

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

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YET ANOTHER “‘UTHMĀNIC QUR’ĀN” (ON THE HISTORY OF MANUSCRIPT E 20 FROM THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES)

Habent sua fata libelli.
“To each book a fate its own”.

Several months after I published an article with a detailed description of a large fragment of a Qur’ānic manuscript in *ḥijāzī* script (E 20) from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies [1], Dr. François Déroche was kind enough to send me a note on Qur’ānic fragments from the mountainous Uzbek *qishlāq* of Katta Langar [2], photocopies of which he had received thanks to the efforts of J. J. Witkam and M. Szuppe. A comparison of the photographed folios from Katta Langar with the photographs and information about manuscript E 20 which we published [3] allowed F. Déroche to identify the extant Katta Langar folios as belonging at one time to the same copy as fragment E 20. F. Déroche mentioned yet another folio from this copy, today held in the collection of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent.

This information profoundly altered my understanding of how our manuscript made its way to St. Petersburg. This copy came to the collection from the inheritors of Iriney (Selim) Georgeivich Nofal (1828—1902) (see *fig. 1*), who succeeded the well-known *shaykh* al-Ṭanṭāwī as a teacher in the pedagogical section for Eastern languages in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An Arab Christian, Selim Nofal was a relatively well-known literary figure (author of critical articles, political essays, and a biography of Muḥammad in French) [4] and bibliophile [5]; he was born in Tripoli (Syria) [6]. The fact that our copy of the Qur’ān presumably originated in Greater Syria made it logical to assume that Nofal brought it with him from his homeland. The discovery of folios from the same copy in Katta Langar and Tashkent (it emerged later that two more folios are held in the regional library of Bukhārā) [7] indicated that the manu-

script arrived in St. Petersburg via Central Asia. This information necessitated an immediate journey to Uzbekistan, all the more pressing as three versions of a monograph study on manuscript E 20 (English, Arabic, and Russian) were soon to be printed.

The trip took place in December, 1999, and was made possible thanks to the help and cooperation of a large number of friends and colleagues. In the first instance, this was Vincent Fourniau, Director of the Institut Français d’Études sur l’Asie Centrale (IFEAC), whose hospitality has already been extended to colleagues from many European nations. I am genuinely grateful for the cooperation and support of Academician M. M. Khayrullaev, Director of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, and A. Bakhromov, Supreme *Mufī* of Uzbekistan and Chairman of the Administration for Muslim Affairs. I would like to express my gratitude to my Uzbek friends Aftandil Erkinov, Shadmon Vakhidov, and IFEAC stipend-recipient Olga Tsepova, who accompanied me on the difficult journey to Katta Langar. Bakhtiyar Babadzhanov, Ashirbek Muminov, Aftandil Erkinov, Shadmon Vakhidov (Tashkent), and my colleague Florian Schwarz (Bokhum) generously shared with me their photographs, field notes, and the results of long hours of work in manuscript repositories.

I am grateful to *īshānzāde* Jura-Khan Asamov (Shahr-i Sabz) and ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Ibrāhīm, *imām* of the mosque in Katta Langar, for a detailed narration of the traditions associated with the history of this region. And finally, I would like to express my delight at the extreme professionalism of Stas Ashuraliev, IFEAC’s driver, who delivered us to Katta Langar and back as though we were on wings.

1

At present, the following fragments which originate with the E 20 copy of the Qur’ān (15 folios in all, see *Table 1*) have been attested in Uzbekistan:

1. Collection of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Call number 11604.

One folio in excellent condition, containing *sūra* 3, *āyāt* 26—61. The folio is in a separate *muqawwā’* [8] binding of black leather (*fig. 4*) and belongs to the library of Muḥammad Sharīf-Jān Makhdūm Šadr-i Dīyā’ (*fig. 2*). *Qāḍī-kalān* (supreme judge) to the last *amīr* of Bukhārā, poet, patron of the arts and noted bibliophile, he was repressed under the

Soviets and died in prison in 1932. The bulk of his library is today found in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent. Under call number 2460, one could find a fascinating catalogue of the library drawn up personally by Šadr-i Diyā' and entitled by one of his readers (fol. 1a, cf. fol. 2a) *Asāmī-yi kitābhā-yi kitābhāna-yi khuṣuṣī-yi Šadr-i Diyā'* [9]. Folios 175a–175b of this catalogue contain a description of the Qur'ānic folio acquired by Šadr-i Diyā', which begins as follows: "one folio of *Kalām Sharīf*, in the handwriting of the third righteous caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān" (fig. 8). Unfortunately, Šadr-i Diyā', who usually provides detailed information on the acquisition of various copies, chose here to be laconic, indicating neither the name of the seller nor the date and cost of the purchase.

2. Collection of the Ibn Sīnā Bukhārā regional library. Two folios in good condition are containing *sūra* 28, *āyāt* 35–81 and exactly fill the corresponding *lacuna* in the Petersburg section of the manuscript. The folios were folded in half and traces of breakage are clearly visible. They are kept in a wooden frame (evidently they were displayed at some exhibition) [10]. The folios belonged to the library of Muḥammad Šiddīq b. Amīr Muẓaffar, known by the sobriquet Hishmat (1857–1927) (fig. 5), son of the Bukhārān amīr Muẓaffar al-Dīn. After 1871, he was the *beg* of Qārshī, and from 1871 — *beg* of Chahārjāy. The Russian political agent Charykov, citing the governor of Bukhārā and the emirate's minister of finances Muḥammad Sharīf Ināq (1837–1888), states that Hishmat's dissolute lifestyle nearly caused his father to recall him from his post [11]. This occurred for other reasons in 1885, when 'Abd al-Aḥad came to power after the death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn. Hishmat was arrested and later freed, but compelled to spend many years under house arrest. Cut off from political life, Muḥammad Šiddīq devoted himself to literary matters. He proved himself to be a fine expert on poetry and literary, but an extremely mediocre poet. The manuscripts of nearly thirty works he penned, which include several uncompleted *tadhkīras*, are today held in the collection of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Among these manuscripts is a brief catalogue of his personal library drawn up in Hishmat's own hand; it shows him to be a connoisseur and successful collector of bibliographic rarities [12]. He writes the following on one of the folios: "*Kalām Allāh* — two folios, bought for 30 *sūm* (Russian) [13]. Written in the handwriting of 'Uthmān (*bi-khaṭṭ-i 'Uthmānī*)" [14]. Here also, there is no exact date of purchase nor name of the seller. In 1920, Muḥammad Šiddīq emigrated to Afghanistan, where he died seven years later. It is important to note that both Šadr-i Diyā' and Hishmat had to know the story of 'Uthmānic Qur'ān from Khwāja Aḥrār mosque in Samarqand and its transportation to Russia in 1869. Nevertheless, it was our copy that both of them thought to be a genuine 'Uthmānic Qur'ān.

3. *Mazār* of the *shaykhs* of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood in the *qīshlāq* of Katta Langar. Twelve folios in acceptable condition (see front cover of the current issue). Together with two parchment folios which belong to a different copy [15], they are stored in a red morocco leather binding of *muqawwā* type (fig. 7) with the name of the craftsman and the date written into a cartouche in the centre: Muḥammad Nāšir, 1255 (A.D. 1839/40 — E. R.).

