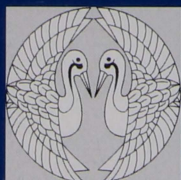


RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH



Manuscripta Orientalia

International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research

Vol. 5 No. 1 March 1999



TSESА
St. Petersburg-Helsinki

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Front cover:

"The hunter sits atop a lion which has sunk its teeth into his elbow", miniature from manuscript A 448 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 24 b, 7.5×6.5 cm.

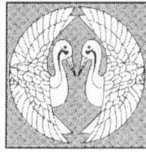
Back cover:

Plate 1. "A hunter stands with his hunting dog which grips in its teeth a cat it has dragged out its burrow", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 5 b, 8.0×7.5 cm.

Plate 2. "A dog licks blood off a wounded rabbit", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 66a, 7.5×7.0 cm.

Plate 3. "The lion devours one of the two bulls", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 57a, 7.0×6.5 cm.

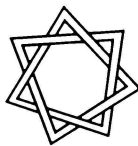
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Subscriptions

The subscription price of Volume 5 (1999) (ca. 288 pages in 4 issues) is US\$ 230.00 for institutions and US\$ 200.00 for individuals including postage and packing.

Subscription orders are accepted for complete volumes only, orders taking effect with the first issue of any year. Claims for replacement of damaged issues or of issues lost in transit should be made within ten months after the appearance of the relevant issue and will be met if stocks permit. Back issues are available for US\$ 60.00 per issue.

Subscription orders may be made directly to the Editorial Board (Fax +7(812)311-51-01 or E-mail: orient@jeos.spb.su) or to the publisher — Thesa, 14 Dobrolyubov St., office 358, 197198 St. Petersburg, Russia (Tel./Fax +7(812)238-95-94, E-mail: bi@thesa.spb.su).

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EDITORIAL BOARD

LIVES DEVOTED TO LEARNING

The editorial board of *Manuscripta Orientalia*, a journal created with the single aim of aiding the research and study of the Eastern manuscript tradition, dedicates this issue to two outstanding Russian orientalists — Prof. A. B. Khalidov and Prof. O. F. Akimushkin. Both of them are members of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Both turn 70 years of age in 1999. Prof. Khalidov was born in Tataria, not far from Kazan, while Prof. Akimushkin — in Penza, both sites in the basin of the River Volga, the ancient water way to the countries of the East. From an early age, they took interest in the history of the Muslim East and its rich culture. The future scholars' paths crossed when they entered the Oriental faculty of Leningrad (St. Petersburg) University. But A. Khalidov's choice was Arabic studies, while O. Akimushkin's interest lay in the field of Iranian studies.

In the late 1940s, despite numerous ideological prohibitions and strict state control, the Oriental faculty remained to be a sort of island of culture deeply rooted in old, pre-Revolutionary Russia, which had flourished at the turn of the century. The representatives of this old Russian culture were I. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), who was among those university professors who viewed October revolution of 1917 as an event hostile to culture as a whole; I. Orbeli (1887—1961), N. D. Miklukho-Maklay (1915—1975), A. N. Kononov (1906—1986), A. N. Boldyrev (1909—1993), and others. All of them were born in pre-Revolutionary Russia and enjoyed the fruits of an excellent classical education. Besides, they all chose as their field the most elite discipline of their time — Oriental studies. They worked in 1930s and 1940s, when the communist authorities enforced a harshly repressive political system, and many outstanding scholars were labelled spies, "enemies of the people" or accused of cosmopolitanism. But luckily enough, Orientalistics was a special field of scholarly research even in these circumstances. Though Oriental studies were compelled to abide by the postulates of Marxism, scholarly discussion here was conducted with a greater freedom in comparison with adjoining disciplines of the humanities. Orientalists worked with rare and difficult for study languages. Luckily to those engaged in Oriental studies, their branch of science required extremely vast range of professional knowledge in keeping with world standards; they frequently studied the history, language, and culture of vanished peoples or civili-

sations. This was a saving grace, for even within the framework of a dominant communist ideology it permitted them to find their "asylum island" of ancient cultures, where they could somehow defend themselves against vulgar clichés and stereotypes imposed on their studies. It was also their fortune that they had to employ abundantly Western scholarly literature in their work, as well as to keep up with the results of the work of their colleagues in the West. This was the great advantage which permitted to smooth partly away a negative influence of obscurantism characteristic of many other branches of Soviet science in that period.

Also, both A. Khalidov and O. Akimushkin turned to have been lucky in their respective choices of Arabic and Iranian studies — they studied with great personalities who were not only significant figures in Oriental studies but in full sense men of the European cultural tradition. To the credit of the young scholars, they took the greatest possible advantage of these circumstances. Another important factor was that they did not succumb to the general temptation of political convenience. Unlike many of their contemporaries, they did not undertake the study of national-liberation movements in Eastern countries, despite the impetus of turbulent political events in the late 1940s and early 1950s and other circumstances of importance.

It was at this time that Leningrad (St. Petersburg) lost its status as the national centre of Oriental studies. By government decree, in 1951, the Institute of Oriental Studies was transferred to Moscow, where its primary focus became the study of the modern East. It seemed that irreparable damage had been done to classical Oriental studies in the country. A number of scholars moved from Leningrad to Moscow to work in the newly created institution. Only a small group of researchers remained then in Leningrad to take care of the enormous collection of Eastern manuscripts, which was not, thankfully, dispatched to Moscow. This group constituted the staff of the Department (Museum) of Eastern manuscripts, which was formally part of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow. It was, in fact, this wonderfully rich collection of manuscripts, gathered in St. Petersburg over the course of over two centuries, which saved classical Oriental studies in the Soviet Union.

A. Khalidov entered the Group of Arabists at the Department of Eastern manuscripts in 1955, one year later than O. Akimushkin, who became a member of the De-

partment in 1954. Both were young scholars in a collective which continued the best traditions of Russian Oriental studies. This small collective of scholars treated Eastern manuscripts not as valuable exhibits, but as living bearers of Eastern cultures and the safe-keepers of invaluable cultural information. It was among such individuals that our two honored scholars began their careers, fully aware of the advantages of this special academic environment and its refined intellectual atmosphere. Their research brought both scholars together from the very beginning: A. Khalidov soon undertook the study of Arabic manuscripts, while O. Akimushkin busied himself with the Persian manuscript legacy — in effect, two branches of the single tree of Muslim literature.

One must note that both scholars began their careers during a period of political "thaw" in the country. They were lucky in another respect as well. Shortly afterwards, in 1956, the Institute of Oriental Studies, was reestablished in Leningrad (now, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) thanks to the efforts of Academician I. A. Orbeli, a great champion of scholarship and a fine connoisseur of Eastern culture. Many recent and older graduates of the Oriental faculty then joined the staff of the Institute. This collective of young scholars formed the backbone of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies which is today known throughout the world of Oriental studies. Academician Orbeli truly played a key role in these events, for it was he who assured the continuity of research in this difficult period and prevented from the perishing of classical Oriental studies in St. Petersburg. He succeeded in supporting longstanding traditions and in uniting them with the scholarly enthusiasm of the young generation. The diversity of the specialised sub-disciplines he gathered in the Institute created necessary conditions for a future fruitful synthesis of all branches of Oriental studies. His goal was to reconstruct as full as possible an ambivalent image of Eastern culture. The intellectual atmosphere at the Institute exerted a salutary influence. The Institute became home to people of one calling who strove to encompass with their knowledge and scholarly insight the culture of the East. Some of them had their additional advantage, since they found themselves in possession of invaluable numerous sources, dozens of thousands of Eastern manuscripts, each containing precious information.

The collection was especially rich in Arabic and Persian manuscripts which obtained their brilliant young observers, though while a graduate student, A. Khalidov turned his attention to modern Arabic literature. He has retained that interest throughout his life. His PhD dissertation was dedicated to the writings of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn ("The Prose of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn", Leningrad, 1954). But soon his interest shifted and he dedicated himself to studying the classical Arabic language and its literature, which made him abundantly use Arabic manuscripts. Prof. Khalidov published a few outstanding Arabic writings ("The Second Note by Abū Dulaf", Moscow, 1961; Usāma ibn-Munqidh, *Kitāb al-manāzil wa-l-diyār*, Moscow, 1961, etc.). His edition of *Kitāb al-awraq* by Abū Bāqir Muḥammad al-Šulī (St. Petersburg, 1998) was performed in the best tradition of the Petersburg school of Arabic studies. In this particular case, Prof. Khalidov completed the work which was begun by his teacher, V. I. Belyayev (1902—1976).

In addition to publishing a number of valuable Arabic writings found in unique or rare manuscripts, a great



Professor A. Khalidov

accomplishment of A. B. Khalidov was his catalogues of Arabic manuscripts held in the Institute's collection. First, "Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences" (fasc. I: Prose fiction, Moscow, 1960), and then the two-volume "Brief Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts" (Moscow, 1986) appeared. The latter was produced by a group of scholars, including Prof. Khalidov himself, who work at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, but under his direction and general editorship. This Catalogue opens with an informative and helpful introduction by Prof. Khalidov, illuminating the significance of the collection described therein both for the history of the Arabic manuscript tradition and for the history of medieval Arabic literature. Thanks to this Catalogue, an enormous number of manuscripts previously unknown to researchers has entered scholarly circulation.

The completion of such a project would have been enough to ensure the reputation of a significant scholar who dedicated his life to the study of Arabic literature. However, it was only part of an ambitious project of this scholar whose goal was to create a work or works which would aid in establishing a comprehensive overview of the Arabic language and works written in it. Prof. Khalidov succeeded in accomplishing this thanks to his vast scholarship and erudition worthy of the best Oriental studies scholars. His magnificent study, "The Arabic language", published in *Ocherki istorii arabskoi kul'tury V—XV vekov* (Essays on the History of Arabic Culture, Moscow, 1982), demonstrates not only the author's exceptional erudition, but also his keen philological understanding of the structure and character of the Arabic language. The scholarly description and profound analysis of this language provided by A. Khalidov form a firm basis for solving the extremely complex linguistic problems which commonly arise in the study and comprehension of the Arabs' vast literary heritage.

Among the author's unquestionable scholarly accomplishments is also his fundamental work entitled *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia* (Arabic Manuscripts and the Arab Manuscript Tradition, Moscow, 1985).

On the basis of a broad analysis of extant Arabic manuscripts, the scholar presents, in effect, the history of all Arabic literature. Taking into account these works by Prof. Khalidov, one can assert that his life's aim — to create a holistic survey of the Arabic language and works written in that language — has been accomplished. These studies, completely modern, and at the same time carried out in the best tradition of Russian Oriental studies, are based on the latest achievements of philology. They provide a comprehensive picture of the Arabs' astoundingly rich literary heritage.

These are, of course, not Prof. Khalidov's only accomplishments in the field of Arabic studies. He has written a significant number of works in various areas of the field. Throughout his career, he has shown special interest in the topic of Islam. In recent years, this theme has captivated Prof. Khalidov because of many political developments in Russia and the rest of the world. At the same time, Prof. Khalidov takes interest in the history of Islam and Muslims in Eastern Europe, the Volga basin, the former USSR and contemporary Russia. This interest is reflected in his numerous publications of late. Through all his works one of the most characteristic features of Russian Oriental studies — its comprehensiveness — can be traced. It was always important for Russian scholars not only to penetrate as deeply as possible into the cultural and historical depths of the legacies created by Eastern peoples, but to respond to issues in the modern East. For Russia, the East has been and remains not only and not so much an object of study, but a living social organism and cultural habitat with which Russia is in natural, constant, and mutually influential contact.

Naturally, Prof. Khalidov's accomplishments should be viewed as the result of his own work and outstanding scholarship. But he was also aided by the special circumstances in which he worked. We note them once again: in difficult political and ideological conditions of communist regime, he had the opportunity to absorb the living traditions of classical pre-Revolutionary Oriental studies and to take advantage of the European cultural tradition retained in that framework. To this we add the easing of political constraints which began in the late 1950s and the chance to work on a daily basis with a group of scholars who studied a broad array of problems related to the language, culture, and history of the entire East. All of this created a wonderful, nourishing environment for the development of his talents. All this contributed to realising his talent in full, despite the general ideological atmosphere not favourable to creative work. Ideological prohibitions and the denial of the Western humanist tradition's truly significant accomplishments affected the scholar's work only to a small degree thanks to the special environment in which he went about his life's work. Furthermore, like many of his colleagues, in the 1960s—1980s he already had the oppor-

tunity to communicate directly with colleagues abroad. However, the main source of support for his scholarly pursuits was in his own Institute, where many noted Oriental studies scholars worked with him. Broad possibilities for daily dialogue and the opportunity to discuss complex questions, which transcended the boundaries of specialisation, indubitably contributed to his professional growth, the appearance of new approaches, and the posing of new questions. All this provided constant food for thought.

The St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies can also take pride in another scholar who turns 70 in 1999, Prof. Akimushkin, who is a specialist in Iranian studies. Educated at the Oriental faculty of Leningrad (St. Petersburg) University during about the same years as A. Khalidov, he specialised in Iranian philology. After completing university in 1953, O. Akimushkin began work in the Department of Eastern Manuscripts of the recently dismantled Institute of Oriental Studies. He found himself among people entirely devoted to the preservation, description and study of the Eastern manuscripts which remained in Leningrad after the Institute's transfer to Moscow.

This collective of Oriental studies specialists deserves special comment. As their history still awaits its chronicler, we note only that most of them were not only highly educated, but also highly cultured. They were also young and witty. A team spirit reigned both in their scholarly work and personal relations. Individualism was foreign both to the time and to the characters of those who worked in the Department of manuscripts. It is hardly surprising that the atmosphere created by this small circle of scholars exerted a profound influence on the young O. Akimushkin. He took up the study of Persian manuscripts and made it the task of his life. The study of the Iranian peoples manuscript heri-

tage and Persian literature created in the Muslim period formed the major themes in the scholar's works. More specifically, he devoted special attention to questions of codicology, archaeography, and the study of texts contained in the manuscripts with which he worked. Of course, the sphere of his scholarly interests widened significantly over the years. But overall he remained true to the path he chose at first.

One of Professor. Akimushkin's most significant scholarly accomplish-

ments is the publication of the text of Shāh-Mahmūd b. Mīrzā Fāḍil Chūrās's "Chronicle", one of the most important Central Asian works written in Persian — "*Khronika*" *Shakh-Makhmud b. mirza Fazil Churasa. Kriticheskii tekst, perevod, issledovanie, kommentarii O. F. Akimushkina* ("Chronicle" by Shāh-Mahmūd b. Mīrzā Fāḍil Chūrās. Critical text, translation, study, commentary by O. F. Akimushkin, Leningrad, 1970). He defended this publication as his PhD dissertation in 1970. Prof. Akimushkin is also the author of two other detailed and profound studies of the Persian manuscript tradition — *Zametki o persidskoï*



Professor O. Akimushkin

rukopisnoi knige i ee sozdateliakh (Notes on the Persian Manuscript Book and its Creators) in *Ocherki istorii kul'tury srednevekovogo Irana* (Essays on the History of Medieval Iranian Culture, Moscow, 1984), and *Persidskaia rukopisnaia kniga* (The Persian Manuscript Book) in *Rukopisnaia kniga v kul'ture narodov Vostoka* (The Manuscript Book in the Culture of Eastern Peoples, Moscow, 1997), vol. 1. These works of high scholarship reflect the results of the scholar's many years-long study of the Persian manuscript tradition.

But these works represent only part of a large scholarly legacy of the scholar, which includes hundreds of articles not only on Persian manuscripts and Persian literature, but on Islam and, in particular, the history of Sūfism. As concerns the study of Sūfism, Prof. Akimushkin can be viewed as Russia's most erudite author in the field. The feature of the majority of his writings is his exceptional care and love for detail, which repeatedly led Prof. Akimushkin to important discoveries otherwise mostly impossible. His meticulous attention to every detail of the object under study is truly remarkable.

Prof. Akimushkin is also a great expert in Persian miniatures. In this area, he has achieved impressive results which find reflection not only in his numerous publications on the topic, but also in the practical sphere. His direct participation and scholarly help contributed greatly to the success of an exhibition of manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which took place in Paris, New York, and Lugano (Switzerland). The exhibition, entitled "Pages of Perfection", demonstrated not only the exceptional manuscript

riches held at the Institute, but also the extreme professionalism of those who study them. Prof. Akimushkin is among those few in Russia whose work in the field of Iranian studies cannot be overestimated.

Both Prof. Khalidov and Prof. Akimushkin wholly enjoyed the opportunities to conduct scholarly research in most favourable atmosphere ever possible in the country. Like his Arabist colleague, Prof. Akimushkin was also able to maintain contact with Oriental studies scholars abroad by taking part in numerous international congresses and symposiums. He had frequent publications abroad. In recent years, with the creation of the journal *Manuscripta Orientalia*, both Prof. Khalidov and especially Prof. Akimushkin have been frequent contributors to it, which broadens possibilities of acquainting a larger scholarly audience with their work.

The editorial board of *Manuscripta Orientalia* heartily congratulates both scholars on the occasion of their seventieth birthday and wishes them many more years of fruitful scholarly activity. Much remains to be done. Eastern manuscripts with their mysteries, as well as enigmas of Eastern culture as a whole are awaiting the attention of both scholars of profound learning. The rationalism of modern scholarship seems to fail to deprive Oriental studies of the romantic aura which continues to attract both those who have worked in the field for many years and young scholars at the early stages of their careers. Undoubtedly, many of the latter will dedicate their lives to this endeavor, following the examples of A. Khalidov and O. Akimushkin.

TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

Val. V. Polosin

"ALL IS NUMBERS"? AN UNKNOWN NUMERICAL COMPONENT IN THE DESIGN OF MEDIEVAL ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS

1

Despite their production costs, the number of manuscript catalogues with reproductions appended is steadily growing, each time increasing the number of objects accessible to study far from their place of storage. A recently released catalogue of this type [1] includes the title page of an Arabic manuscript from 978/1571 (see *fig. 1*). The catalogue describes it as a "richly illuminated title page" ("reich illuminierte Titelseite"). The reproduction is, however, presented in black and white [2], and one must judge the richness of the illumination more on the basis of the detailed list of its elements in the description of the manuscript [3]. Although the monochromatic reproduction rather fails to live up to the multicoloured original, it in no way prevents the scholar from enjoying another characteristic of the title illumination — the beauty of special proportions of its construction. Elsewhere, I wrote about several types of geometric harmony found in the design of Arabic manuscripts [4]. They turned to have been unexpected and surprising, but here we seem to encounter an unprecedented situation.

The reproduction in the above-mentioned catalogue presents the title decoration of al-Damīrī's "The Life of Animals". Its major component is a rectangular border divided into two unequal parts. The smaller rectangle forms the upper part and lies horizontally (see *fig. 3*), while a larger rectangle, beneath it, stands vertically. Each of these two rectangles possesses its own decorative elements (for example, an octafoil in the larger one and cartouches in the smaller one). Separately, outside of the rectangular border there is also a small, round medallion. The mathematical properties of these figures appear to be so unusual that they require an equally unusual method of demonstrating them.

For the purposes of this demonstration, let us "think of" a number, for example, 12.7 mm. The number could be different, but not, of course, random. The exposition to follow will, I hope, make this clear. Multiplying it by 10, we arrive at the height of the rectangular border which encloses almost the entire illumination on the title page of "The Life of Animals" (127 mm). If we multiply this result by 7 and then divide it by 10, we get the height of the larger, vertical rectangle (88.9 mm). Multiplying this height by 6, and then dividing by 7, we get the width of the vertical rectangle

(76.2 mm) — this is also the width of the entire rectangular border, the height of which was calculated above in our first operation. Dividing this number in half, we arrive at the height of the horizontal rectangle. If we multiply the height of this rectangle (38.1 mm) by 4 and divide the result by 3, we arrive at the width of the octafoil at its end points (50.8 mm).

Working from a single number, we have calculated the dimensions of all the basic elements of the title decoration. This counting "game" could be continued to derive, step by step, the dimensions of all of the secondary elements as well. It could also be started differently. For example, the diameter of the octafoil is 50.8 mm. If we multiply this by 2.5, we get the height of the rectangular border (127 mm). If we divide the latter by 5 and multiply the result by 3, we get the width of this same border (76.2 mm), and so on and so forth.

All of the numbers calculated above are multiples of 12.7 [5]. But this is the number which we "thought of" at the beginning of our mathematical exercise. For example, the width of the border (76.2 mm) equals 12.7 times 6; the height of the vertical rectangle equals 12.7 times 7; the diameter of the octafoil equals 12.7 times 4. What sort of number is this 12.7?

To answer this question it is necessary to take another look at the title page of the manuscript. If the artist formulated it as a riddle, perhaps he has given us clues to its solution as well. Surprisingly, there is in fact a solution, and an obvious one at that. One only need to look on the title page as one would look on a pirate map for the sign which marks "buried treasure". The central figure of a octafoil will serve us a sort of the wind-rose to aid in orientation. Expanding on this metaphor, we once again encounter the mysterious number 12.7 as we measure the details of the octafoil: once in its "pure form" as the diameter of the petals, and twice in derivations which reflect the size of the octafoil at its diameter and the diameter of the circle drawn into the octafoil. If we total the diameters of all eight petals of the wind-rose and add to this sum the diameter of the circle drawn into the octafoil, we arrive at a number which very closely corresponds to the distance from the lower right corner of

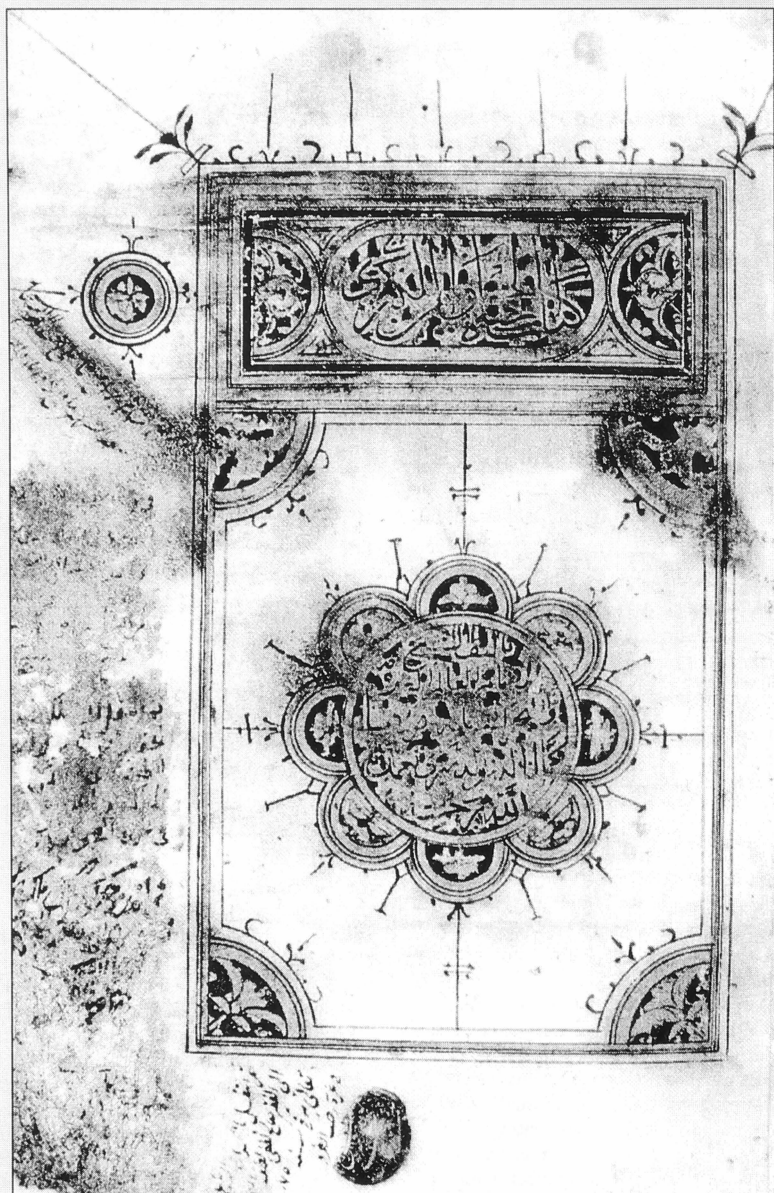


Fig. 1

the rectangular border to the centre of the circular medallion! This number (135.5) indicates that somewhere beyond the border, at a distance of 135.5 mm from its lower right corner, at the end of a line which goes through the centre of the octafoil and the junction of the two rectangles inside the border [6] (see *fig. 2*), lies our hidden something. This something is the circular medallion. Its diameter is in fact 12.7 mm, the number which makes up, like bricks, virtually all of the details in the title decoration.

2

The medallion in which is encoded the numerical basis of the illumination provides a key to the puzzle, but does not explain the origin of the number itself. Why 12.7? It is clear from the first "mystical" transformation of this number (see above) that it is one tenth of the height of the border. But had we started from the other end, this number would not be a tenth of the frame, but a quarter of the octafoil. The number's overall transformability conceals its true origin. In its basic form, the number is present only in the additional medallion and the eight petals of the central medallion. But these are not the figures which set the tone for the sketch. They express a standard but do not enforce it on other figures in the illumination. They could all be given different (and arbitrary) dimensions, and the overall outward appearance of the illumination would remain practically unchanged. The border is another matter.

I have already written on the properties of 5:3 borders, and in particular on the ruler-less method of measuring out on their vertical side one fifth of the height [7]. This method was employed in those cases by illuminators to build within the border the figure of a "square between two rectangles". The current manuscript presents us with such a border, but the illuminator constructed a different figure inside it — "two rectangles (horizontal above vertical)". The division of the rectangular-border into horizontal and vertical rectangles was performed in the following fashion: by setting aside on the height of the border not two, but three tenths of its height. But a "fifth of the height" (= two tenths) remains present in the design of the frontispiece. At this level we find the lower edge of the round medallion together with the border (see arc KL in *fig. 2*). In this fashion, with the aid of decimal fractions of the height (three, to be precise), the total area enclosed by the border was divided in two. As has already been noted [8], spatial divisions of the base area always play an important role in Arab-Muslim book design. Here, the division of the area enclosed by the border (at the level of three tenths of its height) has introduced into the design two unequal, but concretely proportional, rectangles (horizontal — 2:1, vertical — 7:6). This two-part geomet-

ric figure displays another curious property on which the illuminator was quick to seize. If one draws an EC diagonal into the rectangle EFCD and extends it until it intersects the axial line (OG) of the rectangle ABFE, a secondary figure appears in the border: a right triangle OGC which stands in a special proportional relation to the border. For example, the line OG stands in a 10:9 relation to the width of the border; 3:2 to its height. The hypotenuse of the triangle (OC) stands in a $4^2:3^2$ (16:9) relation to the width of the border; 16:15 to its height. It is also of interest that the two new segments we have superimposed on the sketch (OC and OG) are in a 8:5 relation to each other.

The proportional relation of the triangle to the border suggests that both figures are component parts of a single construction and should be viewed as a whole. And since the centre of the additional medallion is located not just anywhere, but precisely at point O — the only apex of the triangle which extends beyond the border — one can term the entire figure a "border (or rectangle) with additional medallion" (see *fig. 3*). As Viennese manuscript Mixt. 136 is not the only work with an illumination containing this figure, a real need for a term to designate the construction exists.

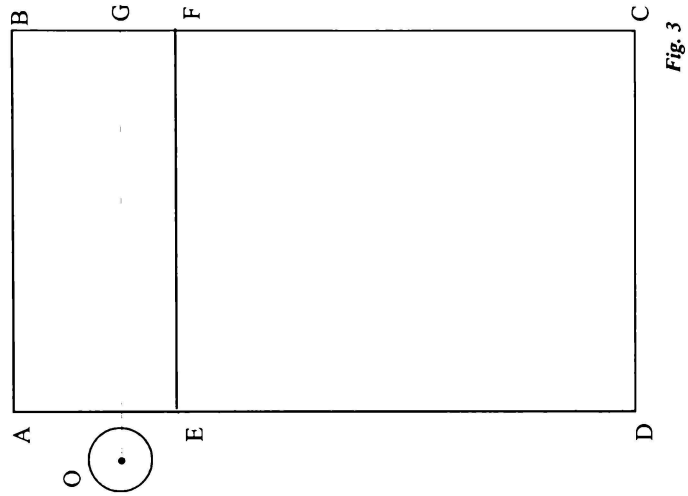
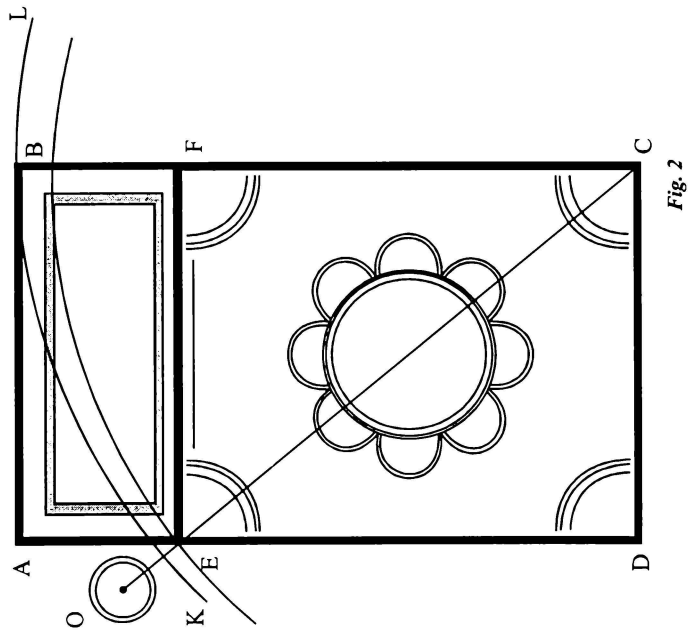
Without the explanations given in this section, and without the additional sketches suggested, the format of the title page appears to be a simple colour drawing. Now this drawing reveals itself to be a significantly more complicated artistic structure. The fact that all of the linear elements in this drawing [9] present values which are multiples of each other and which are harmonically proportional to each other signifies that purely graphic considerations were linked in the design with rational considerations. To understand the latter, we must make some additions to our set of research tools. As we have tried to show, geometry and a reconstruction of the devices used by the illuminator introduce some clarity. However, even after the elucidations proposed here and in my other articles [10], the veil of numerical mysticism which noticeably covers all of the designs I have studied, does not lift entirely. It remains unclear why the illuminator needed all of the complexities revealed above.

3

The unusual prominence of the rational element in the illumination under discussion is perhaps the most interesting aspect of the example under consideration. The illumination rests on a geometric construction, the parameters of which can be expressed through a fairly long series of numerical quantities. The number of connections between these quantities is large (several times larger than the quantities themselves), but a logical analysis of them provides, with iso-

lated exceptions, a few simple ("everyday") interchangeable proportions [11].

These characteristics of the geometric figure are much more interesting than the outward appearance of the illumination itself. It is, however, possible that such a juxtaposition is unjust, and that the outward simplicity of the drawing is also part of the artist's conception — for example, perhaps he wished to demonstrate something obviously com-



plex in a pointedly simple drawing. If this is so, then we must admit that a juxtaposition obscures the main characteristic of the illumination under consideration — the bare harmony of all its elements [12], virtually unmasked by distracting factors [13], but only intelligible through numerical symbolism. The artist merely softened the character of the sketch with colour borders, removed the linear sides of the triangle, employing however all of its apexes. He also added several figures (the octafoil, corner medallions, and others), continuing the numerical play in their dimensions. The removal of several support beams and the addition of multi-coloured-golden "make-up" rendered the geometric determinism of the riddle invisible, or at least unrecognisable, while a kaleidoscope of numbers and their proportions remained. Without a visible rational foundation, it became much more mysterious — a trick without any explanation at the end.

Thus, the illumination under discussion exists on two levels. One can certainly examine the visible level — the original has been displayed at exhibitions and reproduced twice in catalogues. The invisible, or more accurately, concealed level must be calculated, revealing everywhere numbers where the first level presents only lines or spaces.

We have analysed in this article a single, concrete fact which concerns book illuminations. But the results, observations and conclusions contained in this analysis can all be applied to those instances (approximately a dozen) surveyed

by us in previous articles. In each analysis of an illumination, one could also speak of these two levels. One of them is illustrative and decorative, directly perceived by the viewer. The second is analytical, and, as we have seen, unfolds in three fashions: in geometric figures (and the methods of their construction), in the linear dimensions of these figures, and finally, in the proportional relation of these dimensions to each other. Unlike previous instances, the illumination in the Vienna manuscript reveals a fairly strong preference on the part of the artist for linear dimensions with a consequent reconception in favour of the second, analytical level. This tendency is so pronounced and so clearly underscored by the intentional and unusual harmony of the numbers, that it compels us to recall the familiar maxim that "all is numbers", which is entered in the title of the current article, as well as the Pythagorean preference for viewing the world through numbers and their interrelations.

Scholars have supported the usual understanding of this maxim only in part, and then in extremely cautious formulations [14], but I mention it here in any case in connection with the numerical harmonies revealed in Arabic manuscripts. Is not our illumination, like other examples of "mathematised" design in Arabic manuscripts, a relic of this ancient feeling for the world, which perhaps for the first time appears before us not in historical tales and legends, but in visible form, in its natural sense — as an actual thing?

Notes

1. D. Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II. Teil 1. Die Handschriften in arabischer Sprache. Textband und Tafelband* (Wien, 1992). — Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Bd. 5, Teil 1.
2. *Ibid.*, Tafelband, Abb. 206.
3. *Ibid.*, Textband, pp. 148—9 (MS Mixt. 136).
4. Val. V. Polosin, "To the method of describing illuminated Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, I/2 (1995), pp. 16—21; *idem*, "Frontispieces on scale canvas in Arabic manuscripts", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/1 (1996), pp. 5—19; *idem*, "Muslim bindings with *al-Khālidiyānī* double borders", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, II/2 (1996), pp. 9—12.
5. It is for this reason that any of them could take the place of the number we "thought of" initially.
6. The imaginary line, which passes through several significant (supporting) points of the scheme, can also be viewed as a full-fledged element in this construction. The line is derived, but exists quite objectively.
7. See Polosin, "To the method", pp. 16 ff.
8. See Polosin, "Muslim bindings", pp. 9 ff.
9. One need not, of course, take the word "all" literally. We are investigating the basic design scheme, and for this the formulation fits perfectly. But each "basic" figure in the scheme is surrounded by mounting lines which were added in order to make the basic scheme less bare and, consequently, do not fit into the calculations.
10. Polosin, "To the method", pp. 16 ff; *idem*, "Frontispieces", pp. 5 ff; *idem*, "Muslim bindings", pp. 9 ff.
11. I have in mind the proportional relations between the numbers from 1 to 9 (2:1, 3:2, 4:3, etc.); the exceptions mentioned are the proportions 10:9, 16:15 and 16:9. The last of them can be simplified and represented as the relation between the squares of 4 and 3; I have already noted an analogous instance in my "Muslim bindings with *al-Khālidiyānī* double borders" (see above). A larger sample of examples will show whether we can follow this route and expand by the factors 16 (4 squared), 15 (5 times 3) and 10 (5 times 2).
12. In the first part of the article, we did not introduce all of the examples necessary for such an assertion for a single reason: the Catalogue illustration (No. 206) is reduced to two-thirds the size of the original. The dimensions of the secondary (small) elements in the illumination can only be derived by reconstructing them. They seem quite likely to me, but their validity can only be confirmed on the basis of the original and with the aid of instruments more accurate than the human eye and a ruler. For this reason, these measurements are not cited here.
13. Aside from the contouring of some of the basic graphic figures (the main border, the additional medallion, the petals of the central medallion and others).
14. See, for example, L. Ia. Zhmud', *Pifagor i ego shkola* (Pythagorus and His School) (Leningrad, 1990), pp. 159—74; *idem*, *Nauka, filosofia i religia v rannem pifagoreizme* (Science, Philosophy and Religion in Early Pythagorism) (St. Petersburg, 1994), pp. 311—32.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Title page of an Arabic manuscript dated by 978/1571 from the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (MS Mixt. 136, fol. 1a). Courtesy of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna).

