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“The Prophet David and a flock”, miniature from the Arabic Psalter (A 187) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 61b.

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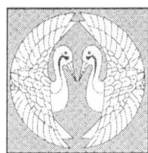
Plate 1. “John the Baptist”, miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 127a.

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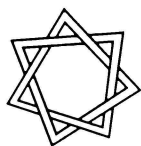
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 4 No. 4 December 1998



75ESA
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

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THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VIII/1. *CONTRA LEGEM SARACENORUM*: THE QUR'ĀN IN WESTERN EUROPE

The Qur'ān is a text which occupies the central place in a religious-philosophical system which has for fourteen centuries played an important role in human history. From the moment of its appearance, it was, in essence, interpreted and studied primarily in the context of competing political-ideological and confessional interests and in conditions of a centuries-long confrontation between the Christian world and the world of Islam.

The ideological necessity of study of the Qur'ān was a constant condition both in the choice of approaches to the sacred book of Islam and in its interpretation. Up through the present, the religious affiliation of the author of this or that study has influenced in the most direct fashion his

evaluation of the Qur'ān as a historical-cultural document. Past centuries have seen mankind endure a multitude of ideological shifts and cultural revolutions, mass political and religious movements have followed one after the other, philosophical conceptions and schools have become popular only to be forgotten, cultural orientations and priorities have changed. In one fashion or another, all of this found its expression in shifting approaches to the Qur'ān. To a great extent, the basic stages in the history of the study of the Qur'ān in Europe, the evolution of methodologies for studying and understanding this text, have been reflected in the history of its publication and translation.

* * *

By the second half of the seventh and eighth centuries, Islam had already started to become an inalienable part of the histories of Western Europe — Spain, the Mediterranean islands — as well as the Balkans and Eastern Europe (Khazaria, the Bulghārian kingdom, part of the lands of the Golden Horde, the Northern Black Sea, the Crimea, the Northern Caucasus). Available facts allow one to speak of the practically simultaneous emergence of two traditions of Qur'ānic study — inter- and extra-Islamic. The success of the Arab conquests, effected beneath the banner of Islam, forced Christian authors to turn to the sacred book of the Muslims, which was seen as the main source for information about Islam as a whole. Christian polemicists at the time of the conquests included in their works what information they possessed about the Qur'ān, as well as translations of genuine citations or expositions of fabricated citations [1]. John of Damascus (d. 750), who lived in Syria and until his acceptance of vows served the Umayyad Caliphs, left the first polemic work against Islam to have reached us. As a result of the moderate policies pursued by the Umayyads in relation to the “people of the Book” and his belief in the profound superiority of Christianity to the religion of the barbarian-conquerors, the polemic written by John of Damascus does not yet display a strident political-religious orientation. Considering Islam a heresy, he disputed the theoretical “delusions” of Muslims [2], who in

turn proclaimed the Christian Bible “altered and deprived” after the revelation of the Qur'ān. At the same time, representatives of conquered peoples who had been converted to Islam introduced their own scholarly traditions into the study and interpretation of the Qur'ān. The research of John Wansbrough has convincingly demonstrated once again the frequently decisive influence of the Judeo-Christian tradition on the emergence of Muslim exegesis, although his conclusion that the Qur'ān and early-Muslim *sīra-maghāzī* literature represent two versions of a Judeo-Christian polemic, adapted to the Arabic language and Hijāz environment [3], cannot of course be accepted [4].

Modern research has shown that a Greek translation of the Qur'ān existed in Byzantium in the tenth century; the earliest date for its probable appearance is the beginning of the ninth century. An analysis of extant Qur'ānic citations in the works of Byzantine polemicists allows one to assume that the translator of the Qur'ān into Greek was, in all likelihood, a bilingual individual of Arab descent from the Latin areas of the Empire [5]. Later, anti-Muslim treatises by Syrian polemicists, for example, the Jacobite bishop Dionysius bar Šalībī (d. 1171), included genuine or imagined fragments of the Qur'ān in Syriac translation [6].

Also, the significant number of extant manuscripts of Jewish-Arab theological works, fragments of Qur'ānic manuscripts in Hebrew writing, and Jewish polemical works

permit us to speak of a broad familiarity with the Qur'ān and its study among Jews [7].

The first attempts to translate and study the Qur'ān in Western Europe belong to a period when Europeans had mustered enough strength to oppose the Islamic world, which had previously evoked in them fear, envy, or even fascination. The sharp rise in the number of translations of works written in Arabic, which followed the capture of Toledo in 1085 by Christians, reflected a growing interest on the part of Europeans in the achievements of Arab-Muslim culture. People appeared who were capable of carrying out translations in accordance with the demands of the era. Robert the Englishman (Robert of Ketton, or Robertus Ketenensis), archdeacon of Pamplona, and Hermann of Carinthia undertook in Spain the translation of Arab works on astrology and meteorology. Europe was girding for the second crusade, and around 1142, at the behest of Peter the Venerable (1092—1156), abbot of the Monastery of Cluny, they completed the first translation of the Qur'ān into Latin with the aid of a certain "Saracen Mohammed". The group of translators brought together by Peter the Venerable, which also included Peter of Toledo and Peter from Poitiers, also translated for him an entire series of works. These were a selection of *ḥadīths*, Muslim legends about the Prophet, *Masā'il 'Abdallāh b. Salām* — the dispute between the Prophet and a Jew — and two polemical treatises. Basing himself in the main on these translations and writing in the style of *ecclesia militans*, Peter the Venerable drew up a summary and refutation of Muslim dogma which, together with the writings of Pedro de Alfonso (d. 1140), represents the first European work on Islam. Together, they played an enormous role in the formation of European views of Islam [8].

It was no accident that the first Latin translation of the Qur'ān appeared at the Monastery of Cluny. At that time, it was one of the most important centres of Christian ideological opposition to the world of Islam. The practically wartime conditions in which the monastery existed are well illustrated by the seizure in 972 of the head of the monastery by Muslims in an Alpine pass. It was only 62 years later that the victory of Christian forces in North Africa allowed the monastery to recoup the ransom it had paid to the Muslims. During the following century, the monks of Cluny made great strides in unifying Christian forces against Islam. To abbot Peter the Venerable belong, however, the following words: "I attack you not as is frequently done, with the aid of arms, but with the aid of words, resorting not to force, but to reason, not to hatred, but to love" [9].