The folios contain the complete (without omissions) text of a Qur'ānic fragment spanning *sūras* 4–6 (see

Table 1) and exactly fill the corresponding *lacuna* in the Petersburg section of the manuscript [16]. The folios bear traces of inept restoration with losses in the parchment paper restored and text rewritten both in faux ancient script (fols. 3–4) and cursive (fol. 11). The format is exactly the same as the format of the Petersburg fragment. Thus, fol. 10b contains a colour illumination (see Table 2, No. 1) written into a gap between the end of the fourth *sūra* and the beginning of the fifth [17]; it is stylistically in harmony with corresponding illuminations in the Petersburg fragment. Elsewhere (fol. 4b), when the text of fifth *sūra*, beginning at the very top of the folio, there is insufficient space for such ornamentation (we find here only the quantity of *āyāt* written in cursive).

The first mention of these manuscript fragments in print belongs to M. E. Masson, an outstanding historian of Central Asia, who left us a detailed article on Katta Langar [18]. He noted that the sacred relics in the Katta Langar complex contained an "ancient Qur'ān, presented, like a host of analogues throughout the Muslim world, as a genuine exemplar written in the seventh century, allegedly by 'Uthmān himself (644–656), above which he was killed by his enemies. As proof, on the page with the words '*fasya-ki fiya fumumlo...*' (? — E. R.) they showed him a stain said to be the blood of the ill-fated Caliph. Moreover, the text of the Qur'ān displayed was executed not in Kufic script, but in a very elegant, ancient, but later, *nasta'liq*" [19]. One is left with the impression that M. E. Masson either did not see the manuscript at all or did not deign to leaf through it. According to B. Babajanov, who also wrote an article on Katta Langar [20] and who saw and photographed sixty three folios of this manuscript in 1983 [21], its final pages contain Arabic and Persian texts copied in cursive script (Babajanov identified it as *dīwānī*). He did not see any traces of blood on the manuscript.

These final pages, which contain various names and dates, apparently gave rise to a number of errors in the description of the manuscript. Thus, Tursunboy Boymirov, a specialist in local culture and author of a brief pamphlet on the religious antiquities of Katta Langar [22], claimed that the fragments dated to the fifteenth century. He even gave the name of the copyist, allegedly Abū-l-Ḥasan (d. 1491/92), the *shaykh* of Katta Langar himself. One year later, A. Erkinov wrote about the manuscript in greater detail, giving the folio dimensions and citing the authority of B. Babajanov and J. J. Witkam, who visited Katta Langar in 1997. He noted that the missing folios contained several colophons with *nisbas* of the copyists (for example, Bukhārī) and he dated it to the "tenth or, perhaps even the eighth century" [23]. And finally, the same issue of *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* (1999) included the above-mentioned article by Fr. Déroche and an overview of Arabic-script manuscript collections in Uzbekistan by A. Muminov. The latter provided a detailed description of the manuscript from the *mazār* in Katta Langar and indicated that the above-noted folio from the Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies belonged to it [24].

According to *īshānzāde* Jura-Khan Asamov, a resident of Shahr-i Sabz, who belongs to the lineage of the Katta Langar *īshāns* (fig. 10), in 1941, as a child, he saw one hundred forty three folios which are part of the Qur'ānic manuscript under discussion. As was noted above, in 1983 B. Babajanov succeeded not only in seeing, but also in photographing sixty three folios. The 1983 resolution of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party to combat folk Islamic beliefs played a fateful role in the history of



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

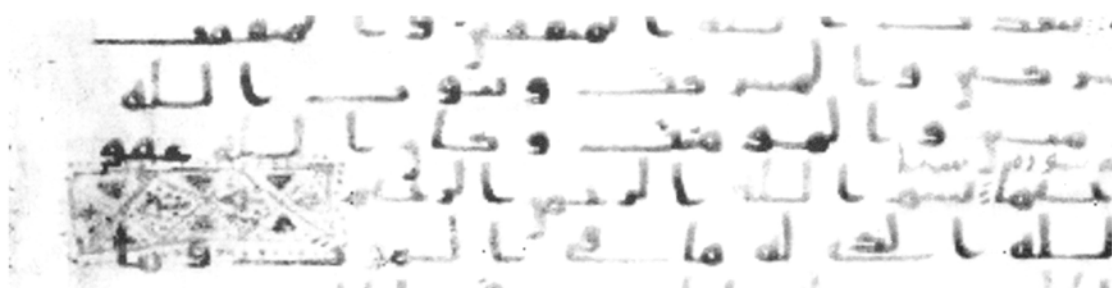


Fig. 3

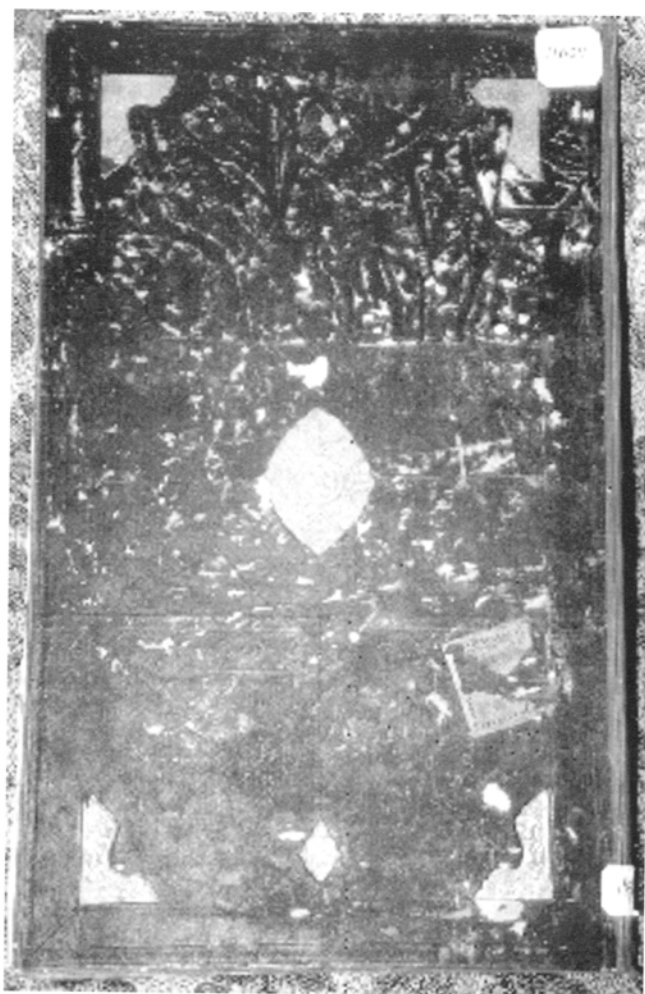


Fig. 4

our manuscript. The initiator and executor of this resolution was the then UzSSR minister of culture, R. Abdullaeva. In *mazārs* and mosques throughout the republic, sacred relics were confiscated and the graves of saints were excavated. The results of the digs, in which leading Uzbek scholars were forced to participate, were shown frequently on local television. Fearing for the manuscript, the chairman of the local *qishlāq* council brought it to his home, but was still unable to save it or other relics. Kibilov, deputy director of the KGB administration for the Kashka Daryā region of Uzbekistan and a native of Jizaq (which was of crucial significance in the system of local clan competition and mutual assistance) personally ordered that the Katta Langar holy relics be confiscated. According to eye-witnesses, on the very eve of the confiscation, one of the *qishlāqs'* elders, Tukhto-Baba Rajazov, succeeded in taking several folios

from the manuscript. Tukhto-Baba himself denies this strenuously today. Ten years later, in 1993, T. Qadirov, *hakīm* of the Kashka Daryā *wilāyat* returned the twelve folios to the *mazār*.