Fig. 2. Elements of the illumination with properties under question in the current article.

Fig. 3. A sketch of the "rectangle with additional medallion" figure arrangement.

LITHOGRAPH VERSIONS OF PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS OF INDIAN MANUFACTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is a commonly known fact that the early-print book invariably reproduced the form of its manuscript copy. This is true of lithographs as well. The basic method of lithographic printing is that a manuscript text or design was drawn on a smooth surface of specially prepared limestone treated so that special ink or paint adhered only to the text or design to be printed on paper with the help of a simple press. The very method was invented in Germany in 1798 and spread throughout Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1816, a lithographic press started to be employed in the printing-office of the Russian General Staff. However, both in Europe and in Russia, lithographic printing remained a subsidiary method of book printing, employed mostly as a means of reproducing works of art.

The lithographic printing, however, took a different turn in Muslim lands, though not everywhere. The Arabs and Turks, who had earlier adopted type-set book printing, recognized the virtues of lithography only partly. As concerns Iran and India, the lithographic method of multiplying texts was phenomenally successful, and producing type-set books was forgotten for several decades. In Iran, a traditional attachment to calligraphy had that effect that lithographic printing took rapid growth. As for India, an additional factor was that lithographic printing permitted the simultaneous production of works in several languages. Nevertheless, lithographic printing did not supersede the traditional method of manuscript production. In Iran and India, for the entire nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, Persian lithographic and manuscript books coexisted.

In modern times, the lithograph book was, in a sense, another form of a customary manuscript. In viewing lithography as a variant of manuscript copies, their basic similarity draws our attention — lithograph books and manuscripts are based on a text, written in pen, on paper, and in the same hands as a manuscript copy. A book printed as a lithograph follows a manuscript in the organization of its material, in the layout of the text on the page, and in the graphic and artistic layout. The same rules, developed over the centuries-long history of the Persian manuscript tradition, were used in the case with lithography. This did not exclude the creative approach to the tradition, the employment of its achievements with certain transformations, and the evident search for new means of expression, from the simple to the elaborately stylized. But these transformations appeared only with the passage of time.

Let us examine the topic on the basis of examples of Persian lithograph books produced in the nineteenth-century India.

Lithographic book printing in India became widespread in the 1840s. Books in Persian were produced in lithograph in dozens of Indian cities, although permanent centres for publishing Persian books existed only in a few places. Throughout the nineteenth century, the most important of these remained Bombay, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Lahore. A significant number of editions also appeared in Delhi, Madras, and Agra. From the 1860s on, the main centre of lithographic book printing became the city of Lucknow, in the Audh principality, where a printing house was created which later grew into the internationally known firm of Munshī Nawal Kishōr (1995 marked the centenary of this outstanding Indian publisher's death).

Lithographic book printing in India reached its peak in the final third of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. One should bear in mind that Persian-language books were also set in India, but it was lithography that was connected with the activities of the Muslim community. A traditional Muslim education included training in the art of *inshā'* — the ability to express one's thoughts elegantly, which presumed a no less attractive form of presentation. Lithography provided a relatively simple and cheap means of producing multiple copies of a manuscript in any language.

As the accounts of contemporaries indicate, the success of lithographic printing in India was exceptional. In the first years of its existence, Indian lithographic books, like other early-print books, completely followed their manuscript copies. Early editions released in Bombay, Lucknow and Cawnpore, even in lithographic presses organized by the English, reproduced the appearance of Persian manuscripts. The reverse side of the first folio carried the beginning of the work, with an unfilled upper part of the page, which is characteristic of manuscripts. Sometimes the publishers' foreword was also present. As for information about the author, title, and place of production, it was, as in a manuscript, provided at the end in a colophon.

However, since lithographic printing spread during the 1830s and 1840s, the culture of European book printing could not but influence local practice. The process by which manuscript copies were transformed into print books, with their rules of graphic design and arrangement of material, advanced quite quickly. Already in the 1840s, in the main

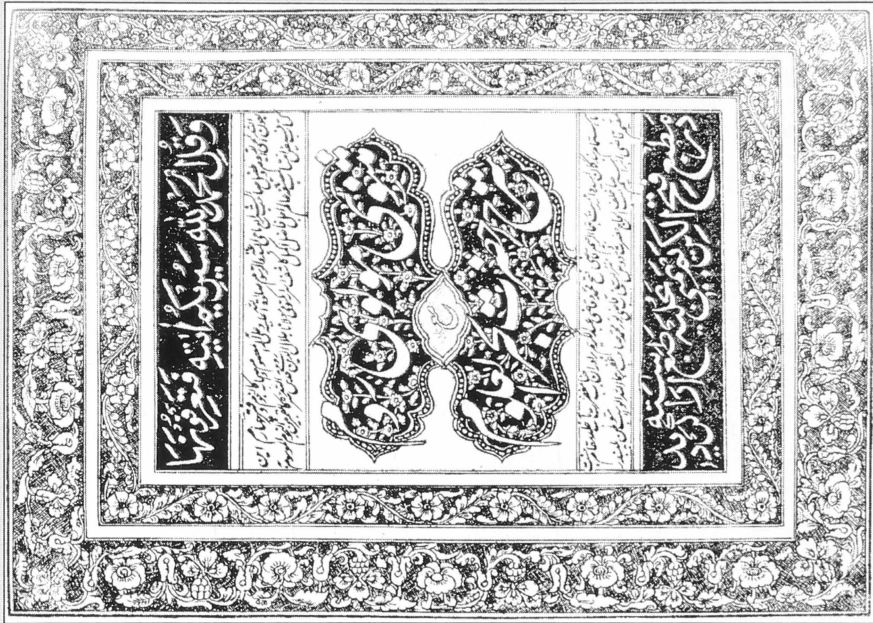


Fig. 2

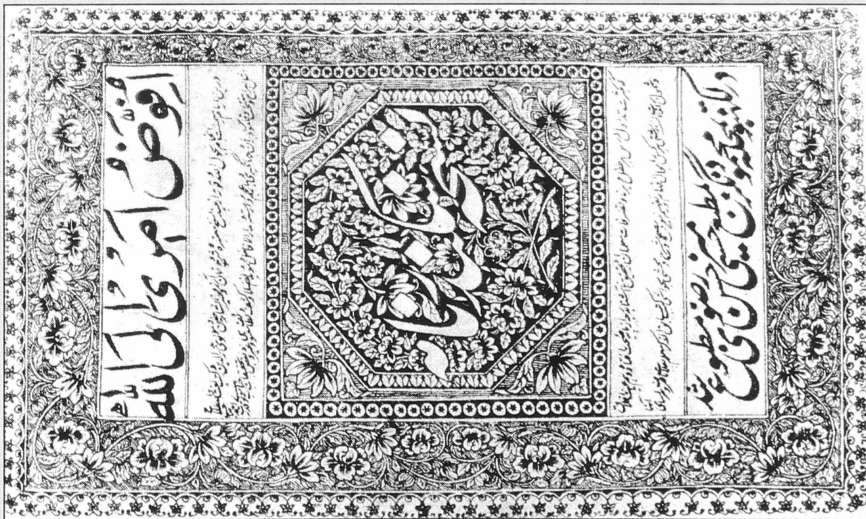


Fig. 1

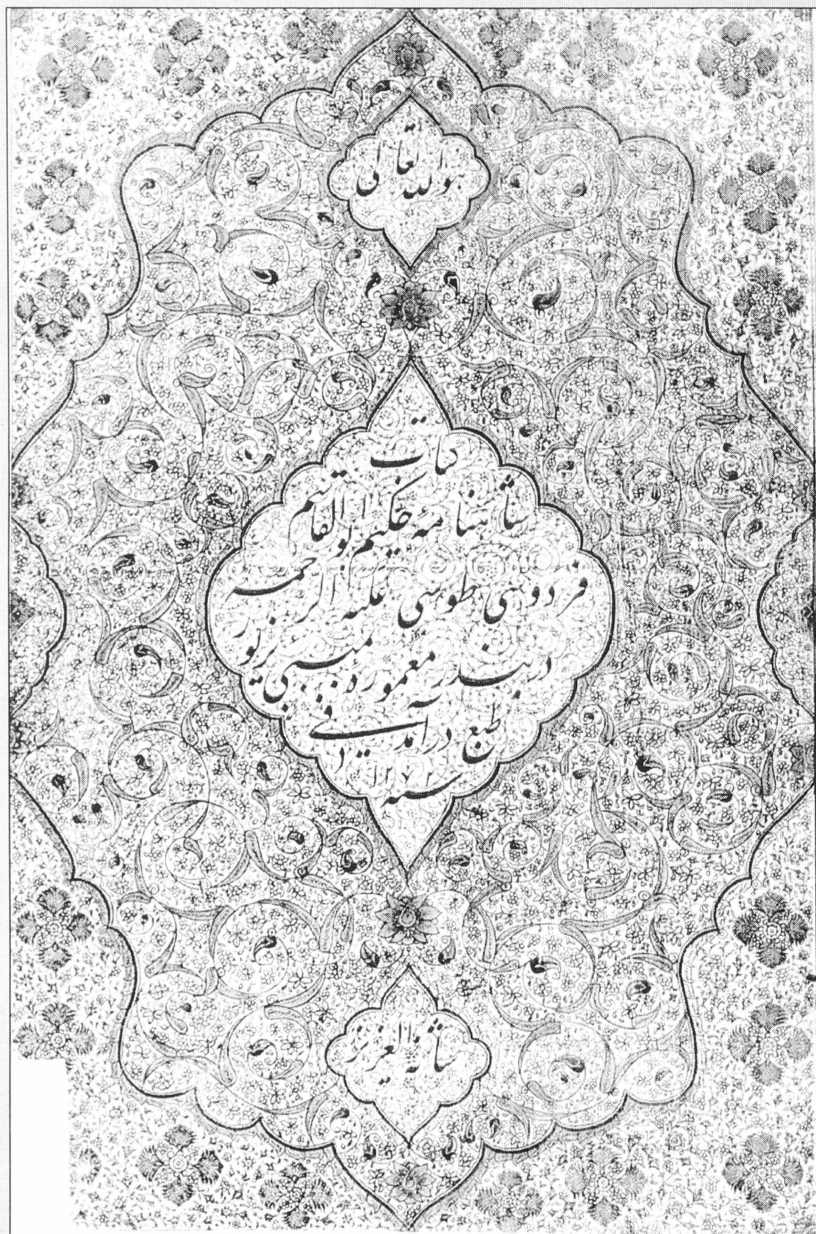


Fig. 3

printing centres, original means of formatting published material were being developed which distinguished lithograph editions from manuscript copies. While manuscripts lacked title pages, in lithograph books the title page became an indispensable attribute. The first page, which had remained blank in manuscripts, was now filled with information on author, title, place and time of production, once placed in colophons. An original feature of lithographs, which set them apart from European books, was that the text of the work began on the second page, that is, on the reverse side of the title page. The rules for formatting title pages were determined, for the most part, by the time and place of the book's production.

Lithographers in all printing centres attempted to find an original appearance for each new edition, varying ornamentation and geometric figures, types and dimensions of handwriting. Two basic types of formatting are seen in the general mass of lithographic production — Bombay and Nawalkishōr. The Bombay style took shape in the 1840s and followed to a greater extent the patterns of the manuscript book. The dominant element in the Bombay style was the vertical distribution on the central part of the title page of three medallions (circles, rhombi, ovals, etc. — the forms varied). The medallions were usually separate from each other, and the upper and lower were smaller. The central medallion contained the title of the work, name of the author, and sometimes the name of the publishers, although it frequently held only the title of the work. Written into the upper medallion were good wishes or religious formulas. The lower medallion indicated the place of printing (usually only the city) and the date of the book's appearance. Along the edge of the folio was an obligatory frame of one, two or more lines adorned with floral ornamentation. The origins of such medallions seem to come from the title page adornments which had once graced the embossed leather bindings of manuscripts. However, printers filled them with new content, providing information about the work's title, the author and place of production. The title page opened the book, and such title pages, frequently identical, separated the sections of multi-volume works (e.g., the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī, the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and others). This form for title pages was borrowed by Iranian lithographers. These principles for formatting the title page in Bombay lithographic editions were, for the most part, preserved throughout the course of the nineteenth century, although other approaches developed as well. In particular, the title page might feature only a single medallion (rhombus, circle, etc.).

An outstanding achievement of Indian printers is undoubtedly the style of formatting lithographic books developed in Lucknow in the 1840s. This style was also distinguished by the graphic format of the title page. But in this case the dominant element in the arrangement of material was a horizontally oriented figure surrounded by an amply ornamented frame which covered the surface of the page. We find in an edition of the *Sikandar-nāma*, produced in 1843 by the lithograph-press "Ḥasanī", one of the most novel approaches to formatting the title page. The owner of the press, Mīr Ḥasan Raḍawī, may have been the inventor, or one of the inventors, of a new way of formatting books.

In 1858, the lithography "Audh Akbar" of Munshī Nawal Kishōr began functioning in Lucknow. The young entrepreneur very successfully employed the achievements

of early Lucknow lithographers, adopting from them principles for formatting books. Though the first editions present a certain confusion of graphic design, by the 1860s basic principles had been developed and put into practice. Thus, a standard format came into being which allows us to distinguish without fail the books of Munshī Nawal Kishōr from among the general mass of other editions.

"Audh Akbar" was, in the nineteenth century, the most significant publishing house in the East in the size and diversity of its production. Thus, the Lucknow style came to be associated first and foremost with the publications of this lithography and one can, in a certain sense, term it the Nawalkishōr style. For several decades, this style attained in India the status of an accepted canon. It also exerted a significant influence on the graphic design of books produced by Central Asian lithographers.

The title page of Nawalkishōr books had the following format. The rectangle of the page was framed by a wide border filled with floral ornamentation. Inside this, three graphic components were clearly demarcated: two broad bands delimited by horizontal lines — one in the upper part of the page, another in the lower — and a central, ornamented section (covering approximately a third of the page). The upper band contained in large letters good wishes, the text of which, with rare exceptions, did not vary in the books of Munshī Nawal Kishōr. The lower band held a phrase, identical in all cases, which indicated that the book had been printed in the lithography of Munshī Nawal Kishōr. The exact place of production — Lucknow or Cawnpore (a branch of the publishing house functioned there beginning in the 1860s) — was provided in the colophon. Only in the final third of the nineteenth century can one find the name of the city written into the lower section of the title page. In the centre, the title of the work was written in large letters; it could be placed in a circle, a rectangle, an oval, an ellipse, a rhombus, etc. Moreover, between the upper and lower bands and the central frame were lines of text in a small hand. At the top was usually found a short description of the work's content. The line beneath the title provided the name of the author, translator, and occasionally the person who had prepared the publication. The author's name could also be given in the upper line. Nevertheless, the title pages of many editions contained only the good wishes, title of the work, and place of printing. An indication of the language was sometimes added to the title, for example, *Ṭūfī-nāma-yi farsī* (the *Ṭūfī-nāma* in Persian). Alongside, the date of publication could be indicated.

The Lucknow style of formatting title pages was adopted by Bombay lithographers and by publishers in Cawnpore, Delhi, and Lahore, each of whom introduced variations. Thus, Bombay lithographers considered it obligatory to rule the title page with a large number of horizontal lines. Bombay books indicated the names of the author, publishers, commentators, and customers, listing as well the city, lithography and year of printing.

For a time, at the end of the nineteenth century, titles in fanciful letters came into fashion. Many printers in Delhi, Cawnpore, and even Munshī Nawal Kishōr paid tribute to this fashion. But this style did not prove lasting and quickly disappeared.

Lithographers had at their disposal only two colours — white and black (red and green ink were used only in a few Nawalkishōr editions) — but they made artful use of them. It should be noted that the title page of each book was individual — ornaments and combinations of lines were not re-

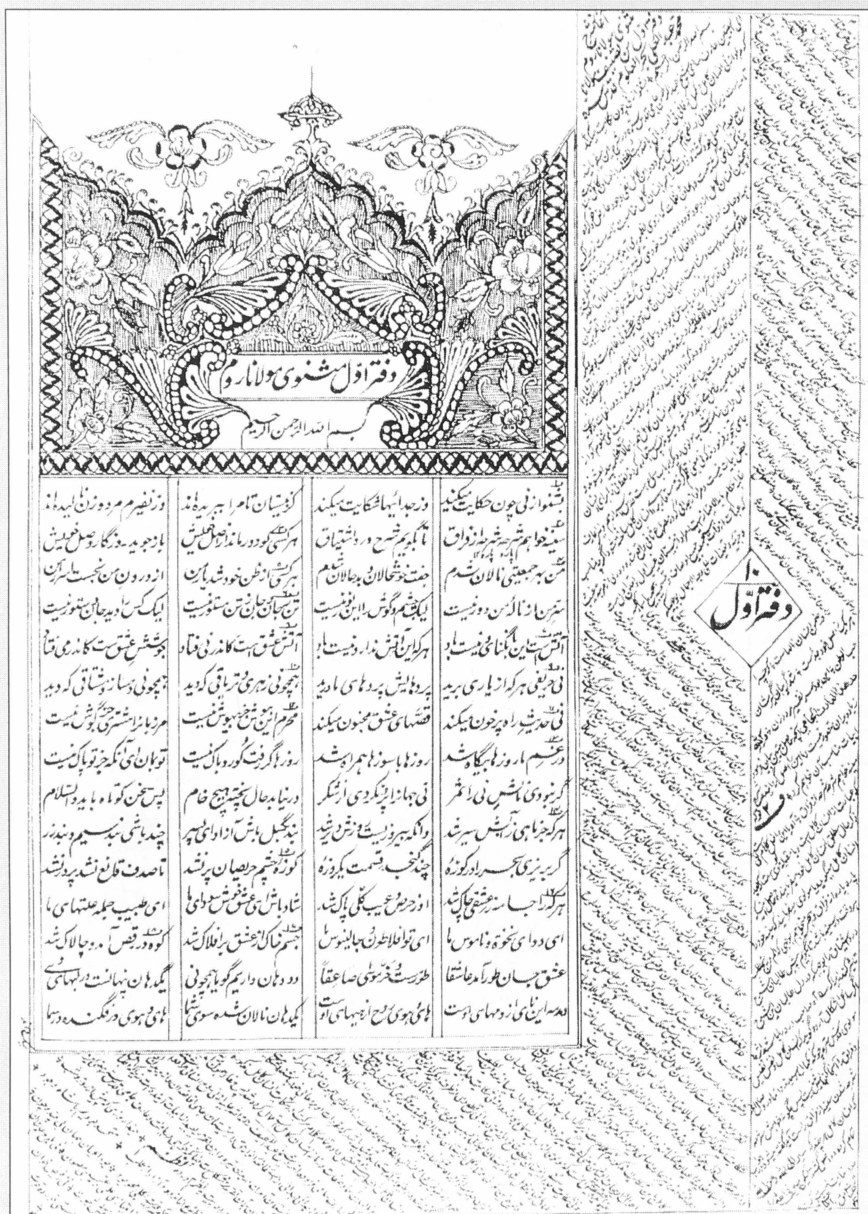


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

peated. A new title page was drawn up for each lithograph book. The succession of various handwriting styles — *thulth*, *ta'liq*, *nasta'liq*, *naskh* which were the very same styles employed by the creators of manuscript copies — provided an additional artistic effect. Besides, the reader could enjoy the effect of manuscript reading.

One can state that the level of artistry in the formatting of lithographic books by Indian printers in the second half of the nineteenth century was high.

It is important that Nawalkishōr style of title pages, while preserving Eastern patterns, followed the basic principle of a print book by providing as much significant information as possible on the title page. Indian printers strove to delineate graphically the various sections of the title page so that the reader could locate necessary information without delay: title, author, publisher, place of printing, etc. Each piece of information had its place on the title page, and the handwriting and its size distinguished the most important components, as determined by the publisher.

Despite the success of this style, with the passage of time new publishers naturally sought simpler ways of conveying the same information. A third method of formatting the title page appeared in lithograph editions. It was distinguished by extreme simplicity: in horizontal lines, without ruling or ornamentation, the same information was provided. In the upper part of the page — good wishes; in the centre, or closer to the top — the title; in the lower part — the publisher and place of publication. Only the dimensions of the letters (an echo of the manuscript tradition) distinguished the most important information: title, author's name, place of publication. The entire text was sometimes framed by simple ornamentation.

The title page of a lithographic book frequently had an '*unwān*', which is characteristic of manuscripts. Indian printers retained this important element of manuscript formatting. In Bombay editions we find an ornamented '*unwān*', and in a number of cases even lavishly adorned first two pages. In contrast to a manuscript book, whose '*unwān*' and the first folios decoration were in colour, a lithographic printing permitted only the reproduction of the design. In Nawalkishōr books, the reverse of the title page always presents a small '*unwān*' with an unimposing drawing, its simplicity standing in a certain contrast with the elaborate ornamentation of the title page. In time, many printers replaced floral ornamentation in the '*unwān*' with a combination of lines while retaining the traditional imposition by a third of half of the page.

The rules for the graphic formatting of pages — the arrangement of text, commentaries and glosses (*hāshiya*), pagination, and colophon format — were similar in Bombay, Lucknow and other editions, reflecting the canons of the manuscript tradition. Within the book, text was placed in a frame, while verses, as was accepted practice in manuscripts, were arranged in framed columns. Chapter titles were set off by the large size letters and type of handwriting (in Persian books, which were traditionally copied in *nasta'liq*, chapter titles were written in *naskh*). Glosses between lines and on the margins were in very small handwriting; marginal commentaries were written at a slant. The influence of European practice was present, in particular, in the obligatory pagination, although custodes were retained. In addition, above the border framing the text the title of the work, the volume, and sometimes the chapter title were indicated.

Some words should be said about the practice of publishing bilingual texts and arranging commentaries. The arrangement of basic text in the centre and notes or extensive commentary on the margins is not an innovation of lithographers, since such is the manuscript tradition. But what distinguishes Indian printers is their great mastery in the art of formatting such material. The text was located in the centre of the page and was written in large handwriting: *naskh* for Arabic works and *nasta'liq* for Persian was employed. The translation was located beneath the text of the original source in a form which bore the name *hamā'il al-matn*. The margins held commentary, sometimes two or more, and at times glosses. Abundant notes in the margins and between lines were accepted already in early Lucknow editions produced by many different lithographers. Furthermore, while a number marked an interpreted word and a note, a special sign indicated the end of it. In such publications, the page was entirely occupied. Although notes in the margins were copied in extremely small handwriting, the lithographer's artistry permitted one to read them without difficulty.

Notable successes in this field were attained by Bombay publishers from the Pulbandarī family and by lithographers from the Cawnpore publishing house of "Nizāmī", owned by Mīrzā 'Abd al-Rahmān-khān b. Rawshan-khān, a publisher, commentator on current affairs, and author of anthologies. An important achievement of Munshī Nawal Kishōr was to fit very large works such as Khwāndamīr's *Rawḍat al-ṣafā* or Arabic and Persian dictionaries into a single volume. He did this with the aid of thin paper, small handwriting and lithographic artistry.

The end of a lithograph book followed its manuscript predecessor too. In a manuscript copy, the colophon contains the copyist's conclusion in which he indicates the date of the manuscript's completion. In lithograph books, the colophon is retained and remains an indispensable part of the work at all times. The content of the lithograph colophon was traditional: the date of the copy's completion, the names of those who ordered the edition and carried out the work, the time and place of lithographing. As in manuscripts, the amount of information varied.

In Persian manuscripts the final phrases were written in the form of a triangle where the base was filled with religious formulas. This graphic tradition was retained in litho-editions produced in many centres, including Bombay, but is absent in Nawalkishōr editions.

The lithograph book changed over time both in its external format and structure. The logic of development transformed the colophon into a publisher's afterword; the name of the copyist disappeared. In Nawalkishōr publications, the colophon became the afterword of the publishing collective, graphically separated from the author's text. In Bombay books, the publishers' text came to be placed in the lower part of the page in horizontal lines and was usually copied in large handwriting; the colophon was frequently located on a side margin.

The retention of the manuscript tradition in litho-editions is clearly evident in the illustration of texts. Illustrations were carried out in accordance with rules common to Muslim manuscript books. Publishers held to the repertoire of works which were traditionally equipped with illustrations; as in manuscripts, the same episodes were illustrated. Among such works were the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawīs, the poems of Nizāmī, the *Majālis al-'ushshāq* attributed to

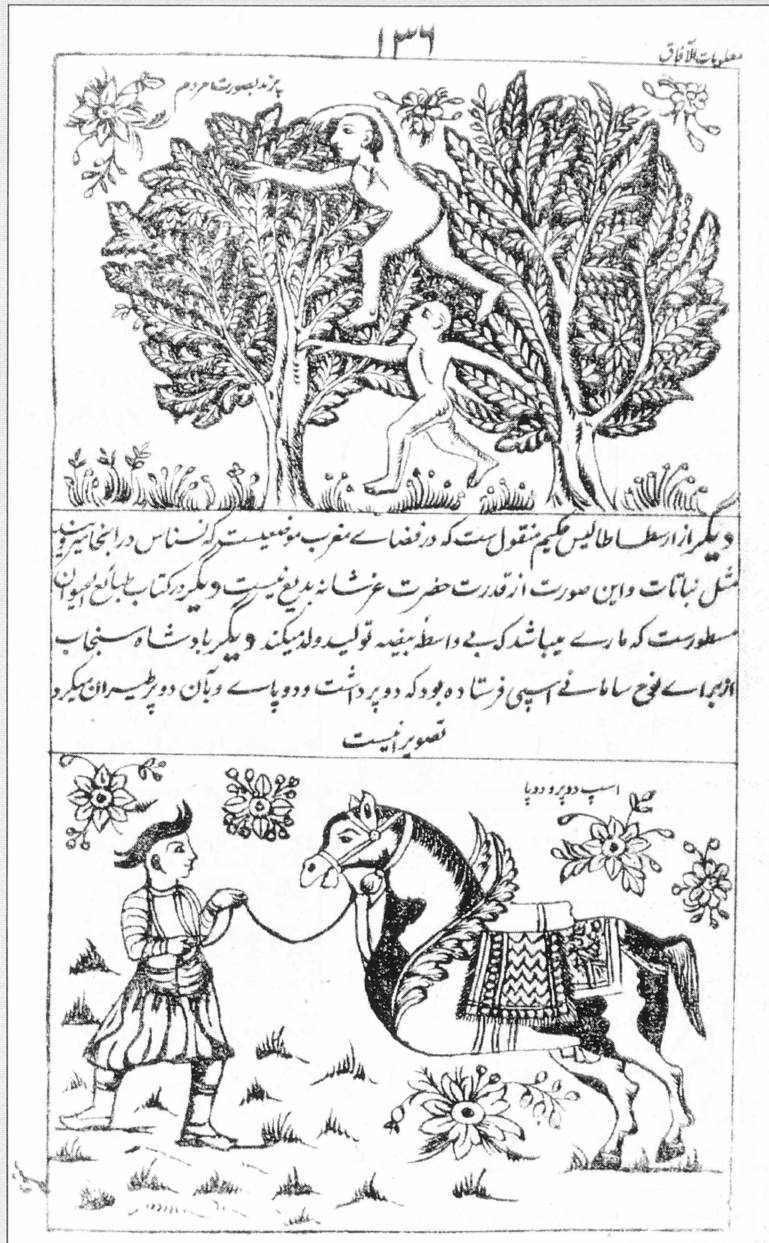


Fig. 6



Fig. 7

Ḥusayn Baykara, the *Gulistān* of Sa'dī, cosmographic works, and anonymous prose.

Illustrations were carried out in accordance with the rules for miniatures, but it is evident that the graphic designs found in lithograph editions from the second half of the nineteenth century bear witness to a decline in the art of miniatures rather than to a worthy continuation of the tradition. We find fine illustrations to the *Shāh-nāma* performed on a solidly professional level in the edition of 1272/1855–56, which were released by the lithography of Dādū Miyān in Bombay. Worthy of attention and, possibly, separate discussion, is the illustrated edition of *Sa'dī's Gulistān* produced by Munshī Nawal Kishōr in 1886 and for which he invited an artist and granted him monopoly rights on re-publication. But these are exceptions to the general rule.

A few words should be said about bindings. The outward appearance of the binding and the material used for it follow the general trends of lithographic practice — from traditional to simpler and cheaper means. From hard pasteboard wrapped in leather with imprints on the covers to thin pasteboard wrapped in fabric, at times with imprints and leather on the back and corners, and after that to pasteboard glued with paper and even paper covers — thus did bindings change in lithographic book printing.

High-quality leather bindings were usually produced for large-format books. In this case, the bindings of certain editions were carried out on a high artistic level, for example, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣaf* (Bombay, lithography of Mīrzā Ḥasan Kāshānī, 1853), the *Shāh-nāma* noted above (lithography of Dādū Miyān).

In the final third of the nineteenth century, the cover becomes an indispensable component of Indian lithographic books. It was produced either from the same thin paper as the rest of the book, or from thicker paper. Covers were frequently fashioned from coloured paper — rose, green, orange, etc.

Lithograph editions of contemporary authors also followed the manuscript tradition, which related to the essence of this phenomenon, namely, the structure of the author's text and the degree of variation in a manuscript copy. The first pages of works by contemporary authors were structured in accordance with the same principles which governed medieval manuscripts: after the *basmala* praise to Allah and to the Prophet Muḥammad followed. Then the patron was indicated (if such existed), reasons for the work's composition were listed and the division of the work into sections or chapters was noted. As in a manuscript copy, the division into chapters indicated in the foreword did not always correspond to the divisions found in the edition. The table of contents was located by publishers outside of the main text only in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Even in editions produced by a publisher close to European practice such as Munshī Nawal Kishōr's "Audh Akhbar", the afterword to the book (*khātimat al-ṭib'*) or a favorable response (*taqīd*) were drawn up according to the same scheme, that is, first the praise to Allah, then to the

Prophet, after that to the patron or to Munshī Nawal Kishōr himself, and then the main information.

Although the lithograph book is a multiple reproduction of a written text and copies of a single edition were identical, one can sometimes notice the manuscript tradition of variations in litho-printing as well. For example, in the Bombay printing we have encountered copies of books which can be considered as unique. Owners of a lithography could stitch together and release in the binding of their publishing house sections of one work produced by lithography at various times by the same publisher. Sometimes they combined a part of their own edition with quires printed by a different publisher, creating convolutes.

In the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies we have encountered three books released by the related publishing houses "Ḥaydarī" and "Faṭḥ al-Karīm" in the 1870s and 1880s. These are two copies of the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (Catalogue Nos. 1129 and 1130) and the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī (Catalogue No. 1016). One copy of the *Mathnawī* (No. 1129) brings together parts of an edition prepared in "Ḥaydarī" in 1292–1294/1875–1877 (beginning and end) and two quires, 3 and 4, from an edition released in the lithography of Mānakjī Adaljī Fārsī in 1281–1282/November 1864 — January 1866. The other copy of the *Mathnawī* (No. 1130) is composed of quires printed in "Ḥaydarī" and "Faṭḥ al-Karīm" in 1300–1304/1882–1887. The *Shāh-nāma* also consists of parts lithographed in "Ḥaydarī" in various years (vols. 2–4); and the *Mulḥaqāt* to the *Shāh-nāma*, printed in 1298–1300/1881–82; and vol. 1 a bit later, in 1306–1307/1888–1889.

The copies cited here bear traces neither of reading nor of restoration, and there is no doubt that the convolutes were created in the publishing house itself. The collection of parts from various editions into a single product may have been coincidental, as additional copies may have been cobbled together from remnants and sold off.

We find a similar phenomenon in Iranian lithographic book production. The same St. Petersburg collection contains copies of the same editions with texts of varying completeness (the *Tārīkh-i Qājārīya* of Sipihr), with a varying quantity of documents appended to the text (the *Fārs-nāma* of Fasā'ī) and even with two different titles for the work on the title page of one edition (the second variant was inserted into a bound volume).

To sum up, the Persian lithographic book in India, while retaining the traditions of the manuscript copy, also reflects the transformation of that tradition as it was altered and adapted to shifting conditions. This testifies to the great ability of a national culture of book publishing to develop and perfect its methods. The feature of the phenomenon is that litho-printing took place in the nineteenth century, when the history of book printing already stretched for several centuries. For this reason, the departure of the lithographed book from the manuscript copy in form and nature occurred more quickly than in the history of European book printing.

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Illustrations

Fig. 1. *Sikandar-nāma*. Title page of lithograph No. 1093 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Lucknow, the lithograph-press "Ḥasanī", 1259/1843.

Fig. 2. *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Title page of lithograph No. 1130 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Bombay, the lithograph-press "Faṭḥ al-Karīm", 1300—04/1882—87.

Fig. 3. *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. Title page of lithograph No. 1914 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the lithograph-press of Dādū Miyān, Bombay, 1272/1855—56.

Fig. 4. *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. First page of the text and commentary on the margins of lithograph No. 1130 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Bombay, the lithograph-press "Faṭḥ al-Karīm", 1300—04/1882—87.

Fig. 5. *Majālis al-'ushshāq*. Illustration to lithograph No. 235 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 172, the lithograph-press of Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow, 1293/1876.

Fig. 6. *Ma'lūmāt al-afāq*. Illustration to lithograph No. 111 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 136, the lithograph-press of Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow, 1873.

Fig. 7. *'Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*. Illustration to lithograph No. 109 in the library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, p. 537, the lithograph-press of Nawal Kishōr, Lucknow, 1313/1895.

AUTHORS AND AUTHORSHIP IN PERSIAN AND TURKIC HISTORICAL WRITINGS

Historical works written in the Turkic and Persian languages in the Middle Ages are manuscripts, and all have their authors. These authors report their names, nicknames or pen-names in the introduction or the colophon or at various places in the text of their work. The affirmation of authorship through mention of the name in the work was not merely the overriding tendency in the medieval Muslim historiography, but rather a traditional rule.

The author's name is usually preceded by the epithets and formulas of self-abasement which is traditional in Muslim literature of the period. These formulas commonly run as following: "this poor one", "this humble one", or "this incapable one", "this insignificant, sinful slave", "this despicable [person]", etc. As for Muslim names themselves, they consist of several components. The full name of an adult can contain five components: (i) *ism* — personal name, given at birth; (ii) *kunya* — name component, formed by adding to the name Arabic words *abū* ("father"), *ibn* ("son"), for example, Ibn Hishām (lit. "son of Hishām"); (iii) *nisba* — name component indicating place of birth or residence, for example, al-Samarqandī (inhabitant of Samarqand); (iv) *laqab* — nickname, title; (v) *takhalluṣ* — pen-name. *Laqabs* and *takhalluṣes* are often hard to be deciphered or transliterated. They frequently contain social, professional or individual descriptions of their bearers or their families [1].

The numerous components in the name of a Muslim historian present difficulties for scholars. Not every author gives his full name, referring to himself in a shortened form and citing the most popular, often used part of his name. For a number of professional literary figures, their nickname or pen-name entirely replaced the personal or family names, so that certain Central Asian historians of the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries are known to us only by their *takhalluṣ* or *laqab*, such as, for example, Shādī and Suhayla.

The practice of "signing" works (especially poetic ones) with solely the pen-name complicates the task of establishing the author's real name. The issue is also obscured by the frequent presence in the literary environment of several individuals with the same pen-name or *laqab*. On the other hand, there are known examples of literary figures who replaced one *takhalluṣ* with another at the wish of a patron or on their own whim. Furthermore, some literary professionals, such as Nawā'ī, Binā'ī, Ḥāfizī Tanīsh, employed two *laqabs*, and others had as many as

three *laqabs*, for example, Wāṣifī. And alternately, we sometimes know the family and personal name of a writer, but not his *takhalluṣ*. For instance, the *takhalluṣ* of Mahmūd b. Walī, a professional historian of the seventeenth century is unknown. This makes it impossible to attribute the majority of the poetic and other works written by him, which have possibly survived up to the present day.

