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, 93
Manṭiq al-ṭayr, 161, 163
al-Manṭiqī, Abū Zakariyya Yaḥyā b. ʿAdiyy b. Ḥamīd, 199
manuscript, manuscripts, 13, 16–19, 101–102, 137, 281
Arabic, 217
destruction of, 239
Persian, 93–94, 99, 271–79
tradition, logics of, 259
Maqāmāt
of al-Hamadhānī, 41, 243, 324
of al-Ḥarīrī, 24, 38, 238, 320
marginalia, 217, 220–21
Massari, 144–45
masṭar [*miṣṭar*], 61–62
Maṭbaʿat al-Jawāʾib, see *al-Jawāʾib* press
Matīnī, Jalāl, 276, 279
Maṭlaʿ al-Saʿdayn, 187
Tercüme-i Maṭlaʿu's-Saʿdeyn, 187
matn, 219, 230
al-Māturīdī, 193
Taʾwīlāt tafsīr al-Qurʾān, 193
Mawlaviyya, 182
al-Maydanī, 242
Nuzhat al-ṭarf fī ʿilm al-ṣarf, 242
Mayhanī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliq, 272
Dastūr-i dabīrī, 272–74
Mecmaʿü'l-baḥreyn ve multaḳā'l-nayyirayn, 192
Medina, 298–300
Prophet's Mosque, 67, 70–73, 75–79, 81
Prophet's tomb, 69
Meḥmed (II) Fātiḥ (Ottoman Sultan), 180
Meḥmed Şevkī Efendī, 185
Meḥmedü'l-Defterī, 114
Meier, Fritz, 279

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000334

Mekka, 299–300
Great Mosque, 67
memorization, 136
metathesis, 225
Miftāḥ al-ghayb, 191
Miftāḥ Ghayb al-Jam', 179
miḥrāb, 73
Minangkabau, 70
minbar, 70, 72–73, 76–79, 81
miniatures, 192
Mīnuvī, Mujtabā, 277
Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 278–79
missionaries, missionary, 239
press (in Malta), 239–40
miṣṭar, 61
mnemonic culture, 11
Mohl, Jules, 276
Mongol, Mongols, 60, 107, 109, 115, 120
Morocco, 245
mosque-*madrasa* complex, 178
Mosul, 59
Mu'allaqāt, 239
mu'āraḍa (collation), 28, 44, 102, 201, 218
al-Mubarrid, 198, 200, 304
al-Muqtadab fi al-naḥw, 198, 200, 304
mudhahhib, *mudhahhibīn*, 201
Mughal, Mughals, 64
Empire, 281
Muhalhil b. Aḥmad, 198, 200
Muḥammad (Prophet), 72–75, 78
Muḥammad b. Aybak b. 'Abdallāh, 59
muḥaqqaq, 59, 200
Mu'īn, Muḥammad, 278
mukātaba, 29, 43–44
Müller, Max, 137
al-Munajjid, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 279
munāwala, 28, 43–44
muqābala, *muḳābele* (collation), 44, 191, 201, 218, 308–10
muqārana (collation), 102
musawwada (draft), 45
muṣḥaf, 70
Musnad of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, 72
Mustafa III (Ottoman Sultan), 185
Müstaḳīm-zāde Süleymān Sa'dettīn Efendī, 185
al-Mu'taṣim, 86
mutawallī, *mütevellī*, 189
muwashshaḥ, 41

al-Nabhānī, Yūsuf, 241, 243, 324
Nābī, 185
Nafisī, Sa'īd, 277
Nā'ilī Efendī, Aḥmed b. Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 115, 118
al-Najjārī, Rasūl, 241, 243
Najm al-qāri' li Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 192
Namık Kemal, 115
naqīb, 97
naqṣ (omission), 223
Naqshband, Bahā' al-Dīn, 168
nāsikh (copyist), 197
al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 59
naskh, 62
Naẓmī-zāda Ḥüseyn Efendī, 114, 118
Necātī, 185
New Testament, 251–52
Nicholson, Reynold Alleyne, 276
Nilakantha Caturdhara, 140–41, 143
Niẓāmī Ganjavī, 192
Khamsa-yi Niẓāmī, 192
Nizaris, 62
Novum instrumentum, 251
Nuruosmaniye Library, 244
al-nussākh al-'ulamā', 200