The eighty-one folios held today in Saint-Petersburg comprise 39.3% of the text of the Qur'ān [25]. In this regard, it is easy to establish that in 1941, taking into account that the manuscript contained several addition pages copied in cursive, virtually the entire text was identified (81+143+3=110.1%), in 1983 — 71.3% (81+63+3), and today — 46.6% (81+12+3). A careful analysis of the St. Petersburg fragments showed that the text of the Qur'ān which has reached us hardly differed from the text which was passed on orally and established in written form in the eighth century [26].

2

The Katta Langar [27] complex is located 100 km to the south of Samarqand (see map, *fig. 12*), in the Kūk-sū ravine on a spur of the Zarāfshān mountain range (see *fig. 6*), on the right bank of a *sāy* which is also called Langar [28]. According to Belavsky, a colonel of the Russian General Staff who was there twice in 1889 in the course of a reconnaissance mission in the eastern regions of the Bukhāran emirate, "Langar, Bōwa-shādī and Tūt-ak make up the sacred mountains of Bukhārā ... Pious Muslims who come to venerate the place do not limit themselves to the veneration of Langar, but visit Bōwa-shādī and Tūt-ak as well" [29].

The region is of significant historical and cultural interest. The ruins of the ancient city of Bābur-tepe have been identified not far from Katta Langar. Manjūq-tepe, a site where ancient ceramics have been discovered, is located a half-kilometre from the *mazār*. The fortresses "Sogdian cliff" and "Cliff of Khoriyen" [30] stood not far away. These mountain strongholds were besieged by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C., and it was here that he met Roksana. Difficult to reach, these environs provided refuge to an ancient Christian community, as is indicated by graffiti with Christian symbols which remain undeciphered to this day. It is possible that one of these mountain fortresses was later the final residence of al-Muqanna', leader of the uprising of "people in white garb"; it was captured in 783 by the caliph's governor, Muthayyab b. Zuhayr. Al-Muqanna's followers concealed themselves for some time in the area [31], and local residents were considered suspect Muslims until the fifteenth century [32]. Such places were favoured objects of Šūfī advocacy.

'Arab-qishlāq is a five-minute drive from Katta Langar; its residents, who are of Arab origin, have preserved their native language [33]. Oral tradition stubbornly links the appearance of the Arabs with the era and activities of Tīmūr. Historical sources and documents attest at least one wave of such migration which took place at the beginning of the sixteenth century [34].

The mosque and burial-vault of Šūfī *shaykhs* from the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood in Katta Langar (see *Plates 1* and *3* on the back cover of the current issue), genuine masterpieces of medieval Muslim architecture, have often drawn the attention of travellers and specialists. The first European

to appreciate the beauty and significance of these monuments was, perhaps, the Russian military engineer B. N. Kastalsky, who was the first to photograph them [35]. They were first described by the officer and artist B. Litvinov [36].

Since 1942, attempts have been made to conduct historical-archaeological and historical-architectural research in Katta Langar, but specialised study began in 1961 with a multi-faceted regional studies expedition of the UzSSR Institute of Art History [37]. In 1964, research was continued by the Kash archaeological-topographical expedition of Tashkent State University under the direction of M. E. Masson [38]. In 1983 and 1989, B. Babajanov worked there under the aegis of the Uzbek Institute for the Restoration of Monuments of Architecture [39]; in the 1990s, A. Muminov, A. Erkinov, and Sh. Vakhidov conducted research there.

Adepts of the 'Ishqiyya Šūfī brotherhood [40] appeared in Mā warā' al-nahr in at least the fourteenth century. Evidence of this is found in epigraphs in Astānā-Ātā in the Zīrabulāqs hills (Samarqand region, village of Ingichka). One could find there a mosque (late 17th — early 18th century) and *mazār* (dated to the late 15th century). The latter preserves the richly decorated gravestones of *shaykh* Khudāy-Qūlī (14th century), whose *silasila* goes back to Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 874 or 877/8), son of Khudāy-Qūlī Muḥammad (d. 1451/52), and grandson Ilyās al-'Ishqī (d. 1472). Dim traditions have survived which identify the *shaykhs* as natives of Madīna who appeared in Mā warā' al-nahr from Afghanistan and retained ties with that land [41].

At the turn of the fifteenth — sixteenth centuries, the 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* left Astānā-Ātā, which remains only a memorial complex, and resettled some 150 km to the south in a place later called Katta Langar; the reasons for the move remain unclear to researchers [42]. The *mazār* erected there contains five graves, three of which are the graves of 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs*: the son and successor of Ilyās al-'Ishqī, Abū-l-Ḥasan Kalān al-'Ishqī (1419—1491/92), the latter's son Muḥammad Šādiq Langarī (1460—1545) and his grandson, named in honour of his grandfather, Abū-l-Ḥasan (d. 1560).

Legends insist on linking this move with the name of Muḥammad Ṣādiq [43]; it was he who received the sobriquet Langar-Ātā and the construction of the mosque and *mazār* is ascribed to him [44]. There are three possible explanations for this: Abū-l-Ḥasan the elder died immediately after the move, the activities of the son so outshone those of his father that the move came to be linked with him, and, finally, the move was indeed undertaken at the initiative of Muḥammad Ṣādiq and the body of his father was brought to Katta Langar from Astānā-Ātā or elsewhere and buried in the waiting *mazār*, automatically imparting an aura of sanctity. The practice of moving the bodies of the dead, sometimes over great distances, and reburying them was widespread at that time. We follow M. E. Masson [45] in supporting the latter version of events, especially since the stele which stands above Abū-l-Ḥasan the elder's grave, unlike those of his son and grandson, does not indicate the day of his death, only the year. The exact date would have been known had he died in Katta Langar.

What compelled the 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* to abandon the familiar Astānā-Ātā, especially since their new abode did not differ from its predecessor in topography or climate?

In the years when such a move could have taken place, Mā warā' al-nahr was controlled by the Tīmūrīds, who were losing strength. Closely linked to the Tīmūrīds was the mighty Khwāja Aḥrār (1404–1490), head of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood, an important political figure and owner of one of the largest fortunes of his time. He is associated with the active and specifically directed political and economic activities of the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood and the growth of its influence, not only in Mā warā' al-nahr, but elsewhere as well.

The same time saw the rise of Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān (d. 1510), who was preparing to conquer Mā warā' al-nahr. The Shaybānīds needed an ally such as Khwāja Aḥrār. It is hardly a coincidence that Shaybānī-khān, on seizing Samarqand in 1500, confiscated the vast fortune of Khwāja Aḥrār's family and destroyed his sons. At that time, the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood and its *shaykhs* quickly gained influence and economic power. Among their *murīds* were many representatives of the Turkic clan nobility (evidence of this, in particular, is found in the cemetery located next to the Katta Langar *mazār*), and the Katta Langar *shaykhs* played an active role in political events [46]. It was then that they began constructing the costly mosque in Katta Langar (1519/20 or 1515/16) and the *mazārs* in Katta Langar and Astānā-Ātā [47]. The fall of the Shaybānīds reduced the influence of the Katta Langar *shaykhs* to nil, once again affirming the tie between them.