About many of the historians we know only what they tell of themselves in their own works. Information on them in writings composed by other authors is usually scarce. But even in their own works autobiographical data is rarely vast. As a rule, Muslim historians mention only their name or *laqab*. Much more frequent are cases when the author tells of his reasons for writing, his intentions, etc., but does not give his name or *laqab*, referring to himself simply as *rāqim* ("writer") or *kamīna* ("most insignificant", "most humble servant") [2].

Many writings by medieval Muslim historians bear no author's name. But in total, the number of anonymous works is small in comparison with those signed. The majority of historical works were written on special order and contained a dedication which indicated the name, honorary title or social position of the individual to whom they were addressed. Under such circumstances, there was no reason for an author to conceal his name. The existence of anonymous works can be explained by same special conditions of manuscripts: the loss of introduction, colophon or other part of the book, which may have contained the author's name, carelessness or the arbitrary decision of a copyist, etc. [3]. Only in rare cases did the absence of an author's name reflect his own desire: if he was, for example, driven by reasons of personal security or the security of his family. Thus, the author of the *Tārīkh-i Shaybānī-khān*, in his own words, intentionally did not give his own name, or those of his father or grandfather, of whom he writes in his work, "for political reasons" [4].

Scholars of medieval literature in many cases succeed in attributing anonymous works. An older generation of Orientalists were successful in establishing the authors of works known to scholars by the conventional titles the "Anonymous Work of Iskander", "Anonymous Work of Shāhrūk", and so on. Recently, M. Kh. Abuseitova has established that the anonymous manuscript of a historical work, described in the Tashkent catalogue as *Tārīkh-i Shaybānī* [5], is actually a defective copy of a work by

Muhammad-Yār b. 'Arab Qataghān. The title of the work *Musahhir al-bilād*, given by the author, is indicated in the more complete St. Petersburg copy [6]. According to E. Khurshut, another anonymous manuscript indicated in the Tashkent catalogue by the title *Tārikh-i Shaybānī-khān* is one of the copies of the well-known *Tārākh-i Qipchāq-khānī* [7]. Also, textual study revealed that three manuscripts from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies indicated in a published catalogue as anonymous are actually copies of two works which belong to Ottoman authors of the seventeenth century well known to specialists [8].

As these examples make clear, mistakes which make their way into catalogues and descriptions of Eastern manuscripts can introduce certain distortions into our understanding of the real correlation of authored to anonymous writings. In our opinion, the problem of attributing manuscripts previously considered anonymous is a pressing one in Oriental studies.

The concepts of "author" and "authorship" in the works of medieval historians are conveyed with various terms, which can be divided in their usage into two groups:

1. Words and terms used by authors to indicate themselves. These are *mu'allif* ("author"), *mušannif* ("compiler"), *muḥarrir* ("composer"), *mudawwin* ("compiler"), *kātib* ("scribe"), *munshī* ("secretary"), *munshid* ("conveyer"), *jāmi'* ("gatherer"), *rāqim* ("writer"), *mu'allif-i thānī* ("second author").

2. Terms and words used to denote the authorship of a work which belongs to a different person: *mu'allif*, *mušannif*, *ṣāhib* ("master").

As we shall see, an author's self-indication was not irrelevant to the character of the literary work undertaken by the person so indicated. To illustrate this, let us turn to our sources. There are works, unfinished for this or that reason, which were completed by others. This second author usually mentions his name in appropriate place, that is, he claims to be a co-author. Here are several examples illustrating how writers, who continued the work of others, formulated their co-author status. "It so happened, that when the refuge of paradise on earth Abū l-Ghāzī-khān had reached the middle of this book, he fell ill. Then he instructed his sons: 'Do not leave this work unfinished, complete it'. For this reason, Abū l-Muẓaffar al-Manṣūr Anūsha-khān ibn Abū l-Ghāzī-khān, carrying out the will of the deceased [father], ordered me, Maḥmūdī ibn Mullā Muḥammad Zamānī Ūrganchī, the untalented and insignificant one, to complete this book. Although I was hardly capable of such a difficult task, I acted in accordance with the saying 'The subordinate is blameless' and set about fulfilling the Royal will of the *khān* and completed this book to the extent that my knowledge permitted" [9]. This note comes on the final pages of the ninth and concluding chapter of the *Shajara-yi Turk*, which describes the history of the descendants of Shībān, grandson of Chingiz Khān, who ruled in Khīwa.

Another example comes from a later time. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Munshī, a well-known Central Asian poet, wrote in the 1880s a brief verse history of the Ashtarkhānids in Persian. The poem is interesting both for its content and the form in which it presents its material.

In the author's words, when he once visited the mausoleum of Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshbandī near Bukhārā and the nearby *turbes* of the Shībānids and Ashtarkhānids, he heard the voices of the *khāns* buried there, each of whom related to him about events during his rule. The first to relate was Subḥān-Qulī-khān, after whom 'Ubaydallāh-khān, Abū l-Fayḍ-khān and 'Abd al-Mu'min-khān told their stories. Each dweller of the tombs began his tale with the words: "I, ruler (*shāh*) so-and-so", and spoke mainly of those injustices and violations of law which took place in the country during his rule. The work has the character of an expose, which is rare in the medieval historiography of Central Asia. The copy of this writing, preserved in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, ends with the following *bayt*:

Do not consider the narrative completed,
In this place I laid aside (lit. "broke") my pen [10].

In 1319/1901—02, 'Abd al-'Azīm Sāmī wrote a continuation of this work, dedicated to the history of the Mangyt dynasty. The continuation begins with the following words: "Mīrzā Ṣādiq Munshī composed up to this place, after which the verses, generated by the thought of Mīrzā 'Azīm Dilafkar, [who bears] the *laqab* of Sāmī, run" [11].

At times, second authors did not limit themselves to completion, but introduced significant changes into the basic text of the work [12]. There are continuers who term themselves directly a "second author" [13].

However, there are many works continued by the second author of whom we know neither his name nor the extent and type of the work he performed. In this case, the problem of identifying the second author and ascertaining his real contribution to the work inevitably arises.

In some cases, second authors set about continuing someone else's work as the result of a Royal order; in others, they acted on their own volition. Sometimes they followed the first author's request, and wrote with his full approval. The following individuals could fulfil the role of second author: (i) the son of the first author (*Dhayl-i Tārikh-i guzīda*, *Dhayl-i Hasht bihisht*); (ii) the editor of the work (*Humāyūn-shāhī*); (iii) the owner of the manuscript (*Tārikh-i Badakhshān*); (iv) a like-minded person sharing the ideas of the author (*Dakhma-yi shāhān*); (v) a person (usually a literary professional) who was hired for this role by a dignitary (*Shajara-yi Turk*, *Firdaws al-igbāl*).

We encounter curious cases where the author, displaying an extreme form of obsequiousness, himself attributes his work to his patron. Thus, the author of the *Tārikh-i Khānī* names as the real author of the work Aḥmad-khān, from the Kia dynasty, at whose wish the work was written, writing of himself as merely a scribe who copied down the words and thoughts of his sovereign [14]. Although there are also examples of the opposite, when the individual who in fact fulfilled the role of assistant and copyist disputes the authorship of his patron. I have in mind the accusation leveled at Īlkhānīd's *wazīr*, Rashīd al-Dīn, by his subordinate 'Abdallāh Kāshānī: "I carried out the work, and my lord made use of it under his name" [15].

Both examples concern a type of literary collaboration common in the medieval East, between a high-ranked in-

dividual and his subordinate. Such collaboration enabled the patron to appropriate the work of his subordinate. Similarly, it enabled the subordinate to attribute authorship to his patron. The problem lies in accurately differentiating the actual literary work of the *khān*, *wazīr*, etc. from the work carried out by the literary figures of the court. Frequently, such differentiation is impossible. Here one can cite the *Tārīkh-arba'a ulūs*, the history of the four states which appeared after the collapse of the Mongol empire in the second half of the thirteenth century. These are The Great Yūrt, that is, China and Mongolia; the Jūchīd state (the Golden Horde); Persia under the rule of Hūlāgū's descendants; and Central Asia under the rule of Chaghatāy's descendants.

Mīrzā Haydar Dūghlāt attributes the authorship of this work to the well-known Tīmūrid Ulughbek (d. 1449). "Chingiz Khān", he writes, "had four sons. He divided the conquered world between these four sons. The *ulūs* of each son represented one fourth of the populated, cultured countries and deserts of the [conquered] world. When historical works speak of the *ulūs-i arba'a* ("the four *ulūses*" — *T. S.*), they mean these same four parts mentioned above. The scholar Mīrzā Ulughbek is the author of a historical work which he called *Ulūs-i arba'a* [16].

As for another Muslim historian, Khwāndāmīr, in writing the sections on the rulers of Turkestan (Chingiz Khān's descendants), he used, in his own words, a "Treatise" (*risāla*), the author of which he calls "Mīrzā Ulughbek Gūrgān" [17]. Later, however, in his work entitled *Ḥabīb al-siyar* Khwāndāmīr no longer attributes authorship to Ulughbek. He asserts that this *Tārīkh* was written by one of the scholars of the era of the supreme ruler Shāhrukh-sultān on behalf of Mīrzā Ulughbek Gūrgān [18]. It is interesting, in a work by a eighteenth-century historian Mīr Rābī' we find a comment in support for Khwāndāmīr's later attribution, expressed in the same terms: "In the chronicle (*tārīkh*) written by one of the scholars of the era of the supreme ruler, the fortunate *khāqān* Shāhrukh-sultān on behalf of Mīrzā Ulughbek Gūrgān, this most unworthy [compiler] came across the statement that [the name] *hālaj* is derived from *qālāj*, that is, from *qāl ach*" [19].

The extent of Ulughbek's participation in the creation of the *Tārīkh-i arba'a ulūs* to this day provokes disputes among scholars [20]. Unfortunately, a complete copy of the *Tārīkh-i arba'a ulūs* has not reached us. We have instead several copies of an abridged version entitled *Shajarat al-atrāk* [21], which makes it difficult to settle the problem.

We also encounter spurious works in late-medieval historiography. Thus, many manuscript collections, both in Russia and abroad, contain copies of the so-called *Mal'fūzāt-i Tīmūrī* (or *Mal'fūzāt-i Šāhib-qirānī*, or *Wāqī'āt-i Tīmūrī*). The work presents the narration of Tīmūr's life from the age of seven in the form of an autobiography. It is usually followed by an appendix entitled *Tuzūk-i Tīmūrī* ("Tīmūr's Code"). The work came to light under the

following circumstances. During his travels, a certain Abū Ṭālib, a native of Khurāsān, allegedly discovered in the library of Ja'far Pasha, the governor of Yemen, the Turkic original of Tīmūr's autobiography, which he translated into Persian. In 1047/1637–38, he presented his translation to a descendant of Tīmūr, Shāh-Jahān, who then ruled in India. Shāh-Jahān read the manuscript and discovered that the autobiography differs from Yazdī's famous *Zafar-nāma*, the official history of Tīmūr known in its final version. He then ordered Afḍal Bukhārī to collate the Persian translation with Yazdī's *Zafar-nāma* and other histories, strike the additions made by Abū Ṭālib, fill in the gaps he had allowed and correct the dates. Afḍal Bukhārī fulfilled his sovereign's order [22].

The history of the work that was discovered by Abū Ṭālib remains an enigma. Its real origin is obscure. European Orientalists commonly view it as a forgery. I cite here observation of W. Barthold, who notes that such a work is "in no way typical" of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, in the very content of the text "one can find weighty proof that the book could not have been written either by Tīmūr or by his contemporaries". From this he concludes that the *Mal'fūzāt-i Tīmūrī* with its usual appendix is a forgery "composed in India in the seventeenth century" [23]. However, the question of who composed the work, for what purpose, and why he attributed it to Tīmūr remains unsolved.

It should be added that there existed works created by several authors. An outstanding example of such collective labour is the *Tārīkh-i alfi*. Work on the book was begun in 1585 on the order of the ruler of India, Akbar (1556–1605) on the occasion of the approaching millennium of the advent of Islam. Hence, it was titled the "Thousand-Year History". Naqīb-khān, Shāh-Faṭḥallāh, Ḥakīm 'Alī and other leading Muslim scholars of India were charged with writing the history of the first thirty-five years of Islam, beginning with the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (632). They completed this part of the work in a week. Subsequent periods were described by Tattawī and Aṣaf-khān. In 1000/1591–92, 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī was charged with re-working the entire book [24].

The material cited above demonstrates that individual authorship was not the only form of authorship in medieval historical literature in Persian and Turkic, and that the question of authorship in this literature is as multi-faceted and complex as it is in any other medieval literature [25]. Still, individual authorship emerges as the major form of creative work performed by medieval Muslim historians. All other types of authorship did not achieve significant distribution and represent individual cases that do not in any way make up a notable portion of the literary genre under question here. Nonetheless, all of these cases are of much interest to all those studying medieval Muslim historiography. Information these cases provide may serve a valuable source for conjuring up a broader picture of literary work in the Muslim East.

Notes

1. N. A. Belgorodskii, "Sotsial'nyi element v persidskikh imenakh, prozvischakh, titulakh i familiakh" ("The social element in Persian names, nicknames, titles, and family names"), *Zapiski vostokovedeniia AN SSR*, vol. I (Leningrad, 1932), pp. 213–42; A. B. Khalidov, *Arabskie rukopisi i arabskaia rukopisnaia traditsiia* (Arab Manuscripts and the Arab Manuscript Tradition) (Moscow, 1965), pp. 150–1.

2. *Tārīkh-i bihān*, anonymous manuscript C 458 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 143a—b, 146a; *Dashtār al-ʿamal*, anonymous manuscript D 585-II in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 779b.
3. N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, "K proiskhozhdeniiu anonimov v srednevekovoi literature na persidskom iazyke" ("On the origin of anonymous works in medieval Persian literature"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (henceforth *PPiPIKNV*). VIII annual academic session of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Leningrad, 1972), pp. 39—43; N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, "Avtor i ego sochinenie v srednevekovoi nauchnoi literature na persidskom iazyke" ("The author and his work in medieval Persian science literature"), *Ocherki istorii kul'tury srednevekovogo Irana. Pis'mennost' i literatura* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 99—102.
4. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences) (Tashkent, 1974), ix, No. 1015.
5. M. Kh. Abuseitova, "O Tashkentskom i Leningradskom spiskakh "Musakhkhir al-bilad"" ("On the Tashkent and Leningrad copies of the *Musahhir al-bilād*", *PPiPIKNV*. XIII annual academic session of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow, 1977), pp. 70—4.
6. *Materialy po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii* (Materials on the History of the Turkmens and Turkmenia). Vol. 2: Sixteen to nineteen centuries. Iranian, Bukharian, and Khivan sources (Moscow, Leningrad, 1938), p. 52, n. 1; see also M. A. Salakhedinova, "'Musakhkhir al-bilad" Mukhammed Iar ibn Arab Katagana (predvaritel'noe soobshchenie)" ("Musahhir al-bilād by Muḥammad Yār b. ʿArab Qataghān: preliminary report"), *PPiPIKNV*, (Moscow, 1973), pp. 77—9.
7. E. Khurshut, "'Tārīkh-i Kipchak-khānī" i ego spiski" ("Tārīkh-i Qipchāk-khānī and its copies"), *Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane*, No. 1 (1982), p. 65.
8. I. E. Petrosyan, "On three anonymous Turkish manuscripts from the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection. The problem of authorship", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, 1/1 (1995), pp. 17—20.
9. Abū l-Ghāzī Bahādur-khān, *Shajara-yi Turk*, manuscript C 1832 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 106a.
10. Muḥammad Šādiq Munshī, *Dakhma-yi shāhān*, manuscript C 458 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 158b—164b.
11. *Ibid.*, fol. 235b.
12. *Tārīkh-i Badakhshan. "Istoriia Badakhshana" (Tārīkh-i Badakhshān. "History of Badakhshan")*, photographic reproduction of the manuscript text, introduction, indices. Prepared for publication by A. N. Boldyrev (Leningrad, 1959), pp. 10—1; N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of the Persian and Tajik Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies, SSSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 3: Historical works (Moscow, 1975), Nos. 469, 475.
13. *Tārīkh-i Badakhshān*, the Leningrad publication (see n. 12), p. 226.
14. ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhijī, *Tārīkh-i Khānī*, manuscript C 491 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 3b—4a; Miklukho-Maklay, *Opisanie*, No. 373.
15. See V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii (Moscow, 1973), pp. 297—8.
16. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdi*, manuscript B 648 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 84a.
17. Khwāndāmīr, *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhyār*, manuscript D 76 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 189a.
18. See V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), ii, pt. 2 (Moscow, 1964), p. 141.
19. Mīr Rabīʿ b. Mīr Niyāz al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī, *ʿUmdat al-Tawārīkh*, manuscript B 1876 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 40b.
20. Bartold, *Sochineniia*, ii, pt. 2, p. 141; B. A. Akhmedov, "Ulughbek i ego istoricheskiĭ trud "Tārīkh-i arba' ulus"" ("Ulughbek and his historical writing the *Tārīkh-i arba' a ulūs*"), *Iz istorii nauki epokhi Ulughbeka* (Tashkent, 1979), pp. 29—36.
21. *The Shajrat ul Atrak, or geneological tale of the Turks and Tatars*, translated and abridged by Col. Miles (London, 1838), p. VII, 383; Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor* (Persian Literature. Bio-Bibliographical Survey). In three parts. Trans. from English, re-worked and supplemented by Yu. E. Bregel (Moscow, 1972), No. 665.
22. *Tuzuk-i Timūrī*, manuscript C 441 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 5b—7a.
23. Bartold, *Sochineniia*, ii, pt. 2, pp. 38, 201; *idem*, *Sochineniia*, viii, p. 268.
24. Stori, *op. cit.*, No. 277.
25. See Khalidov, *op. cit.*, chapter 3.

THE FIRST PERSIAN, FRENCH AND RUSSIAN EDITIONS OF THE *SHARAF-NĀMA*

The necessity of immediately publishing Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's *Sharaf-nāma* was recognized as soon as the manuscript was noticed by European scholars. The first to obtain the *Sharaf-nāma* manuscript in Europe was John Malcolm, author of "The History of Persia". He cites Sharaf-khān's work many times, providing abstracts of its text. The manuscript of the composition was presented to Gore Ousley, President of the Committee for Translations in Great Britain and Ireland, who undertook the responsibility of publishing the *Sharaf-nāma* without delay. This mission, however, was to be carried out in Russia.

Among a number of rare oriental manuscripts, which were obtained by Russia after the signing of the Turkmanchay peace treaty in 1828, there was a precious manuscript of the *Sharaf-nāma*, originated from Ardebil. The commission, composed of Academician Christian D. Fraehn (1782—1851) and two professors of Persian, Mirza Jafar Topchibashev (1790—1868) and Francois-Bernard Charmoy (1793—1869) was unanimous in its high evaluation of the manuscript of the *Sharaf-nāma*. It is dated by Shawwāl 1007/May 1599, only two years after the work was completed. Moreover, the copy was reviewed and corrected by the author himself, as is indicated in the colophon of the work. In 1829, Christian Fraehn used the pages of the *St.-Petersburgischen Zeitung* to invite young orientalists to study this work by Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī, which he regarded as an excellent historical source.

It was F. B. Charmoy who soon began investigating the composition, which became his life's labour. A student of Silvestre de Sacy, he arrived in St. Petersburg from France in 1817. In Russia he held the posts of professor of the Persian language and literature at St. Petersburg University and professor of the Persian and Turkish languages at the Oriental Institute and became corresponding member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences. But in 1835 he had to return to France. Although Charmoy left St. Petersburg with the intention of returning, this intention was never realised. He spent the rest of his life in France, far from Russia, retaining warm feelings for his "Patrie d'adoption" [1].

In France, F. Charmoy continued his work on the Persian text of the *Sharaf-nāma* to make its French translation [2]. However, as he later wrote in a letter dated March 1861, a prolonged and serious illness forced him for some time into "complete inactivity" [3]. In 1843, the *Saint-Petersburg Times* even published an obituary by the noted

Russian archaeologist and numismatist P. S. Savelyev (1814—1859), under the title "On the life and works of Francois Charmoy". It was a real surprise to Academician Fraehn to receive a letter from Charmoy two years later. In this letter, the scholar provided his colleague with information about his work on Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's chronicle [4]. But after this letter a period of fifteen years followed without any information about this work's advance.

Meanwhile, efforts continued to publish Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's writing and to introduce it to the scholarly circles. An article by Edward Kunik (1814—1899) appeared in 1852 on the pages of *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin historique-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, in which Kunik calls the "Histoire des Kurdes composée par Cheref-eddin" a valuable source for the study of classical and medieval history. In his view, the publication of the *Sharaf-nāma*'s manuscript from the collection of the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg would respond to an acute academic need. As E. Kunik pointed out, the Kurds were perhaps the closest relatives of the ancient Assyrians and Medians. For this reason the history of the Kurdish tribes as presented in the *Sharaf-nāma* could provide material for interesting historical studies on "the history of Assyria, Babylonia and of Asia Minor". Chances of publishing the text of the *Sharaf-nāma* were best, Kunik concluded, in St. Petersburg, since "there were the best manuscripts of 'The History of the Kurds' here" [5].

Also in 1852, the remarkable value of the *Sharaf-nāma* was recognised by Academician Iohannes Albrecht Bernhardt Dorn (1805—1881), who was responsible for the catalogue of oriental manuscripts and xylographs in the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. Dorn held that the publication of Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's work could serve to fill a considerable gap in the history of Asia.

The necessity of publishing the *Sharaf-nāma* was sufficiently apparent that the event itself soon came to pass. In 1860—1862, the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Russia issued the first edition of the *Sharaf-nāma*. The task was undertaken by Vladimir Velyaminov-Zernov (1830—1904). The rapidity with which he prepared his work was striking — within three years he prepared and published the text of the *Sharaf-nāma* on the basis of four manuscripts in St. Petersburg collections. It was perhaps some special charm of Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's text that made the scholar to feel a real

passion for his work, which greatly contributed to the advance of the whole undertaking. V. Velyaminov-Zernov wrote in the foreword to his edition, possibly with some exaggeration, that "the chronicle has existed for more than 300 years, but nothing comparable has since emerged in the East" [6].

The edition was primarily based on a manuscript corrected by the work's author from the Imperial Public Library of St. Petersburg. A lacuna in the manuscript was filled by a copy belonging to N. V. Khanykov (1822—1878) whose manuscript was dated to 1836 and originated from the autograph. The other two manuscripts used for this edition were owned by the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (currently the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). One of them contains the complete text of the chronicle; the other, only an abstract. Neither manuscript is dated.

It should be noted that all of the four above-mentioned manuscripts lack chapters 7, 8 and 9 from the second part of the *Sharaf-nāma*, although these chapters are mentioned in the author's foreword. These chapters are also absent in two other editions of the *Sharaf-nāma*. As was noted by V. Velyaminov-Zernov, these chapters were most probably left unwritten by the author despite his original intention to complete them.

V. Velyaminov-Zernov's edition was reviewed in the *Journal Asiatique* in the same year that it appeared, 1860. The review was written by the well-known French orientalist Charles Defrémery (1822—1883), who had published and translated a number of works by Persian and Arabic authors, such as the famed Sa'dī, Mīrkhwānd and Khwāndamīr. The reviewer was impressed by the work of Velyaminov-Zernov as well as the Russian Academy of Sciences' efforts aimed at publishing the *Sharaf-nāma*. The reviewer's verdict was that "the text published by Mr. Velyaminov-Zernov seems to have been prepared with much care and exactitude" [7]. The choice of this particular manuscript for the edition was considered by Ch. Defrémery as both correct and logical. He wrote in his review: "The copy was transcribed two years after the work had been compiled and reviewed by the author himself. It is hardly necessary to say how this circumstance contributes to the value of the manuscript".

The title page of the first volume of the *Sharaf-nāma* contained a promise that the edition of the Persian text would be followed by the publication of a translation and commentary — "Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes par Scheref, Prince de Bidlis, publiée pour la première fois, traduite et annotée par V. Véliaminof-Zernof ... Tome I. Texte persan". The editors of the Russian translation of C. A. Storey's well-known bio-bibliographical survey apparently considered the reference to translation and commentary in the V. Velyaminov-Zernov edition an oddity and marked it with the Latin *sic*. In fact, there is nothing at all strange about the reference.

Velyaminov-Zernov had been working on a French translation of the chronicle. One year after the first volume was published — 1861 — a substantial part of the work was ready. The historical-philological section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, in its session on May 3, 1861, reported that the French translation of the book was nearly complete [8]. An abstract of the minutes even describes the translation as completed [9]. Nevertheless, the French translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* undertaken

by Velyaminov-Zernov and mentioned in the first volume has never been published. In March 1861, something occurred which altered the fate of the work.

The historical-philological section of the Academy received a report from Velyaminov-Zernov with information about a letter from F. B. Charmoy dated February 16. In this letter, Charmoy writes that the publication of the *Sharaf-nāma* text came as a complete surprise to him and that since 1843 he had once again been actively engaged in the study of the Kurds. In conclusion, Charmoy expressed the hope that he would have the honour of publishing the *Sharaf-nāma*'s translation [10].

Velyaminov-Zernov had no doubts concerning what he should do with his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*. His reaction was immediate: "Three years after my enrollment in the Academy, when I was sure that Mr. Charmoy had interrupted his work on the *Sharaf-nāma*, I published the text. Now, upon learning that Mr. Charmoy has completed a translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* and never abandoned the idea of publishing his "History of the Kurds", I do not wish to see his many years of work go to waste, I am ready to sacrifice my translation ... Never had I the intention to obstruct Mr. Charmoy's undertaking. I regard him as an outstanding orientalist and scholar who has contributed greatly to oriental studies in Russia. If the Academy accepts Mr. Charmoy's proposition and publishes his translation in place of mine, I will consider my task as having been completed" [11]. From that moment on, all of Velyaminov-Zernov's efforts were concentrated on assisting the publication of Charmoy's translation.

A meeting of the historical-philological section took place on the same day when the presentation of Velyaminov-Zernov's report to the Academy became known. A decision was reached to propose to F. Charmoy that he forward his translation to the Academy Secretariat with the condition that Velyaminov-Zernov would have the right to withdraw his disclaimer from publishing his own translation [12]. As we know, Velyaminov-Zernov chose not to employ his right.

The letter travelled from the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg to the suburb of Toulon, informing F. Charmoy that "l'Académie à laquelle vous appartenez comme membre correspondant, ne manquera pas de prendre mesures nécessaires pour vous faciliter cette publication" [13]. An extract from the minutes of the historical-philological section of the Academy demonstrates that the Academy was ready to make another step in this direction: the Academy proposed to publish Charmoy's translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* at the Academy's expense. This decision was met at the Academy with satisfaction.

After the requisite exchange of letters and notifications, the manuscript of F. Charmoy's translation was delivered to the Secretariat of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg through the Russian Embassy in Paris and the Department of Internal Affairs of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This took place in 1864. A special commission, which included J. Dorn and M. Brosset (1802—1880), was appointed. As for Velyaminov-Zernov, he was convened to study the manuscript. The three academicians came to a positive conclusion on the matter. The manuscript was subsequently passed to the printing house of the Academy. Four years later, in a letter to K. S. Veselovsky, a permanent secretary of the Academy, F. Charmoy asked that the first of the author's fifty copies be presented to the Russian

emperor. The work appeared under the title "Chêref-Nâmeḥ ou fastes de la nation kourde ...", tome I, première partie, contenant l'introduction ethnographique et géographique suivie des ... notes qui s'y rattachent".

The Conference of the Academy deemed Charmoy's work worthy of this honour and augmented the copy with comments by academicians M. Brosset, J. Dorn and Velyaminov-Zernov. The St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences holds the original review in French and its Russian translation. The French text was most probably written by Velyaminov-Zernov.

The review contains the highest praise for the redoubtable Charmoy's work on the "History of the Kurds". It notes that "the scholar endured the most trying ordeals, and being now in a disastrous position, did his best to devote the remainder of his life to labouring for the good of Russia [14]. Thus was the estimation of Charmoy's work by three prominent Russian orientalists. The selflessness and nobility displayed by the first publisher of the *Sharaf-nāma* and the author of its first translation into a European language seems to befit the work which bears the title *Sharaf-nāma* ("Book of Nobility"), that is a history of the noble houses of Kurdistan.

Probably the reviewers knew about Charmoy's serious illness when they wrote their review of the edition: some months later F. Charmoy died (in 1868), the same year in which the first part of his Volume I of the *Sharaf-nāma* was published. Printing of the second part of the volume was suspended with more than 80 printer's sheets unfinished. A conference of the Russian Academy of Sciences charged academicians Brosset, Dorn, and Velyaminov-Zernov with finding a solution of this problem. On October 14, 1869, the commission proposed to address Joseph Gotvald (1813–1897) with a request that he assume "supervision over printing the last parts of Charmoy's work". The same year, the Academy voiced its justified support for the employment of J. Gotvald, a former professor, and later librarian of Imperial Kazan University, terming him a scholar "who has justly earned fame among orientalists through his works on oriental literature and history" [15].

Thus, a new crusader joined those working on Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's chronicle. J. Gotvald's mission was to correct proofs for six years. In 1875, the final part of Volume II of the French version of the *Sharaf-nāma* was published. The title which introduced the translation of Volume II included the following passage about Velyaminov-Zernov: "Traduction du second volume de texte du Chêref-nâmeḥ imprimé à St.-Petersbourg, sous le suspcies de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Russie, par les soins de Monsieur l'académicien V. Véliaminof-Zernof" [16]. The note bears witness to Velyaminov-Zernov's considerable contribution to the publication of Charmoy's work.

These were the intriguing circumstances in which appeared the first Persian edition of the *Sharaf-nāma* and its French translation. Many people contributed to bringing this work to readers, and they, no doubt, became an integral part of the *Sharaf-nāma*'s history. In the space of nearly 20 years, between 1853 and 1875, Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's work was introduced to scholars not only in Persian, but also in French and in German [17].

The edition undertaken by Velyaminov-Zernov was the only one to appear for 70 years. Technically perfect, it appropriately conveyed the text contained in four manuscript copies of the *Sharaf-nāma*. Since the text on which Vely-

aminov-Zernov based his publication had been reviewed and corrected by the author himself, whatever remarks may have been made by later commentators, the text of the edition is indisputable, for it was confirmed by Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī himself.

This does not mean, of course, that the autograph is always free of slips, or even mistakes. Authors have been known to commit errors. Nevertheless, when one possesses a copy with proven authorial corrections such as the Ardebil manuscript, the author's text should be treated as inviolable, even in places which evoke doubts. All dubious passages and references, even the most obvious, should be treated in notes appended to the text.

This was precisely the approach adopted by Academician Velyaminov-Zernov. His careful treatment of the text precluded even the inclusion of variant readings from different manuscripts within the text; they are given independently after the author's conclusion to Volume II. He made a single exception in the case of a lacuna ("la lacune du manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Impériale: une lacune assez grande, elle commence au milieu du chapitre qui traite de la tribu Mahmudi, et finit à celui qui confirme l'histoire de la tribu Siah-mansour") [18]. V. Velyaminov-Zernov wrote in his foreword to the first volume of *Sharaf-nāma*: "Je livre le texte tel qu'il est. Pour être aussi exact que possible, j'ai préféré conserver intactes les différentes manières d'écrire les noms propres employées par l'auteur ou le copiste. C'est ainsi ..., entre autres, le nom de tribu روزکی écrit tantôt روزکی, tantôt روزکی, tantôt روجکی. Je me réserve de relever dans mes notes les manières d'écrire qui me paraissent incorrectes" [19].

Velyaminov-Zernov's edition was carried out with the greatest possible respect for the author's text. As a result, his edition is of indisputable value, no matter what other editions of the *Sharaf-nāma* exist or may appear in the future.

The French edition of the *Sharaf-nāma* was the result of many years of work by F. B. Charmoy on Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's text. A connoisseur of manuscripts and the author of a Persian Grammar lauded as an outstanding reference source by the Russian archaeologist and numismatist P. S. Savelyev [20], Charmoy applied himself to the French version of the *Sharaf-nāma* with diligence and care, employing all of his skills and knowledge of sources. The work opens with a word of appreciation of the Kurds. For Charmoy, the names of their outstanding figures went down in history as the incarnation of "génie belliqueux et de la bravoure" [21].

Charmoy was inspired to create his work by the unique historical fate of the Kurds and by the importance of Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī's chronicle. The published version of the chronicle, bracketed by an introduction and commentary, exceeds the original in length. Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources were cited in the introduction and commentary: works by Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Khallikān, Abū'l-Fidā', Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, Rashīd al-Dīn, and other authors, as well as Persian and Arabic glossaries. A considerable part of the introduction consists of excerpts from the *Jihānnūma* by Ḥājī Khalīfa (a Turkish source from the mid-seventeenth century). Charmoy also studied European publications on the Kurds and Kurdistan, among them works by Le Père Maurice Garzoni, J. Malcolm, J. Saint-Martin, Cl. J. Rich, J. Hammer, D'Ohsson.

In translating the *Sharaf-nāma*, Charmoy used not only the Velyaminov-Zernov edition, but also a rare and valuable

manuscript of the work — a copy of an autograph transcribed in 1606/1607 and given to Charmoy by Gore Ouseley for study. In the opinion of Charmoy, the manuscript was characterised by “extreme correction” [22]. He termed the manuscript “le plus complet de tous ceux que nous avons eus à notre disposition”. The employment of numerous sources and much literature on the Kurds, as well as reference to more than one manuscript, allowed Charmoy to produce an exceptional translation which is more than simply a recasting of the source in another language.

Charmoy not only reproduced the text in French with brilliance and virtuosity, but added detail and accuracy to geographic and personal names, especially in his translation of Part I. For example, he replaced قومش with Kirman-shah, قوما with Dakuka, جقندكان with Khufidakan, the Banū ‘Ayyar with Banū ‘Annaz, etc.

Charmoy supplemented the text, occasionally filling in gaps with a hemistich lacking his basic manuscript, or adding an entire excerpt [23]. Charmoy also reevaluated the manuscript from the Asiatic Museum employed by Velyaminov-Zernov in his edition of the *Sharaf-nāma*. Charmoy provided convincing proof that this manuscript is “تسويد ou Minute même de l’auteur” [24]. Charmoy found clear evidence for his hypothesis in the fact that the manuscript contains many chapters and pages not found elsewhere. Yet there is one important detail which hinders the formulation of a sure conclusion in this matter — the manuscript is not dated; the time and place of its transcribing are not known.

Charmoy undoubtedly modified the text where he felt that it contradicted common sense. Thus, on pages 43 and 317 of his translation (vol. I, pt. 2), we find a remarkable passage: “Au lieu du mot عدد — à secours, qui formerait un contre-sens,” Charmoy writes, “je n’hésite pas à lire جنگ ‘pour les combattre’”. I provide this example to demonstrate how Charmoy’s approach differed from that of Vely-

aminov-Zernov, who only allowed himself to place a question mark after the word عدد, although the error in the text was evident to him.

To be just, the text of the translation abounds in burdensome, repetitive clarifications, as well as in largely unnecessary excerpts from the sources given in the original Arabic. But, certainly, these shortcomings pale before the translation’s virtues.

V. Velyaminov-Zernov, F. Charmoy and H. Barb remain the legendary pioneers in the study of the text of the *Sharaf-nāma*. In the late 1950s, nearly a century after their works appeared, an acute need arose to translate the *Sharaf-nāma* into Russian. The project was initiated by Academician J. Orbeli and Dr. Qanat Kurdoev, great authorities in Kurdish studies in Leningrad.