The second Latin translation of the Qur'ān was completed in 1209—1210 by Mark of Toledo on order for Archbishop Don Rodrigo Jimenes de Rada (ca. 1170/80—1247). The archbishop's request pursued then-current political and missionary goals. In addition to the Qur'ān, the work by Mark of Toledo contained translations of a series of writings by Ibn Tūmart (d. ca. 1128), Almohad "Mahdī". Unlike Robert the Englishman and his assistants, who, in accordance with their understanding of the translator's task, strove to correct a text they deemed "barbarous", rendering 114 *sūras* as 124, Mark of Toledo tried to translate literally. In difficult instances, he was inclined to leave the translation unclear rather than add his own interpretation. In his translation, Mark also retained the titles of the *sūras*, which were omitted by Robert the Englishman. In an extensive introduction, which Mark of Toledo prefaced to his work, he

does not once mention his predecessors' translation, although he must have known of its existence. This is, perhaps, an indication of his dissatisfaction with the work of Robert the Englishman and Hermann of Carinthia. Really, of this translation of the Qur'ān Robert's later compatriot Humphrey Prideaux (1648—1700) wrote as of "an absurd Epitome of it, ... whereby the Sense of the Original is so ill represented, that no one can by one scarce anywhere understand what is truly meant by the other" [10]. Be that as it may, Mark of Toledo knew well of what he wrote. He cites the Qur'ān and *ḥadīths* with ease, and includes the views of Muslim authorities as well. Mark's translation, which surpassed the work of his predecessors, remained, however, unpublished. For many years it did not receive proper recognition from theologians and historians [11]. On the whole, those early Latin translations were, in essence, retellings and reworkings of the text primarily intended to prove the inadequacy of Muslim claims to the possession of a Sacred text. Furthermore, Christian "refutations" were frequently based, intentionally or not, on an erroneous understanding of the text.

Like Christian authors, who actively employed the "devil's law", or "textbook of violence" in their anti-Muslim polemics, Muslim authors cited the sacred books of the Christians in polemical fashion as well. As a matter of fact, Muslim authors' familiarity with Biblical texts was greater than their opponents' knowledge of the Qur'ān. The sacred books of the Christians and Jews were viewed within Islam as revealed by God but distorted by people. However, they provided one of the sources for the interpretation of the Qur'ān. Through centuries Muslim authorities relied in their works on the labours of converts to Islam from Christianity and Judaism who had brought to Muslim theology a profound knowledge of the sacred texts they had once professed. The key difference was that if social consciousness in Christian Europe rejected Islam wholly, for Muslims, Judaism and Christianity were merely waystations on mankind's path to the truth proclaimed in the Qur'ān [12].

The fall of Constantinople in 1453, though sharply increased the "Turkish threat", coincided with the triumph of Renaissance thought remarkable for its interest in the great culture created by Europe's Muslim neighbours. Nicolaus Cusanus (1401—1464) even recommended reading and studying the Qur'ān "in order to reveal the evangelical truths hidden in it" [13]. His Franciscan friend, Juan de Segovia (1400—1458), a pacifist, who was chosen as antipope in 1440, decried the distorted image of Islam stemmed largely from Robert the Englishman's translation of the Qur'ān. In 1455, in the monastery of Ayton in Savoyen, he undertook with the aid of a certain *faqīh* 'Isa b. Jabir an attempt to translate the Qur'ān into Latin and Castilian [14]. He also set himself the task of finding in the Qur'ān those sections which could be adopted by Christians. It was for the first time that the idea of Christian-Muslim dialogue was put forward.

The interest in Eastern wisdom and the Kabbala, which was characteristic of Italian humanists, primarily of the followers of the philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463—1494) whose famous "nine-hundred theses" were condemned by the papal curia, gave birth to another Latin translation of the Qur'ān. It was ordered in Spain, in 1518, from a certain Johannes Gabriel Terrolensis by Cardinal Edigio da Viterbo, an admirer of Pico della Mirandola's

ideas. It is believed that a number of corrections to this translation belong to the famed Leo Africanus. Only one manuscript of this translation has survived; it is held in Milan and has not yet been published [15].

While these translations remained practically unknown, the work of Robert the Englishman and Hermann of Carinthia won more fame. The further history of their translation was bound up with the Reformation in Europe in the fifteenth—seventeenth centuries. It was used by numerous Christian philosophers, theologians and polemicists for over 600 years [16], though such outstanding European Orientalists as J. J. Scaliger (1540—1609), Th. Erpenius (1584—1624), and A. Reland (1676—1718) called attention to the translation's imperfection.

The fifteenth—seventeenth centuries witnessed also the bloody wars between the Christendom and the Ottoman Empire which by the first half of the sixteenth century had succeeded in expanding its possessions in Europe to their maximum extent. The siege of Vienna was a shock to the Europeans, almost as profound as was the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The image of the Saracen was replaced by the image of the Turk (see *fig. 1*) whose religious fanaticism seemed even more menacing.

In the period of Catholic counter-reformation which was gaining ever greater hold of Italy, the first European edition of the Arabic text of the Qur'ān (Venice, 1530), carried out by Paganini Brixiensis [17], was destroyed almost as soon as it appeared. This act was only one in a series of similar incidents which culminated in 1557 when the "Index of forbidden books" was sent out by the papal curia. The "Index" included the most significant works of Renaissance writers. Earlier fear of the growth and spread of heresies also led to repeated bans (four in the thirteenth century alone) on the reading of the Vulgate. The fears of the Holy See are more easily understood, if one recalls the "cult" of Muḥammad among the Templars, the above-mentioned interest of Renaissance thinkers in the cultural achievements of the Islamic world, and the heretical Unitarian movement, which rejected the Trinity.

During this period, the initiative in polemics with Islam, as well as the study of Muslim faith, passed to Protestant theologians and publicists. Theodore Buchman (Bibliander) (1504—1564) published almost the entire *Corpus Toletanum* (or *Collectio Toletana*), including the translation of the Qur'ān, an entire series of anti-Islamic polemical treatises (among them the *Cribatio Alcorani* by Nicolaus Cusanus — 1401—1464), and historical and geographical works on Turkey. This unusual encyclopaedia on Islam and Ottoman Turkey appeared in 1543 in Basel, which was permeated by an atmosphere of religious and cultural tolerance [18]. The publication was made possible, however, only after the personal intervention of Martin Luther [19]. The appendices in the work included an epistle of Pope Pius II (1405—1464) to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet II (r. 1451—1481), which invited the latter to adopt Christianity, as well as an appeal from Luther and Philipp Melancthon (1497—1560).