But we return to the turn of the fifteenth — sixteenth centuries. The 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* retreated farther from Samarqand, the realm of Khwāja Aḥrār, and closer to Afghanistan, with which they already had ties. The alliance with the Shaybānīds was probably formed at that time. The influence of a brotherhood and its *shaykhs* was to a great extent determined by the presence of sacred relics, which were intended to confirm by their presence the traditions that accompanied the history of the *silsila*. Among the sacred relics which belonged to the Naqshbandiyya brotherhood was an 'Uthmānic Qur'ān (fig. 9). Extant traditions insist on linking its appearance in Mā warā' al-nahr with the name of Khwāja Aḥrār. We feel that at the turn of the fifteenth—sixteenth centuries, such a copy appeared among

the sacred relics (see Plate 2) of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood [48]. The latter also included such significant items as a *tasbīh*, a string of yellow rosary beads which allegedly belonged to Muḥammad himself (they were stored in the Katta Langar mosque and shown to those who performed the *ziyāra* but no one was allowed to hold them); *mūy-i mubārak*, sacred hairs from the beard of Muḥammad [49]; and, finally, a *khirqā* or *jānda-chapān*, which was also supposed to have belonged to Muḥammad [50].

How did a copy of the Qur'ān which was among the sacred relics of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood make its way to Katta Langar? Here, unfortunately, we can only advance hypotheses.

An interesting legend deals with Muḥammad Ṣādiq's resettlement. When he was a young *murīd*, his duties included heating water and serving it to his teacher for the ablutions which preceded prayer. Once he discovered that there was no fuel to heat the water; he placed the *qūmgān* with cold water under his arm and fell asleep. A miracle occurred and the water came to a boil. His teacher, scalded by the hot water, realised that his *murīd* had attained *ḥaqīqa*, the final stage of the mystical path. Saying, "there is no reason for us to remain together here," he ordered his pupil to find a new place to live and preach. His teacher said in parting: "May the place of your permanent residence be the place where your camel falls from exhaustion and does not rise for three days". The obedient Muḥammad Ṣādiq wandered the land in search of an appropriate location for his *langar*. At one point, his camel, which carried a saddle-bag with the sacred copy of the Qur'ān on one side and the *khirqā* of the Prophet on the other, fell from exhaustion. But after resting for a day, it continued. In another place, it lay for two days. It was only upon reaching the territory of the future Katta Langar that the animal lay exhausted for three days [51].

In 1513, the Uzbek *sultāns* who had by then occupied northern Khurāsān and Balkh were compelled to "cleanse" the areas they had conquered. Sultān 'Ubaydallāh resettled the residents of Marw to Bukhārā, and Jānībek resettled the residents of Balkh, Shuburghān and Andkhoy, a region in northern Afghanistan inhabited by Arabs, to his domain on the other side of the Āmū-Daryā. Documents show that the migrants needed a patron in their new location; moreover, the concept of *ihtimām* (payment for care) [52] existed. Perhaps the legend of the long journey and the exhausted camel reflects the migrants' travels, and the ancient copy of the Qur'ān was "payment for care"?

In the traditional tale of how the mosque was built in Katta Langar, told to me by its *imām*, 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ibrāhīm (fig. 11), it is constantly stressed that the mosque was constructed collectively, with each of the neighbouring tribes responsible for some "aspect" of the construction: preparing or delivering construction materials, providing livestock and cooking food for the builders, etc. The mosque, which they began to build only a few years after their move, was intended to unite Muslim regardless of their ethnic origins, and also to integrate the migrants into local society.

Perhaps the future migrants turned for help to the *shaykhs* of the 'Ishqiyya brotherhood, who had ties to Afghanistan, and this occasioned their move to Katta Langar?

Finally, extant traditions link the resettlement of the Arabs to Mā warā' al-nahr with Tīmūr's decision to punish the Arab tribes whose ancestors had been accused of