The author of the current article had the honour of working on the Russian translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*, which was based on Velyaminov-Zernov’s edition [25]. I was much helped with my work by Prof. Leon Guzalyan. The translation of the text in this edition is accompanied by the foreword, indices of names, toponyms, ethnonyms, terms, and sources which render the Russian translation easier for readers to use. Now, I am not very much satisfied with my commentary of the text. Unfortunately, scholars mostly have a single chance with their vast text publications. Had I the opportunity to return to this work, I would re-work the commentary significantly.

Sharaf-khān Bidlīs’s work is of permanent value. New generations of Kurds and oriental studies scholars will benefit from it, bringing new perspectives. Undoubtedly, some sections of the text will be understood and interpreted in new ways. Throughout, however, the words set down by Sharaf-khān Bidlīs will remain, inspiring thought for years to come.

Notes

1. Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, *φ*. 2, *on*. 1—1861, *δ*. No. 6, pp. 47—8.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*
4. P. S. Savel’ev, *O zhizni i trudakh F. F. Sharmua* (On the Life and Works of F.-B. Charmoy) (St. Petersburg, 1845).
5. E. Kunik, “Analyse d’un ouvrage manuscrit...”, *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l’Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Petersburg*, I (1852), p. 540; see also Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, *φ*. 95, *on*. 1, *δ*. No. 377, p. 3.
6. *Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes par Scheref, Prince de Bidlis*, publiée pour la première fois ... par V. Véliaminof-Zernof, vol I (St. Petersburg, 1860), p. 10.
7. See review of Ch. Defrémery, *Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes, par Scheref, Prince de Bidlis*, publiée pour la première fois par V. Véliaminof-Zernof, t. I, St.-Petersburg, 1860, in *Journal Asiatique*, cinquième série, XVI (1860), pp. 456—7.
8. Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, *φ*. 2, *on*. 1—1861, *δ*. No. 2, p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 1—2.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 54.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 50—4.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 55—7, 69.
16. *Chêref-Nâmeh ou fastes de la nation kourde par Chêref-ou’d-dîne, prince de Bidlis, dans l’Îlâlet d’Arzeroûme*, trad. du Persan et commentés par F. B. Charmoy, vol. II, pt. 1 (St.-Petersburg, 1873), p. 447.
17. H. A. Barb, “Über die unter dem Namen Tarich el Akrad, bekannte Kurden-Chronik von Scheref”, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Bd. 10, H. 2 (1853); *idem*, “Geschichtliche Skizze der in der Chronik von Scheref behandelten dreiunddreissig verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter”, *ibid.*, Bd. 22, H. 1 (1856); *idem*, “Geschichte von fünf Kurden Dynastien”, *ibid.*, Bd.

28, H. 1 (1858), also Bd. 30, H. 1 (1859); *idem*, "Geschichte der kurdischen Fürstentherrschaft in Bidlis (aus dem "Scherefname", IV Buch)", *ibid.*, Bd. 32, H. 1 (1859).

18. Scheref-nameh ou Histoire des Kourdes, vol. I, pp. 304—24.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

20. P. S. Savel'ev, *O zhizni i trudakh F. F. Sharmua* (On the Life and Works of F. F. Charmoy) (St. Petersburg, 1843), p. 9.

21. *Chêref-Nāmeḥ*, trad. par F.-B. Charmoy, vol. I, pt. 1 (St.-Pétersbourg, 1868), p. 1.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 5—6.

23. See Velyaminov-Zernov's edition, pp. 83, 389; see also Charmoy's French edition, vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 106—7; vol. II, pt. 1, p. 264.

24. Charmoy's French edition, vol. I, pt. 1, pp. 4—5.

25. Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāme*, perevod, predislovie, primechaniia i prilozhenie E. I. Vasil'evoi (Sharaf-khān Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, translation, foreword, commentaries and addenda by E. I. Vasilyeva), i—ii (Moscow, 1967—1976).

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

E. A. Rezvan

THE QUR'ĀN AND ITS WORLD: VIII/2. WEST-ÖSTLICHEN DIVANS (THE QUR'ĀN IN RUSSIA)

Much has been written about the fate of the Qur'ān in Western Europe. The same cannot be said about the Qur'ān in Russia [1], although the geopolitical location of the country and the course of Russian history laid the foundation for a special attitude toward the sacred book of Islam. Archival materials indicate that the Qur'ān was included in the personal libraries of such Russian Tsars as Ivan the Terrible (1530—1584), Peter the Great (1672—1725), and Catherine II (1729—1796). The fate of publications, translations, and rare manuscripts of the Qur'ān was also bound up with the personal decisions of the supreme rulers of Russia.

Russians' first acquaintance with Islam came as the result of commercial and diplomatic contacts with the Volga Bulghārs, Khwārazm, Derbent, and Mawarannahr. By the mid-thirteenth century, a large part of Russian lands had been included in the sphere of the Golden Horde's political, ideological and cultural influence, which at that time was heavily influenced by Islam. Its full Islamisation was completed a century later. In those years in Russia, all things associated with the Horde enjoyed great social prestige. This extended to Islam — the Qur'ān sounded within the Muscovite Kremlin, which up until the end of the fifteenth century was home to the Tatar mission, official residence of the Horde's *bāsqāqs*, who controlled the collection of tithes in the metropolis. Characteristic of that period was the peaceful coexistence of Orthodox Christianity, which enjoyed absolute dominance in the Russian lands, and Islam, the religion of the Horde.

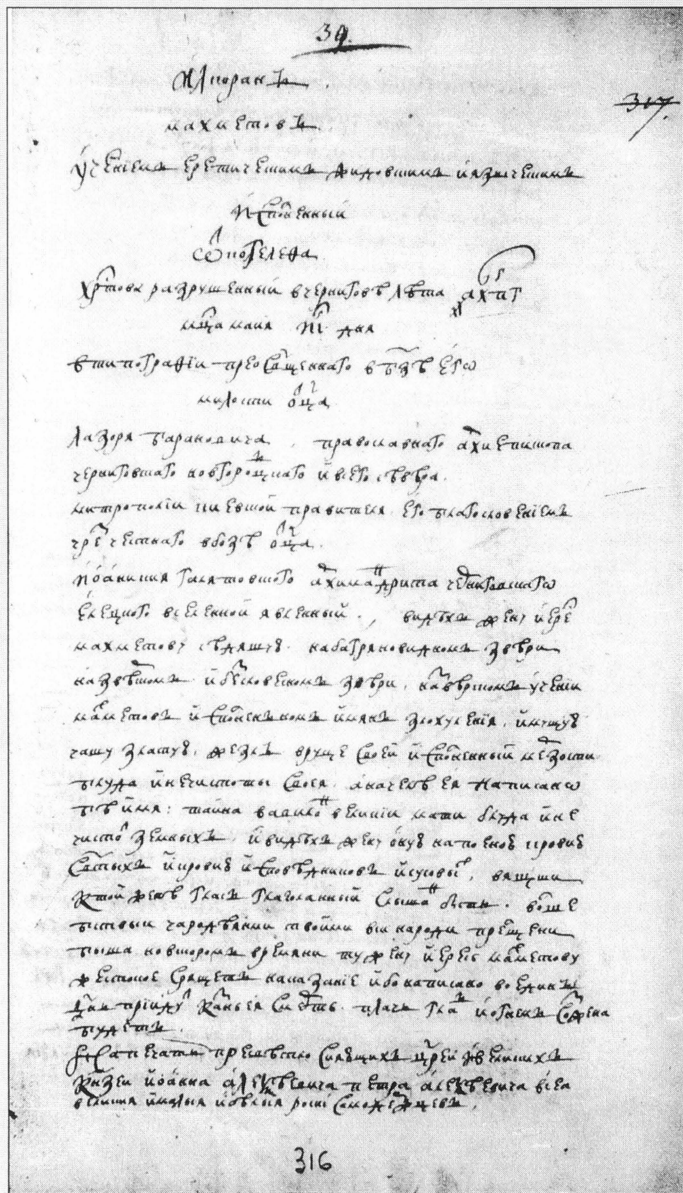
Even after the Russian state had become independent of the Golden Horde, many customs and practices, which went back to Islamic prototypes, continued to play a notable role in Russian life. Russia, which had inherited from the Horde vast territories, and to a significant degree, a state structure, found itself semi-encircled by Muslim states after the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. In addition to the double-headed eagle, up until the middle of the nineteenth century Russia used as a state symbol in its relations with Eastern states a *tughra* which included the formula *bi-'inayāti Rabbi'l-'ālamīn*. It is not surprising that until the middle of the sixteenth century many in Europe persisted in the belief that the Russian State was in the hands of an islamised Tatar elite. The famed Russian Church writer, Maxim the Greek (ca. 1470—1556), who came to Russia in 1518, lamented in one

of his works that residents of the Russian capital would in all likelihood soon be wearing turbans.

With the capture of Kazan by the armies of Ivan IV in 1552, Russia began to establish its dominance over its Muslim neighbours. The Islamic features of many Russian states institutions and culture gradually disappeared. The Byzantine spiritual legacy was acknowledged as an ideological buttress, even the idea of declaring Moscow the "Third Rome" became popular after Constantinople's fall into the hands of the Ottoman Turks. The idea of confessional unification of all subjects of the Russian state underlay many polemical religious-political writings, exerting a profound influence on Russian literature on the Qur'ān and Islam as a whole. On the other hand, the gradual inclusion in the Russian empire of ever larger territories populated by Muslims and the necessity of guaranteeing their loyalty required objective information about Islamic beliefs and traditions as well as respect for them. The history of the study and translation of the Qur'ān in Russia is indissolubly bound up with these two tendencies.

Translations of anti-Muslim treatises from Greek, Latin, and Polish long served as the main source of information on Islam and the Qur'ān in Russia. For many centuries, this distorted information on the Qur'ān, the Prophet Muḥammad, and the basic tenets of Islam filled historical, literary, and popular works in Russian. On the whole, such works were shot through with religious intolerance. Anti-Islamic pamphlets provided the ideological foundation for the struggle with the Sublime Porte and its vassals. Among these were, for example, Maxim the Greek's "Answers for Christians against the Hagarites, who Defame our Orthodox Christian Faith" and "A Lay Revealing the Hagarite Temptation and Maomet", which resembled in their pathos the *Corpus Toletanum* of Peter the Venerable.

But already the works of Maxim the Greek's pupil, Andrey Kurbsky (1528—1583), and his contemporary, the publicist Ivan Peresvetov, both advocates of the annexation of the Kazan khanate, display a greater familiarity with Islam. Their views are, to a certain extent, close to those of such Western European theologians and publicists as Nicolaus Cusanus (1401—1464) and Juan de Segovia (1400—1458). Both Andrey Kurbsky and Ivan Peresvetov lived and worked in the West Russian lands and Lithuania, and it was in Lithuania, between the fifteenth and seven



teenth centuries, that the first translation of the Qur'ān into a Slavic language — Byelorussian — was completed. The translation (see *fig. 1*) was carried out in the Tatar community [2]. A typological parallel to this translation is found in the contemporaneous translation of the Qur'ān into Muslim-Spanish (*alhamiado*).

Since many Tatars went over to Russian service in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of the Qur'ān and its contents increasingly grew at the Russian court. In an inventory of the archive of the Diplomatic Office (*Prikaz*) drawn up in 1560 under Ivan IV, we find mention of a "Tatar Qur'ān on which the Tatars are brought to perform the *shert* (*shart*, i.e. swear an oath)" [3]. There is also an interesting note: "In May, the year 78 (7078=A.D. 1570 — E. R.) Petr Grigoryev brought the Qur'ān to the Sovereign" [4]. One of the copies of the Qur'ān, which was used for Muslims to swear oaths has come down to us. It is a codex assembled from varied fragments and includes sections with parallel text in Persian and Turkic [5]. *Āya* 16:91, used for the oath, is written in gold. Aside it is pasted a bit of text written in Muscovite cursive of the seventeenth—early eighteenth century:

"On this verse of the Qur'ān it is meet to perform the *shert*, and we give a translation of this verse: Chapter 15 [6] On the Bee, called in Arabic Ajil. Fulfil all that you have promised by God, and do nothing in violation of your oath. For you call God as witness in your promise and all that you do is known to him" [7].

To my knowledge, this is the earliest Russian translation of a Qur'ānic fragment to have reached us. The above-mentioned Qur'ānic manuscript, with parallel text in Persian and Turkic, can be viewed symbolically, as representing the Muslim milieu which surrounded Russia and existed within its borders.

In the seventeenth-century Russia, after the edict from 1681 issued by Ivan V (1666—1696), an intolerant attitude toward Islam acquired the status of state policy, primarily as a result of an acute political rivalry between the Russian state and Ottoman Turkey. It was at this time that the first work dedicated exclusively to the Qur'ān was written in Russia. In 1683, a treatise in Polish came to light in Chernigov. It was drawn up by the rector of the Kiev-Mogilian College (later Academy), Ioannicyusz Galatowski (d. 1688), who gained fame as an Orthodox polemicist. The book entitled *Alkoran Macometow. Nauka heretycka y zydowska y poganska napelniony. Od Koheletha Chrystusowego rosproszony y zgromadzony...* [8] included a dedication to the Russian princes Ioann and Peter, future emperor of Russia. The latter circumstance led to its Russian translation, carried out first by an anonymous author and then by the translator of the Diplomatic Office (*Posol'skii Prikaz*), S. I. Gadzalovsky [9] (see *fig. 2*). The book, which presents a dispute between two allegorical figures, Alkoran and Kogelet, contains neither real nor imagined Qur'ānic citations and betrays the author's near total ignorance of the Qur'ān's contents. Galatowski was the author of two other works partly related to the Qur'ān. These are "The New Heaven" [10], dedicated to the miracles of the Virgin Mary, and the anti-Muslim pamphlet "The Swan and its Feathers" [11]. The first includes two imagined and one real (*āya* 3:45) quotes from the Qur'ān [12], while the second contains solely imagined references to the Qur'ān which apparently go back to the European polemical tradition.

The first initiatives for the scholarly study, translation and distribution of the Qur'ān in Russia belong to Peter the Great. In the context of his Eastern policy, he undertook a series of enterprises which set the stage for the systematic study of the Muslim East. In accordance with his order of 1716, the first translation of the Qur'ān into Russian was published in St. Petersburg. It was carried out by an anonymous translator who worked from the French translation of André du Ryer [13], although it was repeatedly attributed to Dmitry Kantemir (1673—1723) or Petr Posnikov (late seventeenth—first third of the eighteenth century). The anonymous "Alkoran about Mahomet or the Turkish Law" [14] (see *figs. 3a* and *3b*) included a translation of du Ryer's foreword to his "Sommaire de la religion des turcs" [15]. The translator not only repeated, but amplified du Ryer's errors, demonstrating poor of French. These circumstances alone preclude attributing the translation to Kantemir or Posnikov, who would undoubtedly not have permitted such gross errors [16]. Several years later, du Ryer's work was again translated into Russian, this time by Petr Posnikov, a physician, philosopher and diplomat, as well as doctor of the University in Padua [17]. This more accurate translation survives in two manuscripts [18] (see *fig. 4*).

The need for more detailed information on Islam made Tsar Peter the Great charge his ally Prince Dmitry Kantemir to draw up a detailed exposition on the contents of the Qur'ān and the biography of Muḥammad. Kantemir, the ruler of Moldavia was also a scholar, as well as a member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. His time in Turkey as a hostage had left him with a good knowledge of Islam and Eastern languages. Kantemir's work, a translation from the Latin entitled "The System Book, or the State of the Muhammedan Religion" was published in St. Petersburg in 1722 [19].

The work by Kantemir was only one of the first to have appeared in the eighteenth-century Russia, reflecting the growth of Russian interests in the East. Commonly, these publications enjoyed great popularity and were reissued on a number of occasions. Toward the end of the century, Russian periodicals, which aimed primarily to entertain their readers, frequently published both translated and original materials on Islam and the Qur'ān, which was treated, as before, as the *bueslovie Magometovo* ("vain words of Mahomet").

A new period in the history of the Qur'ān in Russia begins with the rule of Catherine II. A number of victorious wars against Ottoman Turkey and subsequent annexation of the Crimea, in 1783, and other regions with a Muslim population demanded urgent measures in the organisation of their administration and in the pacification of the new subjects. The Novokreshchensky Office, founded earlier by personal decree of the Russian Empress Anna Ioannovna (1693—1740) to conduct missionary activities among Muslims, had done too little to meet Russian state interests in that period. Recognition of this fact led to the appearance in the 1775 Manifesto entitled "On Favours Royally Granted to Certain Estates on the Occasion of Peace Concluded with the Ottoman Porte", and especially in the 1785 edict on religious tolerance, of a number of articles guaranteeing and regulating the rights of Muslims within the Russian state.

In 1782 a *muftiyat* was founded in the Russian fortress of Ufa. Within six years, the Orenburg Mohammedan Religious Council was created and Muslim clerics for the first time received the official status of a religious estate (similar

to the Orthodox Church). Mosques began to be built, including one in Moscow (1782), and Muslim religious schools were opened at that time too. The Anapaevskaya, Akhundovskaya and Amirkhanovskaya *madrasas* were successfully opened in Kazan (first two — in 1771, third — in 1780). Many Tatar *mürzās* and Bashkir elders were accepted into the nobility (*dvorianstvo*) (1784), and Muslim merchants were granted privileges in their trade with Turkestan, Iran, India and China.

By the 1787 decree of Catherine II, the full Arabic text of the Qur'ān was printed for the first time in Russia at the privately owned "Asiatic Press" in St. Petersburg. It was intended for free distribution to the "Qirghiz" [20] (see *figs. 6 and 7*). At the same time, an order was issued to construct mosques at state expense. In the words of Catherine herself, both of these measures were undertaken "not to inculcate Mohammedanism, but to bait the rod" [21]. The Qur'ān was published at state expense, partly to assuage Tatar complaints about the high cost of the books they acquired abroad. The Qur'ān was printed with a typeface specially forged for the purpose and based on blueprints by *mullā* 'Uthmān Ismā'il. His blueprint for the Arabic typeface differs from all other Arabic typefaces which had previously been employed in Russia and was superior to the Arabic typefaces which then existed in European presses [22]. The edition also differed fundamentally from previous European printings in its Muslim character: the text was prepared for publication and equipped with detailed marginal commentary in Arabic by the same *mullā* 'Uthmān Ismā'il. Between 1789 and 1798, this Qur'ān went through five editions (various sources indicate that the run was either 1,200 or 3,600 copies). Later, the state treasury earned a tidy profit on the sale of Qur'āns [23].

The fact of the Qur'ān's publication in Russia was actively exploited by Catherine in her foreign policy, especially during the war with Turkey, which gave the Empress an opportunity to present herself as a patron of Islam [24].

Catherine's initiatives encountered opposition from missionary circles, where the Qur'ān continued to be viewed primarily as a "harmful false teaching" which contradicted the Christian faith. Catherine was accused of strengthening the hold of Islam on the Tatars by publishing the Qur'ān. Her decision to establish the Orenburg Mohammedan Religious Council earned her special censure. On the whole, however, the Empress kept on with her policy of aiding the noticeable growth of central power in the outlying Muslim regions of the Empire. Merchants of Russian Muslim origin acted as liaisons between Russia and its Muslim neighbours, significantly aiding the former's penetration into Asia. Muslims began to serve in large numbers in the Russian army and navy, where the special positions of *mullā*, *ākhūnd*, and *mū'adhdhin* were created for their spiritual nourishment.

By decree of 15 December 1800, restrictions on the publication of Islamic religious literature were lifted in Russia. In 1801–1802, the Arabic typeface of the St. Petersburg press was transferred to Kazan, where one year earlier, at the request of the Kazan Tatars, the Asiatic press had been established at the Kazan gymnasium [25]. An edition of the Qur'ān, marked with the year 1801 and closely resembling the St. Petersburg Qur'ān was published there. Copies of this edition, published "at the expense of Yunusov" and, somewhat later, "at the expense of Amir-Khanov" [26], including later reprints, were generally

termed Kazan Qur'āns. In 1829, the press was united with the university press; until nearly 1840 it was in fact the only press with the right to publish Muslim religious literature.

These editions, which earned high praise from European orientalists, went through many print runs and, in essence, supplemented previous European editions of the Qur'ān. The so-called "Kazan Qur'āns", seen as the first Muslim edition of its type, became widespread in the East and were reproduced many times (manuscript copies have also been attested). In the opinion of R. Blachère, they may have played a decisive role in the centuries-long process of establishing a unified text of the Qur'ān [27].

Catherine the Great's project to publish and distribute the Qur'ān, though conceived as a wholly political undertaking, had its continuation under different historical circumstances. By the mid-nineteenth century, not only Kazan, at that time the main centre of Islam in Russia, but also Bakhchisarai, Orenburg, Baku, Ufa, and Troitsk had become significant centres of Islamic culture. The rapid rise of industry, a rather high educational level of the native population, ideas of religious and political revival then current among Muslim population, and, not least in importance, the influence of Russian culture contributed greatly to the process. The production of Kazan presses was one of the basic goods on book markets in Bukhara, Samarqand, and Tashkent. One could find Qur'āns printed in Kazan in Iran, Afghanistan, India, and Arabia.

Yet there was a moment when the fate of the Kazan Qur'āns hung by a thread. In 1849, the procurator of the Holy Synod appealed to Tsar Nicholas I (1796–1855) with a request that the printing of Qur'āns in Kazan be halted, as they led to the exit of baptised Tatars from the Orthodox Church. The appeal stated that in the course of one year a single private press in Kazan had published 200,000 Qur'āns. The Tsar's resolution ran: "The printing of the Qur'āns and other Muslim spiritual books can be banned". While the matter was referred to the Committee of ministers for review [28], the Kazan military governor reported that actually, between 1841 and 1846, only 26,000 copies of the full text of the Qur'ān and its parts had been printed in two private Kazan presses. The number of other Muslim books of a religious character came to 45,000. The same figures for the Kazan University press for the period 1841–1849 came to 33,000 and 36,000. It was also acknowledged that both the Qur'ān and the religious books were printed in language that the absolute majority of Tatars did not know. Furthermore, the bulk of the editions was dispatched beyond the bounds of the Volga basin and made up a significant portion of Russia's trade with the states of Central Asia, where high-quality Russian editions had captured the market, supplanting competitors. To stop the printing of Muslim books in Kazan would, in the opinion of the Committee of ministers, hand the initiative in the sale of such books to the English and lead to contraband within Russia. The ban would make obtaining the Qur'ān even more important to Muslims and also result in their common animosity against Christianity. No direct connection was noticed between the rise of Muslim books printing and re adoption of Islam by baptised Tatars. The printing of the Qur'āns and other books on Islam was continued, although censorship became much more strict, so that published books would not contain "any harmful interpretations or ruminations against the government or Orthodox Christianity" [29].

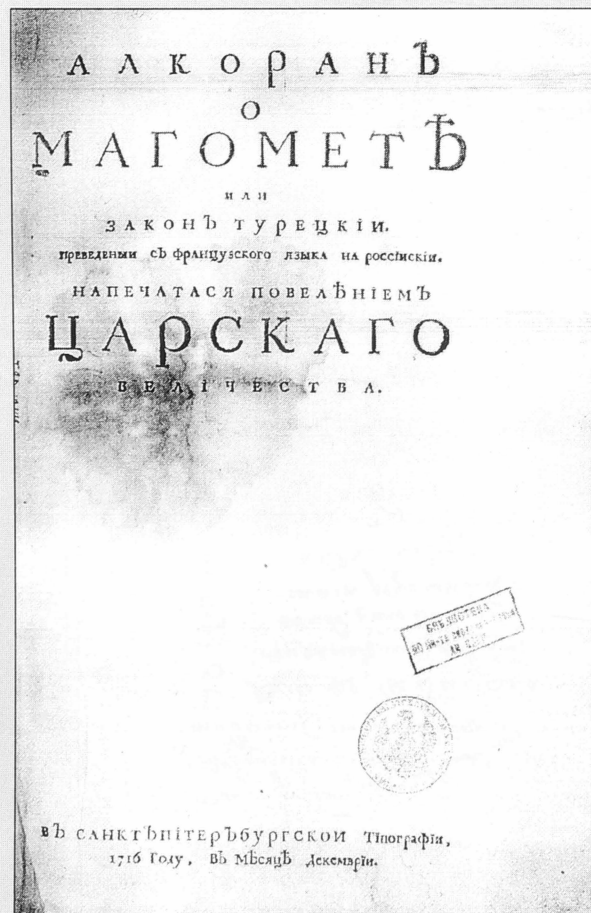


Fig. 3a

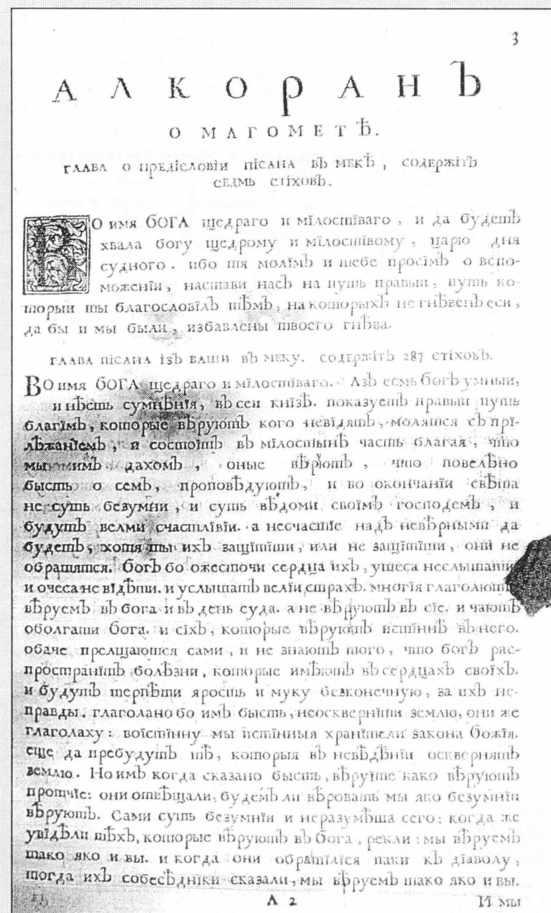


Fig. 3b

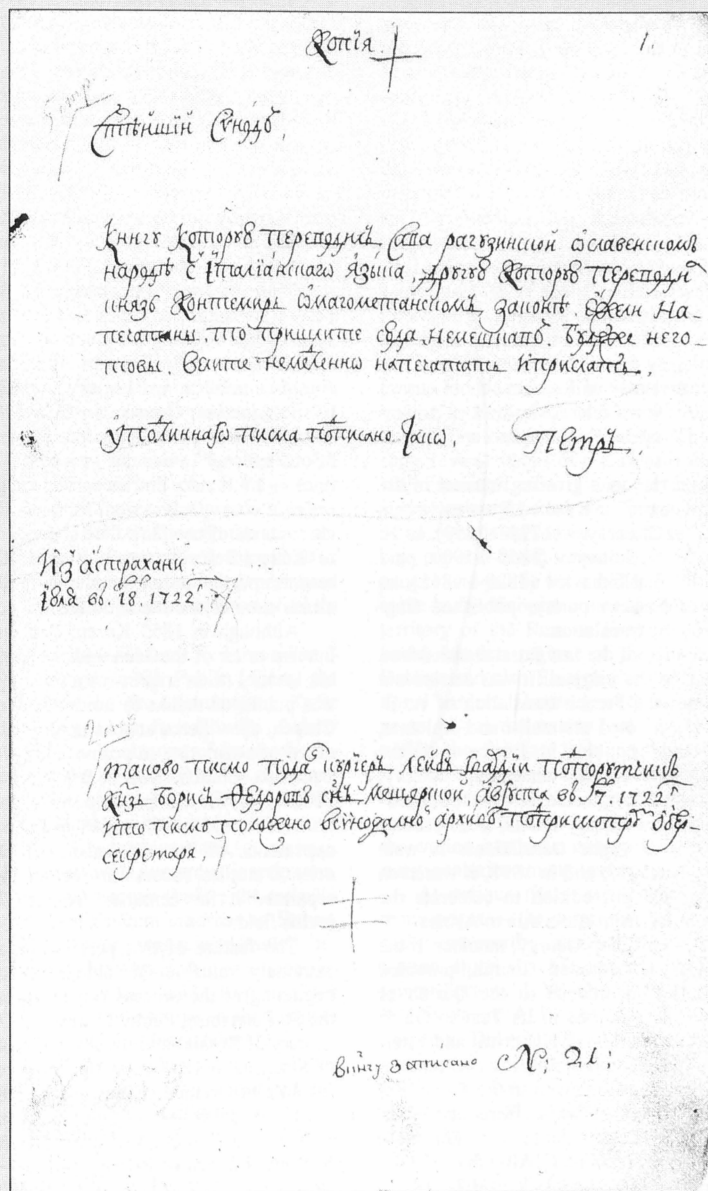


Fig. 5

At nearly the same time as appearance of the Qur'ānic edition initiated by Catherine, two new translations were published which were to play a noteworthy role in Russian cultural history. The author of the first one, published in 1790 (and once again based on the du Ryer translation), was M. I. Verevkin (1732—1795), whose efforts as the first director of the Kazan gymnasium led to the teaching of Eastern languages [30]. Two years later a new translation of the Qur'ān appeared in St. Petersburg. It was produced by the poet A. Kolmakov (d. 1804) [31] and was based on the English translation of G. Sale (?1697—1736), which reflected the new level of European oriental studies.

It was the Verevkin translation, which was fated to play an important role in the history of Russian literature. A talented and productive scholar, comediograph and translator (his legacy runs to 146 volumes), as well as member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, Verevkin created an outstanding literary work which inspired the great Russian poet Aleksander Pushkin to compose in 1824 his famed "Imitations of the Qur'ān", a poetic adaptation of fragments from thirty three *sūras*. Qur'ānic references are found in a number of other works by Pushkin, for example, in the poem "The Prophet" (a mainstay of Russian school curricula on literature) [32]. Pushkin's interest in the Qur'ān was in many ways linked to European Romanticism and its contradictory attitudes toward Islam.

Pushkin's works gave rise to a growing interest in the Qur'ān among Russian readers. Such famed Russian writers and philosophers as P. Ya. Chaadayeve (1794—1850), L. N. Tolstoy (1828—1910), V. S. Solovyev (1853—1900) paid tribute to this interest. M. S. Mikhaylov (1829—1865), an outstanding translator of Eastern poetry, published fragments of the Qur'ān in poetic translation.

1864 saw the appearance of the last Russian translation of the Qur'ān not based on the original. It was carried out by K. Nikolaev [33] from the French translation of A. B. Kazimirski (1808—1887), a noted orientalist and diplomat, whose translation remained popular in France until the 1920s. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Nikolaev's translation, which originated in Slavophile circles and possessed significant literary merits, freed readers from the earlier burden of vague translations. It went through five editions before 1917, and in 1998, it was even reissued in Kazakhstan as a gift edition to celebrate the transfer of the Kazakh capital from Alma-Ata to Astana.

In 1859, the Kazan Archbishop Georgy, member of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, provided funds to publish a "Full Concordance to the Qur'ān or a Key to All Words and Expressions in Its Text to Guide Research into the Religious, Juridical, Historical and Literary Roots of this Book". The funds were provided on condition that a part of the print run be given to the Kazan Religious Academy, where the archbishop's efforts had led to the opening of a section of Eastern languages. The work was completed by Mirzā Muḥammad 'Alī Ghajī Qāshim oghlī (Aleksandr Kasimovich) Kazem-Bek (1802—1870), an unusual figure in many respects. Mirza A. Kazem-Bek descended from a noble Derbent lineage and was born in the city of Resht (Persia), where his father, while returning from the pilgrimage to Mecca, had met and married a beautiful woman by the name of Sharāf Nīsā. The young Kazem-Bek, who received only a traditional Muslim education, was fated to become, in the words of his contemporaries and descendants, "one of the brightest adornments of the oriental

world" and the "patriarch of Russian oriental studies". He created the famed Kazan school of orientalists, nurtured an accomplished generation of St. Petersburg orientalists, was the first dean of the faculty of Eastern languages at St. Petersburg University and an honoured professor at the same university. Three times he was a laureate of the Demidov Prize at the Academy of Sciences, a corresponding member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1835), and an acting member in a number of European and American academies and scholarly societies. His works on philology, history, philosophy, jurisprudence, and the literature of the Muslim East brought him fame not only throughout Russia, but in Europe as well. Upon the English publication of the book *Derbent-nāme*, Kazem-Bek received the gold medal of the Queen of England [34]. As archival documents, some cited below, demonstrate, Kazem-Bek was one of the Russian government's chief specialists on matters connected with Islam.

Work on the "Concordance" lasted for more than 25 years (starting in 1834) and was interrupted more than once both by the author's personal circumstances and by fears that the appearance of similar works in Calcutta (*Hujūm al-Furqān*, publication began in 1836) and in Leipzig (*Concordantiae Corani Arabicae* by G. Flügel, 1842) would render the concordance irrelevant. Kazem-Bek's "Concordance" was not structured along etymological lines — dictionary entries were arranged in an alphabetical order, a convenient system for non-Arabists, and contained all contexts of use [35]. The characteristics [36] and merits of Kazem-Bek's approach were evident to any unbiased reader, and the author decided to publish his work despite all his circumstances and doubts.

Although in 1855 Kazem-Bek was honoured with the Persian order of the Lion and the Sun of the first order for his labours (then still in manuscript) [37], the book, which was published thanks to funds received from the Orthodox Church, drew fierce attacks upon itself. The author was accused of attempting to promote Islam at the expense of the Orthodox Church. Kazem-Bek was compelled to explain publicly the nature and importance of his work [38]. This criticism could not however overshadow the fact that the appearance of the concordance bore witness to Russian oriental studies' success in overcoming the gap, which had separated it for centuries from the Western scholarship in this field.

The feature of that period was also the collecting of extremely valuable Qur'ānic manuscripts in Russia. The beginning of the process can be traced to the founding of the St. Petersburg Public Library in 1795 (now the National Library of Russia) and the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences in 1818 (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). During the years of active acquisitions, collections of Qur'āns arose which are the largest in Russia and among the largest in Europe: 228 items (the National Library of Russia) and 171 items (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). The manuscripts held here represent examples of book production over twelve centuries — from the end of the seventh—early eight centuries to the end of the nineteenth century — in essence, the entire history of the Arabic manuscript book. The range of provenance is also impressive — from Byelorussia to West Africa. On the whole, manuscripts of the Qur'ān make up only a small part of the collections, significantly less than the proportion of Qur'ānic manuscripts in

the overall context of Muslim book production. The Asiatic Museum and Public library generally acquired only copies, which were notable in some way.

In its general outlines, the history of the Qur'ānic collections reflects the history of the larger manuscript collections. Qur'āns were among the first acquisitions of both the repository of manuscripts in the Public Library and the Asiatic Museum. Copies of the Qur'ān were also among the final acquisitions to enrich those manuscript collections. Throughout the entire nineteenth century, unique and rare copies and fragments of the Qur'ān were actively sought out and acquired from private persons in Europe and the East; they also entered the collections as gifts, as a component part of war reparations, etc. Of special significance was the acquisition by the Public Library from the inheritors of J.-J. Marcel (1776—1854) of a large part of his collection of Arabic manuscripts (133 items, now fund 921) which he had compiled during his time in Egypt as a member of Napoleon's expedition. The main part of the collection is made up of fragments of Kufic Qur'āns which originated, for the most part, from the mosque of 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ built in Cairo in 643. This collection is the largest in Europe and one of the largest in the world in the number of manuscripts in Kufic scripts and in Arabic parchment manuscripts. The Marcel collection is supplemented by early Qur'ānic fragments held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (around 20 items). Each of these early fragments is unique in its own right and represents an exceptionally important source of information on the early period of the Sacred text's history (data on the development of the Arabic script, early grammar, variant readings permitted at first in copies of the Qur'ān, regional traditions of transmitting the text, etc.).