Odyssee, 89
Oghuz, 150–52, 154
Oghuz Khān, 152–53, 156
tribe, tribes, 153
Öljeytü (Khudābanda, Ilkhan), 59–60, 108, 205, 211
omission, omissions, *see also saqṭa*, *naqṣ*, *takhrīj* and *laḥaq*, 142, 221–23
"optimistische Methode," 256
orality, 22, 35, 52, 133–34, 136–38
orientation, 260, 262
orthography, 271, 274–75, 278–79
Osman III (Ottoman Sultan), 115, 185
Ottoman, Ottomans, 26, 178, 180–82, 185–87, 193, 277
Empire, 107, 113
overlinings, 221

page numbers, pagination, 241
palace workshops, 208
palaeography, palaeographical, 217
paper, *see also waraq*, *kāghit*, 237–38, 242
papyrus, papyri, 23, 34–36
paragraphing, 273

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000335

parchment, 10, 23, 35, 37
Patriarchate, Greek Orthodox in Istanbul, 12
patron, patronage, 204–206, 208
Pecheneg, Pechenegs, Bechene, 152
Pecia, 31
Pedersen, Johannes, 237–38, 244
performance, oral, 138
Persian letters, 273
Pétis de la Crois, 117
phenogeny, 262
phylogeny, 262
pious foundations, *see waqf*
Pīr-i Turkistān, 161–62
Pishāvarī, Aḥmad Adīb, 277
poetry
  Arabic, 23, 39, 239, 244
Poggio, 256
polo game, 111
printer's device, 242, 323
printing, 237–39, 242, 245
psalteria quadrupartita, 251
Psalteria triplicia (tripartita), 251
Ptolemy, 90
  Almagest, 90
punctuation, 271–73

al-Qāḍī, Wadād, 11
al-qalb al-makānī, 222
Qarā Dāwūd, 70
Qara Ishan, 154
Qaraman, Qarāmān, 151, 160, 162, 166
Qaraqalpaq, 167
Qarawiyyīn Library, Fes, 68
Qazān Khān, 156; *see also* Ghāzān Khān
Qazaq, Qazaqs, 167
Qazvīnī, Muḥammad, 277, 279
al-Qazwīnī, 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd Zakariyyā, 24
Qïl Barāq, 152
qirā'a, qirā'āt, 28, 42–44, 69, 178
Quatremère, Étienne, 276
Qunavī, Ṣadr al-Dīn, 177–83
  autograph works, 181
  library, 179, 181
  Vaṣiyyat-nāma, 177–83
Qur'ān, 23, 25–26, 37, 39, 41, 58–61, 67, 70, 75, 94, 291–92
Quṣṭā b. Lūqā, 87
Quṭbī Aharī, 274
  Tavārikh, 274

Rab'-i Rashīdī, 58, 60
Rāghib, Yūsuf, 36
Rāgıb (Meḥmed) Paşa, 185–93, 301–303
  Dīvān-ı Rāgıb, 185
  Mecmū'a-i Rāgıb, 186
  Münşe'āt-ı Rāgıb, 186
  Safīnat al-Rāghib wa dafīnat al-maṭālib, 186
  Taḥḳīḳ ve Tevfīḳ, 186
  Tercüme-i Maṭla'u's-Sa'deyn, 187
Rampur, 63
al-Rashīd (Abbasid caliph), 199
Rashīd al-Dīn, 57–64, 117, 151–53, 165, 208, 291–94
  As'ila va ajviba va ta'līqāt, 60
  Āthār va aḥyā', 60
  Bayān al-ḥaqāyiq, 60
  Jāmi' al-tavārīkh, 57–65, 151, 293–94
  Majmū'a-yi rashīdiyya, 60, 292
  Taḥqīq al-mabāḥith, 60
  Tārīkh-i Ghāzānī, 60, 64
  vaqf, 63
  Vaqfiyya, 208
"*rasm al-ḥarf*," 272
"*rasm al-khaṭṭ*," 272, 275
Rawḍa (of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina), 67, 70–73, 76–79, 81, 296–99
Rawshan, Muḥammad, 93, 95–96
Rażavī, Muḥammad Taqī (Mudarris), 277
Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn, 191
  Mafātiḥ al-ghayb, 191
al-Rāzī, Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 180
recensio, 251, 253, 255
  recensio codicum, 253, 255
reference marks, *see* correction signs
Reich, Tamar, 139, 142, 144–45
reīsülküttāb, 185
Renaissance,
  Renaissance humanism, 143, 145
Renou, Louis, 135–36
reproduction (of texts), 10
Resmī Aḥmed b. Ibrāhīm, 115
Rieu, Charles, 111
Rig Veda, 134–37
Ritschl, Friedrich, 255
riwāya, transmission, 200
Riyāḍ al-'Arūs, 68
Rosenthal, Franz, 18, 217
rubrics, 225
ruji'a, 223

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000336

rulings (surrounding a text), 59, 61, 193, *see also masṭar* [*miṣṭar*]
Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn, 182, 276
Mathnavī, 276
Rypka, Jan, 129