Despite the indubitably polemical pathos of Bibliander's edition, he himself noted Islam's role in the great mission of spreading monotheism among the pagans. He was also the author of a work, remained in manuscript though, in which he appeals to all Christians, Jews, and Muslims with a greeting and wishes of peace and prosperity "in the name of God, our Lord" [20]. Such views were quite widespread in the period. The distinction between Islam and

monotheistic religions was regarded as not so significant and insurmountable. The irreconcilable Luther, for example, considered Islam as a form of Judaism, while Erasmus (1469—1536) and Guillome Postel (1510—1581) viewed Muslims half Christian.

Although Bibliander did not know Arabic well enough to correct the Toledo translation, he went about his work with great attention to detail. The editor had at his disposal several manuscripts of the Qur'ān, including that with noted *al-qirā'āt* in the margins (it has survived in the University library at Basel) [21]. He also added some annotations to the translation he published.

It seems striking that the first print editions of the Arabic text and translation of the Qur'ān in Europe appeared, in order, only 14 and 27 years after the first print edition of the Greek text of the New Testament. It was produced by Erasmus, also in Basel, in 1516.

A tradition of Muslim translations of the Qur'ān existed in Europe as well. Manuscript fragments of a translation of the Qur'ānic text into Muslim-Spanish (*alhamiado*) have survived, which dates to the sixteenth century [22]. One can mention also Byelorussian-Polish translations, executed in Arabic script and carried out in the Tatar community in the fifteenth—seventeenth centuries, of which I am planning to relate in my next publication. It is possible that similar translations existed in Sicily, too.

Only four years after the appearance of the Basel edition, an anonymous Italian version was produced in Venice. According to the title, the translation was made "directly from the Arabic"; in fact, it reproduced the Bibliander's edition. The renowned humanist and publisher Andrea Arrivabene carried out the publication. In 1554, however, the Venetian inquisition forbade the reading of the Qur'ān. Two other versions of the book appeared only in the first half of the seventeenth century, one German (translated from the Italian by S. Schweigger; 1551—1622), and one Dutch, without naming the author [23]. The Dutch anonymous translation was reissued twice, in 1659 and 1664, when, despite the Turks' defeat at St. Gotthard, fears of Ottoman expansion were greatly increased. The apocalyptic mood, occasioned by the approach of the "diabolical" year 1666, was then general in Europe. New editions of both the Latin original and the translations continued to appear.

The theme of Islam became even more actual in Europe during internal conflicts between Catholicism and the Reformation. Each side strove to prove its "orthodoxy", and accusations of "resemblance to Islam" sounded frequently in the mutual polemics against "Turko-Papism" or "Calvino-Turkism". On 15 April 1521, Sorbonna condemned Luther's 95 theses, calling them "more depraved" than the Qur'ān. In the eyes of Protestants, Muhammad and the Pope were "two heads of the Antichrist" [24]. A by-product of this atmosphere of mutual intolerance was an increase in anti-Islamic propaganda (see *fig. 1*).

The next step in the study and translation of the Qur'ān was taken in the seventeenth century Catholic France, by that time tolerant toward the Huguenots [25]. This country, then home to P. Gassendi (1592—1655), the foe of medieval scholasticism, and R. Descartes (1596—1650), the founder of rationalism, was where the public thrilled to al-Sid, hero of the wars with the Moors in the tragedy of P. Corneille (1606—1684). In 1647, a French translation of the Qur'ān carried out by diplomat and Orientalist André du Ryer (?1580—?1669) was published in Paris. Although already



Fig. 1

at the moment of its appearance this translation did not fully satisfy accepted scholarly requirements (certain rearrangements, abridgements, and liberties were made by the translator, tied to the Bibliander's text) [26], the French version of the Qur'ān evoked great interest. In a short time, du Ryer's work went through at least five editions in Paris and Amsterdam and was also later translated in England (1688), Holland (1698), somewhat later in Germany, and, finally, in Russia (1716). The Vatican's response under Pope Alexander VII (1599—1667) was to decree by a council of Roman censors a ban on the publication and translation of the Qur'ān [27]. However, after the Arabic text of the book was published in 1694 by the Protestant theologian and Orientalist Abraham Hinkelmann [28], the Vatican finally realised the uselessness of a ban which granted the Protestants the upper hand in anti-Islamic propaganda.

In Padua in 1698, Ludovico Marracci (1612—1700), confessor of Pope Innocent XI (1611—1689), published a Latin translation and Arabic text of the Qur'ān based on the collation of several manuscripts. The Arabic text was arbitrarily divided into small fragments and followed by a translation equipped with commentaries and excerpts from Arabic *tafsīrs* both in the original and Latin translation, and then by a refutation [29]. The quality of this translation was incomparably higher than those, which had come to light before, but the form of the edition prevented it from gaining widespread popularity. The appearance of such a fine translation in Italy was no accident, as Italy had long enjoyed the most highly developed commercial and cultural contacts with the Muslim East. Italy, with her rich libraries, boasted a superb scholarly tradition encumbered only by ideological prohibitions. However, with the appearance of the Marracci edition, it seemed that the Holy See had regained its position of leadership in the study and refutation of Islam. But Christian Reineccius (1668—1752), a German Protestant, recovered the initiative for Protestant scholars by releasing a convenient edition which included only the text of the Marracci translation and an aptly composed introduction [30]. Marracci's work ushered in an entire series of new translations of the Qur'ān into European languages.

The Enlightenment's vivid interest in Eastern exotica, the great success of Antoine Galland (1646—1715), who was the first translator of "1001 Nights" (1704), Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, as well as harsh attacks on religious intolerance, contributed greatly to a new growth of interest in Muslim culture. It is in that period of the flourishing of French culture that Voltaire wrote his well known tragedy "Mahomet, ou fanatisme", in which he depicted Rome through Mecca. Despite this fact, the play received the blessing of Pope Benedict XIV (1675—1758), and later earned an admiring response from Napoleon, who nonetheless rebuked the author for "prostituting the great character of Mahomet in base intrigues" [31]. Then Goethe created the "West-Östlichen Divans" and, influenced by the "Vie de Mahomet" of J. Gagner (1732), conceived a drama in which the founder of Islam is portrayed as a pantheistic philosopher [32].

In England, which had played such a key role in the Enlightenment, it was G. Sale (?1697—1736), a first notable English Arabist, who made an English translation of the Qur'ān [33] annotated from the Muslim commentators, in particular by al-Bayḍawī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Zamakhsharī and from other authors [34]. The *tafsīr* of "al-Jalālayn" was also employed by him. This translation and the "Preliminary

Discourse", which prefaced it, for many years set the standard for the study and understanding of the Qur'ān in Europe. The work was translated into German (1746), French (1770) and Russian (1792). In the "Preliminary Discourse", J. Sale tried on the basis of materials available to him at the time to describe the phenomenon of Islam, which arose in pagan Arabia, a location which experienced significant religious influences from without. It was with the aid of J. Sale's works that Voltaire familiarised himself with the Qur'ān.