In 1869, Turkestan Governor-General K. P. von Kaufman (1818—1882) handed over to the Public Library the so-called 'Uthmānic Qur'ān, or the "Samarqand Kufic Qur'ān", which had belonged to the Khwāja Akhrār Mosque in Samarqand. It is no doubt one of the most outstanding copies of the Qur'ān in the world. At the same time, an attempt was made to convey to St. Petersburg the marble stand, which was thought to have been constructed especially to hold this copy. The massive stand, going back to Timūr's age, was decorated with numerous inscriptions, and stood in the middle of the mosque (before the *mihrāb*) in the partially destroyed Bībī Khānim *madrasa* in Samarqand. The transfer to St. Petersburg was rejected solely because of the stand's great weight. The inscriptions (see *fig. 8*) were copied by A. L. Kun (1840—1888). Copies of the inscriptions are today stored in the Archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (St. Petersburg) [39].

A. F. Shebunin (1867—?), another oriental studies scholar and diplomat, one of those who continued the V. R. Rozen (1849—1908) school traditions in Arabic studies, described and analysed the copy in detail. He established its indubitable Near Eastern origins (presumably Iraq) and time of compilation (second century A.H.) [40]. Shebunin's work in many ways presaged the later ideas of G. Bergstresser and A. Jeffrey on the necessity of the concerted study and description of early Qur'ānic copies.

In 1905, a traced facsimile of this manuscript (unfortunately, the tracing turned out to have contain a number of inaccuracies) was published in St. Petersburg by S. I. Pisarev in the form of a gigantic, full-size folio [41]. Only a small part of the print run of 50 copies made its way onto

the book market. For many years the edition was a popular diplomatic gift presented by the Russian government in its relations with countries in the Muslim East. In 1942, A. Jeffrey and I. Mendelsohn, with reference to S. I. Pisarev's edition, conducted a detailed analysis of the copy in accordance with new scholarly standards [42]. They had at their disposal the Cairo edition of the Qur'ān, while A. F. Shebunin studied the orthography of the copy in comparison with the Flügel edition, the most authoritative edition of his time. This explains the fact that the number of variant readings revealed by A. Jeffrey and I. Mendelsohn is significantly fewer than noted by Shebunin. In 1917, by order of V. I. Lenin, the manuscript was handed over to the regional Muslim congress. It was delivered to Ufa, and later to Tashkent. In 1990, the copy was transferred from the History Museum of the Uzbek SSR to the Muslim community (see *fig. 11*).

A great success was the acquisition in 1937 of a significant fragment of the Qur'ān (approximately 40% of the text) in Hijāzī script. The Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad received the manuscript from a descendent of I. G. Nofal (1828—1902), a native of Tripoli (Lebanon) and a professor of Arabic and Muslim law in the Eastern Languages section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is evident today that the study of this manuscript, which represents several stages of the establishment of the Sacred text, still remains of primary importance [43].

Manuscripts from St. Petersburg collections can serve as an interesting source for the study of local traditions of copying and book formatting, binding, and the history of private and public book collections. Of special significance is the study of copies created in Muslim communities on the territory of the Russian Empire: Central Asia, the Volga basin, Muslim regions of the Caucasus, Crimea [44], the Baltics, and also Eastern Europe outside of Russia's traditional borders. The study of these manuscripts would enable us to reveal the nature and history of mutual influences within the Russian Islamic community, contacts between Russian Muslims and their coreligionists abroad. Copies of the Qur'ān from St. Petersburg collections, frequently presenting beautiful examples of calligraphy, reflect alike the varied aesthetic conceptions which took shape over many centuries among various individuals and peoples.

At various times, work with collections of Qur'ānic manuscripts — the description of certain sections and especially noteworthy copies [45] — received significant attention from Cr. M. Fraehn, V. R. Rozen, V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov, I. Yu. Krachkovsky, V. A. Krachkovskaya, V. I. Belayev, A. B. Khalidov, P. A. Griaznevich, M. B. Piotrovsky. The acquisition of a number of examples is linked with such names as P. P. Dubrovsky, S. S. Uvarov, N. V. Khanykov, B. A. Dorn, I. Yu. Krachkovsky, and a number of other outstanding figures in Russian scholarship [46].

At the beginning of the 1860s, having subdued the long resistance of the mountain tribes, Russia conquered the North Caucasus, where Islam, in the form of Muridism, had supplied the chief ideological pillar of support in resistance to Russian expansion. The fate of D. N. Boguslavsky (1826—1893), the first Russian translator of the Qur'ān to work directly from the original (his translation was completed in 1871), was linked with the legendary figure Shamil, leader of the mountain tribes of the North Caucasus.



Fig. 6

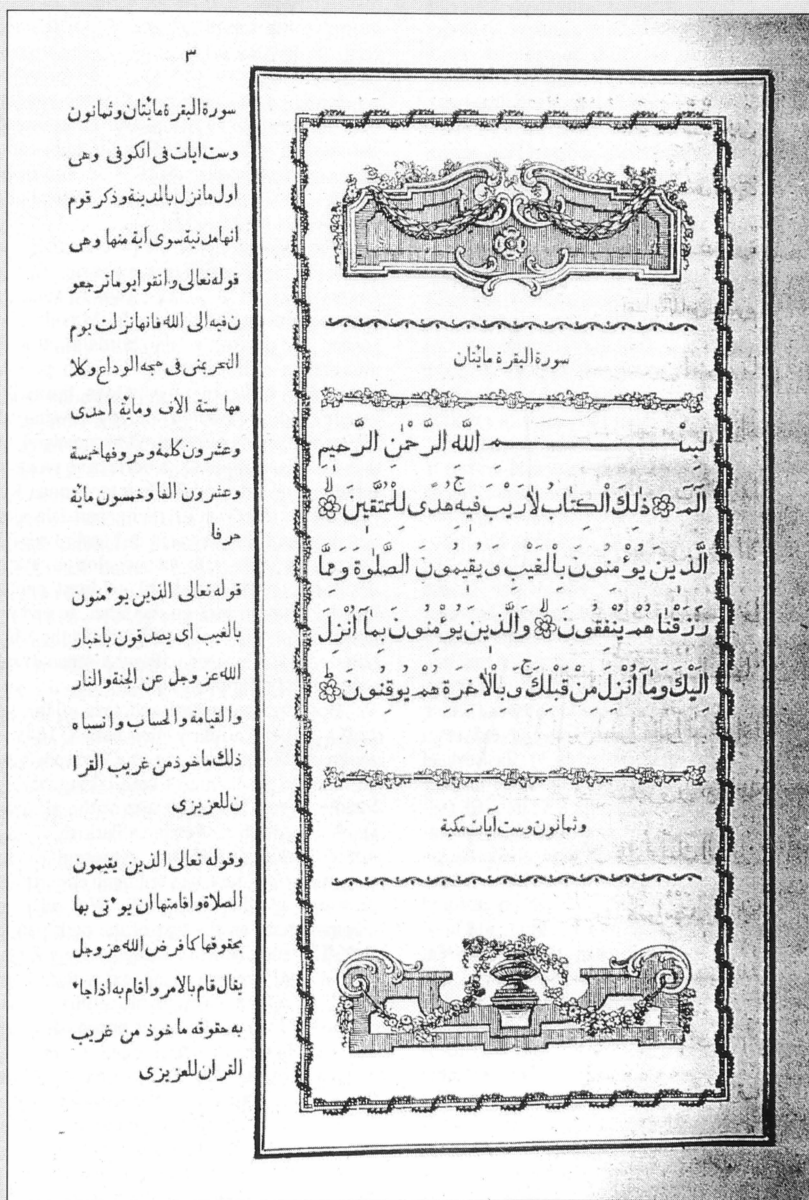


Fig. 7

D. N. Boguslavsky, an informal student on the Oriental faculty of St. Petersburg University, the first bailiff to supervise Shamil in St. Petersburg and in Kaluga, served for many years as a *dragoman* at the Russian embassy in Constantinople. His translation was distinguished by great accuracy and exceptional literary qualities. However, after the translation of the Qur'ān by G. S. Sablukov (1804—1880) [47] appeared in Kazan in 1878, he decided not to publish his translation [48].

It was in many ways a regrettable decision. Anyway, Sablukov's translation was the most important accomplishment of the Kazan school of Islamic studies. This school was closely connected with Russian missionary activities. Representatives of the school made abundant use of European studies and often translated them (for example, the "Historical-Critical Introduction to the Qur'ān" by G. Weil [49]), enhancing the critical pathos of Western scholars in Russian versions. Kazan scholars had yielded a large number of works, but only Sablukov succeeded in making an original contribution. Sablukov's translation was reissued many times (the Arabic text was appended to the 1907 edition) and until 1961 was widely used both by Russian scholars and lay readers. In addition to his translation of the Qur'ān, in 1879 Sablukov released his "Appendices" — at that time the best index to the Qur'ān in Europe. In 1884, after the author's death, his overview of the Qur'ān was published [50].

In his choice of material, Sablukov consciously limited himself to Muslim literature on the subject. Although he differed from many other representatives of the Kazan school in his extremely moderate views, Sablukov however retained the general polemical tone characteristic of the orientalist missionaries of the Kazan Religious Academy. Already by the end of the nineteenth century it was therefore clear that the harsh ideological preconceptions, which afflicted the works of the Kazan school, prevented from producing an unbiased view of the Qur'ān as the text of primary importance. V. R. Rozen considered these tendencies extremely dangerous for scholarship and waged systematic struggle against them, explaining their plain incompatibility with scholarly requirements. Typical of the Kazan school was the refusal to include in the "Orthodox Theological Encyclopaedia" an article on the Qur'ān ordered from the Russian-educated Palestinian P. K. Zhuze (1871—1942) and intended by its author to present the most current scholarly accomplishments of his time.

The general scholarly atmosphere in Kazan is possibly responsible for the transformation of Sablukov, who was a talented oriental studies scholar, archaeologist, and historian, into an orientalist missionary, which took an inevitable toll on the nature and quality of his scholarly works. The missionary concerns of Sablukov's Qur'ānic studies are especially pronounced in the second part of his work "Information about the Qur'ān, the Law-Giving Book of the Mohammedan Faith", which contains an analysis of the "inner qualities of the Qur'ān" [51].

In the main, nineteenth-century translations were based on the Muslim tradition and hence reproduced an understanding of the Qur'ān typical of the age and socio-cultural environment of this or that Muslim exegete or group of authors. As for Sablukov's translation, it drew on works popular among the Tatars, while Boguslavsky's primarily on the Turkish work *Tafsīr al-mawākib* by Ismā'il Farrukh (d. 1840), which was in turn based on the Persian *Tafsīr-i*

Husaynī by Husayn Wā'iz (d. 1505). This approach was largely dictated by the practical needs and requirements of the age. Sablukov's translation in particular arose from the necessity of obtaining an appropriate sense of "Tatar Islam", which was of crucial importance for the success of missionary activities. As for General Boguslavsky, for many years he was concerned with Russian foreign policy in the East, so he attempted to convey the way in which Russia's Muslim neighbours understood the sacred book of Islam.

It should be mentioned that the appearance of the first Russian translations of the Qur'ān completed directly from the original was preceded by the publication of specialised Qur'ānic dictionaries in 1863 in Kazan by I. F. Gotwald (1813—1897) and in 1881 in St. Petersburg by V. F. Girgas (1835—1887) [52].

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of increasing Russian influence on the Middle East and Central Asia. 1889 marked Russia's annexation of the Turk-estan region. In addition to the Muslim peoples, which had earlier lived within its borders, the Russian Empire absorbed a millions-strong Muslim population which had retained a structure of relations framed by Islam and a centuries-long tradition of interpreting the Qur'ān. The authorities soon encountered an upswing of pan-Turkic and pan-Islamic sentiments, an effective weapon in the hands of the rulers of Ottoman Turkey to oppose Russian expansion. Against a backdrop of rising pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic agitation and disturbances in Muslim regions of Russia, the authorities undertook to develop a system of measures designed, on the one hand, to limit pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic agitation and, on the other, to ensure the full-fledged participation of Muslim subjects in the life of the state. The latter was unthinkable without a sense of respect for Islamic cultural and religious traditions.

Both the procedure and text of the legal (first redact, 1831) [53] and military (first redact, 1849—1862) [54] oath sworn by Muslims on the Qur'ān were reviewed more than once, and a procedure of oath-taking was established for the Muslim clergy [55]. The text of the military oath was translated into Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chaghatay-Tatar and Azerī Turkic [56]. Many representatives of the Muslim clergy and the best government experts were employed in drawing up the oath [57]. We have at our disposal a commentary on the text of the oath penned by A. Kazem-Bek. The author of the commentary gave a detailed linguistic and legal analysis of the text with reference to the Qur'ān and *tafsīrs*. A small fragment of this text can serve not only to illustrate the nature of his approach to the composition of the oath, but also to illuminate Kazem-Bek's views on the Qur'ān as a legislative document: "We note, furthermore, that in Muslim theology, the will of man is an internal force, abstract, utterly subject to external impressions and, consequently, incapable of serving as the subject of a solemn obligation, which presumes a certain degree of constancy in action. One cannot through an oath control the impressions or desires of a man, who is himself the source of will. The Qur'ān confirms this: "God charges no soul save to its capacity" (2:286). Muslim teachers are unanimous in recognising that an oath can relate only to action, and not to will. The Christian teaching of spiritual rebirth, according to which desires and innermost sentiments can be judged by law, is utterly foreign to the Muslim world. The Qur'ān is a purely civil legal code, providing a guide for actions, but not for emotions. For this reason, Muslims consider that

civil obligations are only a means which guard a man against any shifts of desire or will, which are viewed as impermanent" [58].

The procedure of taking the oath was specified in the most scrupulous manner. The rules of 1892 in particular note that "the Qur'ān itself, as a sign of reverence, should be placed on a shroud of pure silk and set upon a lectern or table no less than one *arshin* (28 inches) in height" [59].

At the same time, a religious and national reawakening was underway among the Muslim peoples of Russia. Liberal reformers, jadidists, who appeared in Kazan and the Crimea in the 1880s, and a decade later in Central Asia, began with demands to reform the old system of Muslim education, which was largely limited to learning by rote the Qur'ān and number of other religious texts. They strove to combine Islam with contemporary science and enlightenment in the Russian language and approached the necessity of reforming Islam as an answer to the challenge of European civilisation. Their ideas for the reform of Muslim schools soon gained supporters not only in Russia, but in Turkey, Persia, and India.

Among the most important Islamic thinkers of that time were the Tatar educator, theologian, and political figure, Shihāb al-Dīn Marjānī (1818—1899); the theologian and pedagogue, founder (1882) of the largest new-method Muḥammadiyya school [60] in the Volga basin, 'Alimjan b. Muḥammad Khān al-Bārūdī (Galeev; 1857—1921); the famed Crimean Tatar publicist, publisher and societal figure, "father of the Turkic nation" Ismā'il Bey Gasprinsky (1851—1914); and the theologians and publicists Mūsā Jārallāh Biḡī (Bigiev; 1875—1949) and 'Aṭā'ullāh Bayazitov (both were at various times *imām-khaṭīb*s at the St. Petersburg mosque) [61]. In their works and in the works of other Muslim authors who wrote both in their national languages and in Arabic and Russian, one can find ideas of Islamic rebirth close to those espoused by Sayyid Ahmad-khān (1817—1898), Jamāl al-Dīn Afghānī (1839—1909) (who visited St. Petersburg and met there with figures in the Russian Muslim renaissance), Muḥammad 'Abdo (1849—1905), and Rashīd Riḍā (1865—1935) (see, for example, the *Tafsīr al-manār*, authored by the latter two).

In the impassioned polemic of ideas, which burst out in the late nineteenth century among Russian Muslims between the progressive reformers and traditionalists (in Russian terminology jadidists and qadimists, from *uṣūl jadīd* and *uṣūl qadīm*), both sides made active use of the Qur'ān to buttress their positions. Thus, 'Abd al-Rawf Raḥīm-oghli (1886—1938), better known by the pseudonym Fiṭrāt, one of the most important theoreticians of Bukharan "jadidism", writes in one of his works of the need to organise contemporary medical services for the population. He refers in this context to the Qur'ān, noting that Russians and Europeans are closer to fulfilling the demands of Islam in this matter than are Muslims themselves [62].

Muslims publicists appealed in their works to Russian-speaking readers as well, elucidating their views of Islam and possible paths of development for the Muslim peoples within Russia [63]. An original response to the ideas of the Muslim renaissance came in the book "The Qur'ān and Progress: on the Intellectual Awakening of Contemporary Russian Muslims" by N. P. Ostroumov, a publicist and well-known Russian colonial administrator on educational matters. He conducted an open polemic with Bayazitov, Gasprinsky and other Muslim publicists of the new school:

"As concerns the reinvigorated attempts by contemporary Muslim publicists to defend Islam in general, and the teaching of the Qur'ān in particular, they seem to us fruitless, but not useless. For we, Russians, in the majority of cases, are not familiar with the Qur'ān even in translation and are ready to take the word of the authors cited in this book, which aims not to deny the teachings of the Qur'ān, but to tell the actual textual truth about it. They should not think that we have a predetermined purpose to oppose them personally; we deal here with their printed remarks, intended by them for Russian readers in order to dispel the misconceptions of Russian readers about the Qur'ān" [64]. In his book the author sought to express the official point of view, underscoring the progressive and civilising character of the Russian mission in the East. But in a number of instances the book clearly presents views which resulted from years of study at the missionary-minded, anti-Muslim Kazan religious academy [65].

Although the jadidists soon gained numerical superiority in their struggle, the tasks that stood before them were far from simple. The traditionalists who opposed them controlled all of the 14,300 (according to other sources — 22,000) mosques which existed before 1917 on the territory of Russia itself. To this the jadidists could oppose the more than 5,000 new-method schools which had arisen by 1916. Both the jadidists and their conservative opponents were, on the whole, loyal subjects of the Russian state. Only one group committedly struggled against the existing order — the "Vaisov regiment of God", founded by Bahā' al-Dīn Vaisov (1804—1893). Influenced by Wahhabite ideas, Vaisov demanded complete obedience to the letter of the Qur'ān and a rejection of relations with state authorities.

After the revolution of 1905, a period of reaction ensued in Russia. P. A. Stolypin (1862—1911), who became head of the cabinet of ministers, proved himself to be a nationalist and harsh proponent of Russification. The authorities shut down national schools and newspapers, hounding even moderate nationalists. And although the jadidists had more than once demonstrated their loyalty to the government, the authorities saw their activities as presenting a serious danger to the state. The Special Commission summoned by Stolypin in 1910 decided to ban the teaching of non-theological disciplines in Muslim religious schools. The government supported the conservatives against the jadidists, accusing the latter of pan-Islamism. This policy naturally evoked an upswing of nationalism in the outlying regions of the Empire.

Not long before these events, the Muslim press in Russia had achieved wide distribution, largely thanks to the efforts of the jadidists. Between 1787 and 1917, at least 20 private presses in Russia — five in St. Petersburg, 10 in Kazan, and one each in Moscow, Bakhchisarai, Tashkent, Samarqand, and Tamirkhan Shura in Dagestan — released a total of 180 editions of the Qur'ān (including both type-set texts and lithographic reproductions), more than 100 editions of individual *sūras* (*Suwar min al-Qur'ān*), and up to 200 collections of *sūras* which made up one seventh of the Qur'ān, the *haftiāk* [66]. One of the accomplishments of Muslim printers was the publication in 1857 of both the basic text of the Qur'ān in the Ḥaḥṣ redact and variant readings (*al-qira'āt*) which reproduced the tradition of the "seven readings". This represented a unique attempt to rise to the level of a critical edition; it was subsequently repeated in a number of Eastern reprintings. Prayer books were also

widely printed, as well as unusual talismans — *dugāliq* — based on the Qur'ān and magic incantations.

Outstanding jadidists took part in the preparation (extant copies contain the terms *bi-nazr*, *bi-nazāra*, *bi-muqābala*, *bi-ma'rifa*) of a number of Qur'ānic editions. They included the above-mentioned Marjānī (for example, the Kazan editions of 1860, 1868, 1871, 1876, and 1887), al-Bārūdī (Galeev) (for example, the Kazan edition of 1902, in collaboration with 'Abd al-Qayyūm b. 'Abd al-Badī'), Ismā'īl Bey Gasprinsky (the Bakhchisarai editions of A. H. 1312 and 1317), and others. The theologian and poet Muḥammad Šādiq al-Īmānqūlī (1870–1932) took active part in this work (for example, the Kazan editions of 1861, 1862, 1867, 1865). He authored a two-volume Tatar translation of the Qur'ān with *tafsīr* published in Kazan in 1910 under the title *Tashīl al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* [67] (see fig. 9 and 10). By that time, his work was not the only Tatar *tafsīr*. *Al-tafsīr al-Nu'mānī* (Orenburg, 1907) achieved great popularity. It was translated by the noted Tatar-Bashkir religious and public figure, historian, theologian, journalist, and writer Rizaetdin Fakhretudinov (Riza Kazi, or Riḍā al-Dīn b. Fakhr al-Dīn b. Sayf al-Dīn; 1859–1936), who in 1923 was appointed *mufī* of the Central Religious Administration of Muslims of Inner Russia and Siberia, the highest post in the Russian Muslim hierarchy [68]. Shaykh al-Islām Ḥamīdī (1869–1911) [69] was the author of another popular translation and *tafsīr* entitled *Al-itqān fī tarjamat al-Qur'ān* (Kazan, 1907). The appearance of such Tatar *tafsīrs* aided the broader familiarity of Tatar Muslims with the Sacred text.

The rich collections of the Asiatic Museum [70] long received an obligatory copy of each Muslim book edition from all corners of the Russian Empire (as well as many private and institutional collections). They allow us to determine the generic distribution of works dealing with the Qur'ān. As is the case everywhere in the Islamic world where Arabic is not spoken as a native language, these are primarily works on *tajwīd* [71] (28 works, including one written by a woman, Šūfiya Sultanova) [72], translated and original *tafsīrs* on the full text of the Qur'ān [73], *tafsīrs* on the *ḥafīyāk* [74], on individual *sūras* [75], works on *al-qira'āt* [76], and works of a general nature which are in some way related to the Qur'ān [77].

In their writings on the Qur'ān, the jadidists strove to rely not only on traditional literature by Muslim authorities, but also on the accomplishments of Russian and Western oriental studies. Evidence of this is found both in the publication of the above-mentioned Tatar translation of Shebunin's article on the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān and in the type-written Russian translation of the foreword to the Flügel edition of the Qur'ān found in the personal archive of Fakhretudinov [78].

The aggregate print-run for the text of the Qur'ān alone undoubtedly ran into the hundreds of thousands. In the files of the censorship office, which controlled the issue of permits for the publication of print editions in Russia, we find for the year 1900 two requests from the press of Kazan University, one for a 20,000-copy edition of the Qur'ān and one for a 50,000-copy edition of the *ḥafīyāk* [79]. In conditions of such mass production, it was clearly impossible to avoid errors. However, for understandable reasons, this was utterly unacceptable in editions of the Qur'ān. In the first place, this concerned the production of private presses.

In a letter dated 16 December 1858 from the Orenburg *mufī* Suleymenov (1786–1862) to the Minister of Internal Affairs the former reports the discovery of 328 errors in a Qur'ān printed on 28 January 1856 at the Kukubin press on funds provided by the Kazan merchant Yūsuf Kutuvalov. The Mohammedan Council asked that those responsible be punished and that measures be taken to prevent such incidents in the future. At the same time, the Council saw fit to bring the case to the attention of the Kazan military governor, requesting a ban on the "printing of the Qur'ān with errors in the Kukubin press" and asking that "in the future, after printing and after approval by the censor, one copy should be sent for review to the Religious Council before sales begin" [80]. As was usual in such cases, the matter found its way to Kazem-Bek, who proposed that in place of receiving a sample copy, the Religious Council should post two special correctors to Kazan. Kazem-Bek's reasoning, which found official support, is of interest: "the council's demand that in the future, after printing and approval by the censor, one copy be sent to the Religious Council for approval before sales begin ... is burdensome, for it could significantly delay the bookseller's undertaking, be that the delivery of his edition to fairs or abroad by caravan to Bukhara and Khiva" [81]. Official support for Kazem-Bek's position stemmed from the fact that in those years Tatar merchants and book-sellers were seen by the authorities as a conduit for Russian influence in Central Asia. After the conquest of Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarqand and the establishment of Russian rule there, the situation changed: the growth of Islamic agitation became a cause for concern. This is clearly evident in a 1876 letter written by von Kaufman, governor-general of the Turkestan region. Von Kaufman calls attention to the extent of trade conducted by Kazan Tatars in "print Qur'āns and generally in various Muslim theological works". The governor-general of Turkestan found this "harmful to Russian interests in Central Asia" [82].

The question of censoring Muslim books continued to evoke discussion in official circles. The fullest expression of the official position was formulated in August 1872 in a "report by Varadinov, member of the Council of the Main Administration of print affairs in the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the Department of Religious affairs and foreign confessions on the matter of censoring Mohammedan religious books" [83]. Varadinov noted that no special censorship regulations were in place for Muslim publications in Russia, which was not the case for other foreign faiths. For many years, Muslims had printed only the text of the Qur'ān and censorship was deemed unnecessary. Other Muslim books, including those of a religious nature, were reviewed by the secular censors who normally oversaw literature published in Eastern languages. But as the amount of literature released by Muslim presses continued to grow rapidly, its character changed as well. The two special correctors who worked in Kazan could barely keep up with their work, and the Orenburg *mufī* raised the question of introducing a special institution of Muslim censorship. When informed of this, the Orenburg governor-general rejected the suggestion, noting that "it would not be in the interest of the government to establish special censorship to oversee the purity of Muslim teachings, as the development of various religious schools of thought within the Mohammedan teaching inevitably weakens it and consequently can be used as one of the means of attaining that goal toward which

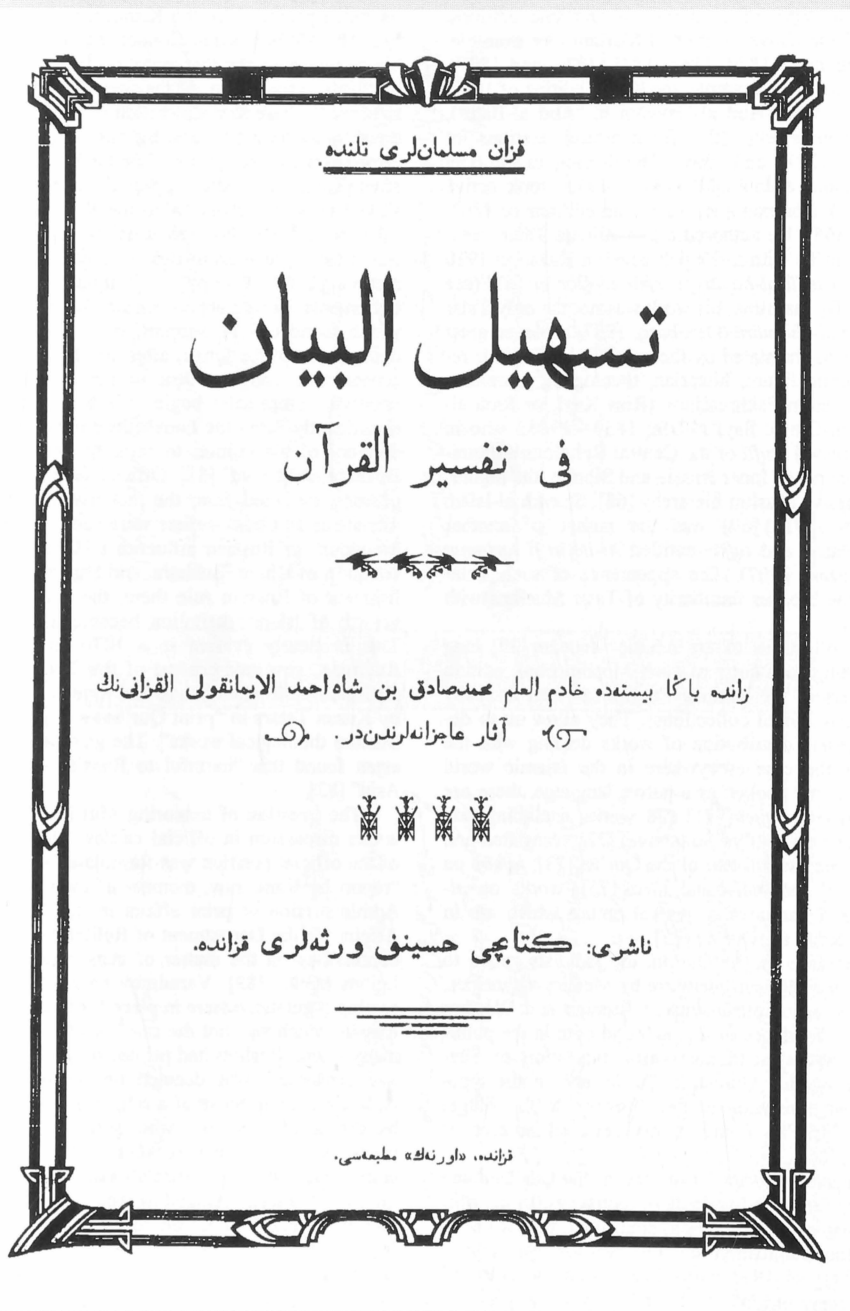


Fig. 9

رَبِّ يَسِّرْ وَلَا تَعْسِرْ سَهِّلْ عَلَيْنَا وَتَمِّمْ بِالْخَيْرِ

أَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنَ الشَّيْطَانِ الرَّجِيمِ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الذى نَزَلَ عَلَى عَبْدِهِ الْقُرْآنَ لِيَكُونَ لِلْعَالَمِينَ نَذِيرًا وَفَضَّلَ عَلَى سَائِرِ الْكُتُبِ وَجَعَلَ نَاسِغًا لِجَمِيعِ الْأَدْيَانِ وَسِرَاجًا مُنِيرًا وَعَظِيمًا لِلْمُعَانِدِينَ عَنِ الْإِنْيَانِ بِمِثْلِ سُورَةٍ مِنْهُ وَلَوْ كَانَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ ظَهِيرًا وَبَيَّنَ فِيهِ أَحْكَامَ الشَّرِيعَةِ الْفَرَاةِ نَفْصِلًا وَتَسْهِيلًا وَتَبَسُّيرًا وَشَرَفَ أَصْعَابَهُ بِشَفَاعَتِهِ يَوْمَ لَا يَجِدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ وَلِيًّا وَلَا نَصِيرًا وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ الَّذِى أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَدِينِ الْحَقِّ وَجَعَلَ نَذِيرًا وَبَشِيرًا حَضَرَتْ حَقِّ سَبْعَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى كُفُّهُ حَمْدٌ وَثَنًاى بِي حَدِّ وَبِي أَحْصَاءُ وَرَسُولِيْنَهُ هُمُ الْوَصَائِدُ وَأَصْعَابِيْنَهُ دُرُودُ سَلَامٍ لَا يَعِدُ وَلَا يَعْصِي دُنْ صُكْرُهُ بُوْعِدُ حَقِيرٌ وَعَاجِزٌ بِرِ تَقْصِيرِ مُحَمَّدٍ صَادِقِ بْنِ شَاهِ أَحْمَدِ بْنِ أَبِي يَزِيدِ بْنِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ النَّقَلِيِّ الْقَزْوِينِيِّ نَادَانُ لِقَى يَوْزَنْدَنِ ابْنُ تَوْرَكِيمِ أَوْشَبُو قَزَانَ مُلْكَتِي نَكِّ أَهْلَ إِسْلَامِي لِسَانِيْنَهُ أَنْوَاعُ عُلُومٍ وَأَنْعَاءُ فَنُونَدِنِ هَرِ تَوْرِي كُتُبِ مُفِيدَةٍ وَرِسَائِلِ نَافِعَةٍ أَرْبَابِ فَضْلِ وَأَصْحَابِ كِمَالِ طَرْفَتَلَرِنْدِنِ تَرْجِمَةٍ وَنَشْرِ ائِدِلْگَانِ بُولَسَهْدَه لَكِنِ اْخْبَارِ دِينِيَه مَزْنَكِّ مَجْمَعِي وَأَحْكَامِ شَرِيْعِيَه مَزْنَكِّ مَبْنَعِي بُولْغَانِ كَلَامِ اللَّهِ الْقَدِيمِ نَكِّ تَفَاسِيرِ مَشْهُورَةٍ وَمَقْبُولِ سُنْدِنِ وَبُوْقُتْفَه قَدَرِ هَيْجِ بَرِي تَرْجِمَةٍ ائِدِلْهَامَشِ بُولْدَفَنْدِنِ بُوْقُقِيرِ بِي بَضَاعَتِ بُونَدِنِ مُقَدِّمِ بَعْضِ أَخْوَانِ دِينِ نَكِّ التَّمَسَّارِي ائِيلِ لِيَاْفَتِيمِ بُولْهَاسَهْدَه أَوْشَبُو اْمَرِ عَظِيمِ كِه جَسَارَةِ ائِيدُوبِ مَوْلَانَا حَسْبِنِ الْوَاعِظِ الْكَاشِفِي حَضْرَتَلَرِنَكِّ بَيْنِ الْعُلَمَاءِ مَشْهُورِ وَمَقْبُولِ بُولْغَانِ فَارْسِي تَبْلِنْدَه كِي تَفْسِيرَلَرِنِي طَافَتِيمِ مَقْدَارِي سَعَى وَاهْتِمَامِ ائِيلِ قَزَانَ دِيَارِنَكِّ مُسْتَعْمَلِ بُولْغَانِ تَرْكِي شِيْوَه سِينَه تَرْجِمَةٍ ائِيدُوبِ بِعَوْنِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى اِتْمَامِي مِيسَرِ بُولْغَانِ ائِيدِي لَكِنِ بَعْضِ مَوَاقِفَلَرِ سَبِيلِي مَذْكُورِ تَرْجِمَه مَزْنَكِّ طَبِيعِ وَنَشْرِى مَكْنِ بُولْهَايُوبِ حَتَّى نَسْخَه سِي هُمُ قَوْلِيْمَزْدَه قَالِمَادَفَنْدِنِ كُوبِ تَاصْفَلَرِنِي مُوجِبِ بُولْغَانِ ائِيدِي بُوْدَفَعَه بِنَه بَعْضِ اِحْبَابِ كِرَامِ نَكِّ التَّمَسَّارِي ائِيلِ تَكَرَّرِ اَوْشَبُو اْمَرِ خَطَائِرِكِه مَبَادِرَتِ ائِيدُوبِ مُتَوَكَّلَا اَلِمْ اَللَّهُ تَعَالَى تَفْسِيرِ مَشَارَالِيَه هُمُ تَفْسِيرِ زَبْدَالَا ثَارَلَرْدِنِ حَاصِلِنِي اَلُوبِ مَطَالَعَه سِي آسَانِ وَفَهْمِي بِنْگَلِ بُولُورْدَاى رُوشَكِ قَزَانَ مُسْلِمَانَلَرِي شِيْوَه سِينَه تَرْجِمَةٍ اَبْلَامَكِ كِه شُرُوعِ قَبْلَدَمِ وَهَمُ تَفْسِيرِ قَاضِي وَكَشَافِ وَمِدَارِكِ هُمُ تَبْيَانِ كَبِي تَفْسِيرَلَرْدِنِ اَوْشَانْدَاى اِمَامِ سِيْوَلِي رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ نَكِّ اَسْبَابِ النَّزُولِنْدِنِ نَقْلِي اِهْمِ وَالزَّمِ كُورْلِگَانَلَرِنِي تَرْكِي

the Government, it seems, should strive" [84]. Varadinov treats the appearance of complaints such as the one received in 1856 as a consequence of competition: the broad-based publication of the Qur'anic text by private presses led to a sharp decrease in price and undermined the position of those who had monopolised the market before 1840. The discussion went on, but did not lead to the creation of a special office of religious censorship, which would have been under the control of the Mohammedan Religious Council. In this fashion, the authorities aided the emergence and broad dissemination of jadidist ideas.