Sabri, Mehmet Şerif, 240
Sa'd al-Dīn Sāvajī, 57, 59
Sa'dī, 276
Ṣadr al-Dīn Zanjānī, 57
Ṣafā, Zabīḥullāh, 278
Ṣafā-bék-ulï Ṣādiq, 165
al-Ṣafadī, Salāḥ al-Dīn, 87, 90, 199
Safavid, Safavids, 185
Ṣafī (on the Atlantic coast), 68
al-Saghānī, 201, 307
ṣaḥḥ, 218, 223–27, 229
ṣaḥīḥ al-bayāḍ, 225
Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, 192
Sa'ib Tabrīzī, 193
Saida, 185
Sakīna bt. Ṣadr al-Dīn Qunavī, 177–78, 183
Salar (tribe), *see also* Sālïr, Sālūr, 151
Salars (of China), 151
Salghurids, 109
Salïr (tribe), 151, 156
Salmawayh b. Bunān, 86
Sālūr, Sālūrs, 151–52, 156
in Central Asia, 151
lore, 152, 156
tribe, 152–53, 156
Sālūr Qazān, 152–53
samā', 28, 42–44, 178
Samanid, Samanids, 93, 100, 274–75
Samarqandī, 'Abd al-Razzāq, 187
Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn, 187
Ṣan'ā', Great Mosque, 37
Sanskrit, 133, 136, 143
al-Sāq 'alá al-sāq, 239
saqṭa (omission), 223
al-Sarakhsī, 201, 306
Sarïq (Türkmen tribe), 156
saut du même au même, 222
Sauvaget, Jean, 18
al-Ṣayrafī, Ḥasan Kāmil, 243
Scheibe, Siegfried, 43, 52
Scholasticism, 143
scholia, scholiae, 112, 114, 230, 265
scribe, scribes; *see also* copyist, 100–102, 104
scriptorium, 30, 63
Sedillot, Louis-Amélie, 276
Segovia, 90
Seligman, P.R., 276
Seljuk, Seljuks,
of Anatolia, 182, 275
Seljuqs, *see* Seljuks
Sergius of Rāsh'ayna, 85–87
Shabānkāra, 109
Shādhiliyya, 68
Shāhnāma, 93, 275–77, 279
Shāhrukh, 62–63
Shajara-i tarākima, 152
Sharḥ Miftāḥ al-Ghayb, 191
al-Sharīshī, 238
Shastri, P.P.S., 140
shawāhid (proof texts), 39
Shaybānī, Mīrzā Ṭāhir Baṣīr al-Mulk, 276
al-Shayzamī (al-Sayyāf), 68
al-Shīrāzī,
'Alī b. 'Ubayd Allāh, 199, 243
Quṭb al-Dīn, 109, 180
Yār 'Alī, 180–81
Shulman, David, 138
Sībawayh, 198
ṣifr, 224
sigla, 48, 220, 228, 230
signes de renvoi, *see* correction signs
single linkage type, 261
Sirr al-layāl fī al-qalb wa al-ibdāl, 239
Ṣīrvānī, Abū Bakr b. Rüstem, 114
smṛti, the remembered, 133–38
South Asia, 245
South East Asia, 245
śruti, the heard , 134–37
stemma, stemmata, 103
stemma codicum, 255, 259–60
stemmatic method, 259
stemmatics, 141, 261, 263
stemmatology, 259
stoikheion, 88
Storey, C.A., 120
substitutions, 223
al-Suhrawardī, Aḥmad b., 59, 243–44, 292
Sukthankar, V.S., 137–42, 144–45
Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, 12
Sulṭāniyya, 58–59
Sumatra, 77
Sunghur b. Mawdūd (Saljuqid *amīr*), 192
Sūq al-warrāqīn, 30, 197
Sūrī, 160