An evident weakening of the Ottoman State in the eighteenth century resulted in a gradual retreat from the identification of Islam with the Ottoman Empire. Polemical elements in the works of European authors began to give way to a more scholarly approach to Islam. The expression of interest in Islam was now safe, a development which was reflected in unusual fashion in the appearance of works which criticised certain phenomena in the European religious and philosophical sphere from "the point of view of a Turk" or "in the words of a Persian" (for example, Ch. Montesquieu's (1689—1755) "Lettres persanes", published in 1721). At the same time, apologetic works directed against official Catholicism were published in Europe. Islam was viewed as the most rational of religions and the faith, which best corresponded to the deism espoused by the ideologists of the Enlightenment. In publicistic works of a different sort, critics of Islam often continued to aim their barbs at Catholicism. Secular translations of the Qur'ān which appeared at that time were already based on a desire not to refute, but to understand Islam, which no longer put fear into the hearts of Europeans.

A translation of the Qur'ān "in a romantic vein" was completed in 1783 by C. E. Savary (1750—1788) [35]. Representatives of romanticism, eager to free themselves from the "encyclopaedia" spirit, turned to antiquity, Biblical history, the crusades, and the East. In keeping with this tendency, F. R. Chateaubriand (1768—1848) created his "L'itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem" (1811), where delight at the achievements of the Muslim Middle Ages went hand in hand with a sharply negative attitude toward the Muslim world. A sense of the self-sufficiency of European culture grew stronger and stronger. Politically, this was linked to the ideology of the French Restoration. The emergence of a colonialist ideology was paralleled in Oriental studies, which displayed an ever-greater tendency toward Eurocentrism [36]. The French translation of the Qur'ān produced by A. B. Kasimirski (1808—1887) appeared at a time when France's expansion into Algeria required more accurate information about Islam. This translation became one of the outstanding achievements of French Arab studies [37]. E. M. Wherry's popular four-volume commentary on the Qur'ān (London, 1882—1886) [38], connected with the Indian Qur'ānic tradition, stood in the context of the British colonial interests. To this tradition belong also the Russian translations of D. N. Boguslavsky and G. S. Sablukov.

Thanks to Sylvestre de Sacy (1758—1838), author of the well-known "Grammaire arabe" and "Chrestomathie arabe", the centre of Arabic and Islamic studies in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century became the École des langues orientales in Paris, which drew nearly all outstanding nineteenth-century scholars of Islam there for study. But the methodological views of Qur'ānic researchers at the time were formed largely under the influence of the famed Protestant school of Biblical studies which arose

in Germany. They now applied to the text of the Qur'ān methods which had previously been acceptable only for Old and New Testament. This achievement, however important it might be, had another side: the Qur'ān came to be seen as a *chose en soi*, in isolation from the society and cultural milieu in which it had arisen. But the nascent tendency toward an understanding of the unity of cultural processes had been shown as well, which led to another extreme — the absolutisation of mutual influences. Thus, under the influence of ideas of cultural comparativism, the Old Testament, and then the Qur'ān, were pronounced "the result of all-encompassing imitation and borrowings from surrounding cultures and literatures" [39]. Works in the vein of cultural comparativism — by A. Geiger, K. Geroch, G. Weil, T. Nöldeke, H. Hirshfeld, J. Barth, J. Horovitz and his students — appeared in the era of the critical study of the Qur'ān, with this approach long being predominant in Qur'ānic studies [40]. This did not excluded negative preconceptions toward the sacred book of Islam demonstrated by European researchers under the influence of their religious and philosophical convictions.

The emergence in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century of classical philology with its particular tasks and methods influenced greatly all branches of philology. In conjunction with the successes of German Biblical studies, it led to the pre-eminence of German scholars in the study of the Qur'ān, a trend established in the nineteenth century. First, Gustav Flügel published a new, correlated text of the Qur'ān (1834) and then a concordance to it (1842); they retained their value until the mid-twentieth century. A number of publications were edited by G. Red-slob (1837, 1855, 1867), who continued the work of Flügel [41]. Naturally, Germany did not stand aside the main political trends of the epoch and actively pursued her colonial policies. The "Islamic card" was one of the most important elements of this policy abundantly borrowing the achievements of the practical and the academic sides of Oriental studies [42]. As it often happened in history, most pragmatic needs of politics led to the promotion of these studies in the country. The Qur'ānic studies were no exception. Germany gave birth to a generation of scholars whose contribution to the study of the Qur'ān is difficult to over-estimate.

In 1927, G. Bergstresser and A. Jeffery together developed a plan for a critical edition of the Qur'ān, since the Flügel edition of the Qur'ānic text had revealed the complex character of the textological problems in this area. The text published by Flügel did not contain an apparatus criticus and the scholar did not follow any single Muslim tradition of textual transmission. The principles he employed in preparing his publication have remained unclear up to the present day.

The plan for a critical edition developed by G. Bergstresser and A. Jeffery in 1927 included (i) excerpting from various sources Qur'ānic variants; (ii) finding and publishing manuscripts of basic works by Muslim authors on the problems of Qur'ānic readings (*al-qirā'āt*), and (iii) creating a photo archive of the oldest copies of the Qur'ān and their study. The scholars intended to base their text on that of Ḥafṣ (which also served as the basis for the Egyptian edition), but to take into account the characteristics of *ṣaḥ* in publishing it. They also planned to number the *āyāt* in accordance with both the Muslim tradition and Flügel. The text was to contain pausal signs and, in the

margins, references to "parallel passages". The apparatus criticus was to have been located at the bottom of the page and consist of references to hundreds of variants of the text with a three-tiered chronological indication of their source: earlier than the tradition of the "seven readings", belonging to that tradition, or later. They also hoped to indicate the school (or schools) to which "readings" belonged.

The scholars planned also to release in a separate volume an "Introduction" which would replace the "Geschichte des Qorans" by T. Nöldeke, F. Schwally, G. Bergstresser, and O. Pretzl. A third volume would have contained an extensive commentary on the apparatus criticus. Certainly, the authors understood the impossibility of taking into account all existing variants, but they planned to work in the main sources on the issue. A fourth volume would have provided a dictionary to the Qur'ān. Although an enormous amount of preparatory work was done, for a variety of reasons the authors were unable to bring their project to completion [43].