This does not mean, however, that full freedom of expression existed in this area. Thus, the censor did not allow a publication proposed by a certain Ismā'il Shamsutdinov, who asked for permission to issue a work entitled "*Tafsīr Galeia* (Translation of the Qur'ān)" (the work was evidently the *tafsīr* of 'Alī) [85]. Though political circumstances varied, the general approach appears to have been to allow the publication of the Qur'ān itself while blocking the appearance of commentaries and translations seen by the authorities as dubious [86].

Muslims were full-fledged citizens of Russia and played a role in the nation's history. The Qur'ān was recited during a special service organised by the St. Petersburg Muslim community after the death of Great Prince George (1871—1899), brother of Tsar Nicholas II (1868—1918). It was also recited at the foundation of the Grand Mosque of St. Petersburg (1910), located in the capital of the Empire, not far from the burial-vault of the Romanov dynasty. At the same time, the Qur'ān became the banner for numerous anti-Russian actions which began in Central Asia in 1916 and continued in Muslim regions of the USSR until 1931. Such varied and contradictory social and ideological processes were characteristic of the mood among Russian Muslim subjects at the turn of the twentieth century.

The first 20 years of the twentieth century saw the appearance of works connected in some fashion with the Qur'ān by V. V. Barthold (1869—1930), I. Yu. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), and A. E. Krymsky (1871—1941) [87]. Their research in general treated problems common to European Qur'anic studies. In 1905, Krymsky released an annotated translation of several *sūras* for pedagogical purposes [88]. And the Qur'ān continued to inspire Russian writers. V. K. Shileiko (1891—1930), a scholar and well-known poet of the Russian "silver age", dedicated a poem to the Qur'ān. I. A. Bunin (1870—1953), a Nobel laureate for literature, chose Qur'anic verses as epigraphs for an entire series of poems and attempted to translate parts of the sixth *sūra*.

The revolution of 1917 strengthened centrifugal tendencies in Muslim regions of Russia, where numerous "emirates", "imamates", and "khanates" arose which claimed the Qur'ān as the ideological basis for rule. But it also led to attempts to draw Muslims into the revolutionary struggle in order to export communist revolution to the East. Mikhael Frunze, a well-known Bolshevik military commander who was sent to Turkestan by Lenin to establish Soviet rule there, knew Eastern languages, was familiar with the Qur'ān, and as one of his first actions decreed that Friday be a day of rest.

In the context of this policy, the Bolsheviks decided to return to Muslims a number of sacred objects held in Orenburg, Kazan, in Central Asia, and in the Caucasus. During a Muslim Congress which took place in Petrograd in Decem-

ber 1917, by direct order of Lenin the Muslim community received the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān which had been kept at the St. Petersburg Public Library. The ideas of such Bolshevik revolutionary figures as M. S. Sultan-Galiev (ca. 1880—1940) [89] echo through the works of Ahmad Ben Bella (b. 1916), leader of the Algerian revolution, and in the *tafsīr* of the famed Iranian theologian 'Alī Sharī'atī (d. 1977). The practices of communist parties in Arab countries were also based on Bolshevik models. According to the General Secretary of the Syrian Communist Party, in the 1920s, the works of Lenin stood alongside Qur'anic *āyāt* in the chamber where the Political Bureau held its meetings [90].

At the same time, another contemporary of the revolution, the above-mentioned M. J. Bigeev, wrote in 1920 what appears to be the first Muslim anti-communist work, "Basics of Islam". It was directed against the "Basics of Communism" by N. I. Bukharin (1888—1938) [91]. The continuation of Bigeev's ideas can easily be found in the famous *tafsīr* by Sayyid Quṭb (1906—1966), the ideological leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, *Fī ḡilāl al-Qur'ān*, written between 1963 and 1964).

The civil war in Russia divided Muslims into various camps. Thus, in Eastern Bukhara, the conservatively inclined clergy sanctioned a *ghazawāt* and swore solemnly on the Qur'ān to engage all Muslims in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Authoritative *mullās* wrote by hand for Ibrāhīm-bek, one of the leaders of the *basmach* movement, several talismans with utterances from the Qur'ān which were intended to guard him from the enemy's bullets. But on 30 January 1924, the first *qirultāy* (congress) of the '*ulamā*' took place in Western Bukhara. The resolution of the congress contained the words: "... the *basmaches* falsely take refuge in Islam, but this is base deception on their part ... Soviet rule does not contradict the *sharī'a*; it guarantees the power of the people and for this reason our people should remain faithful to it" [92]. The progressive clergy supported the new regime's land and water reforms. At the beginning of 1926, a group of prominent Islamic figures headed by 'Abd al-Ḥafīz Makhdūm, chairman of the Tashkent religious administration, issued an appeal to all Muslims. The text spoke of how the companions of the Prophet had distributed their gardens and property to the poor and contained references to appropriate *āyāt* in the Qur'ān which state that land belongs to those who "have resurrected" it (*ahyāhā*) [93].

The accelerated construction of state socialism in the USSR, which began in 1928, was accompanied by a powerful anti-religious campaign. Repressions were unleashed against the clergy, including those who had only recently been allies in the struggle against the *basmach* movement. In the 1930s and later, approximately 40,000 *imāms*, *mullās*, and '*ulamā*' fell victim to repressions; many of them had continued the traditions of Islamic reform and belonged to the national religious elite.

This policy inevitably established the firm dominance of popular Islam with a heavy Sūfī influence, the organisational base of which remained underground Sūfī brotherhoods. Representatives of dogmatic Islam, the creator and guarantee of the faith's intellectual potential were destroyed during the years of repression.

In 1927, *sharī'a* and '*adat* courts were abolished and *waqfs* were confiscated. In February 1929, a letter signed by the secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), L. Kaganovich, was sent out



Fig. 11

in the name of the Central Committee to all republic, regional party committees. It was entitled "On measures for the strengthening of anti-religious activity". The document sanctioned the use of force in pressuring religious associations, alleging co-operation between religious organisations and counterrevolutionary forces. Mosques were closed and destroyed on a mass scale. Together with the text of the Bible, the Qur'ān was included in a list of books drawn up under the direction of Lenin's wife, N. K. Krupskaya, which were to be removed from open access in libraries. One's thoughts turn to the "Index of Forbidden Books" issued by Papal curia in 1557.

In August 1929, the Central Executive Committee and the Council (Soviet) of Peoples Commissars passed a resolution, which replaced the Arabic script with the Latin alphabet. Soon the Latin alphabet was exchanged for the Cyrillic. In a number of regions, it became unsafe to keep at home not only printed or manuscript texts of the Qur'ān, but any books written in the Arabic script. This led to large-scale losses of manuscripts only a small number of which were saved by special expeditions of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Many specialists in the traditional Muslim sciences were interned in Stalinist prison camps. An enormous project was undertaken to erase religious traditions from popular memory. Atheist propaganda was sharply stepped up and aimed to "expose" the Qur'ān [94]. The prohibition on any form of religious education or upbringing, on the public observation of holidays and rituals, ruptured the cycle of cultural continuity and separated a new generation from the traditions of their ancestors.

But at the same time, the study of the Qur'ān continued in an academic setting. By the beginning of the twentieth century, European scholars had collected enough materials to set about carrying out translations of the Qur'ān on a solid scholarly basis. In Russia this task fell to Academician I. Yu. Krachkovsky. The scholar was one of the first to discuss the need for a qualitatively different approach to the translation of the Qur'ān. Viewing the Qur'ān as the product of a specific age and environment, he attempted to avoid the influence of traditional interpretations and set himself the task of creating an appropriate literary translation. In his work, Krachkovsky relied on linguistic materials contemporary to the Qur'ān and strove to find in the Qur'ān itself explanations of obscure passages. Between 1921 and 1930, he completed a working translation of the text; he continued to labour at a commentary until his death.

Krachkovsky's translation had been slated for publication in the series "International Literature", but the edition was rejected by A. A. Zhdanov, a highly placed party functionary, and remained in manuscript. The translation, published posthumously in 1963 [95] and reissued numerous times since 1986, was not prepared for publication by the author. In essence, it is closer to an archival edition and retains the form of a literal translation at times. Nonetheless, in its approach to the text and its philological accuracy, Krachkovsky's work surpasses not only all Russian, but many European translations. An analysis of the translation and commentaries shows that in order to realize in scrupulous fashion the approach he had chosen, the author was compelled, in essence, to reexamine the research methods of his time and to reject many scholarly preconceptions. Since the conditions imposed on scholarly Islamic studies in the USSR prevented the work's completion, we can only guess at the extent to which the author intended to employ

his method [96]. As was noted above, the approach evident in Krachkovsky's translation is extremely close to that found in works by R. Bell, R. Blachère, and R. Paret. All of these translations exhibit the same "literal" treatment of the text. As a result of these attempts to follow as closely as possible the syntax of the original, the language of the Blachère's translation was, in the words of one critic, "truly awful" [97]. And the text of Bell's translation "is extremely difficult just to 'read'" [98].

Krachkovsky's work on a translation coincided with the beginning of a crisis in Soviet Islamic studies. It was spurred by the fact that approaches to the Qur'ān and methods of analyzing it were primarily determined by the needs of atheist propaganda. In 1930, N. A. Morozov (1930) attempted to define in this vein the tenth—eleventh centuries as the period of the Qur'ān's emergence, and the fourteenth century — the age of 'Uthmān I — as the time of its textual establishment. In the 1930s, several Moscow scholars led by E. A. Beliaev (1902—1976) advanced a hypothesis that the Qur'ān was created by a group of individuals [99]. Their approach to the study of the Qur'ān relied in large part on the hypercritical works of such Western orientologists as G. Weil and P. Caetani. However, their attitude to the object of study, unscholarly methodology of their research and conclusions, and tendentious, uncritical selection of materials from the European literature link the works created in the 1930s by the Soviet authors listed above with those produced by the Kazan missionary school. The vulgar materialism and militant atheism, which characterised these Soviet works dovetailed, in essence, with the idealistic and pointedly missionary approach of their missionary predecessors.

In this sense, Krachkovsky's work, K. S. Kashtaleva's (1897—1939) articles on the terminology of the Qur'ān, I. N. Vinnikov's (1897—1973) ethnographic studies, and Barthold's work on source analysis, stand out against the general background [100]. The painful process of freeing Soviet Islamic studies from the dogmatic approach of the 1930s and 1940s was not a smooth one. Attempts to overcome the most odious excesses were undertaken, in particular, by I. N. Petrushevsky (1898—1977). Works on Qur'ānic studies were studied primarily for linguistic purposes (e.g., the A. K. Borovkov; 1904—1962) [101]. Up until the beginning of the 1990s, however, militantly atheist works only distantly resembling actual scholarship continued to be published by a number of authors (L. I. Klimovich, A. V. Avksentyev and R. R. Mamontov, S. I. Dzhabbarov, and others) [102]. Such efforts were one of the authorities' responses to the objective impossibility of reducing Muslim religious life to forms amenable to strict state control. Thus, in the words of one functionary sent to Uzbekistan to evaluate atheist propaganda, he was told that a group of old men reading the Qur'ān in a specially reserved room of a club was nothing more than a meeting of veterans of the Second World War [103].

A new stage in the Study of Islam and the Qur'ān in the USSR began with the official realisation at the beginning of the 1980s that it was imperative to analyse various new developments in the Near and Middle East (Muslim fundamentalism, the Iranian revolution, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan). In 1980, an All-Union symposium was held in Tashkent with the aim of defining the basic tasks of Soviet Islamic studies in these new conditions. The materials of the symposium, published with the seal "for official use", reflected the growing concern of both scholars and practical

functionaries with the state of the discipline. The results of the symposium and the official decision taken in connection with it made possible the preparation and publication of a number of collective works and monographs which returned the Russian academic tradition [104].

Democratic principles in state relations with religion, the church, and believers underwent a restoration after the April 1988 meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and members of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church. The meeting took place in connection with the impending millennial anniversary of Russia's adoption of Christianity. At first, however, these changes affected only the Orthodox Church. The broad-based registration of Christian religious associations was not accompanied by corresponding actions in relation to followers of Islam.

A Russian Orthodox Church and a prayer house for evangelical Baptists functioned in Ashkhabad, capital of Turkmenistan, for 40 years — up until 1989 — but Muslim requests to register even one religious association were firmly rejected year after year on no solid legal basis. In these conditions *mufī* Muḥammad Ṣādiq Muḥammad Yūsuf, who in March 1989 assumed the chairmanship of the Religious Administration of Central Asian and Kazakhstan Muslims, announced the necessity of freeing Muslims as quickly as possible from all obstacles to the exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed right to profess their faith and perform its rituals. "It is a sore subject: there are few mosques and many requests to open them," he wrote only a month after assuming his post. "We do not have enough religious literature, especially Qur'āns, or books for elementary religious education. There is a great need for *mullās* who are educated, respond to contemporary needs and are capable of responding to complex questions" [105].

Approximately 50 million Soviet Muslims, of whom some 20 million lived within Russia itself, including 800,000 in Moscow, awaited changes. Changes were not long in coming. The number of Muslim religious associations registered in 1989 — 337 — represented an increase by a factor of ten over the previous year. This growth soon assumed landslide proportions.

Both within and beyond Russia, Muslims viewed *perestroika* as the result of divine intervention. In the words of the editor of *Manār al-Islām*, an authoritative Egyptian magazine, no one had succeeded in predicting the sweeping reformist cataclysm which engulfed from end to end the vast world at the centre of which stood Moscow, the capital of communism. He saw the reason for this failure in the extreme inadequacy of human potential when compared with the possibilities of the heavens, of which the Qur'ān says: "His command, when He desires a thing, is to say to it 'Be', and it is" (36:82) [106].

These words were echoed by Maqṣūd Gadzhiev, editor-in-chief of the Makhachkala newspaper *Islamic News*. In its first issue, he wrote: "In April 1985 (the beginning of *perestroika* in the USSR), the ceaseless prayers of the faithful and the cries of the hounded innocent were finally heard by the All-Mighty, who sent down unto us liberation from the 'evil spirit'. ... *Perestroika* was truly a sign from Allah" [107].

Changes in customs regulations permitted Russian Muslims' foreign co-religionists to begin importing religious literature on a mass scale. King Fahd of Saudi Arabia alone sent one million Qur'āns as a gift to the Muslims of

Central Asia (additionally, he dispatched 400,000 disposable syringes). Huge editions were also reissued not only of Krachkovsky's and Sablukov's translations, but of works by a number of authors of the "Muslim renaissance" at the beginning of the century. Boguslavsky's translation could finally be published.

As before, translations of the Qur'ān reflected the most important ideological processes in society. The practical impossibility of familiarising oneself with a text that was published in small editions and distributed under the "vigilant control" of municipal and regional party committees had led to the publication of Krachkovsky's translation by émigré presses (1983, 1989, New York). *Perestroika* ushered in thirteen reprintings of the edition between 1986 and 1991 in Moscow, Dushanbe, Baku, and Tashkent. These were issued by state presses (including *Fitness and Sport!*), private publishers, joint ventures (the Qur'ān was a profitable endeavor), and even the journal "Dawn of the East", which serialised the Qur'ān in 12 issues in 1990 and thus guaranteed itself a significant increase in subscriptions. One Chechen press published Krachkovsky's translation without indicating the name of the translator. In 1990—1991, Sablukov's translation went through five editions (Moscow, Kazan).

The same period saw the creation of translations based on the Muslim tradition (M. N. Osmanov, V. M. Porokhova, an anonymous translation by the *Ahmadiyya* movement; the latter two were based on word-for-word translations into Russian). An attempt was made to create a poetic translation (T. A. Shumovsky) [108]. Centres of Islamic activity such as Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey now finance the publication and distribution in Russia and the CIS of special educational aids and translations of contemporary *tafsīrs* into Russian and national languages [109]. Programs to translate the Qur'ān into the languages of Central Asia and the Caucasus also receive financing. One of the first such translations was produced by J. M. Istaev (translation into Kazakh, 1991) [110]. Hundreds of thousands of copies of the Qur'ān continue to be imported to Russia and the CIS for free distribution to the faithful. The Religions Administration of Muslims also reissues the Arabic text of the Qur'ān (editions which appeared in the Soviet Union (1923, 1956) employed the text of the old Kazan editions; this was replaced by the text of the official Cairo edition of 1919—1928 only in the Tashkent edition of 1960, which served as the model for all subsequent publications). The Religious Administration of Muslims in the European Region of Russia is preparing an electronic version of Krachkovsky's translation for its site in the Internet.

As old structures disintegrate in the post-Soviet period and new state formations of various types take shape, the Qur'ān has acquired the status of a state symbol (for the swearing-in of the president in a number of states in the CIS and subjects of the Russian Federation) and has been declared a basic source of law (Chechnya). In this regard, social and political practice in Muslim regions of the former USSR follows the traditions which prevail today in a number of Muslim states in Asia and Africa.

Nevertheless, the specific features of the Qur'ān's role are largely conditioned by the characteristics of the emerging nation state and the search for a national ideology. Thus, President Niyazov of Turkmenistan proposed amending Islamic prayers by "saying the following words after each *āya*, after the prayer:

Turkmenistan, my fatherland,
To you I dedicate my life.
And if I cause you harm,
May my hand forever wither!" [111]

Knowledge of the Qur'ān and the ability to read it has become an important element in the image of Muslim politicians. Thus, on the official Internet site of the Russian government, on the page with the biography of Ramaḍān Abdulatipov, who deals with relations between nationalities in the Russian Federation, we read: "Played for the Dagestani national volleyball team. Enjoys hunting in the mountains, reads the Qur'ān, plays folk musical instruments".

The Qur'ān serves as one of the main reference points in the heated disputes which have recently broken out between so-called tariqatists, proponents of traditional Islamic trends who long enjoyed unquestioned domination on the territory of the CIS, and wahhābites, who are conducting an aggressive, and largely successful, campaign funded by foreign Islamic centres.

The creative inspiration of the Qur'ān continues to influence Russian writers. In one of his last interviews, A. Bitov, undoubtedly among the most serious contemporary Russian writers, noted: "I strive to be harmonious. If I manage to read a few sentences from the Bible, the Qur'ān, Pushkin, Pascal, or Dal in the morning, my attitude toward life is simply joyous" [112].

The scholarly study of the Qur'ān continues [113], new translations are prepared [114] (among them the new Tatar translation started recently by Prof. A. Khalidov), educational materials are published in the tradition of the jādī-

dist [115]. A priority for Russian Qur'ānic studies is the realisation of Krachkovsky's idea to ready a philologically accurate, appropriately literary academic translation of the Qur'ān with comprehensive commentary and reference materials. This work, which in current conditions should be carried out by a group of specialists, must be based on the study of tribal dialects and the language and structure of the Qur'ānic text with the employment of modern methodologies. No less important is the study of the culture of Southern Arabia, Nabatea, the lengthy process which led to a "cultural symbiosis" in the sedentary centres of Inner Arabia with a heterogeneous population. The preparation of such a translation, relying on the results of research conducted in the 1970s—1990s, is of current relevance to Western Islamic studies as well.

Impressed by the frescoes in the churches of Venice, the outstanding Russian poet and Nobel laureate B. L. Pasternak noted: "I realised that the Bible, for example, is not so much a book with a fixed text, as it is the record of mankind, and that all eternal things share this quality. The eternal is vitally relevant not when it is required, but when it is receptive to all of the likenesses through which later centuries gaze back at it" [116]. To no lesser degree than the Bible, the Qur'ān, it seems, can also be considered a "record of mankind". For despite a welter of evaluations and opinions, mankind has never been indifferent to the truths proclaimed therein. The history of the Qur'ān in Russia, termed the "Eastern-Western community" by the Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdiaev [117], seems to prove it perfectly well.

Notes

1. A pioneer in this area was P. A. Gryaznevich, see his "Koran v Rossii (izuchenie, perevody i izdaniia)" ("The Qur'ān in Russia: study, translation, and editions"), *Islam: Religii, obshchestvo gosudarstvo*, eds. P. A. Gryaznevich and S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1984), pp. 76—82; also *idem*, "Sud'ba velikoi knigi v Rossii" ("The fate of a great book in Russia"), *Literaturnaia Gazeta — Dos'e*, No. 7, 1991, p. 20.

2. See A. K. Antonovich, *Belorusskie teksty, pisannye arabskim pis'mom, i ikh grafiko-ortograficheskaia sistema* (Byelorussian Texts Written in Arabic Script and Their Graphic-Orthographic System) (Vilnius, 1968); V. P. Demidchik, "Pamiatniki belorusskoĭ literatury, pisannye arabskim pis'mom, i legenda o nochnom vozneshenii Mukhammadā" ("Works of Byelorussian literature written in the Arabic script, and a tale of Muḥammad's nocturnal ascension"), *Problemy arabskoĭ kul'tury. Pamiati akademika I. Iu. Krachkovskogo* (Moscow, 1987), pp. 238—53.

3. The original inventory of the *Posol'skii Prikaz* archive, conducted in the 1560s, is today stored at the National Library of Russia (henceforth, *RNB*) in St. Petersburg, see QIV.70, fols. 224—357 v. Published in *Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossii XVI stoletii. Opyt rekonstruktsii* (The State Archive of Russia of the Sixteenth Century. A Reconstruction Attempt), text prepared and annotated by A. A. Zimin, ed. Academician L. V. Cherepnin, fasc. 1—3 (Moscow, 1978), see in particular fasc. 1, p. 98 and fasc. 3, p. 506.

4. This was scribe Petr Grigoryevich Sovin, see A. Kruming, "Pervye russkie perevody Korana, vypolnennye pri Petre Velikom" ("First Russian translations of the Qur'ān carried out under Peter the Great"), *Arkhiv russkoĭ istorii*, V (1994), p. 228.

5. *Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov* (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts) (henceforth, *RGADA*) (Moscow), *φ*. 18, No. 1227, 447 fols., size: 23.5 × 18.5 cm. The codex was collected from various fragments and augmented in the first half of the seventeenth century. Reverse pagination. The new part — fols. 387—382, 372—365, 299—294, 238—246 — was carried out in calligraphic Turkish *nashk* on European paper without customary additional Turkish processing. The paper is dated by watermark (two-headed eagle) to about 1628—1639. The older part — fols. 292—239 (size: 22.5 × 16) — is on brown-tinged Eastern paper (thirteenth—fourteenth centuries?). Some of the folios (475—388, 352—300) with interpolated Persian translation and commentary are on yellow-tinged Eastern paper. Another part — fols. 381—373, 364—352, 235—1 — with interpolated Turkish translation and commentary, are on similar paper. See D. A. Morozov, *Kratkii katalog arabskikh rukopisei i dokumentov Rossiiskogo Gosudarstvennogo Arkhiva Drevnikh Aktov* (Brief Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts and Documents in the Russian State Archives of Ancient Acts) (Moscow, 1996), pp. 21—2.

6. The *sūra al-Naḥl* is sixteenth in order; *al-Fātiha* was evidently not considered a separate chapter.

7. Morozov, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

8. Ioannicyusz Galatowski, *Alkoran Macometow Nauka heretycka y zydowska y poganska napelniony. Od Koheletha Chrystusowego rozproszony y zgromadzony ...* (Chernigov, 18 May 1683). At least three copies of this book have survived: the State Library of Russia (henceforth, *RGB*) Book Museum, collection of Kirillov books (No. 3963); *RGADA*, *φ*. 1251, No. 4141/2504 un.; *RNB*, *Pm* 17 *Полн* 15 q.

9. Three main features allow us to distinguish easily between the two translations. Before the title of the anonymous translator's work is a note about the presentation of the printed Polish book to the Tsars Ioann and Petr on 6 August 7191/A.D. 1683 (the book was presented by a messenger of Ioannicyusz Galatowski, heriomonach Paisii). The heraldic verses in this translation are given in prose, and the afterword at the end, *Zolowi*, is left untranslated (see Kruming, *op.cit.*, p. 230, n. 5). On S. Gadżalowski, see O. A. Belobrova, "Gadżalowski (Gadżalowski) Stakhił", *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta Russkoj Literatury Akademii nauk* (Leningrad, 1990), p. 71. Copies of the anonymous translation have been preserved at *RGADA* (ф. 181, on. 9, No. 756/1286), and *RNB* (Collection of the St. Petersburg Religious Academy, No. 186, fols. 1–80). Copies of the Gadżalowski translation are held at *RGADA* (ф. 357, No. 68/213, fols. 1–72) and *RNB* (F XVII 19, pp. 316–39). For more detail, see Kruming, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

10. Ioannikiĭ Galiatovskiĭ (Ioannicyusz Galatowski), *Nebo novoe, z novymi zvezdami sotvorënnoe, To est', Preblagoslovenaia Deva Maria z Chudami Svoimi* ... (The New Heaven, Created with New Stars, that is, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary with Her Wonders) (Lvov, 12 December 1665). Two more editions were published there and in Mogilev in 1666 and 1699. The Lvov edition is mentioned as one of the books in Peter the Great's library (now in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, No. 467 = P. 239).

11. Ioannicyusz Galatowski, *Labeledz z piorami swemi z darami Boskiemi Chrystvs Prawowiememv Narodowi Chrzescianskiemu Labebzionym Piorom swej madrosci Boskiej wypylsue Przyczyny, dla ktorych dlugo trwa na Swiecie sekta Machometanska?* ... (Lvov, 1665; Chernigov, 1670; Novgorod-Severskiy, 1677; Mogilev, 1699). All the editions are preserved in the Peter the Great's library. Two copies of the book are held at *RGADA* (ф. 1251, Nos. 4181/2684 and 4181/2686).

12. See Galatowski, *Nebo novoe*, fol. 54: "Махомет Зводитель выхваляючи Пречистую Деву в своем Алькорань, (чыли от доброго чыли от злого духа наученный) моит: о Марие Бог тебе обрал надъ всь невѣсты на свѣтъ, о Марие, Бог объявил тебѣ слово свое от себе, имя его Мессия" ("Mahomet the Deceiver, praising the Virgin Mary in his Alkoran (whether by a good or evil spirit taught), says, oh Mary, God hath blessed thee among all women in the world, oh Mary, God has placed his word upon you, the name of the word is Messiah"). For a detailed analysis, see Kruming, *op. cit.*, p. 229, n. 5.

13. *Alkoran o Magomete ili Zakon turetskii, perevedennyĭ s frantsuzskogo iazyka na rossiskii* (The Alkoran of Magomet or the Turkish Law, Translated from the French into the Russian), printed by order of His Majesty the Tsar at the St. Petersburg press, 1716, in the month of December. See I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Russkii perevod Korana v rukopisi XVIII veka" ("A Russian translation of the Qur'ān from an eighteenth-century manuscript"), *Sbornik stateĭ k sorokaletiiu uchenoiĭ deiatel'nosti akad. A. S. Orlova* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1934), pp. 219–26; see also *idem*, *Izbrannye Sochineniia* (Works), (Moscow, 1955), i, pp. 175–81; also Kruming, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–6.

14. About his edition see P. Efremov, "Novootkrytaia bibliograficheskaia redkost'" ("A newly discovered bibliographic rarity"), *Russkii Arkhiv*, I (Moscow, 1888), pp. 644–6; Ia. Berezin-Shiriaev, "Nekotorye podrobnosti o ves'ma redkom ekzempliare Alkorana" ("Some details about a very rare copy of the Alkoran"), *Bibliograficheskie Zapiski*, I (Moscow, January 1892), pp. 26–7. Several copies of this translation are preserved in Russian repositories and libraries: *RGADA* (ф. 1251, No. 3, corrector's proof copy); *RGB* (Book Museum, Cu-20/16-K, No. 167); State Public Historical Library in Moscow, Otdel Istorii Knigi (Dept. of the book history), *Jl.* 8.1/28, inventory Nos. 15282 and 15283); *RNB* (*II* 219 and *II* 219a); Library of the Academy of Sciences (henceforth, *BAN*) in St. Petersburg (24.7.1); Library of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (*II* 4/40); Library of the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Institute of History (XI.4352) (inventory No. 5383). *RGADA* has a typeset manuscript of the 1716 Qur'ān, which served as the original for the printed text (ф. 381, manuscript books of the Moscow Synodal Press, No. 1034). A handwritten copy was made from this print copy (dated by paper to 1788). It is now held in Ufa (Bashkir State Library, Dept. of rare books and manuscripts, 4845 (p/ф), see P. O. Isherikov, "O poiskakh i sbore drevnikh aktov i rukopiseĭ v Bashkiriĭ" ("On the search for and collection of ancient documents and manuscripts in Bashkiria"), *Voprosy Istorii*, X (1951), p. 115.

15. This edition is mentioned numerous times in a correspondence between the director of the St. Petersburg Press, Mikhail Avramov, and Tzar Peter I's personal secretary, Aleksey Makarov, but the translator's name is not indicated. In a letter dated 18 February 1717, we find: "I have nothing to report, although I present to you my brother and true friend; through him we have sent to His Majesty a new plan of the Saint Petersburg *prishpect* (prospect — *E. R.*), a military book, Alkoran, and two proportional drawings of an English ship-building shop ..." (*RGADA*, ф. 9, omō. II, кн. 31 (incoming letters from 1717, book I, letters A—G), fol. 115. Cited in Kruming, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

16. For example, the introductory words and heading of the second *sūra* (Le Chapitre de la Vache écrit à la Mecque) are translated as "Chapter written from Vasha to Mekka".

17. For more detail on Posnikov, see E. P. Shmurlo, "P. Posnikov. Neskol'ko dannikh dlia ego biografii" ("P. Posnikov. Some information for his biography") (Yuryev (Derpt), 1894), separate off-print from the *Uchenye Zapiski Imperatorskogo Iur'evskogo Universiteta*, 2nd year, No. 1 (1894), Unofficial section, pp. 73–273.

18. *BAN* (33.7.6) and *RGADA* (ф. 181, No. 148/217).

19. D. Kantemir, *Kniga Sistima ili sostoianie Mukhammedannskii religii napechatasia poveleniem Ego Velichestva Petra Velikogo Imperatora i Samoderzhitsa vsereossiiskogo* (The System Book or the State of the Muhammedan Religion, Printed by Order of His Majesty Peter the Great, Emperor and Autocrat of all Russia) (St. Petersburg, 1722). For more detail on Dmitry Kantemir, see the Rumanian edition of his work: Dimitrie Cantemir, *Sistemul sau intocmirea religiei muhammedane. Traducere, studiu introductiv si comentarii de Virgil Candea* (Bucharest, 1977). This is, possibly, the manuscript which Peter the Great urgently demanded be sent to him in Astrakhan in a special letter dated 18 July 1722, the first day of his Persian campaign (see fig. 5), see Russian State Historical Archives in St. Petersburg, fund of Synod (796), *уч.* 3, d. 859 (1722). In the same year, on Peter's order, the first press with moveable Arabic type was set up in Russia.

20. The St. Petersburg edition consists of 447 pages plus a one-page list of *errata*. Thirteen corrections are given; the errors involve diacritics, not letters. The *errata* are given in Tatar. See also *Russkii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv* (The Russian State Historical Archive; henceforth, *RGIA*), ф. 468, on. 43, d. 239 (1786), fol. 38. At the same time, the "prayer for a part of the Alkoran" was apparently published in an edition of ten thousand copies, see *ibid.*, ф. 1329, on. 4, d. 296, fols. 3–4 (1 July 1797).

21. Aleksander Khrapovitsky, Catherine's secretary, cites in a diary entry from 17 December 1786 words said by Catherine to Procurator-General Prince Aleksander Viazemsky: "In a conversation with the P. G. (Procurator-General — *E. R.*) about the mosques constructed for the Qirghiz on the border and about the order to print the Alkoran, it was said that this was done not to introduce Muhammadism, but to bait the rod." We thank A. Kruming for kindly drawing our attention to this.

22. See *Filosofskaia i politicheskaia perepiska imperiatritsi Ekateriny II s doktorom Zimmermannom s 1785 po 1792 god* (The Philosophical and Political Correspondence of Empress Catherine II with Dr. Zimmermann Between 1785 and 1792) (St. Petersburg, 1803), p. 137 (letter of Zimmermann of November 29, 1788 with the reference to the article of Prof. Heine in Göttingen University *Schriften*, No. 120, 1788).

23. According to one of the documents, the production cost of the edition was 9,292 rubles, 25 kopecks. Profits from sales came to 12,000 rubles at a single-copy cost of six rubles, five kopecks. See *RGIA*, *ф.* 1329, *он.* 4, *д.* 296, *fol.* 5. Two factors determined the commercial success of this and subsequent "Kazan Qur'āns" editions: their Muslim character and high quality printing. The first purely commercial European edition intended for distribution in the Muslim East, that of Paganini Brixiensis (Paganino de Bresla), Venice, 1530, failed in both respects. It was destroyed as a result of incompetence, and not because of the dismal atmosphere of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, as is commonly held. For details see M. Borrmans, "Observations à propos de la première édition imprimée du Coran", *Quaderni di studi arabi*, VIII (1990), which I recently obtained thanks to the kindness of Prof. V. Strika (Naples).

24. See, for example, *Filosofskaia i politicheskaia perepiska*, p. 124—5 (letter of Catherine II No. 20 of May 6, 1788).

25. For details on the transfer of Shnor's St. Petersburg press' equipment to Kazan in order to "print the necessary quantity of Alkorans, prayer books and similar publications", see *RGIA*, *ф.* 1329, *он.* 4, *д.* 296, *fol.* 12 (10 May 1800); see also *ф.* 821, *он.* 8, *д.* 830, *fol.* 7, and *д.* 831 (1861) entitled "On the Recognition of the Expediency of Granting the Asiatic Press at Kazan University the Exclusive Right to Print the Qur'ān with Information on the History of the Press". In 1861, the Minister of Education deemed it advantageous for Muslims to print the Qur'ān exclusively at the university press. The Ministry of Internal Affairs disagreed, citing a Statute approved by the Council of Ministers on 25 October 1849 which permitted the printing of Qur'āns in privately owned presses.

26. *RGIA*, *ф.* 821, *он.* 8, *д.* 830, *fol.* 7 (February 16, 1859).

27. R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran* (Paris, 1947), p. 133. On the "Kazan Qur'āns" see Anās Khalīdūf, *Al-kutub al-'arabiyya allati tubi 'at fi Rusiya: 1787—1917* (Arabic Books Printed in Russia: 1787—1917) (Dubai, at the printer's); Fr. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca Arabica* (Halae ad Salam, 1811), pp. 418—20; Griaznevich, "Koran v Rossii", pp. 76—82; E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'anic studies"), *Islam. Istoriograficheskie ocherki*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1991), p. 15; H. Röhling, "Koranausgaben in Russischen Buchdruck des 18 Jahrhunderts", *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (Mainz, 1977), p. 205—10.

28. *RGIA*, *ф.* 1263, *он.* 1, *д.* 2033 (11 October 1849), *fol.* 12—19.

29. *Ibid.*, *fol.* 18.