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000337

Ṣūrī, 151, 162–64, 166
Sūrīyān, 159
suspensions, 220
Syr Daryā, 151
Syriac, 87

ta'līq printing characters, 118
al-Ṭabarī, 93–101, 103
  Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, 26, 199
  Ta'rīkh al-rusul wa al-mulūk, 93, 100
  Tarjuma-yi Tafsīr-i Ṭabarī, 274
table of contents, 241
Tabriz, 57–58, 61, 243
taḥqīq, 17, 21
Taḥqīq al-mabāḥith, 60
taḥrīf, 32, 222, 239, 243
taḥwīq, 224, 228
Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh, 57, 272
Tajziyat al-amṣār va tazjiyat al-a'ṣār, 107–23
takdhīya, 225–26
takhrīj, *takhrīja* (*kharja*) (omission), 221, 223
tamalluk, *temellük*, 192
Tanselle, Thomas, 13, 17, 35, 38, 49, 51–52
al-Tanūkhī, 41
Taqavī, Naṣrullāh, 277
al-taqdīm wa-al-ta'khīr, 222
tarḥīm, 230
Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī, 277
ṭarīqa, 182
taṣḥīf, 32, 222, 239, 243
taṣḥīḥ, 225, 229
al-Tawḥīdī, Abū Ḥayyān, 31, 41, 198, 244
taxa, 260
taxonomy of errors, 217–31
tax-shelters, 58
team work (in copying manuscripts), 197, 205
Teke (Türkmens), 156
text, definition of the term, 140
textual criticism, 12, 259–60
textus receptus, 252
Tha'ālibī, 244
Thackston, W., 283
Thillet, Pierre, 88
Thousand and One Nights, 41
thuluth, 59
Timurid, Timurids, 61, 187, 281
ṭīna, 88
title-page, title-pages, 241
Tlemcen, 68
Toderini, Giambattista, 188
Toledo, 90–91
tombs, visiting of, 75
de Tott, François Baron, 187
tradition
  contaminated, 219, 264
  of interpretation, 133, 135–36
  textual, 9–11
translation, 11
  Arabic, 87–88, 91
  Syriac, 85–88
  methods, 87
transmission; *see also riwāya*, 9–11
  horizontal, 102–103, 264
  oral, 11, 136–38
  vertical, 102
Tüfenkçibaşı, Meḥmed 'Ārif, 115
al-Ṭughrā'ī, 241, 244
Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn, 275
Tunis, 239
Turkey, 238, 245
Turkistān, 149, 154, 157, 161–66
Türkmen, Türkmens; *see also* Ersarï, Sarïq, Teke, Yomut, 150–51, 155–56
  history, 155
  lore, 153, 155–56, 167
  tribes, 153, 156
Ṭūsī,
  Asadī, 271
    Garshāsb-Nāma, 271
    Lughat-i Furs, 271
  Naṣīr al-Dīn, 181
type-face, type faces, 240, 242
  Arabic, 239

'Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (caliph), 71
al-'Umarī, Ibn Faḍlallāh, 24
unicum, 49
unṣur, 88
'unwān, 241
'Utbī, 112
Uzbeks, 150

vaqf, *see waqf*
vaqfiyya, *see waqfiyya*
variant, variants, 219, 221, 227–29, 259–67
  analysis (Variationenanalyse), 253
  'genealogical variants,' 262
Vaṣṣāf, 107–23
Vedas, 133–35

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-91136/fragment/page=00000338

velocity scribe, 114
Vergennes (French ambassador), 187
Vienna, 114, 118, 123
vocalization
  in the Arabic script, 25, 32, 242
Vullers, Johann August, 276
Vyāsa, 141, 143, 145

Wagner (network algorithm), 261
Wahhābīs, Wahhābism, 75
waqf, *see also* Rashīd al-Dīn, 58, 199
  mutawallī, mütevellī, 189
waqfiyya, 188–90, 193; *see also* endowments; library; Rashīd al-Dīn
waraq, *kāghid*, 198
warrāq, *warrāqīn*, *warrāqūn*, 30, 197–200, 205
al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī, 200
  Mabāhij al fikar wa manākij al-'ibar, 200
wirāqa, 197–98, 200
Witkam, Jan Just, 243–44
Wolf, 143–44
workshops
  commercial (for copying manuscripts), 206
  palace, 208
writing, 134–37, 139, 141

Yaghmā'ī, Ḥabīb, 274, 277
Yaḥyā b. al-Bitriq, 87
Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 198–99
  Mu'jam al-udabā', 198
Yarshater, Ehsan, 278
Yasavī, Aḥmad, 147–69
Yasï, 160, 163
Yazd, 58
al-Yazīdī (calligrapher), 200
Yomut (Türkmen tribe), 156
Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh, 86
Yūsuf b. Aḥmad of Denizli, 179
Yusufağa Library, Konya, 178, 180, 182–83
Yūsufī, Ghulām-Ḥusayn, 278

al-Zabīdī, 207
  Ḥikmat al-ishrāq, 207
Ẓahīr al-Dīn, al-Malik al-Mu'aẓẓam, 244
zajal, colloquial poetry, 41
al-Zamakhsharī, 113
ẓann, 227
zāwiya, *zāwiyas*, 68
al-Zawzanī, 238
Zeller, Hans, 43–45
Zenker, Julius Theodor, 284
Zhukovskii, Valentin Aleksevich, 276, 279
ziyādāt, 223
ziyāra, 72
Zotenberg, 94–96
Zubdat al-fikra, 121
zūd-navīs, *see also* velocity scribe, 61, 114, 209

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