The problem of a critical edition was further complicated by the crisis in the methodology of Islamic studies sparked by the hypercritical approach to the Muslim tradition evinced in works by a number of scholars, pre-eminent among them I. Goldziher. This approach, occasioned mainly by the growing influence of positivism on the methodology of the social sciences, came as a reaction to the works of R. Dozy and his students, which relied on an uncritical interpretation of the information provided by the Muslim tradition [44]. I. Goldziher and his followers convincingly demonstrated that the greater body of the Muslim tradition arose in an era separated from the age of the Prophet by quite a number of years. They proved the tendentiousness of the Muslim tradition, a tradition linked with religious and political struggles within the Caliphate, and the indubitable influence of those tendencies on Islamic exegesis [45]. This cast doubt both on the authority of the *tafsirs* as an appropriate interpretation of the Qur'ān and on the Muslim tradition regarding the history of the text's formation. Sylvestre de Sacy, G. Weil, and H. Hirschfeld questioned the authenticity of certain *āyāt*, while Paul Casanova expressed doubt in the veracity of the text as a whole [46]. The necessity of conducting research on the Qur'ān in a spirit independent from the Islamic tradition became generally recognised. This was the approach which provided the basis for the work of Richard Bell (1876—1952), who laboured against a backdrop of the triumphant ideas of German Biblical studies, primarily the "Tendenzkritik" of J. Wellhausen and the form-critical method.

R. Bell's "The Emergence of Islam in its Christian Environment" served for him as the stimulus for the renewed study of the structure and chronology of the Qur'ānic text [47]. Bell was the first to look at the composition of the Qur'ān in connection with Muḥammad's actual activities in the propagation of Islam. In Bell's view, each *sūra* represented a combination of short revelations put together either by Muḥammad himself or later, during the Qur'ān's bringing together. This approach allowed Bell to reinterpret the task of establishing the chronology not of individual *sūras*, but of their fragments. He summarised the results of his research in a two-volume translation of the text equipped "with a critical review of the arrangement of *sūras*" [48]. Although in the long run many of his conclusions were not confirmed, and the approach itself evoked sharp criticism in

the Muslim world, from today's vantage point Bell's contribution to Qur'ānic studies seems enormous [49].

Translations of the Qur'ān which predate Bell in the main went back to the Muslim tradition and consequently reproduced the understanding of the Qur'ān characteristic of the age and socio-cultural environment of this or that Muslim exegete or group of authors. R. Bell and I. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), R. Blachère (1900—1973), and R. Paret (1904—1983), working in different locations, arrived almost simultaneously at a translation methodology based on their original scholarly deductions.

The publication of the "Cairo edition" of the Qur'ān, which became for all intents and purposes canonical, and the simultaneous appearance in Turkey of a Turkish translation of the Qur'ān without parallel Arabic text signified the victory of a new tendency within the Islamic world, which, by the 1930s, had earned the whole approval of al-Azhar. Translations of the Qur'ān into European languages executed in Muslim countries began to appear. Two such translations into English (by M. Pickthall and Yūsuf 'Alī) gained great popularity [50].

Qur'ānic studies and translations of the Qur'ān after the Second World War were to an ever greater degree connected with two basic trends. These were striving to explain the Qur'ān by means of the Qur'ān itself and a recognition of the importance of analysing the Qur'ānic text with reference to linguistic material, both pre-Islamic and contemporary, to the Qur'ānic text. The most significant achievements in this area were of R. Blachère and R. Paret [51], to each of whom his own translation of the Qur'ān belonged. R. Paret's translation, based on a comparative study of word usage within the Qur'ān, is considered today as one of the most reliable translations. He synthesised the results of his text analysis in "Der Koran: Kommentar und Konkordanz" [52]. As for R. Blachère, his translation is based on his study of pre-Islamic Arabian poetry and abundantly employs it to clarify "obscure passages". Finally, one should mentioned no less popular translation of the Qur'ān into European language, namely, the English translation by A. Arberry [53]. An index to it made by H. Kassis, and a brief commentary was written by W. Montgomery Watt [54], who also occupies a prominent place among modern specialists in Islamic studies. To him belong the most authoritative work on Muḥammad, a two-volume monograph [55], and a number of works on the history of Islam and Qur'ānic studies.

The emergence in nations within the traditional sphere of Islam of an independent national and historical-cultural consciousness, a process which accompanied their liberation from colonial dependence, and the increasingly prominent role of Islam in political and ideological struggle, led to an explosive rise in the number of Muslim publications on Qur'ānic studies both in Eastern and European languages. Their authors dealt with themes traditionally treated by Muslim scholarship and responded to the most important works of European scholars [56]. The majority of works which analyse various Qur'ānic stories were (and are) created with the aim of providing a basis for contemporary Muslim socio-economic and political theories by developing what is called Qur'ānic philosophy. Christian-Muslim dialogue, especially after the Second Vatican Council (1962—1965), led to the appearance of many works by both European and Muslim authors which are, in the main, dedicated to a comparative analysis of Biblical and

Qur'ānic legends and the question of how they arose and were established [57].

Of interest in this connection is the joint translation of the Qur'ān undertaken by the Christian O. Pestle and the Muslim A. Tījānī [58] with the aim of improving relations between the European community and the Muslim population of North Africa. The translation has been republished several times and remains popular. In new political circumstances, the Muslim tradition of Qur'ānic study, which never really broke off in Europe, is now undergoing a new phase of its development. The most interesting representative of a new generation of Muslim scholars is Muḥammad Arkoun, whose works stand on equal footing with the accomplishments of Western hermeneutics, taking into account both the virtues and flaws of European Qur'ānic studies [59]. Viewing the Qur'ān in the context of contemporary historical-cultural and political-ideological problems, Muḥammad Arkoun attempts to develop new methods of understanding it, juxtaposing the approaches of European scholars with the methods of traditional exegesis [60].

In a paper delivered at the International Congress for the Study of the Qur'ān dedicated to the beginning of the fifteenth century of the Hijra (Canberra, 1980), William Graham followed W. M. Watt [61] in noting a new tendency in Qur'ānic studies, which will, in his view, continue to gain strength. Citing Boris Pasternak's observation that only in talentless books are people divided into two camps in such a way that they remain unconnected and that in real life everything is interconnected, Graham remarked that an ever greater number of scholars, both in the Western and Muslim scholarly traditions, are attempting to overcome the limitations of "Muslim authoritarian traditionalism" and the "rationalism of the Western Enlightenment". Graham proposes designating the new approach to the Qur'ān by the term "humane scholarship". It is based first on the scholar's conscious submission of his conclusions to well-founded criticism from a scholarly community not only unfettered by the limitations of any single cultural or religious tradition, but also enriched by an understanding of their fundamental diversity. Second, it implies the clear recognition of the limited nature of any single approach and the tasks that scholars set for themselves. Finally, while this approach is founded on an analysis of phenomena, which in principle are rationally comprehensible, its adherents avoid a one-sided view of the nature of being and its ultimate comprehensibility. In the words of W. Graham, medieval Muslim thinkers sometimes understood this better than many contemporary scholars both in the East and the West. He cites the *'aqīda* of al-Qushayrī: "The manuscript [of the Qur'ān] was created in all of its component parts. It is entirely unnecessary for it to be eternal merely because it contains the recorded words of God, just as a mosque is created and should not be considered eternal only because in it one serves God" [62].