Fig. 5

*Fig. 6**Fig. 7*

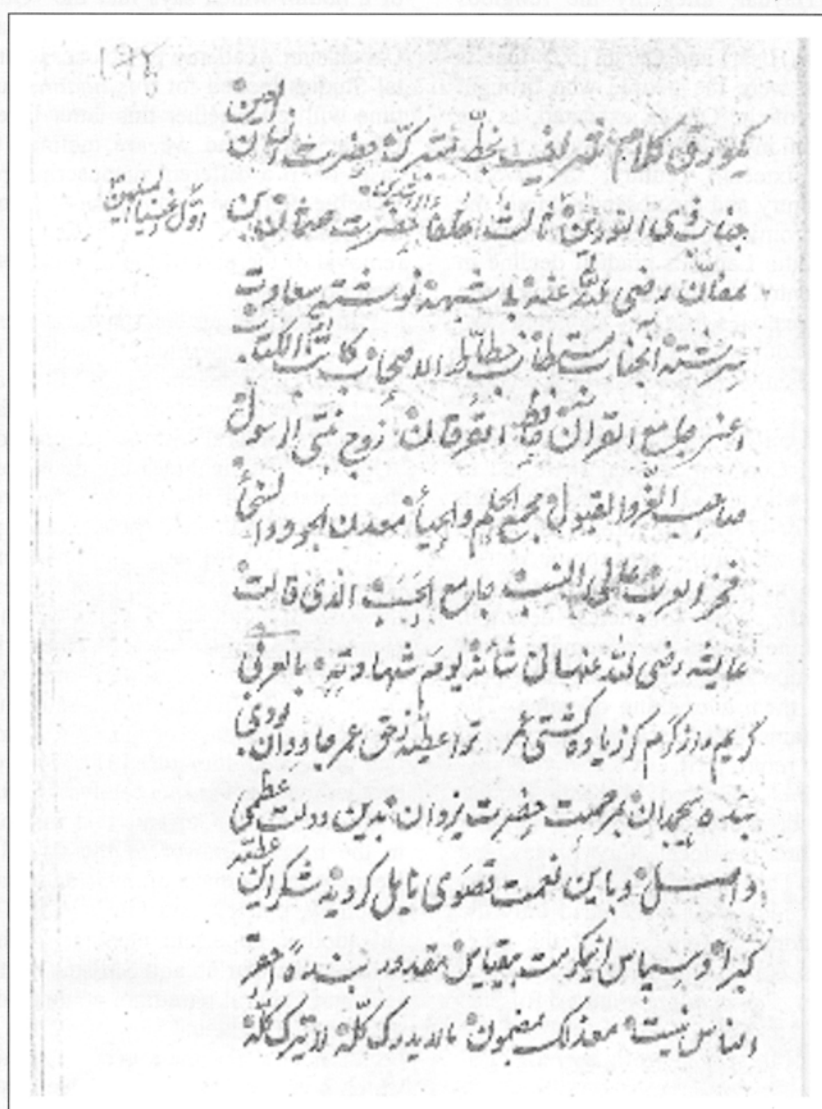


Fig. 8, a

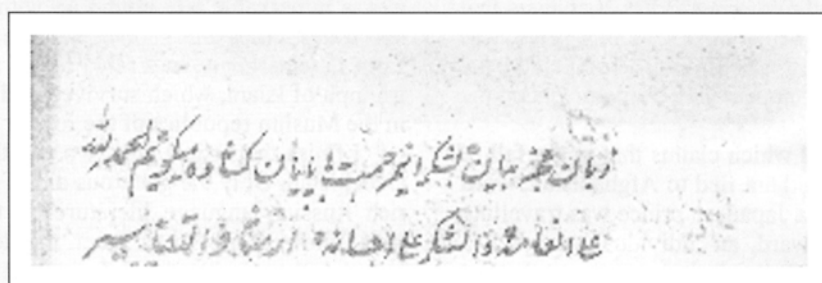


Fig. 8, b

murdering Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. According to one version of the tradition, Tīmūr directed the Arabs "to China", and only the intercession of Mīr Ḥaydar, allegedly the religious mentor of the mighty and terrible ruler, allowed them to be settled in the area of Gissar (Ḥiṣār) and Qārshī [53]. One is tempted to think that these were the people who brought with them an ancient copy of the Qur'ān executed, as we have shown [54], in the traditions of Umayyad Syria.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the overall political situation in the country and the absence among the 'Ishqiyya *shaykhs* of such prominent figures as Muḥammad Ṣādiq and his son led to Katta Langar's gradual decline in significance as a spiritual centre. An indication of this is the fact that the number of gravestones from the sixteenth century with dates later than 1560, when *shaykh* Abū-l-Ḥasan the younger died, is significantly smaller than in preceding decades.

Political instability and military raids on nearby cities also affected Katta Langar. Constant internal strife led to the appearance of Kazakhs, who in 1723 were brought there by one of the contenders for the *khān's* throne. But their obedience soon ended, and with truly catastrophic consequences: surrounding towns, including such large centres as Samarqand and Shahr-i Sabz, were completely deserted. Groups of Kazakhs roamed the region. On occupying Katta Langar, they turned the mosque and *mazār* into a cattle-pen; on leaving, they took with them everything of value. The population hid in the mountains, spiriting away their sacred relics; they were not soon to return [55].

Somewhat later, *khwājas* appeared in Katta Langar from Bukhārā, claiming to be descendants of the *shaykhs*; they made efforts to restore the local holy places and reclaim their significance. This activity soon bore fruit. The territory of the *waqf*, which at first included only the settlement, gradually expanded. By the end of the nineteenth century, it encompassed all the lands along the *sāy* of Langar up to Yār-tepe. Later, the *waqf* grew larger. Russian officers who were in the area in the final third of the nineteenth century found in Katta Langar a flourishing agricultural and religious centre.

Colonel Belavsky described the appearance of the Katta Langar *mutawallī* in 1889: "The current *mutawallī* was appointed three years ago. He is gentle and ingratiating in manner, displaying great outward modest and humility. When receiving guests, he is dressed quite simply: a white shirt and light top-boots (*ichigi*) with shoes on his bare feet, that is all. In his way of speaking and conversing, he is reminiscent of a Polish Catholic priest" [56]. It appears that this man with the manners of a Polish Catholic priest was linked to the disappearance from the *mazār* of half of the Qur'ānic manuscript and the appearance of fragments on the Bukhārān book market.

A tradition has survived which claims that in the fall of 1920, as the last *amīr* of Bukhārā fled to Afghanistan, word spread in Katta Langar that a Japanese prince was travelling there incognito. Soon afterward, an individual wrapped in a rich green robe and very similar in appearance to the last *amīr*, Mīr 'Alīm (1910–1920), is alleged to have appeared in Katta Langar, where he performed the *ziyāra*, venerated the sacred relics and immediately left the *qīshlāq* [57]. In December, 1999, during my stay in Uzbekistan, I heard a different legend from several people. In this version, Mīr 'Alīm left a copy of the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" in one of the *qīshlāqs* on a spur of the Gissar mountain range.

According to my informants, he had planned to take the relic to Afghanistan, but changed his mind when he learned of a *ḥadīth* which says that the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān" will always remain in Mā warā' al-nahr. Members of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies looked for this *ḥadīth*, but found nothing. Only time will tell whether this latter legend refers to the Katta Langar copy (and we are inclined to believe that this is case) or to a different manuscript, perhaps as ancient and valuable. Perhaps a conveniently composed *ḥadīth* allowed the guardians of the Katta Langar relics to prevent the removal of the part of the manuscript that then remained in their possession.

In previous articles in the series "The Qur'ān and its world", I have written frequently of the important role played by Ṣūfī teachings and their adepts in the development and emergence of that multi-faceted phenomenon in mankind's cultural history designated in brief by the word "Qur'ān". This includes the development of a teaching on the recitation of the Qur'ān, the creation of a system of signs which completed the extended process of establishing a unitary text [58], and the development of principles for the allegorical interpretation of the text. The latter served as the basis of hundreds of works which make up an important element of Islamic religious culture [59]. The specific features of Ṣūfī teachings were directly reflected in how the "word of Allah" was used in religious practice [60], in the physical appearance of Qur'ānic manuscripts and works of Qur'ān-related literature [61]. The world-outlook of Ṣūfī brotherhoods acted as a catalyst for the broad penetration of fragments of the Qur'ānic text into ordinary life as a belief in the magical power of the "word of Allah" led to the frequent appearance of *āyāt* and fragments on weaponry, jewellery, pottery, and fabric [62]. Today we can speak of yet another important element in the system of relations between the Qur'ān and Ṣūfism. By this we mean the religious and cultural paradigm connected with the preservation of extremely ancient copies as the sacred relics of Ṣūfī brotherhoods. By their very existence, these manuscripts, which preserved the most ancient layer of the Sacred text's history, were intended to confirm the traditional histories of specific *silsilas*, affirm the authority of their *shaykhs*, attract new adepts, and awaken religious enthusiasm in believers. In our view, this explains the phenomenon known as the "Qur'ān of 'Uthmān".

Habent sua fata libelli ("To each book a fate its own"). The history of our manuscript spans at least twelve centuries, a remarkable tale bound up with the fates of dynasties and states, cities and people, the fate of Islamic civilisation from its emergence in Arabia in the seventh century to the triumph of Islam, which survived and outlasted communism in the Muslim republics of the former USSR.

I finish this article only two months after returning from Uzbekistan. Only the generous aid of my colleagues and the rich Russian-language literature on the history of Central Asia allowed me to connect the legends and traditions I heard there with the information contained in written sources, the majority of which I encountered for the first time. This article is, to a certain degree, a preliminary report on field research. It is my hope that the help of my colleagues and friends, specialists on the history and culture of Central Asia, will permit me in the future to refine the conclusions and hypotheses presented here.