30. *Kniga Al'-Koran aravliana Magometa, kotoryi v shestom stoletii vidal onui za nisposlannuiu k nemu s nebes, sebja je poslednim i velichaisim iz prorokov bozhiihkh*. Pervod s arabskogo na frantsuzskii iazyk Andreia diu-Riuera-de la Garu Malezera, odnogo iz pomestnykh dvorian korolia Frantsuzskogo, dostokhval'no i cherez mnogie gody sluzhivshago otechestvu svoemu, pri Porte Ottomanskoj sniskavshago polnuiu doverennost' sultana Amurata Tre'tego, chto byl ot nego poslan k Ludoviku Tre'temu-na desiat' s vazhnymi preporucheniiami. Pechatana v Amsterdame i Leipsige v 1790 g., po rossiisk zhe pereložena v sel'tse Nikolaev Slinskoj okrug, 1790 g. [M. I. Verëvkinym]. Chasti 1—2 (Sankt-Peterburg, 1790). (The Book Al-Koran by the Arabian Magomet, Who in the Sixth Century Passed Such off as Sent down to Him from the Heavens and Himself Declared as the Last and Greatest of God's Prophets, translated from the Arabic into the French by André du Ryer de la Garu Malezar, one of the landed gentry of the French King, who for many years rendered his country praise-worthy service and at the Ottoman Porte gained the trust of Sultan Amurat the Third to such an extent that he was sent by him to Louis the Thirteenth with important missions. Printed in Amsterdam and Leipzig in 1770, translated into Russian in the village of Nikolaev in the Slinsky region (okrug) in 1790 (by M. I. Verevkin). Parts 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1790).

31. *Al-Koran Magomedov, perevedennyi s arabskogo na angliiskii s priobshcheniem k kazhdoj glave na vse temnye mesta iz'iasnitel'nykh istoricheskikh primechanii, vybrannykh iz samykh dostoverneishikh istorikov i arabskikh tolkovatelei Al-Korana Georgiem Seylem i s prisovokupleniem obstoiatel'nogo i podrobnogo opisaniiia zhizni Izheproroka Magomeda, sochinennogo slavnym doktorom Prido. S angliiskogo na rossiiskii perevel Alexei Kolmakov*. (The Muhammadan Al-Koran, translated from the Arabic into the English by George Sale with explanatory historical notes added to each chapter and to all obscure passages. Additionally included is a thorough and detailed biography of the false prophet Magomed composed by the good doctor Prideux. Translated from the English into the Russian by Aleksey Kolmakov), pts. 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1792). The appendix to the edition has a separate title page, the subtitle reads "Translated into the Russian by P[etr] A[ndreev]".

32. See V. S. Solov'ev, "Znachenie poëzii v stikhotvoreniiah Pushkina" ("The meaning of poetry in the verses of Pushkin"), in V. S. Solov'ev, *Sochineniia* (Works), vii (St. Petersburg, s.a.), pp. 350—5; N. N. Cherniaev, "Prorok" Pushkina v sviazi s ego zhe "Podrazhaniem Koranu" (Pushkin's "Prophet" in the Context of the Poet's "Imitations of the Qur'ān") (Moscow, 1908); K. S. Kashtaleva, "'Podrazhaniia Koranu' Pushkina i ikh pervoistochnik", ("The 'Imitations of the Qur'ān' by Pushkin and their original source"), *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, V (1930), pp. 243—70; V. I. Filenenko, *Podrazhaniia Koranu Pushkina* (Pushkin's Imitations of the Qur'ān) (Simferopol, 1928); B. V. Tomashevskii, *Pushkin*, ii (Moscow—Leningrad, 1961), pp. 23—5. W. N. Vickery, "Towards an Interpretation of Pushkin's 'Podrazhaniia Koranu'", *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, XI/1 (Irvine, 1974), pp. 61—77; S. A. Fomichev, "'Podrazhaniia Koranu': genesis, arkhitektonika i kompozitsiia tsikla" ("The 'Imitations of the Qur'ān': genesis, architectonics, and composition of the cycle"), *Vremennik Pushkinskoj komissii*. 1978 (Leningrad, 1981), pp. 41—52; V. V. Ivanov, "Temy i stili Vostoka v poëzii Zapada" ("Themes and styles of the East in the poetry of the West"), *Vostochnye motivy* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 431—4.

33. *Koran Magometa, perevedennyi s arabskogo na frantsuzskii perevodchikom Frantsuzskogo posol'stva v Persii Kazimirskim. S primechaniiami i zhizneopisaniem Magometa*. S Frantsuzskogo perevel K. Nikolaev (Moskva, 1864) (The Koran of Magomet, translated from the Arabic into the French by Kazimirski, translator of the French embassy in Persia. With notes and a biography of Magomet), trans. from the French by Nikolayev (Moscow, 1864).

34. For more information about M. A. Kazem-Bek, see A. K. Rzaev, Mukhammad Ali Kazem-Bek (Muhammad 'Alī Qāzīm Bīk) (Moscow, 1989).

35. Recent years have seen the appearance in print of several dictionaries based on this alphabetical system, which today remains a novelty in Arabic studies, see Jibrān Mas'ūd, *Mu'jam lughawī 'aṣrī* (Beirut, 1967), 2nd ed.; B. M. Belkin, *Karmannyi arabsko-russkii*

slovar' (Pocket Arabic-Russian Dictionary) (Moscow, 1970); M. el-Massarani, V. S. Segol', *Arabsko-russkii slovar' siriiskogo dialekta* (Arabic-Russian dictionary of Syrian Dialect) (Moscow, 1978).

36. Kazem-Bek chose as the methodological basis for his work the system proposed by A. Cruden, who drew up a concordance to the Bible, see A. Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament* (Berick, 1817), 8th edn.

37. Kazem-Bek's work remains significant today. Its merits place it on equal footing with a similar Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī's work *al-Mu'jam al-mufahras li-l-alfadh al-Qur'an al-karīm* (Concordance to the Qur'ān) (Beirut, s. a.). For modern readers, however, the work suffers from a serious shortcoming, although the author himself can hardly be blamed for it — Kazem-Bek's "Concordance" is based on the Qur'ānic text published by Gustav Flügel. The latter was universally supplanted by the Cairo edition (1919, 1923, 1928).

38. See *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, CXILII (1859), p. 23; also M. A. Kazem-Bek, "Neobkhodimoe ob'iasneniie" ("Necessary explanation"), *Severnaia pchela*, No. 84 (1860), p. 9.

39. Fund 1/1868, d. 25, fols. 14 rev.—15. On the correspondence concerning the stand for the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān, see *ibid.*, fols. 13—13 rev.; 15 rev.; 22—22 rev.

40. Curiously, A. F. Shebunin's work was published in St. Petersburg in Tatar:

ا. ف. شيبونين، خط كوفي قرآنى قصة سندن روسجه زين تركى تليينه قابو يردين چغوين هم نهجوك حاصل قىلويں هم ته طريقه ايلان بيبلى
اوتياغه كلوين اعلا قىلور اوچون روايت هم اخبار لار يازولدى / مترجم: اوروسف حسين (بطرسبورغ، ۱۹۰۵).

Shebunin discovered and described a close parallel to the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān in Egypt. See A. N. Shebunin, "Kuficheskiĭ Koran Khedivskoi biblioteki v Kaire," ("A Kufic Qur'ān of the Khedive library in Cairo"), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XIV (1901), pp. 119—54.

41. According to tradition, the Samarqand Kufic Qur'ān was written by 'Uthmān, the third Caliph (644—656). It was published at the St. Petersburg Archaeological Institute by V. I. Uspensky and S. I. Pisarev (St. Petersburg, 1905). On this edition and other copies of the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān, see E. A. Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VI. Emergence of the canon: the struggle for uniformity", *Manuscripta Orientalia*, IV/2 (1998), p. 47, n. 11.

42. A. Jeffery and I. Mendelshon, "The orthography of the Samarqand Qur'an codex", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, III (1942), pp. 175—94.

43. See Rezvan, "The Qur'ān and its world: VI".

44. Author is planning to publish special article devoted to the unique collection of Crimea Qur'āns preserved at the National Library of Russia.

45. In addition to the above-mentioned works, for information on Qur'ānic manuscripts in Russia, see *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale publique de St. Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg, 1852); *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostoovedeniia AN SSSR. Kratkii katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A Brief Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, compilers S. M. Batsieva, A. S. Bogoliubov, K. A. Boyko, O. G. Bolshakov, P. A. Griaznevich, A. I. Mikhaylova, L. I. Nikolaeva, S. B. Pevzner, M. B. Piotrovsky, A. B. Khalidov, T. A. Shumovsky (Moscow, 1986); O. B. Frolova and T. P. Deriagina, *Arabskie rukopisi vostochnogo otdela nauchnoi biblioteki Sankt-Petersburgskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kratkii katalog* (Arabic Manuscripts of the Eastern Section of the Academic Library of St. Petersburg State University. A Brief Catalogue) (St. Petersburg, 1996); V. V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, "Opisanie iashchika dlia Korana (iz sobraniia kniazia M. A. Obolenskogo)" ("Description of a box for the Qur'ān: from the collection of Prince M. A. Obolensky"), *Zapiski IAN*, No. 268 (1890), pp. 1—8; I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Opisanie sobraniia Koranov privezennykh iz Trapezunda akademikom F. I. Uspenskim" ("Description of a collection of Qur'āns brought from Trapezund by Academician F. I. Uspensky"), *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk*, VI series, XI (1917), pp. 346—9; *idem*, "Rukopis' Korana v Pskove" ("A manuscript of the Qur'ān in Pskov"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk*, series V (Vostokovedenie) (1924), p. 165—8 (the article is republished in *idem*, *Izbrannye sochineniia* (Works), vol. I (Moscow, 1961), pp. 162—4; *idem*, *Nad arabskimi rukopisiami* (Over Arabic Manuscripts), a chapter entitled "Kuficheskiĭ Koran i "babushka arabka"" ("A Kufic Qur'ān and an "Arab grandmother")" (Moscow—Leningrad, 1949), republished in *idem*, *Izbrannye sochineniia*, vol. I, pp. 115—8; also V. A. Krachkovskaia, "Redkaia rukopis' Korana XVI veka" ("A rare manuscript of a sixteenth-century Qur'ān"), *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii (arabskie strany)*, XLVII (1961), pp. 38—42; V. V. Lebedev and O. V. Vasil'eva, "Vostochnye rukopisnye fondy Gosudarstvennoi Publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina" ("Eastern manuscript collections of the M. E. Saltykov-Schedrin State Public Library"), *Archaeographia orientalis. Materialy rabochego soveshchaniia po problemam vostochnoi arheografii. Leningrad 1—4 Marta 1988* (Moscow, 1990), pp. 93—119; V. V. Polosin, "Fondy rukopisei i staropechatnykh knig, aktovykh i epigraficheskikh materialov na iazykakh narodov sovetskogo i zarubezhnogo Vostoka v SSSR" ("Collections in the USSR of manuscripts and old-print books, documentary and epigraphic materials in the languages of the Soviet Union and East), *ibid.*, pp. 178—204; E. Rezvan, "The first Qur'āns", in *Pages of Perfection. Islamic Paintings and Calligraphy from the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg* (Milan, 1995), pp. 108—17; *idem*, "Qur'āns made on commission", *ibid.*, pp. 301—13; see also descriptions Nos. 5, 6, 27, 34, 55 in the same edition (there are also French, German and Italian versions of the edition).

46. In addition to St. Petersburg, there are collections of Qur'āns in Kazan, Ufa, Makhachqala, Grozny, and Moscow. The most interesting collections in former Soviet republics are in Uzbekistan (Tashkent, Bukhara, Samarqand), Azerbaijan (Baku), Tajikistan (Dushanbe), Turkmenia (Ashkhabad), Kazakhstan (Alma-Ata), Armenia (Yerevan), and Georgia (Tbilisi).

47. *Koran. Zakonodatel'naia kniga mohammedanskogo veroucheniia* (Law-Giving Book of the Muhammedan Faith), trans. and appendix by G. Sablukov (Kazan, 1877). — Commission of the Missionary anti-Muslim collection at the Kazan Religious Academy.

48. The translation was published more than one hundred years after its creation, see *Koran*, trans. and commentary by D. N. Boguslavsky (St. Petersburg, 1995). The Boguslavsky translation was published by E. A. Rezvan in conjunction with A. N. Weiraukh. For more detail about this translation and its author, see I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Perevod Korana D. N. Boguslavskogo" ("The Qur'ān translation of D. N. Boguslavsky"), *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, III (1945), pp. 293—301; A. N. Weiraukh, "Rossiiskii diplomat D. N. Boguslavskii — avtor perevoda Korana" ("The Russian diplomat D. N. Boguslavsky, author of a translation of the Qur'ān"), in *Koran*, trans. and commentary by D. N. Boguslavsky, pp. 543—6.

49. G. Weil, *Istoriko-kriticheskoe vvedenie v Koran* (Historical-Critical Introduction to the Qur'ān), trans. from the German by E. Maly (Kazan, 1875).

50. G. Sablukov, *Prilozhenie k perevodu Korana* (Appendix to a Translation of the Qur'ān) (Kazan, 1879); *idem*, *Svedeniia o Korane, zakonopolozhitel'noi knige mokhammedanskogo veroucheniia* (Information About the Qur'ān, Law-Giving Book of the Muḥammadan Faith) (Kazan, 1884).

51. I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Chernyshevskii i orientalist G. S. Sablukov" ("Chernyshevsky and the orientalist G. S. Sablukov"), *N. G. Chernyshevsky (1889—1939): Trudy nauchnoi sessii k piatidesiatiletiu so dnia smerti* (Leningrad, 1941), pp. 34—5; republished in his *Izbrannye sochineniia*, vol. I, pp. 213—24. For a general and extremely negative assessment of works by the students and teachers of the Kazan Religious Academy, see reviews by V. R. Rozen published in *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, II (1887), pp. 157—9, 283—301; IV (1889), pp. 422—5; VIII (1894), pp. 362—7.

52. I. Gotval'd, *Opyt arabsko-russkogo slovaria na Koran, sem' moallakat i stikhotvoreniia Imru'l-keisa* (Attempt at an Arabic-Russian Dictionary of the Qur'ān, the Seven Mu'allaqāt, and Poems by Imru'l-Qays) (Kazan, 1863); V. Girgas, *Slovar' k arabskoi khrestomatii i Koranu* (Dictionary to an Arabic Chrestomathy and the Qur'ān) (Kazan, 1881).

53. See "O prisiage dlia magometan, pri dopushchenii ikh k svidetel'stvu v delakh s khristianami, ili odnikh khristian. V prilozhenii dan tekst nastavleniia dlia musul'man" ("On the oath for Muslims if they are to give testimony in matters with Christians, or only for Christians. In Addenda the text of instruction for Muslims is given"), *Polnyi Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii za 1831*, vol. VI, article 4974 (St. Petersburg, 1832); "O novoï forme prisiagi po sudebnym delam dlia magometan. Formy prisiagi na tatarskom, turetskom, i persidskom iazykakh" ("On the new form of the oath in court cases for Muslims. In Tatar, Turkish, and Persian"), *Polnyi Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii za 1850*, vol. XXV, article 24117 (St. Petersburg, 1851).

54. See "O sostavlenii i rassmotrenii proektov novoï formy voennoi prisiagi dlia magometan" ("On the drawing up and consideration of projects for a new form of the military oath for Muslims"), a document in *RGIA*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 8, *δ*. 1152 (1859—61); also "Ob ustanovlenii poriadka privedeniia k prisiage magometan pri uslovii otсутstviia magometanskogo dukhovenstva" ("On the establishment of a procedure for Muslims to swear oaths in the absence of the Muslim clergy"), a document in *RGIA*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 8, *δ*. 1159 (1861—67), fols. 4—5).

55. "O privede k prisiage nekotorykh magometanskikh dukhovnykh lits v uezdnykh politseiskikh upravleniakh" ("On the swearing in of certain Muslim clergymen in uezd police administrations"), *Polnyi Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii za 1870* (St. Petersburg, 1872), xlv, article 48397.

56. "Kliatvennoe obeshchanie dlia musul'man, postupaiushchikh v voennuiu sluzhbu" ("The oath which Muslims swear upon entering upon military service"), *Polnyi Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii za 1862. Otdelenie II* (St. Petersburg, 1865). An addition to volume XXVII includes article 38514a, which contains parallel translations into five Eastern languages.

57. See *RGIA*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 8, *δ*. 1152, fols. 12—13rev.

58. "O sostavlenii i rassmotrenii proektov novoï formy voennoi prisiagi dlia magometan" ("On the drawing up and review of projects for a new form of the military oath for Muslims"), *RGIA*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 8, *δ*. 1152 (1859—1861), fols. 34—34rev.

59. See "Pravila o privedenii lits magometanskogo ispovedeniia k prisiage" ("Rules for the swearing in of individuals of the Muslim faith"), appendix to article 210, pt. 2, vol. 16, 1892 edition.

60. Nearly all of the Muslim intelligentsia graduated from new-method schools. Later, a significant number of these people were drawn to communist ideas. It was they who formed the backbone of support for Soviet rule in the Muslim areas of the country. Virtually all were annihilated by Stalinist purges.

61. Mūsā Jārallāh Bigiev (Bigiev), one of the most educated, talented and bold representatives of the Muslim renaissance in Russia, was born in 1875 in Rostov-on-Don in the family of a *mullā*. After studying in Muslim schools in Kazan, Bukhara, Medina, Cairo, and Istanbul, he returned to Russia in 1904 and entered St. Petersburg University. Bigiev's first works appeared in St. Petersburg Muslim periodicals. He collaborated also with the influential Orenburg journal *Waqf*, which printed lectures on the history of religion delivered by Bigiev in 1909 at the Orenburg Ḥusayniyya madrasa. Bigiev's views, however, were soon pronounced incompatible with the post of *mudarris* at this madrasa and he was compelled to leave Orenburg. Once again back in St. Petersburg, Bigiev received the post of *imām-khaṭīb* at the St. Petersburg mosque. He was secretary of the third Muslim Congress in Nizhni Novgorod, in 1906, and author of the political program *Ittifāq al-Muslimīn*, based on the aforementioned congress. In 1912, the journal *Mir Islama* (World of Islam), vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 327—42, edited by Academician V. V. Barthold, published the Russian translation of an article by Bigiev on the state of Islam in Russia — *Khalq nazarina bir niche mese'le* ("Some questions of public interest"). Bigiev welcomed the fall of the monarchy in Russia and was one of the organizers of the All-Russian Muslim Congress in Moscow, in 1917. After the Bolshevik coup, while still in Petrograd, Bigiev for a time supported cooperation with the new regime. After the publication in Berlin of *Azbuka Islama* (Basics of Islam), Bigiev was arrested. He was released only after İsmet İnönü, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs, intervened on his behalf. In 1930, he succeeded in emigrating to Finland, from where he embarked on travels throughout the Muslim world. Bigiev died in Cairo in 1949.

Bigiev's political views are perhaps best reflected in his *İslāhāt Esāsarı* (Basis of Reforms) (Petrograd, 1917), which discusses the history of the Muslim political and religious reform movement in Russia at the turn of the century. In his *Sharī'at Esāsarı* (The Fundamentals of the Sharī'a) (Petrograd, 1916), he presents a radically reformist view of the sharī'a as a system. In *İslām feylesūfları — Muḥammad 'Abdallāh al-Miṣrī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī* (Islam Philosophers — Muḥammad 'Abdallāh al-Miṣrī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī) (Kazan, s.a.), he presents the religious and political views of the two best known Islamic reformers, contemporaries of the author and men close to him in spirit. Being the author of two works in Arabic specially devoted to the Qur'ān (*Tārīkh al-Qur'ān wa maṣāhif*, St. Petersburg, 1905, and *Tafsir sūrat al-Fātiha*, Petrograd, 1915), he actively took part in the discussions caused by the publication of the Qur'āns with errors accusing *mullās*-qadimists in flagrant ignorance. Among Bigiev's theological works, one should note *Qawā'id-i Fiqhiye* ("Basic Elements of Fiqh") (Kazan, 1910) and *Rahmet-i İlahiye burhānları* (Proofs of God's Mercy) (Orenburg, 1911), which evoked the harshest criticism from Bigiev's qadimist adversaries. In his *Büyük mevzû'larda ufak fikirler* (Modest Thoughts on a Grand Theme), Bigiev presented a critical overview of Ziyâeddin Kemālî's theology and came out in defense of Şüfîsm. In *Uzun günlerde Rûze* (Fast During Long Days), the author applied modern scientific theories to the discussion of the Muslim fast in the far north,

where the amount of daylight significantly exceeds the hours of darkness. Bigiev was also the author of works of literary criticism: *Edebiyāt-i 'Arabī* (Arabic Literature) (Kazan, s.a.), an annotated Tatar translation of Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's *Luzūmiyyāt*, and a Tatar translation of Ḥāfiẓ's *Dīwān*.

A short biography of this talented man, one of the most significant figures in the history of Russian Islam, was published by one of his jadidist allies, 'Abd al-Bārī 'Abdallāh Baṭṭāl-Ṭaymas (1882—1969). The work, entitled *Kazanlı Türk Meşhurlarından II — Musa Carullah Bigi, Kişiliği fikir, hayatı ve eserleri*, was published in İstanbul in 1959.

As for the well-known Muslim publicist 'Aṭā'ullāh Bayazitov, he was born in 1846 into the family of a *mullā* in the village of Temgenevo in the Ryazan area. He was taught the Arabic language and the fundamentals of Islam by his father. Bayazitov received the best Muslim education available in Russia at that time in Kazan. In 1870, he was offered the position of *imām* at a mosque in the capital. He was confirmed in this capacity one year later after passing an exam at the Orenburg Religious Council for the titles of *imām*, *khatīb*, and *mudarris*. In 1880, he was promoted to the rank of *ākhūnd*. At the same time, he worked as a translator in the Asiatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and taught theology and languages at a number of prestigious educational institutions in the Russian capital. From the beginning of his tenure in Petersburg, he established fast ties with many Russian writers, journalists, and philosophers. One of his close friends was the philosopher Vladimir Solovyev. In 1905, Bayazitov began to publish in Petersburg the first Tatar newspaper in Russia — *Nūr*, which existed until 1914. In 1906, he organized a committee to collect funds for the construction of a mosque in the capital. Bayazitov held to extremely moderate monarchist views. His 1881 book on the emergence of Islam was bought up so quickly by Muslims in European Russia and Siberia that a second edition was issued. At the request of Lithuanian Tatars, in 1897, he drew up a prayer-book for Muslims of the Western territory who did not know Arabic or Tatar. The prayers collected in the book were transcribed in the Russian alphabet. His response to the well-known speech by Ernest Renan was published as a separate brochure in Russian and was translated into Turkish and French. Bayazitov's works, which helped Russian readers to overcome a one-sided view of Islam, evoked lively interest and criticism from his opponents.

'Aṭā'ullāh Bayazitov died on 21 April 1911 in St. Petersburg. He is buried in the Muslim cemetery. His religious, literary, and societal activities were recognized with numerous Russian and foreign awards.

62. Fitrat, *Rasskazy indīskogo puteshestvennika* (Tales of an Indian Traveller), trans. by A. N. Kondratyev (Samarqand, 1913), pp. 52—3.

63. See, for example, A. Baizitov, *Otnoshenie islama k nauke i inoversam* (The Attitude of Islam toward Science and Those of Other Faiths) (St. Petersburg, 1887); *idem*, *Islam i progress* (Islam and Progress) (St. Petersburg, 1899); *idem*, *Vozrazhenie na rech' Renana* (Objection to Renan's Speech) (St. Petersburg, 1883); Ismail-bei Gasprinskii, *Russkoe musul'manstvo. Mysli, zametki i nabludeniia musul'manina* (Russian Muslims. Thoughts, Remarks, and Observations of a Muslim) (Simferopol, 1881; Tashkent, 1883); *idem*, *Russko-vostochnoe soglasenie. Mysli, zametki, pozhelaniia I. Gasprinskogo* (Russian-Eastern Concord. Thoughts, Remarks, and Wishes of I. Gasprinsky.) (Bakhchisarai, 1896). This goal was pursued by the Russian-language section of Gasprinsky's newspaper *Perevodchik—Tarjumān*.

64. *Koran i progress. Po povodu umstvennogo probuzhdeniia sovremennykh rossiiskikh musul'man* (The Qur'ān and Progress. On the Intellectual Awakening of Today's Russian Muslims) (Tashkent, 1901), p. 246.

65. See, for example, V. V. Barthold's review of N. P. Ostroumov's *Islamovedenie. I. Arabiia, kolybel' islama* (Islamic Studies I. Arabia, the Cradle of Islam.), Tashkent, 1910, published in *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XX (1912), pp. 073—082. The review was republished in Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Works) (Moscow, 1966), vi, pp. 333—41.

66. For more detail, see Anās Khalidūf, *op. cit.*

67. The edition was reproduced not long ago in Qatar. Muḥammad Šādiq al-Imānqūlī was born in Kazan in the family of a *mullā*. He was educated in Bukhara and Samarqand and was the *imām* at the Sixth Kazan mosque. During the author's lifetime, his dictionary (Russian-Persian-Turkish) was published in Kazan (1909, 1913, and 1917), as well as a small (65 pages) work on Muslim prayers (1909), and a collection of poetry (1901). Al-Imānqūlī was repressed during the Stalinist purges and died in prison. Information on Muḥammad Šādiq Al-Imānqūlī was kindly provided by A. B. Khalidov.

68. A significant section of Fakhretdinov's archive — perhaps the most interesting part — is held in the library and scholarly archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (ф. 131), which also has books from his library. One year before his death, as Stalinist repressions were beginning, Fakhretdinov sent the books and documents to Leningrad "for better preservation". Other parts of the archive are stored in Ufa and Kazan. On Riḍā Fakhretdinov, see *Tvorchestvo Rizy Fakhretdinova: issledovaniia, materialy* (The Works of Riḍā Fakhretdinov: Research, Materials) (Ufa, 1996); G. B. Khusainov, *Rizaetdin bin Fakhretdin: istoriko-biograficheskaia kniga* (Riḍāetdin bin Fakhretdin: Historical-Biographical Book) (Ufa, 1997) (in Bashkir).

69. We know little of Ḥamīdī: he was born in the Simbirsk area, studied at the Kazan Muḥammadiya *madrasa*, one of the main *jadidist* strongholds, taught at the 'Uthmāniya *madrasa* in Ufa, which was one of the largest and most progressive Muslim educational institutions in Russia. In 1908 he was elected *imām* and *mudarris* in the *aul* Yaqaṣhī-bāy (Ufa area). This information on Ḥamīdī was kindly provided by Nuriya Garaeva (Kazan).

In addition to the *Itqān*, the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies library holds the following works by Ḥamīdī:

حميدى شيخ الاسلام، الاخلاق الحسنة (قازان ، ١٩٠٨) : *idem* : الاخلاق القبيحة و الاخلاق الحسنة (قازان ، ١٩٠٨) : *idem* : كنوز الاحاديث (قازان ، ١٩٠٩).

70. The "Kazan collection" of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies library holds approximately five thousand items. They are editions and lithographs in Arabic script from 1800—1939, mainly in old Tatar, which served as a literary language not only for the Tatars, but also for the Bashkir, Kazakhs, and Qirghiz. Among the places of publications are Astrakhan, Bugulma, Kazan, Malmalyj, Moscow, Orenburg, Samara, St. Petersburg, Simbirsk, Sterlitamaq, Troitsk, Ufa, and other cities. The collection is divided into two parts: 1800 — ca. 1860, when books were easily organised in accordance with the hierarchy of traditional Muslim learning, and books which appeared after 1860, which are catalogued in contemporary fashion by subject. See Ia. S. Ianbaeva, "Tatarskaia chast' "Kazanskogo fonda" knig byvshego Aziatskogo Muzeia" ("The Tatar part of the "Kazan collection" of books at the former Asiatic Museum"), *Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie*, VI (1994), pp. 328—35.

71. This matches entirely the list of disciplines proposed by A. Baiazitov: (i) correct reading of the Qur'an; (ii) interpretation of the Qur'an; (iii) collection of Muḥammad's utterances and traditions; (iv) philology, encyclopedias, philosophy; (v) algebra; (vi) geometry; (vii) astronomy; (viii) geography; (ix) natural sciences and medicine; (x) music and the musical scale. See Baiazitov, *Islam i progress*, pp. 31—5.

72. كتاب التجويد (قازان ١٨٧٦)؛ على بن سلطان القارى، تقريب الازهان من تجويد القرآن (قازان ، ١٨٩٢)؛ خ. فريد، سؤال وجوابلى تجويد (قازان ، ١٨٩٣)؛ شاكرجان طاهرى، مختصر قواعد التجويد (قازان ، ١٨٩٥)؛ صفا جابى محى السنه بن حبيب الله، حلية التلاوة (جزء اول ، قازان ، ١٨٩٧)؛ خير الله قارغالى، تعليم التجويد (قازان ١٨٩٨)؛ بارودى، فتح التجويد (الاصدار الثالث، قازان ١٩٠٣)؛ خلوصى، كچك تجويد. ابتدائيه مكتبته مخصوص (قازان، ١٩٠٥)؛ عطار بن حسن الايمانايى، قواعد التجويد (قازان ، ١٩٠٦)؛ صوفيه بنت سلطانف، تجويد تركى (قازان، ١٩٠٧)؛ زفر قاسمى، منتخب تجويد (أوقا، ١٩٠٧)؛ شهيد، فن التجويد (قازان ١٩٠٧)؛ كتاب تجويد (قازان، ١٩٠٨)؛ زكريا الاحمدى البوكاى، تجويد حكمديرى ترازى تلنده (قازان ١٩٠٨)؛ ثويان، منتخب تجويد (قازان، ١٩٠٨)؛ كشاف الدين بن شاعمردان السلوكى، علم التجويد بترجمة الجديد (أورينبورغ، ١٩٠٨)؛ اسكندر ابن جلال الدين، نظلى تجويد (قازان، ١٩٠٩)؛ محمد هبة الله، تحف الاولاد، منظوم تجويدى (أورينبورغ، ١٩٠٩)؛ عوتى شهيد، فن التجويد (الاصدار الرابع، قازان، ١٩٠٩)؛ ضياء مفصل فن التجويد (قازان، ١٩٠٩)؛ نعيم حفظى، بدء التجويد (أستراخان، ١٩١٠)؛ تركى تجويد (أستراخان ١٩١١)؛ قوام قارى ذو الفقارى، تجويد القرآن (قازان، ١٩١١)؛ عبد القادر الكاشعري، تجويد تركى (قازان، ١٩١٢)؛ ضياء الدين بيكمحمدوف، مفصل تجويد (قازان، ١٩١٢)؛ على حسن، تجويد القرآن (أورينبورغ، ١٩١٢)؛ خ. زينى، متن التجويد، (الاصدار الثانى، استيرليتاماك، ١٩١٢)؛ اسماعيل علوى، تجويد / مترجم: منور قارى (الاصدار الرابع، أورينبورغ، ١٩١٤).
73. كتاب المسمى بتفسير التبيان (جلد ٤، قازان، ١٨٦٩)؛ تفسير فوائد (المجلد الثانى، قازان، ١٨٨٠، المجلد الثالث، دون مكان وزمان. النشر، المجلد الرابع، دون مكان وزمان النشر)؛ كلام شريف تفسيرى. تفسير فوائدنك (٢ نچى جلدى، الجزء الاول والثانى، قازان، ١٨٨٩)؛ الجزء الثالث (الاصدار الثالث) دون مكان النشر، ١٩٠٠)؛ تفسير نعمانى تكملة س / مترجم: رضا الدين [فخر الدينوف] (أورينبورغ، ١٩١٠)؛ الاتفاق فى ترجمة القرآن / مترجم: الحميدى. (قازان، ١٩٠٧)؛ ايمانقولى القرانى، تسهيل البيان فى تفسير القرآن (قازان، ١٩١٠)؛
74. شرف ماب هفتيك تفسيرى (قازان، ١٨٦١)؛ تفسير هفتيك من تفسير التبيان (قازان، ١٨٦١)؛ مولانا محمد جمال الدين، تفسير هفتيك (قازان، ١٨٨٩)؛ كتاب شرف ماب هفتيك تفسيرى تركى تلنده (قازان، ١٩٠٥)؛ تاج الدين افندى، هفتيك تفسيرى (قازان ١٩١١).
75. تفسير سورة الكهف (قازان، ١٨٨٠)؛ موسى بيبغيف، تفسير الفاتحة (بطرسغراد، ١٩١٥)؛ ياسين تفسيرى (قازان، ١٩٠٧)؛ تفسير سورة الكهف (قازان، ١٨٨٠).
76. احمد هادى مقصودى، قرأت قرآن (قازان، ١٩٠٤)؛ علم قرائندن. مقدمة لابن الجزرى / مترجم: عبيد اللين عطاء الله (قازان، ١٩٠٤)؛ دوماوى، قرائت قرآن (جزء ٢، نچى الاصدار الثانى، قازان، ١٩١٥)
77. قرآن تهليل لارى ودعاء عجائب الاستغفار وصلوات شريف باشقه شريف دعاالار بياننده (قازان، ١٨٨٠)؛ رضا الدين بن فخر الدين [فخر الدينوف]، قرآن وطباعت (قازان، ١٩٠٠)؛ خواص القرآن (قازان، ١٩٠٣)؛ شاكرجان حميدى، تعليمات قرآنية (قازان، ١٩٠٨)؛ موسى بيبكيف، تصحيح رسم خط قرآن، (قازان، ١٩٠٩)؛ ختم القرآن دعاس / مترجم: شاكرجان حميدى (قازان، ١٩١٠)؛ سرور الدين بن مفتاح الدين، قرآن شريف ولغت عربية (أورينبورغ، ١٩١١)؛ ختم القرآن هم ختم خواجه / مترجم: شاكرجان حميدى (الاصدار الثالث، قازان ١٩١٦).
78. Archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, *φ*. 131, *on*. 1, *δ*. 57, fols. 65—70.
79. *RGIA*, *φ*. 777, *on*. 5, *δ*. 4 (1900), fols. 46, 52.
80. *Ibid.*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 8, *δ*. 830, fols. 1—3 rev.
81. *Ibid.*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 8, *δ*. 830, fols. 5—6 rev. See also letter from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Orenburg Muslim Religious Council No. 468 dated 11 March 1859. See also fols. 8—9 rev.
82. *Ibid.*, *φ*. 733, *on*. 170, *δ*. 970, fols. 1—2.
83. *Ibid.*, *φ*. 776, *on*. 2, *δ*. 11, fols. 97 rev.—102 rev.
84. *Ibid.*, fols. 99 rev — 100.
85. *Ibid.*, *φ*. 777, *on*. 5, *δ*. 4, fol. 83 (1900). See also: "O zapreshchenii pechatat' Keliami Sherif Tefsiri (Tolkovanie Alkorana v 2 tt.)" ("On the prohibition on printing Kalām-i Sharif's *Tafsir* — interpretation of the Qur'an in 2 vols."), *ibid.*, *δ*. 7, fol. 11 (1903).
86. The curious ban by customs on the import of Qur'anic manuscripts to Russia is confirmed in an item from the *RGIA*. Suspensions were raised by an error in the spelling of Qur'an in the title: *Qūr'ān'azīm* instead of *Qur'ān'azīm*. See letter by F. Charnois (1793—1869), a Frenchman who taught Persian at St. Petersburg University and was called in for expert consultation (*RGIA*, *φ*. 777, *on*. 1, *δ*. 1192 (1833), fol. 4).
87. A. E. Krymskiĭ, "Sem" spishchikh otrokov Ėfesskiĭh: a) A. Krymskiĭ, Obshchiĭ istoriko-literaturnyi ocherk skazaniia; b) M. Attaia and A. Krymskiĭ, Perevody arabskikh versiĭ VII—XIII vv." ("The seven sleeping adolescents of Ephesus: a) A. Krymsky, general historical-literary essay on the tale; b) M. Attaya and A. Krymsky, translations of Arabic versions of the 7th—13th centuries") (Moscow, 1914), *Trudy po vostoковedeniiu, izdavaemye Lazarevskim institutom vostochnykh iazykov*, XIV; I. Iu. Krachkovskii, "Opisanie sobraniia Koranov". See also the corresponding chapters in works written before the 1917 revolution, V. V. Bartol'd, *Islam* (Petrograd, 1918); *Kul'tura musul'manstva* (The Culture of Islam) (Petrograd, 1918); *Musul'manskiĭ mir* (The Muslim World) (Petrograd, 1922).
88. A. E. Krymskiĭ, "Sury stareishego perioda, perevod s ob'iasneniiami" ("Suras of the oldest period, translation and commentary"), *Lektsii po Koranu, chitanye v 1905* (appendices to *Istoriia musul'manstva*) (Moscow, 1905).
89. For him, "Islam as a religion had and still has, in the eyes of Muslims themselves, at least, the character of a suppressed and defensive religion", M. S. Sultan-Galiev, *Stat'i* (Articles) (Oxford, 1984), p. 46.
90. Khālid Baghdāsh, *Ḥawla qaḍāyā al-tārīkh wa-qaḍāyā al-sā'a* (Damascus, s.a.), p. 36.
91. Published as: Bigi, *Islām Milletlerinde dīnī, edebī, ictimā'ī, siyāsī mese'eler tedbirler hakkında* (On the Matter of Religious, Literary, Social, and Political Issues in Islamic Nations) (Berlin, s.a.).