The years, which followed W. Graham's remarks at the conference, have been marked by a dramatic rise in the influence of fundamentalism in the Muslim world and a sharp reaction in the West to these events. While this has inevitably led to an increasing number of publications written in the spirit of narrowly tendentious approaches, work along the lines suggested by W. Graham continues as well. Thus, the attempts to explain the Qur'ān with reference to the Qur'ān itself, which is typical, for example, of the work of R. Paret, have parallels in the medieval Muslim tradition.

Today they are viewed as the basic means of interpreting the Qur'ān (*al-Qur'ān yufassiru ba'duhu ba'dan*) by one of the most interesting contemporary *mufasssirs*, 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān bint al-Shāṭi' [63]. She is the widow of Amīn al-Khūlī (d. 1967) and has continued his work after his death. The latter employed a method he termed the "literary approach to the interpretation of the Qur'ān" (*al-minhaj al-adabī li-l-tafsīr*). The appearance in the West of a series of works on the Qur'ān and Islamic ritual is also indissolubly bound up with these tendencies [64]. In sum, the undeniably innovative works of J. Wansbrough noted above, which evoked much serious discussion, are also dedicated to problems of Christian-Muslim interaction. Unfortunately, the fate of Salman Rushdie, the forced emigration from Egypt of the scholar Naṣr Abū Zayd occasioned by his publication of research on the Qur'ānic text [65], and the threats A. Rippin has received from a Muslim fanatic, testify to the development of opposite tendencies in the Muslim world.

Recent years have seen an increased understanding of the fact that even the most accurate and appropriate translation of the Qur'ān possible today carried out with the deepest possible penetration into the structure of the work's conceptual apparatus would offer readers and scholars only one of many possible "Qur'āns". The Qur'ān occupied and continues to occupy such a key position in the religious and socio-political life of the Arab-Muslim world that its interpretation in various historical periods and in various socio-cultural settings is of significant independent interest. Thus, translations based on the Muslim tradition which also bear traces of the translator's individual character and the culture to which he belongs deserve to be made independent objects of study.

At present, the Qur'ān has been translated into the majority of European and Asian languages and into certain African languages. This is linked not only to development within Qur'ānic studies, but also to the growth of Islamic proselytising. The two currents of the Muslim Ahmadiyya movement have played an especially important role in this. Approximately 250 full and partial translations, many of which are available on the Internet, have already been published [66]. Muslim countries have been on the forefront of issuing electronic editions of the Qur'ānic text and indices to it. The "Cairo edition" put together by Muslim authorities is today universally accepted as the *textus receptus* [67].

Contemporary Western Qur'ānic studies, which live "in the light of James Joyce and deconstruction", display a striving characteristic of post-modern reading sensibilities "to privilege the reader's experience and to pose a whole new set of questions and to speak of things such as poetics, rhetoric and ideology of the Qur'ān and to situate the text within the mythic context of the Near Eastern religious milieu" [68]. Past decades have witnessed increased attention to the discussion of methodological problems [69]. Recourse to new approaches is the only way to achieve new results in the analysis of a limited reservoir of basic information. A. Rippin is now at work on an introduction to the scholarly study of the Qur'ān which aims to provide a focal point for future research on the scripture in the same way that T. Nöldeke's famous "Geschichte des Qorans" did when it was first published in 1860. The "Qur'ānic Encyclopaedia" [70] currently being prepared by leading specialists in Qur'ānic studies should provide a fine summation of the study of the Qur'ān in the twentieth century.

Notes

1. J. Vernet, "La tafsīr au service de la polémique antimusulmane", *Studia Islamica*, XXXII (1970), pp. 305—9; A. Th. Khoury, "Le Dieu du Coran et le Dieu d'Abraham d'après les polémistes byzantins", *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, LV (1971), pp. 266—70.
2. D. J. Sahas, *John Damascus on Islam* (Leiden, 1972); R. Bell, "John of Damascus and the controversy with Islam", *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, IV (1913—1922), pp. 37—8; see also: R. Dwardin-Terminat, *Étude historique et comparative de traduction du Coran*. Doctorat de 3ème cycle sous direction de monsieur le professeur David Cohen (Paris, 1987), ii, p. 390.
3. J. Wansbrough, *Sectarian Milieu: Content and Composition of Islamic Salvation History* (Oxford, 1978), p. 45. See also *idem*, *Quranic Studies: Sources and Methods of Scriptural Interpretation* (Oxford, 1977).
4. See G. H. A. Juynboll's review of H. Khalifa, *The Sublime Qur'ān and Orientalism*, London—New York, 1983, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XLI (1984), p. 521.
5. N. I. Serikov, "O nekotorykh aspektakh podkhoda k issledovaniyu arabo-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii X—XI vv. v sovremennoi zarubezhnoi istoriografii" ("On certain aspects of the approach to research on Arab-Byzantine relations in the tenth—eleventh centuries in contemporary historiography abroad"), *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*, LXIV (1983), p. 250; E. Trapp, "Gab es eine byzantinische Koranübersetzung?", *Athenai*, II (1980—1981), pp. 7—17.
6. A. Mingana, "An ancient Syriac translation of the Kur'ān exhibiting new verses and variants", *Bulletin of John Reindolds Library*, IX (1925), pp. 188—235; J. R. Harris, *The New Text of the Kur'ān: on some variants from the received text of the Kur'ān presupposed by the Syriac extracts included in the discourse against the Mohammedans by Dionysius bar Ṣālībī*, and published by A. Mingana under the title "An Ancient Syriac Translation of the Kur'ān Exhibiting New Verses and Variants", *Bulletin of John Reindolds Library*, X (1926), pp. 219—22; G. Bergstrasser, *Die Geschichte des Qorantexts*, i—ii (Leipzig, 1926—1929), pp. 97—8.
7. V. V. Lebedev, *Arabskie sochineniia v evropeiskoi grafike* (Arabic Works in European Alphabets) (Leningrad, 1987); M. M. Weinstein, "A Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, X (Cincinnati, 1971—1972), pp. 19—43.
8. J. Kritzke, "Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'ān", *Islamic Quarterly*, II (1955), pp. 309—12; *idem*, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964); M.-Th. d'Alverny, "Translation and translators", in R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 421—62; H. Bobzin, "Latin translations of the Koran. A short overview", *Der Islam*, LXX (1993), pp. 193—206. See also A. Abel, "Réflexions comparatives sur la sensibilité médiévale autour de la Méditerranée au XIIe siècle", *Studia Islamica*, XIII (1960), pp. 23—41; J. Waardenburg, *L'Islam dans le miroir de l'Occident* (Paris, 1963); E. Privat, "Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XIIe—XIVe s.)", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, ed. E. Privat (Toulouse, 1983), p. 18; Pierre Abelard. *Pierre le Vénérable. Les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en Occident au milieu du XIIe siècle*: Abbaye de Cluny. 2 au 9 juillet 1972 (Paris,