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12

Table 1

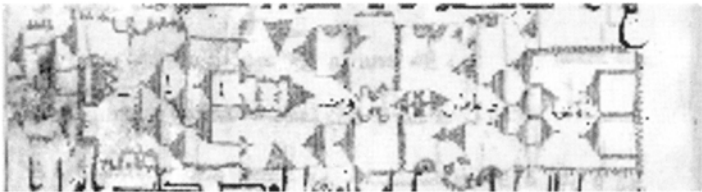
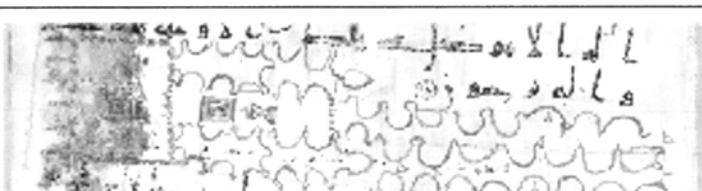
Folio	Folio side	Sūra	Āyāt	Place of preservation
1	a	3	26—61	Tashkent
	b			
2	a	4	136—146	K A T T A L A N G A R
	b		146—157	
3	a		157—169	
	b		169—176	
4	a	5	1—4	
	b		4—9	
5	a		10—17	
	b		17—27	
6	a		28—40	
	b		40—45	
7	a		46—54	
	b		54—64	
8	a		64—73	
	b		73—85	
9	a		86—95	
	b		95—106	
10	a		106—113	
	b		113	
11	a	6	3	
	b		3—19	
12	a		19—33	
	b		33—46	
13	a		46—59	
	b		59—70	
14	a	28	70—82	Bukhārā
15	b		35—?	
			?-81	

Table 2*

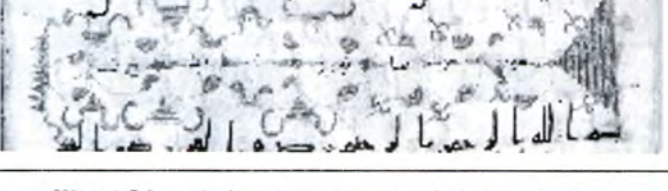
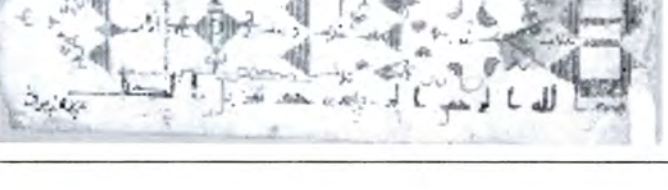
No.	Folio	Ornamental sūra separators
1.	10b Katta Langar	
2.	03a	
3.	09b	

* Number 1 was taken from the Katta Langar folio 10b, others — from the part of the manuscript preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection.

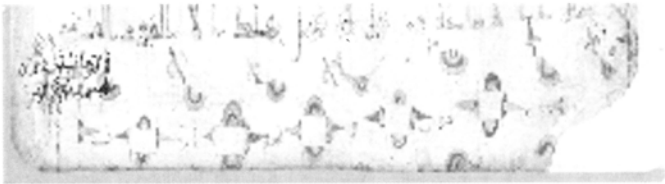
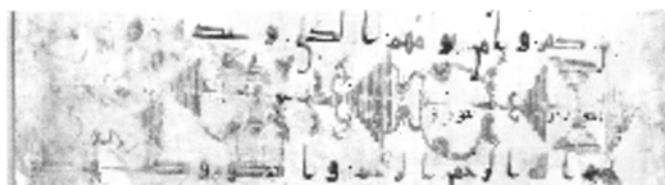
Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental sūra separators
4.	11b	
5.	16b	
6.	19a	
7.	26a	
8.	29a	
9.	31a	
10	36a	
11.	38b	

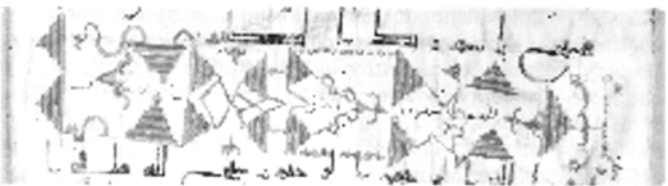
Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
12.	42a	
13.	43b	
14.	44b	
15.	48b	
16.	52a	
17.	54a	
18.	57a	
19.	59b	

Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental sūra separators
20.	61a	
21.	62b	
22.	64b	
23.	65a	
24.	66a	
25.	67a	
26.	68a	
27.	69a	

Continuation of Table 2

No.	Folio	Ornamental <i>sūra</i> separators
28.	70a	
29.	71a	
30.	72b	
31.	74b	
32.	76b	

Notes

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

2. F. Déroche, “Note sur les fragments coraniques anciens de Katta Langar (Ouzbékistan)”, *Patrimoine manuscrit et vie intellectuelle de l’Asie Centrale Islamique. Cahiers d’Asie Centrale*, VII (Tashkent—Aix-en-Provence, 1999), pp. 65—73.

3. See also, E. A. Rezvan, “Les premiers Corans”, *De Bagdad à Ispahan. Manuscrits islamiques de la Filiale de Saint-Petersbourg de l’Institut d’Études orientales, Académie des Sciences de Russie*, éd. Yuri A. Pétrosyan (Milan, 1994), pp. 84—5.

4. See G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* (Vatican, 1951), iv, p. 330. — Studi e Testi, 147; F. Ṭarrāzī, *Ta’rikh al-ṣiḥāfa al-‘arabiyya* (Beirut, 1913), ii, pp. 171—5; L. Cheikho, *La littérature arabe au XIXe siècle*, 2e éd. (Beyrouth, 1926), ii, pp. 139—40. He usually signed works printed in French as “I. Nauphal”, see I. Iu. Krachkovsky, “Novaia rukopis’ opisaniia Rossii sheikha at-Tantavi” (“A new manuscript of shaykh al-Ṭantāwī’s description of Russia”), *Sochineniia* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1955), i, p. 171.

5. St. Petersburg collections have preserved several other manuscripts from his library. In addition to the Qur’ānic manuscript, the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences) holds four other manuscripts (B 2485, B 3971, C 2332, and C 2333); they are, for the most part, works on Muslim dogmatics and examples of Arabic prose.

6. See I. Ma’lūf, *Dīwān al-quṭūf fī ta’rikh banī al-Ma’lūf* (Ba’abda, 1907—1908), pp. 242, 699.

7. For information about these folios I am indebted to Ashirbek Muminov, Aftandil Erkinov, Shadmon Vakhidov (Tashkent) and Florian Schwarz (Bohum).

8. This is the earliest possible date for the creation of the binding. See G. N. Chabrov, “K izucheniiu sredneaziatskogo knizhnogo pereplēta” (“To the study of Central Asian bookbinding”), *Narody Asii i Afriki*, II (1964), pp. 123—35. Craftsmen received the right to prepare and employ their own stamp upon completing their training and producing their first worthy product. They could use the same

stamp for many years. Bindings of this type arose in Kashmīr in the early 1730s; by the early — mid-nineteenth century they had become widespread in Central Asia. This was the conclusion reached by O. F. Akimushkin after analysing 622 examples of bindings of this type from various collections in St. Petersburg, Tashkent, and Dushanbe (his unpublished paper “Eshchē raz o sredneaziatskom pereplēte tipa *muqawwā*” (“Further remarks on Central Asian binding of the *muqawwā* type”), delivered at the annual scholarly session of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies in December, 1999).

9. For more detail, see Sh. Vahidov et A. Erkinov, “Le *fihris* (catalogue) de la bibliothèque de Ṣadr-i Ḍiyā’: une image de la vie intellectuelle dans le Mavarannahr (fin XIX-e — début XX-e siècles)”, *Cahiers d’Asie Centrale*, VII, pp. 141—51 (see specially p. 164, No. 171). “Thesa” publishers plans to issue a French-language monograph by these authors on the library of Ṣadr-i Ḍiyā’.