1975); R. W. Southern, *Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: the Making of Image* (Edinburgh, 1960); M. Rodinson, "The Western image and Western studies of Islam", *The Legacy of Islam*, eds. J. Schacht and C. E. Bosworth (Oxford, 1984). N. V. Zhuravskii, *Khristianstvo i islam* (Christianity and Islam) (Moscow, 1990) pp. 31—2.

9. Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, p. 231.

10. Cited after P. M. Holt, "The treatment of Arab history by Prideux, Ockley and Sale", in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (London—New York—Toronto, 1962), p. 293.

11. M.-T. D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Âge", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, XXII/XXIII (1947/1948), pp. 69—131; M.-Th. D'Alverny, G. Vajda, "Marc de Toledo, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart", *Al-Andalus*, XVII (1952), pp. 124—31.

12. The level of Latin translations of the Qur'ān could not even be compared with that of the early Christian Arabic translations of the Bible. See, for example, manuscript D 226 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (copy of 1238 from the Antioch original of 1022). See Val. Polosin, E. Rezvan, "To the CD-ROM edition of the St. Petersburg Arabic Bible", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, III/1 (1997), pp. 40—7. See also H. Hirschfeld, "Mohammedan criticism of the Bible", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XIII (1900—1901), pp. 222—40; C. E. Padwick, "Al-Ghazali and the Arabic versions of the gospels", *Muslim World*, XXIX (1939), pp. 130—40; G. Lecomte, "Les citations de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans l'oeuvre d'Ibn Qutaiba", *Arabica*, V (1958), pp. 34—46; A. A. Chafri, "Christianity in the Qur'an commentary of Tabari", *Islamochristiana*, VI (1980), pp. 105—48. M. H. Ananikian, "Tahrif or the alteration of the Bible according to the Moslems", *Muslim World*, XIV (1924), pp. 61—84.

13. N. Rescher, "Nicholas of Cusa on the Qur'an: a fifteenth century encounter with Islam", *Muslim World*, LV (1965), pp. 195—202; L. Hagemann, *Der Kur'ān in Veständis und Kritik bei Nicolaus von Kues* (Frankfurt/M., 1976).

14. Only the preface to this work has reached us. It was published in 1952 by D. Cabanelas. See *idem*, *Juan de Sigovie y el problema islamica* (Madrid, 1952).

15. The manuscript is held in the Ambrozian library, Milan, call number Ms D. 100. Guiliemo Raimondo de Moncada, who taught Hebrew to Pico della Mirandola, made yet another unfinished Latin translation of the Qur'ān. Copies of this work are held at the Vatican (Cod. Vat. lat. Urb. 1384) and in libraries in Venice, Padua, Vienna, and Paris.

16. H. Bobzin, "'A Treasury of Heresies'. Christian polemics against the Qur'an", *The Qur'an as Text*, ed. St. Wild (Leiden, 1996), p. 159.

17. J. M. Langii, *Dissertatio de Alcorani prima inter Europaeos editione Arabica ante sesquaeulum et quod excuvit in Italia per Paganinum Brixiensem facta*, sed issu Pontificus Romani abolita, 1703; J. B. Rossi, *De Corana arabico ventis Paganini typis impresso ... XVI dissertatio* (Parmae, 1806). A copy of this work, which was thought to have been completely destroyed, was discovered in 1989 by Prof. Sergio Noja in the library of an Italian monastery. See "Iktishāf awwal ṭab'a li-l-Qur'ān al-Karīm fī Rūm 1537—1538 m.", *al-Manhal*, LIII/491 (September/October 1991), p. 283—5.

18. Mahumetis, *Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae doctrina ac, ipse Alcoran ...* Haec omnia in unum volumen redacta sunt opoea et studio Theodori Bibliandri (Basel, 1543). The book came out in three parts, each with its own title page.

19. H. Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Wiesbaden, 1997).

20. G. Bergmann, *Die Herausforderung des Islam* (Stuttgart, 1980), pp. 29—30.

21. Call number Ms. A III 19. See Bobzin, "A Treasury of Heresies", p. 161.

22. C. Lopez-Morillas, *The Qur'an in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Morisco Versions of Sūra 79* (London, 1982); a bibliography on the question is given on pp. 99—102.

23. Italian edition: *L'Alcorano di Macometto, nel qual si contiene la dottrina, la vita, i costumi, e le leggi sue*. Tradotto nuovamente dall'Arabo in lingua Italiana (Venice, 1547). See C. de Frede, *Christianita e Islam tra la fine del medio evo e gli inizi dell'eta moderna* (Napoli, s.a.), pp. 63—7; German edition: *Alcoranus Mahometicus*, Das ist: der Türcken Alcoran Religion und Aberglauben (Nürnberg, 1616); Dutch edition: *De Arabische Alcoran, Door de Zarazijnsee en de Turcksche Prophete Mahomet* (Hamburg, 1641) (the place of publication is fictitious).

24. H. Bobzin, "Martin Luthers Beitrag zur Kenntnis und Kritik des Islam", *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, XXVII (1985), pp. 283—9.

25. P. Martino, "Mahomet en France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles", *Actes du 14ème Congrès international des orientalistes* (Alger, 1905).

26. *L'Alcoran de Mahomet*. Traduit d'Arabe par André du Ryer (Paris, 1647). See D. G. Pfannmüller, *Handbuch der Islam-Literatur* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1923), pp. 214—5; Dwardin-Termaint, *Étude historique*, i, p. 443. D'Alverny considers that André du Ryer was familiar with the translation by Mark of Toledo. See Bobzin, "Latin translations", p. 201.

27. Alexander VII's actions led to the decline of the Collège de la Propagation which was founded in Rome, in 1627, by Pope Urban VIII (1623—1644). It had become one of the most important European centres of Oriental studies.