10. Oblastnaia Biblioteka im. Abu Ali b. Sina (The Abū ‘Alī Ibn Sīnā Regional Library), Bukhara, call number 1022. See G. Kurbanov, F. Schwarz, *Catalogue of Arabic, Persian and Turkic Manuscripts in the Ibn Sina Library, Bukhara* (Bukhara, 1998), p. 3, No. 6. Unfortunately, it was not possible to check the back side of the double folio since removing the parchment from the frame could damage the folio.

11. D. Yu. Arapov, “The Bukhara khanate at the end of the 19th century”, *Bukhara*, ed. V. Naumkin (London, 1993), p. 38.

12. According to Florian Schwarz, the Abū ‘Alī Ibn Sīnā Library also has a copy of classical Persian poetry by Dihlawī (call number 246) in the handwriting of Mīr Ṣiddīq Ḥishmat titled *Majmū‘i qaṣā‘id wa-madḥ*, which according to a seal print seems not to have been completed before 1878/79.

13. The cost of 4—6 rams in 1889. See M. N. Fyodorov, “Tseny v Bukharskom ėmirate v XIX — nachale XX vv.” (“Prices in the Bukhāran Emirate in the 19th — beginning of the 20th century”), *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, XI (1997), pp. 75—6.

14. Manuscript No. 2663 from the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 197a. For information about these folios I am indebted to Florian Schwarz and Ashirbek Muminov. Aftandil Erkinov and Shadmon Vahidov kindly informed about the catalogue of Muḥammad Ṣiddīq.

15. For a description and photograph, see Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 66 and colour plate VII inside the text.

16. Rezvan, “The Qur’ān and its world”, p. 28; Déroche, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

17. For the closest parallel to this illumination, see Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer, Karl-Heinz Ohlig, Gerd-Rüdiger Puin, “Neue wege der Koranforschung”, *Magazin Forschung. Universität des Saarlandes*, I (1999), p. 44, ill. 8. It is a fragment of one of the Qur’ānic manuscripts discovered in the Great Mosque of Ṣan‘ā’ (end of *sūra* 33 and beginning of *sūra* 34. Cod. Sanaa 01-28.1, dated to the mid-eighth century) (see fig. 3).

18. M. E. Masson, “Katta Liangar v oblasti srednevekovogo Kesha” (“Katta Langar in the region of medieval Kash”), *Trudy Tashkentskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. V. I. Lenina*. Fasc. 295 (Tashkent, 1966), pp. 66—105. — *Arkheologiya Srednei Azii*, VII.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

20. B. Babadzhanov, “Ėpigraficheskie pamiatniki musul'manskikh mazarov kak istochnik po istorii Sufizma (na primere mazarov Astana-Ata i Katta Langar)” (“Epigraphic texts from Muslim *mazārs* as a source on the history of Sūfism (based on the *mazārs* of Astānā-Ātā and Katta Langar)”), *Iz istorii Sufizma: istochniki i sotsial'naia praktika* (Tashkent, 1991), pp. 89—97.

21. At present, there is still hope to restore the negatives of these photographs, which were damaged in a fire in B. Babajanov's office.

22. T. Boymirov, *Langar Ota* (Qarshi, 1997), p. 7 (in Uzbek).

23. A. Erkinov, “Les manuscrits du *Khamsa* de ‘Alī Shīr Nawā’i et la vie culturelle du khanat de Boukhara sous Mangits”, *Cahiers d’Asie Centrale*, V—VI (1998), p. 180, n. 15.

24. A. Muminov, “Fonds nationaux et collections privées de manuscrits en écriture arabe de l’Ouzbékistan”, *Cahiers d’Asie Centrale*, VII (1999), p. 33.

25. Rezvan, “The Qur’ān and its world”, p. 24.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

27. “Big Langar”. A *langar* is, literally, an anchor, the stick held for balance by a tightrope-walker. Figuratively, it means, a Ṣūfī residence or refuge.

28. The title “Langar” was fairly widespread in Mā warā’ al-nahr, Khurāsān and India (see J. T. P. de Bruijn, “Khargird”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, CD-ROM Edition, v. 1.0; J. Burton-Page, “Gulbargā”, *ibid.*; A. S. Bazmee Ansari, “Kalīm Allāh al-Djāhānābādī”, *ibid.*). Russian topographers who worked in Bukhāran Emirate in the 1870s identified two other Langars in the vicinity. One was the Northern or “Old Langar” in the Aqtaw mountains; the other, the Eastern, some thirty kilometers South-East of Shahr-i Sabz on the right bank of the Tanhaz-daryā. One of these officers was second Lieutenant Kolosovsky; see A. G. Beliaevskii, “Opisanie obrekognostsirovannogo uchastka, zakliuchaiushchego v sebe proīdennye puti v predelakh Shaar-sabaz, Guzarskogo bekstva i chasti nagornoī Derbentskoī vozvys-hennosti” (“Description of a surveyed area which includes roads followed within Shaar-sabaz, the Guzar *beglik* and part of the Derbent heights”), *Sbornik geograficheskikh, topograficheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii*, fasc. 57 (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 143, n. 1.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 111.

30. Interesting attempts were made by the Russian military engineer B. N. Kastalsky to locate these fortresses, although their location has not yet been established. He based his conclusions on the information contained in detailed surveys of the Turkestan region, as he was unable to visit the sites themselves. See Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 100—1.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 76—7.

32. Muhammed Sadik, *Sheibani-name* (Muḥammad Ṣādiq, *Shaybānī-nāma*), published by P. M. Melioransky (St. Petersburg, 1908), chap. 22, p. 41; see also Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

33. The language and folklore of the Central Asian Arabs has received special study; the major works are G. B. Tsereteli, *Arabskie dialekty Srednei Azii*, I (*Bukharskii arabskii dialekt*) (Arab Dialects of Central Asia, I (The Bukhāran Arab Dialect)) (Tbilisi, 1956); I. N. Vinnikov, “Slovar’ dialektov bukharskikh arabov” (“Dictionary of the dialects of the Bukhāran Arabs”), *Palestinskii sbornik*, X (83) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1962); *idem*, *Iazyk i fol’klor bukharskikh arabov* (*Teksty i perevod*) (The Language and Folklore of the Bukhāran Arabs (Texts and Translation)) (Moscow, 1969).

34. Account of a contemporary eye-witness, author of the work *Zubdat al-athār*. See *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Imperatorskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XV (1902—1903), pp. 202—3; S. L. Volin, “K istorii sredneaziatskikh arabov” (“On the history of the Central Asian Arabs”), *Trudy vtoroi sessii Assotsiatsii arabistov* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1941), p. 126. See also I. N. Vinnikov, “Araby v SSSR” (“Arabs in the USSR”), *Sovetskaiia ėtnografiia*, IV (1940), pp. 3 ff.; I. Iu. Krachkovskii, “Arabistika v SSSR za 20 let” (“20 years of Arab studies in the USSR”), *Trudy vtoroi sessii Assotsiatsii arabistov*, pp. 28 ff.; *idem*, “Arabistika i istoriia narodov SSSR” (“Arab studies and the history of the peoples of the USSR”), *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR*, V (1938), p. 56; *idem*, *Ocherki po istorii russkoī arabistiki* (Essays on the History of Russian Arab Studies) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1950), pp. 252 ff.

35. One of these photographs, “The mosque Hawan Langar in Eastern Bukhārā” was displayed in September, 1889, in Tashkent at the first Turkestan photo exhibit. See *Pervaiia Turkestanskaia fotograficheskaia vystavka 19—26 sentiabria 1899* (The First Turkestan Photo Exhibition, 19—26 September, 1899) (Tashkent, 1899), p. 32, section “Fotografii kapitana Kastal'skogo” (“Photographs by Captain Kastalsky”), No. 114. The current location of B. N. Kastalsky's negatives and prints from Langar is unknown. See Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 102, n. 3.
36. Published in the newspaper *Turkestanskii vedomosti*, No. 105 (13. 05. 1910).
37. R. R. Abdurasulev, L. I. Rempel, “Neizvestnye pamiatniki arkhitektury basseina Kashkadar'i” (“Unknown architectural monuments in the Kashka Daryā basin”), *Iskusstvo zodchikh Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1962), i, pp. 32—40.
38. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
39. Babadzhinov, *op. cit.*
40. The title is based on the Sūfī concept of *ishq* — “all-encompassing passion for God which leads a Sūfī along the mystical path”. J. Trimmingham, in his *The Sūfī Orders in Islam* (I employed a Russian translation of the work, *Šūfīskie ordēna v islame*, Moscow, 1989, p. 87) considers that ‘Ishqiyya is one of the titles of the Shaṭṭariyya *tarīqat* which was introduced into India by Shāh ‘Abdallāh, a descendant of Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī, see K. A. Nizami, “Shaṭṭariyya”, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ix, p. 396b, CD-ROM version. It was known as ‘Ishqiyya in Iran and Central Asia and as Bistāmiyya in Ottoman Turkey. Both of these names are linked to the preacher and Khurāsān Sūfī Abū Yazīd al-Bistāmī al-Ṭayfūrī al-‘Ishqī. Aḥmad Kashmīrī's *Shajara-yi tabaqat-i anbiyā' wa mashāyikh wa silsilā-yi tarīqat anḥā* (in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent, No. 1426, fols. 280 ff.), drawn up no earlier than the beginning of the eighteenth century, provides additional information on this brotherhood. See Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
41. Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 82—3.
42. Babadzhinov, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
43. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 73—4.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 88; Babadzhinov, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
47. *Ibid.*
48. This is indirectly confirmed by the traditions we have cited, which insist on dating the copying of the manuscript to the fifteenth century.
49. According to the accounts of long-time residents, the hair of the Prophet was red or light-brown. This occasionally took aback pilgrims who believed that Muḥammad was a dark-haired.
50. The *khirqā* was of light-brown camel skin and had a collar and long sleeves which reached almost down to the knees. The fabric was covered in yellow, blue, and red decorations. Some felt that the *khirqā* was made from the skin of the sheep sacrificed by Ibrāhīm. According to tradition, it had no seams and was miraculously created for Muḥammad. It was also said to possess a special quality: it appeared to be of varying colours to all who succeeded in seeing it; see Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 96—7. There is also an interesting legend about how the *khirqā* made its way to Mā warā' al-nahr. According to tradition, Muḥammad bequeathed it on his deathbed to the Yemeni Uways al-Qarānī, one of the first Sūfīs to convert to Islam in the spirit of the Prophet. The latter is said to have lived in a cave not far from “Northern Langar”. Muḥammad charged Abū Bakr and two of his military leaders with delivering the *khirqā*. According to another version, the *khirqā* was brought to the Yemen by the future caliphs ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, where they presented it to Uways; much later, one of the latter's pupils took it to Mā warā' al-nahr. Others felt that the *khirqā* was brought there by Uways himself. Everyone linked the appearance of the *khirqā* in Katta Langar with the activities of Muḥammad Ṣādiq (*ibid.*, pp. 72—3).
51. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
52. Volin, *op. cit.*, pp. 117—26.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 112. I completed this article on February 23, which marks the fifty-sixth anniversary of Stalin's deportation of the Chechens and Ingush. *Tempora mutantur et nos nihil mutantur in illis*.
54. Rezvan, “The Qur’ān and its world”, p. 26.
55. When the grandfather of Khayt-bobo, M. E. Masson's 77-year-old informant, came down from the mountains in his youth, the village was inhabited by only 30 families, see Masson, *op. cit.*, pp. 93—5.
56. Beliaevskii, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
57. Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
58. Rezvan, “The Qur’ān and its world”, pp. 18—9.
59. *Idem*, “The Qur’ān and its word. IX. The Triumph of Diversity: Muslim Exegesis”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/3 (1999), pp. 37—57.
60. *Idem*, “The Qur’ān and its word: III. “Echoings of universal harmonies” (prophetic revelation, religious inspiration, occult practice)”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/3 (1997), pp. 18—9.
61. *Idem*, “The Qur’ān and its word: VII. talisman, shield, and sword”, *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/4 (1998), pp. 24—31.
62. *Ibid.*, pp. 31—2.

Illustrations

Front cover:

Fragment of one of the Qur’ānic folios kept in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

Back cover:

Plate 1. The *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

Plate 2. Reliquary of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

Plate 3. Guard at the gates of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).

Inside the text:

- Fig. 1. Iriney Nofal. Photograph from F. Ṭarrāzī, *Ta'riḫ al-ṣiḥāfa al-'arabiyya* (Beirut, 1913), ii, p. 172.
- Fig. 2. Muḥammad Sharīf-Jān Makhdūm Ṣadr-i Ḍiyā'. From S. Aīnī, *Iadashsa* (Yādāshthā) (Dushambe, 1962), vii, between p. 161 and p. 162.
- Fig. 3. Fragment of a Qur'ānic manuscript (Cod. Sanaa 01—28.1), end of *sūra* 33 and beginning of *sūra* 34, dated to the mid-eighth century. Discovered in the Great mosque of Ṣan'ā'. Courtesy of Hans-Caspar Graf von Bothmer.
- Fig. 4. Binding of a Qur'ānic folio (call number 11604) from the collection of Muḥammad Sharīf-Jān Makhdūm Ṣadr-i Ḍiyā' in the holdings of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Courtesy of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies.
- Fig. 5. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq b. Amīr Muẓaffar. Photograph by Hordet, no later than 1885. *Bukharskii Al'bom* (Bukhāran Album), in the photo archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.
- Fig. 6. *Mazār* in Katta Langar, view from the pass (photo by the author, December, 1999).
- Fig. 7. Binding from Katta Langar.
- Fig. 8. *Fihrist* (call number 2460) of the personal library of Ṣadr-i Ḍiyā' from the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies. Courtesy of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences Bīrūnī Institute of Oriental Studies:
a — fol. 175 a; *b* — beginning of fol. 175 b.
- Fig. 9. 'Abd al-Rashīd Bakhromov, Supreme *Mufīī* of Uzbekistan by the safe which today holds the Qur'ān of 'Uthmān that once belonged to Khwāja Akhrār (Tashkent, December, 1999).
- Fig. 10. Jura-Khan Asamov in front of the *mazār* in Katta Langar (photo by the author, December, 1999).
- Fig. 11. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Ibrāhīm, *imām* of the mosque in Katta Langar, displaying a fragment of the Qur'ānic manuscript (photo by the author, December 1999).
- Fig. 12. Republic of Uzbekistan and its neighbours.