28. A. Hinckelmann, *Alcoranus Muhamadis ad optimorum Codicum fidem edita* (Hamburg, 1694). See H. Braun, "Der Hamburger Koran von 1694", *Libris et litteris*. Festschrift für H. Tiemann (Stuttgart, 1959), pp. 149—66; C. Aboussouan, "Le Coran: l'édition imprimée de Hambourg", *Le livre et le Liban jusqu'à 1900 (Exposition)* (Paris, 1982), pp. 135—6.

29. *Alcorani textus universus ...* exarabico idiomate in latinum translatus ... auctore Ludovico Maraccio (Patavii, 1698). See G. Levi della Vida, *Aneddoti e svaghi arabi e non arabi* (Milano—Napoli, 1959), pp. 193—210; E. D. Ross, "Ludovico Marracci", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, II (1921—1923), pp. 117—23; C. A. Nalino, "Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludovico Maracci sul Corano", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, VI—VII (1931), pp. 303—49; P. Brockway, "The second of volume I or Maracci's *Alcorani textus universus*", *Muslim World*, LXIV (1974), pp. 141—4.

30. *Muhammedis Filii Abdallae Pseudo-Prophetae Fides Islamitica*, i.e. *Al-Coranus ex idiomate Arabico ...* Latine versus ... Cura et opera M. Christiani Reineccii (Lipsiae, 1721). The publication of the Marracci's translation hindered the appearance of another Latin translation prepared by the Franciscan Dominicus Germanus de Silesia (1588—1670), who spent four years in Persia as a missionary. For information on this translation, see M. Devic, "Une traduction inédite du Coran", *Journal Asiatique*, VIIIe série, I (1883), pp. 343—406;

F. Richard, "La Franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silesia, grammairien et auteur d'apologie en Persain", *Islamochristiana*, X (1984), pp. 91—107. Yet another partial Latin translation has survived in manuscript (Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, Ms. C 199); it is attributed to Kyrillos Lucaris (1572—1638), the Greek patriarch of Constantinople. See Bobzin, "Latin translations", p. 202.

31. N. Daniel, *Islam, Europe and Empire* (Edinburgh, 1966), p. 299.

32. See J. Gagner, *Vie de Mahomet*. Traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran des traditions authentiques de la Sonna et de meilleurs auteurs, i—ii (Amsterdam, 1732); K. Mommsen, *Goethe und der Islam* (Stuttgart, 1964).

33. G. Sale, *The Koran Commonly Called Alcoran of Mohammed*, translated into English ... to which is prefixed a preliminary discourse (London, 1734); repr. 1921.

34. Holt, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

35. *Le Coran*, traduit de l'arabe, accompagné de notes ... par M. Savary, I—II A. la Mecque l'an de l'Hégire 1165 (Paris, 1751). See also P. Martino, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Dwardin-Terminaut, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 529—30.

36. C. Grossir, *L'Islam des Romantiques. 1811—1840: du refus à la tentation* (Paris, 1984).

37. M. Arkoun, "Comment lire le Coran?", *Le Coran*, trad. de l'arabe par Kasimirsky (Paris, 1970), pp. 11—36.

38. E. M. Wherry, *A Comprehensive Commentary of the Qur'an: Comprising G. Sale's Translation and Preliminary Discourse with Additional Notes and Emendations together with a Complete Index to the Text, Preliminary Discourse and Notes*, i—iv (London, 1882—1886).

39. V. K. Afanas'eva, I. M. D'iakonov, I. P. Veinberg, "Kul'tura Perednei Azii v pervoi polovine I tysiacheletia do n. é." ("The culture of Anterior Asia in the first half of the I millenium B.C."), *Istoriia drevnego mira*, eds. I. M. Diakonoff, V. D. Neronova, I. S. Svetsitskaya. Vol. II: *Rastsvet drevnikh obshchestv* (The Heyday of Ancient Societies) (Moscow, 1982), p. 122.

40. A. Geiger, *Was hat Muhammad dem Judentum aufgenommen* (Bonn, 1833); C. G. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran* (Hamburg—Gotha, 1839); G. Weil, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in den Koran* (Bielefeld, 1844); Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans* (Göttingen, 1860); H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Quran* (London, 1902); J. Barth, "Studien zur Kritik und Exegese des Qorans", *Der Islam*, VI (1915—1916), pp. 113—48; J. Horoviz, "Jewish proper names and derivatives in the Koran", *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II (1925), pp. 144—227; *idem*, *Koranische Untersuchungen* (Berlin—Leipzig, 1926); *idem*, "Judaic-Arabic relations in pre-Islamic times", *Islamic Culture*, III/2 (1929), pp. 161—99.

41. *Coranus arabice*, recensiois Flugelianaee textum recognitum iterum exprimi curavit Gustavus Mauritius Redslob (Lipsiae, 1837, 1855, 1867, etc.); G. Flügel, *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae* (Lipsiae, 1842); reprs. 1898, 1979.

42. B. Johansen, "Politics and scholarship: the development of Islamic studies in the Federal Republic of Germany", *Middle East Studies: International Perspectives on the State of the Art*, ed. Tareq Y. Ismael (New York, 1990), pp. 75—90.

43. For details, see E. Rezvan, "The Qur'an and its world: VI. Emergence of the canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), p. 27. In the 1930s, a series of key works by Ibn Khālawayh, al-Dānī, Ibn Abī Dā'wūd was published on the problem of *qirā'āt*. The manuscripts were prepared for publication and frequently sought out in repositories by the same G. Bergstresser, A. Jeffry, and O. Pretzl. See A. Jeffery, "Progress in the study of the Qur'an text", *Muslim World*, XXV (1935), pp. 4—16. A. Jeffery has been at work on the problem of a critical edition since the mid-1950s, see his *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an* (Leyde, 1937); *idem*, "The textual history of the Qur'an", *Journal of Middle East Society*, I—II (1947), pp. 35—49; *idem*, *Index de matériels* (Leyde, 1951); *idem*, "The Qur'an as scripture", *Muslim World*, XL (1950), pp. 41—55.

44. R. P. A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (Paris—Leyde, 1879).

45. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i—ii (Halle, 1888—1890); *idem*, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920); *idem*, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1925).

46. W. M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an: Completely Revised and Enlarged* (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 50—4.

47. R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in its Christian Environment* (London, 1926); repr. 1968.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1. Muḥammad as presented in the miniature to Erlandus Dryselius's *Luna Turcica, eller, Turkeske måne ...* (Jönköping, 1694), p. 5.