92. Central State Archives of Central Asia, *ф.*, 110, *он.* 2, *д.* 530, fol. 32.

93. M. Bazarov, "Sovetskaia religioznaia politika v Srednei Azii. 1918—1930" ("Soviet regional policy in Central Asia. 1918—1930"), *Etnicheskie i regional'nye konflikty v Evrazii*. Book 1: *Center Asia and the Caucasus*, eds. A. Malashenko, B. Koppiters, D. Trenin (Moscow, 1997), pp. 26—7.

94. As examples of such works, one can cite L. I. Klimovich's *Koran i ego dogmaty* (The Qur'ān and its dogmas) (Alma-Ata, 1958) and his somewhat more moderate *Kniga o Korane, ego proiskhozhdenii i mifologii* (Book on the Qur'ān, its Origin and Mythology) (Moscow, 1977). They are both largely based on the author's anti-Muslim articles published in the 1930s and 1940s. In the spring of 1930, measures taken by the government in relation to religious organizations exacerbated the socio-political situation in the country. In particular, the mass emigration of Muslims from Central Asia to Western China and Afghanistan began. This led to a resolution of the Central Committee of All-Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) entitled "On the battle against distortions of the Party line in the kolkhoz movements" (14.03.1930), which contained a demand to "put a decisive stop to the practice of closing churches in an administrative fashion", which influenced the fate of many remaining mosques.

95. *Koran* (The Qur'ān), trans. and commentary by I. Yu. Krachkovsky (Moscow, 1963). See also M. N. Osmanov, "Dostoinstva russkogo perevoda Korana, vypolnennogo I. Iu. Krachkovskim" ("Virtues of the Russian translation of the Qur'ān completed by I. Yu. Krachkovsky"), *Pamiatniki istorii i literatury Vostoka* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 3—8.

96. A. N. Kononov, "Akademik Ignatii Iulianovich Krachkovskii (k 100-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia: 1883—1951)" ("Academician Ignatius Iulianovich Krachkovsky: on the one-hundredth anniversary of his birth: 1883—1951"), *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk. Literature and language series*, XLII/4 (1983), pp. 374—82.

97. J. E. Bencheikh, "Sourate al-kahf: neuf traductions du Coran", *Analyses-theorie: Etudes arabes*, III (1980), pp. 2—50.

98. A. Rippin, "Reading the Qur'ān with Richard Bell", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, CXII/4 (1992), p. 643.

99. N. Morozov, *Khristos VI* (Christ VI) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1930); E. A. Beliaev, *Leksii po istorii arabov* (Lectures on the History of the Arabs) (Moscow, 1937).

100. See, for example: V. Bartol'd, "Koran i more" ("The Qur'ān and the sea"), *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, I (1925), pp. 106—10, republished in *idem*, *Sochineniia* (Works), vi, pp. 544—8; W. Barthold, "Zur Frage Über die Berufung Mohammed's", *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1930), pp. 706—8. The article is also published in Russian, see "K voprosu o prizvanii Mukhammeda" ("On the question of Muhammad's calling"), *Sochineniia* (Works), vi, pp. 615—6; K. S. Kashtaleva, "O termine 'atā'a' v Korane" ("On the term *atā'a* in the Qur'ān"), *Doklady Akademii Nauk (Vostokovedenie)* (1926), pp. 56—7; *idem*, "O terminakh *anba i aslama* v Korane" ("On the terms *anba* and *aslama* in the Qur'ān"), *ibid.*, pp. 52—5; *idem*, "K perevodu 77 i 78 stikh 22 sury Korana" ("On the translation of verses 77 and 78 from *sūra* 22 of the Qur'ān"), *ibid.* (1927), pp. 121—4; *idem*, "K voprosu o khronologii 8, 24, 47 sur Korana" ("On the question of the chronology of *sūras* 8, 24, and 57 in the Qur'ān"), *ibid.*, pp. 101—7; *idem*, "O termine 'shahida' v Korane" ("On the term *shahida* in the Qur'ān"), *ibid.*, pp. 117—20; *idem*, "Terminologiya Korana v novom osveshchenii" ("A new look at Qur'ānic terminology"), *ibid.* (1928), pp. 7—12; *idem*, "O termine 'hanif' v Korane" ("On the term *hanif* in the Qur'ān"), *ibid.* (1928), pp. 157—62; *idem*, "Podrazhaniia Koranu Pushkina i ikh pervoistochnik"; I. N. Vinnikov, "Legenda o prizvanii Mukhammeda v svete étnografii" ("The legend of Muhammad's calling in the light of ethnography"), *Sergeiu Fedorovichu Ol'denburgu k 50-letiiu nauchno-obshchestvennoi deiatel'nosti. 1882—1932*. Collection of articles (Leningrad, 1934), pp. 124—46.

101. I. P. Petrushevskii, *Islam v Irane v VII—XV vv.* (Islam in Iran in the 7th—15th centuries) (Moscow, 1966); A. Borovkov, *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tafsira XII—XIII vv.* (The Lexicon of Central Asia *Tafsir* in the 12th—13th Centuries) (Moscow, 1963); I. N. Vinnikov, "Koranicheskie zametki: Koran 96: 1—2" ("Remarks on the Qur'ān: Qur'ān 96: 1—2"), *Issledovaniia po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1960), pp. 309—12.

102. A. V. Avksent'ev, R. R. Mavmotov, *Kniga o Korane* (Book on the Qur'ān) (Stavropol, 1979); S. I. Dzhabbarov, *Mifologiya Korana i ee zemnye korni* (The Mythology of the Qur'ān and Its Worldly Roots) (Tashkent, 1990).

103. A. V. Malashenko, *Musul'manskii mir SNG* (The Muslim World of the CIS) (Moscow, 1996), p. 47.

104. P. A. Griaznevich, "Razvitiie istoricheskogo soznaniia arabov (VI—VIII centuries)" ("The development of the Arabs' historical consciousness in the 6th—8th centuries"), *Ocherki istorii arabskoi kul'tury V—XV vv.* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 75—155; M. B. Piotrovskii, *Koranicheskie skazaniia* (Qur'ānic Tales) (Moscow, 1991). See also E. A. Rezvan, "Koran i koranistika" ("The Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies"), *Islam. Istoriograficheskie ocherki*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1991), pp. 7—84; *idem*, "Koran i ego tolkovaniia" ("The Qur'ān and its interpretations"), *Khrestomatiiia po islamu*, ed. S. M. Prozorov (Moscow, 1992), pp. 7—68; *idem*, "Prorochestvo i religioznoe vdokhnovenie v islame (k probleme nauchnoi interpretatsii fenomena prorocheskikh otkrovenii Mukhammada)" ("Prophecy and religious inspiration in Islam: on the problem of providing a scholarly interpretation of the phenomenon of Muhammad's prophetic revelations"), *Traditsionnoe mirovozzrenie u narodov Perednei Azii* (Moscow, 1992); *idem*, "Istoriia Korana i ego izucheniia" ("On the history of the Qur'ān and Qur'ānic studies"), *Koran* (The Qur'ān), trans. D. N. Boguslavsky, pp. 517—42).

105. See *Moskovskie novosti* (Moscow News), No. 15 (1989), p. 8.

106. *Al-Azhar*, April 1990, p. 957. Cited in Malashenko, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

107. *Islamskie novosti* (Islamic News), 19 November 1990 (Makhachkala).

108. *Sviashchennyi Koran. Arabskii tekst s russkim perevodom* (The Sacred Qur'ān. Arabic Text with Russian Translation), published under the auspices of the Fourth Caliph of the Promised Messiah and the Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad (London, 1987); *Koran. Perevod smyslov i kommentarii V. Porokhovi* (Qur'ān. Translation of Meanings and Commentary by V. Porokhova) (Moscow, 1993); *Koran* (The Qur'ān), trans. from the Arabic with commentary by M. N. Osmanov (Moscow, 1995); *Koran: Sviashchennaia kniga musul'man* (The Qur'ān: Sacred Book of the Muslims), trans. from the Arabic (and foreword) by T. A. Shumovsky (Moscow, 1995).

Although the third, enlarged and revised, edition of the Porokhova translation, published in 1997 in Abū Dhābi with the support of a local charity foundation, was equipped with a facsimile of approval from Al-Azhar, its low quality caused a scandal in the Emirates.

109. *Uchenie sviashchennogo Korana* (The Teaching of the Sacred Qur'ān), compiled by: Sayyid Riḍā Barghaḥ, Muḥammad Bakhanār, Bahram Tihirānī (the latter compiled the Russian section) (Tehran, 1978); Sa'īd Abū'l 'Alā' (Mawḍūdī), *Tafkīm al-Qur'ān* (*Sūras*:

'Imrān and "The Women"), trans. into Russian by Shāh Maḥmūd (Peshawar, 1987); *idem*, *Sūras Ibrāhīm, al-Hijr*, "The Bees", "Perenes noch'iu" (published in Russian) (Peshawar, 1990); M. V. M. Akhmad, *Vvedenie v sviashchennyi Koran* (Introduction to the Sacred Qur'ān) (Islamabad, 1991); *Sviashchennyi Koran: Antologiya* (The Sacred Qur'ān: an Anthology) (Islamabad, 1991).

110. *Kuran* (The Qur'ān), trans. by Zh. M. Istaev (Almaty—Moscow, 1991); I. Agaev, "Koran kak iavlenie kul'tury" ("The Qur'ān as a cultural phenomenon"), introductory article to the translation and translation of chapters from the Qur'ān by I. Agaev (Baku, 1989), i, pp. 170—91; *Kuran*. (The Qur'ān), trans. into the Dargin language by M. Kh. Gamidov (Makhachkala, 1995).

111. *Turkmenistan*, 24, 04, 1994.

112. "A. Bitov: mezhdū Moskvōi i Leningradom" ("A. Bitov: between Moscow and Leningrad"), recorded by M. Kotelnikova and A. Sergeev, *Domovoī*, VI (1996), p. 58.

113. V. D. Ushakov, *Frazeologiya Korana* (Phraseology of the Qur'ān) (Moscow, 1996); E. Rezvan, *The Qur'ān and Its World* (in print).

114. *Koran* (The Qur'ān), *sūras* 1, 16—19, 35, 36, trans. into Russian by V. D. Ushakov (Moscow, 1998). This work grew out of the author's editorial work on the M. N. Osmanov translation. The author employs an "epic style", rhymed prose, and provides commentaries intended for non-specialist readers which are based on the *tafsīrs* of al-Ṭabarī, al-Jalālayn, and works by Russian scholars.

115. M. Arkhipov, *Tadzhvid: Oblegchennye pravila* (Tajwīd: Simplified Rules) (Kazan, 1993); T. Ibrakhim and N. E. Efremova, *Musul'manskaia sviashchennaiia istoriia ot Adama do Iisusa* (Muslim Sacred History from Adam to Jesus) (Moscow, 1996); same authors, "Putevoditel' po Koranu" ("Guide to the Qur'ān"), *Vera* (in print); *Sviashchennyi Koran o cheloveke, ego zhizni i bessmertii. Khrestomatiia* (The Sacred Qur'ān on Man, His Life, and Immortality), introductory articles by muftī R. Gainutdin and T. Saitbaev (Moscow, 1998).

116. B. L. Pasternak, "Okhrannaia gramota" ("Safe conduct"), *Vozdushnye puti: proza raznykh let* (Moscow, 1983), p. 252.

117. N. Berdiayev, *Sud'ba Rossii* (The Fate of Russia) (Moscow, 1990), p. 28

Illustrations

Fig. 1. The Qur'ān with Byelorussian translation. A nineteenth-century manuscript (D 723) in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 1b, 33.0×21.5 cm.

Fig. 2. The first page of the Russian translation of Ioannicyusz Galatowski's book *Alkoran Macometow. Nauka heretycka y zydowska y poganska napelniony. Od Koheletha Chrystusowego rosproszony y zgromadzony...*, carried out by S. I. Gadzalowski, *RNB*, F XVII 19, p. 316, 29.0×17.5 cm. The MS previously belonged to the library of Count F. A. Tolstoy.

Fig. 3. Title folio (fig. 3a) and first page (fig. 3b) of the first Russian published translation (1716) of the Qur'ān, entitled *Alkoran o Magomete ili Zakon turetskii, perevedennyi s frantsuzskogo iazyka na rossiiskii* (The Alkoran of Magomet or the Turkish Law, Translated from the French into the Russian), library of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number II 4/40.

Fig. 4. Fols. 290—291 (end of *sūra* 15 — beginning of *sūra* 16) from the MS of the first Russian translation of the Qur'ān by P. Posnikov, *BAN*, call number 33.7.6.

Fig. 5. Copy of Peter the Great's edict to Synod of July 18, 1722 "On immediate sending of the book "On Mohammedan law"", translated from Italian by Prince Dmitry Kantemir, *RGIA*, fund of Synod, *on.* 3, *đ.* 859 (1722).

Fig. 6. The Qur'ān printed in St. Petersburg in 1787 by the order of Catherine II, the State Library of Russia (Arab. 5-68), fol. 2.

Fig. 7. The Qur'ān printed in St. Petersburg in 1787 by the order of Catherine II, the State Library of Russia (Arab. 5-68), fol. 3.

Fig. 8. Inscriptions on the stone Qur'ān stand dating to Tīmūr's age, which stood in the centre of the mosque (before a *miḥrāb*) in the partially destroyed Bībī Khanum *madrasa* in Samarqand. The inscriptions, copied by A. L. Kun, in the holdings of the archive of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (St. Petersburg), *φ.* 1/1868, *đ.* 25, fols. 14 rev.—15 (figs 8a and 8b).

Fig. 9. The two-volume Tatar translation of the Qur'ān with *tafsīr* published in Kazan in 1910 under the title *Tashīl al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Imānqūlī, the title page.

Fig. 10. The two-volume Tatar translation of the Qur'ān with *tafsīr* published in Kazan in 1910 under the title *Tashīl al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān* by Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Imānqūlī, the first page.

Fig. 11. The ceremony of solemn transferring of the 'Uthmānic Qur'ān from the History Museum of the Uzbek SSR to the Muslim community (Tashkent, 1990).

PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT

A. B. Khalidov

AN ARABIC COMPOSITE MANUSCRIPT OF TALES FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Among the few illustrated Arabic manuscripts in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is one which contains the anonymous "Tale of King Kal'ād and his Vizier Shīmās" and a collection of fables entitled "Fables Told by Scholars" (call number A 448). The first tale (fols. 1b—56a) is part of the "Thousand and One Night". The second collection (fols. 56b—74b) brings together fables of the legendary sage Luqmān. The works in the copy under discussion here can be described as half-folkloric or half-literary prose, the style of which is entirely in harmony with the numerous miniatures which adorn the manuscript. The old traditions of the Arab school of miniatures are only partially visible here. Nonetheless, the manuscript is of a certain interest, as it reflects a late period of the Arabic manuscripts miniature painting. The illustrations reveal the significant influence of the Turkish school of miniatures. This is not at all surprising, as the manuscript can be dated to the first half of the seventeenth century. Support for this is found in the owner's inscription on fol. 1a with the name Būluş (Paul) and the date 1055/1645—46. Furthermore, this note appears to have been made shortly after the production of the copy.

Fol. 04a contains an annotation in French marked with the date 1843. The margins hold many pencilled-in notes in Russian, Latin and French. Fols. 1a and 001b display the seal of the library of the Teaching division of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For a certain time, the copy was in the collection of General P. P. Sukhtelen (1788—1833), who took part in the Russian-Turkish war of 1811 and afterwards headed the Caucasus corps Staff during the Russian-Persian war of 1828—1830. The manuscript was acquired by the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) in 1919.

In all the manuscript contains 04 + 74 + 004 fols. (17.5 × 12.0 cm). The paper is European and has yellowed substantially over time. The text was copied in black Indian ink. Headings, individual words, and dividers are in red ink. The writing is small calligraphic *naskh*.

The text is enclosed in a double border of thin red lines. The beginning of the manuscript is adorned with an *'unwān* in gold and paint. The binding is made from nearly black leather and is pasted onto pasteboard. Both the manuscript

and binding are heavily worn, which points to intensive use, most likely by numerous readers. The manuscript has apparently already undergone old restoration; in any case, some of the folios are out of order, which could be the result of rebinding. One folio is missing entirely after fol. 47. The end of the "Tale of King Kal'ād and His Vizier Shīmās" is on fol. 50b. The beginning of the "Fables Told by Scholars" is on fol. 56b.

Although the "Tale of King Kal'ād" forms part of the well-known "Thousand and One Night", the "Tale" also circulated independently. In the manuscript it is represented in full, with all inserted stories as they are cited by V. Chauvin, with the exception of the tale of King Solomon and his wives (Chauvin, No. 24). The text of the tale is presented in the copy as a single work without division into nights. The "Tale" closes with a short additional story not mentioned by Chauvin. The story runs that during a hunt, the hunter's favourite falcon attacks a dove and kills it. Feeling pity for the dove, the hunter kills his falcon and is left with neither falcon nor dove. At the end of this story, not cited by Chauvin, we also learn of the punishment to which the main wife of the king was subjected — by his order, she was boiled alive in a copper.

The "Tale" is illustrated with many miniatures. They are uniform in style and usually occupy a third of the folio, frequently being framed by the text. Some of them deviate from the accepted canons of Muslim miniatures and display a faintly distinguishable tendency toward realism. We note here only one of them, representing the depiction of a hunt (see *Plate 1* on the back cover of the current issue). The hunter stands with his right hand on the butt of a musket which hangs behind his back; gripped by its paw, a black bird he has shot hangs head down from his left hand; and a very realistically depicted hunting dog with collar grasps in its teeth a cat it has dragged out of a burrow. All elements of the miniature are depicted in a very realistic manner, as though the scene were painted from life. The employing of colours is skilful as well — the hunter's bright-red belt and equally bright-red pants fix the viewer's attention on the figure of the hunter, as though underscoring the central importance of this figure in the scene. The landscape background is also worthy of notice. Although no plants are



Fig. 1

depicted, it conveys well the ambience of the hunt's rural desert location. We see only the outlines of a hilly area and the green background of the valley which spreads out beyond the hills. The indistinct, dim green colour, redolent of a desert atmosphere, blends into an equally indistinct white, and then blue, creating the surprising effect of an extended perspective. Even the figures of the hunter and the dog which stands next to him are presented in natural perspective. This contrasts with many other miniatures in the manuscript, which are carried out in the traditional style of book painting, a style which calls to mind above all Turkish examples as they are found in the illustrations to the books on the "marvels of the world".

The "Tale of King Kal'ād" is illustrated with the following miniatures:

1. "King Kal'ād addresses his slave", fol. 2a, 8.0×6.5 cm.
2. "King Kal'ād talks with his *wazīr* Shīmās", fol. 2b, 7.5×7.5 cm.
3. "A cat speaks to a rat which sits in a burrow", fol. 4a, 8.0×7.5 cm.
4. "A hunter stands with his hunting dog, which grips in its teeth a cat it has dragged out of its burrow", fol. 5b, 8.0×7.5 cm (see *Plate 1* on the back cover of the current issue).
5. "A prone hermit beats with a stick a hanging jar full of butter as the butter spills out on his head", fol. 7a, 7.0×7.0 cm.
6. "A crayfish converses with fish", fol. 9a, 7.0×6.5 cm.
7. "A snake which has crawled up on a tree devours the young of a crow", fol. 10a, 7.0×7.0 cm.
8. "A fox attempts to reach the heart of a wild ass which has been killed by an arrow", fol. 11b, 7.5×6.5 cm.
9. "A hermit complains to the sultan of his poverty", fol. 12b, 7.0×6.5 cm.
10. "A hawk sits in a tree while crows are deep in discussion of their own matters", fol. 13b, 7.0×6.5 cm.
11. "A snake-charmer empties his basket of snakes while his wife and children are seized by fear", fol. 14b, 7.0×6.0 cm.
12. "People busy with the construction of a house and the angel of death, watching them", fol. 18b, 7.0×6.0 cm.
13. "A merchant talks with a king who has committed an injustice", fol. 19b, 7.0×6.0 cm.
14. "A hunter admires an eagle which has fallen into a snare", fol. 23a, 7.0×6.0 cm.
15. "A hunter sits atop a lion which has sunk its teeth into his elbow", fol. 24b, 7.5×6.5 cm (see the front cover of the current issue).
16. "A dying king instructs his son, who weeps in grief", fol. 34a, 7.5×6.5 cm.
17. "The *wazīr* Shīmās talks with a cook", fol. 35b, 8.0×7.0 cm.
18. "The young king talks with Shīmās", fol. 36a, 5.5×7.5 cm.
19. "A drowning man holds a fish in his hand and a water-sprite speaks to the drowning man", fol. 37a, 7.5×5.0 cm.
20. "The king talks with his wife", fol. 38a, 7.5×7.0 cm.
21. "A young man who has climbed a nut tree shakes it and crows gather up the falling nuts", fol. 38b, 7.0×6.0 cm.
22. "The owner of a garden and his wife", fol. 40b (top), 7.0×4.0 cm.
23. "Robbers kill the owner of the garden", fol. 40b (bottom), 7.0×5.5 cm.
24. "Foxes gathered by a dead camel discuss the division of their catch", fol. 43a, 7.5×6.5 cm.
25. "Foxes which have come to a lion", fol. 44a, 7.5×5.0 cm.
26. "A thief demands of a shepherd that he provide meal to a lion which sits nearby on a hill", fol. 45b, 7.5×6.0 cm.
27. "The *wazīr* Shīmās kneels before the king", fol. 46b, 7.5×6.0 cm.

28. "The king holds a reception", fol. 47b (top), 7.5×6.0 cm.
29. "The king's servants kill Shīmās", fol. 47b (bottom), 7.5×5.0 cm.
30. "The son of Shīmās with his father's killers before the king", fol. 48b, 7.5×6.0 cm.
31. "A hunter kills his falcon with a bow", fol. 50a, 7.5×6.0 cm.
32. "A jackal devours a pheasant", fol. 51b, 7.5×5.5 cm.
33. "The king talks with two youths", fol. 52b, 7.5×6.0 cm.
34. "The king receives two youths in his palace", fol. 54b (top), 7.0×6.0 cm (see *fig. 1*).
35. "Shīmās' son writes a letter", fol. 54b (bottom), 7.0×4.5 cm (see *fig. 1*).
36. "The king asks advice of his wives", fol. 55a, 7.5×6.5 cm.
37. "Turtles and a pheasant", fol. 55b, 7.5×5.0 cm.
38. "The death of the king's main wife, who is punished by being boiled alive in a copper", fol. 56a (top), 7.0×7.0 cm.
39. "The king receives Shīmās' son and his [own] retainers", fol. 56a (bottom), 7.0×8.0 cm.

Many of the miniatures which adorn the "Tale of King Kal'ād" are in poor condition: the paint has flaked on many of them and some cannot be fully viewed because of pieces of paper which were pasted to the pages in the course of restoration.

One should note the exceptional density of miniatures in the tale. Despite the limited space available for miniatures on the page (17.5×12.0 cm), some pages contain two miniatures to aid plot movement (for example, miniatures on fols. 40b, 47b, 54b, and 56a). It is quite clear that the book's main function was to entertain, a purpose served by the abundance of illustrative material. The text gains from this a festive aura; its mere appearance is enough to raise one's spirits. This effect was most likely not the express intent of the artist, but his desire to illustrate as many episodes as possible despite the limited space at his disposal gives rise to this unexpected effect.

The second part of the collection contains the famed fables of Luqmān and is also richly illustrated, displaying 36 miniatures. The order of fables differs somewhat from what we find in Chauvin. Furthermore, in the 38th fable, a tiger replaces a wolf as the main character; and the 39th fable contains a reference to Abū'l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakariyā' al-Nahrawānī. In all, 37 of 41 fables are represented in the copy. The collection closes with three additional fables from a different source. The first tells of an ass and a wolf. The ass, surprised by the wolf as it grazes, does not lose its senses; rather, it asks the predator to remove a poisonous splinter which has allegedly lodged itself in the ass' hoof. When the wolf agrees to do this, the ass strikes him with its hoof and flees for refuge.

The second additional fable tells of three friends — a lion, a wolf, and a fox. One day, the lion falls ill in the absence of the fox. Taking advantage of this, the wolf slanders the fox to the lion. In answer to the lion's question about the fox, the wolf says that while the lion is sick, the fox is living the good life. But the fox overhears the wolf's words and decides to take revenge. She tells the ailing lion that he can only cure himself by eating the wolf's testicles.

Finally, the third fable tells of a cock which sings in the morning while sitting in a tree and of a fox which decides to employ subterfuge to lure the cock to the ground. The fox does not succeed because the cock spots the ruse and employs its own ruse to bring ruin to the fox.

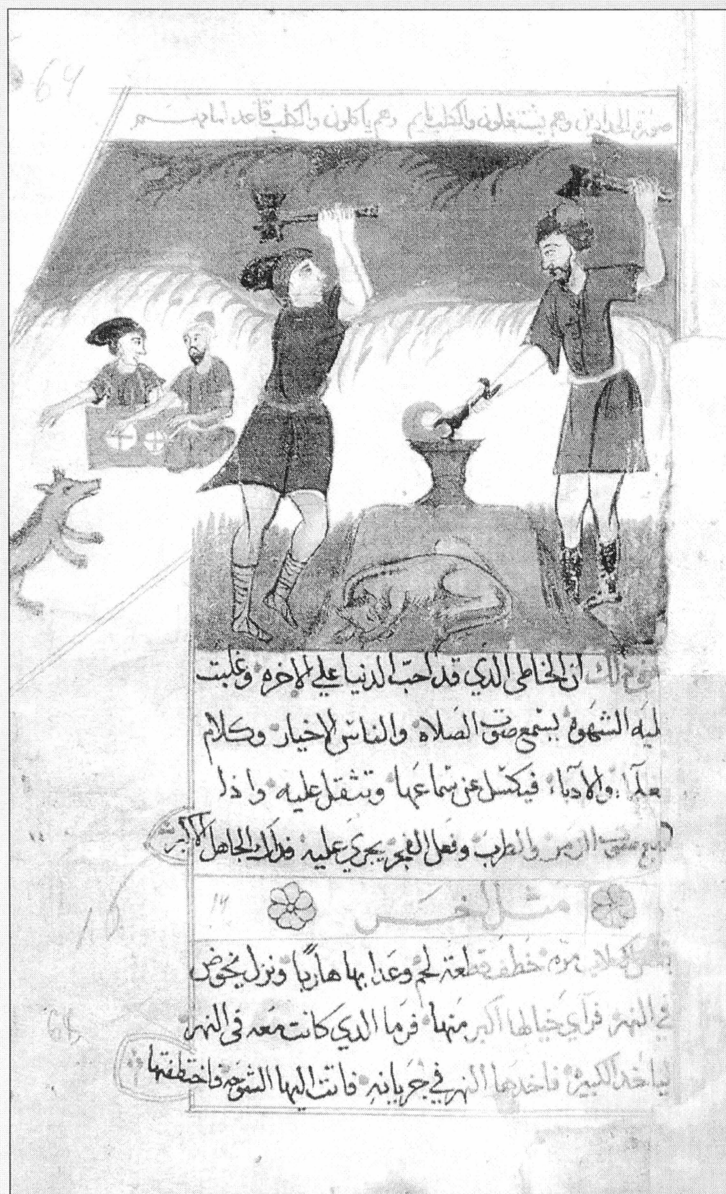


Fig. 2

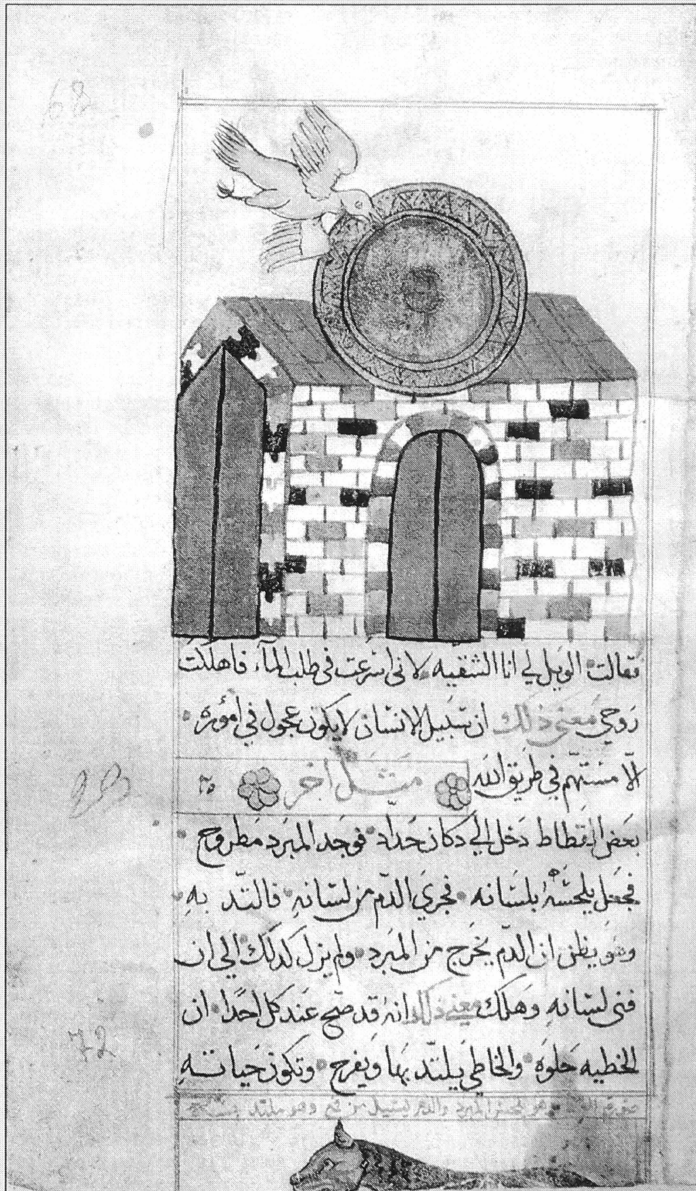


Fig. 3

The fables gathered in the collection are supplied with correct Eastern numeration in Indian numbers written in ink and with incorrect European numeration in pencil. The latter becomes confused after the eighteenth fable.

The miniatures which illustrate the contents of the fables are as abundant as in the first half of the collection. They appear to have been painted by the same artist, but are of less interest to the contemporary eye in their content. This does not mean that they were of less interest to those who made use of the manuscript when it was created, or later. As in the "Tale of King Kal'ad", miniatures are present on nearly every page. Unlike in the first part of the collection, where the miniatures are more diverse and thus display the artist's skills, the mere abundance of miniatures in the second part conveys a certain impression of floundering monotony. The text, copied in a lovely *naskh*, is lost against this backdrop of overwhelming colour and line.

The text of the fables contains the following miniatures:

1. "Lion and two bulls" (the folio and miniature are damaged), fol. 56b, 7.5×6.5 cm.
2. "The lion devours one of the two bulls", fol. 57a, 7.0×6.5 cm (see *Plate 3* on the back cover of the current issue).
3. "A bull pays a lion a visit" (the miniature is torn and partly pasted together in the lower left corner), fol. 57b, 7.5×6.5 cm.
4. "Lion with a rat on its back; a fox stands near the lion", fol. 58a, 7.0×6.0 cm.
5. "A fox at the entrance to the lion's den", fol. 58b, 7.0×7.5 cm.
6. "Man and lion before a painting", fol. 59a, 7.0×6.0 cm.
7. "A hunter kills a deer in the forest", fol. 59b, 7.5×7.0 cm.
8. "A gazelle at the bottom of a well and a fox standing by the well", fol. 60a, 7.5×8.5 cm.
9. "Gazelle in the mouth of a lion", fol. 60b, 7.0×7.0 cm.
10. "An ailing gazelle and guests who offer their condolences", fol. 61a, 7.0×6.0 cm.
11. "Rabbits ask foxes for help against hawks which sit on the branches of a pomegranate tree", fol. 61b, 7.5×8.5 cm.
12. "A rabbit vies with a tortoise", fol. 62a, 7.0×7.0 cm.
13. "A rabbit with its young and a lion with its cub", fol. 62b, 7.0×5.5 cm.
14. "Wolves drinking water at a pond", fol. 63a, 7.0×8.0 cm.
15. "A lion devours a piglet before a sleeping dog", fol. 63b, 7.0×7.0 cm.
16. "A blacksmith busily forges beside his assistant and a sleeping dog" (on the right), fol. 64a, 10.4×7.3 cm (see *fig. 2*).
17. "A blacksmith and his worker eat a meal while a nearby dog expectantly awaits food" (on the left), fol. 64a, 10.4×7.3 cm (see *fig. 2*).
18. "A dog in the water and a kite flying away with a piece of meat", fol. 64b, 7.0×7.0 cm.
19. "Hunters on horseback and a dog which runs before them, pursuing a tiger", fol. 65a, 7.5×8.0 cm (the miniature is torn and was pasted during restoration).
20. "A servant ejects a dog in the presence of other dogs, which observe the scene", fol. 65b, 7.0×7.0 (the miniature is torn and was pasted during restoration).

21. "A dog licks blood off a wounded rabbit", fol. 66a, 7.5×7.0 cm (see *Plate 2* on the back cover of the current issue).
22. "A ferret pays a hen a visit", fol. 66b, (top) 7.0×7.5 cm.
23. "A ferret carries a cock off a roof", fol. 67a, 7.5×7.0 cm.
24. "Hunters kill a goose", fol. 67b, 7.0×8.0 cm.
25. "A dove crashes into a plate", fol. 68a, 7.5×6.0 cm (see *fig. 3*).
26. "A midge sits on the back of a bull", fol. 68b, 7.0×8.0 cm.
27. "A white man and a black man in the snow", fol. 69a, 7.5×8.0 cm.
28. "A man makes an offering to an idol", fol. 69b, 7.0×8.0 cm.
29. "A man with three snakes", fol. 70a (top), 7.0×7.5 cm.
30. "A woodcutter and death", fol. 70a (bottom), 7.5×7.0 cm.
31. "A man carrying a sheep, a she-goat, and a pig on the back of a mule converses with the pig", fol. 70b, 7.5×6.5 cm.
32. "A man admonishes a drowning youth", fol. 71b, 7.5×8.0 cm.
33. "A youth and a scorpion", fol. 72a, 7.5×4.5 cm.
34. "An ass strikes a wolf with its hoof", fol. 73a, 7.0×7.5 cm.
35. "A lion attacks a wolf while a fox observes", fol. 74a, 7.0×9.0 cm.
36. "A cock sleeps in a tree, a dog sleeps beneath the tree, and a fox converses with the cock", fol. 74b, 7.0×7.5 cm.

The composite Arab manuscript under discussion here is of interest not only because of the numerous miniatures which distinguish it from other manuscripts which contain half-folkloric, half-literary texts. It attracts our attention also as an example of Arab book art. The special impression the book makes is aided by its decorative format and small size. It was clearly intended for intensive use by readers, and such use is indeed evident in the extremely worn condition of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the copy does not contain a colophon, so we know neither the name of the compiler nor the copyist, just as we do not know the name of the artist who illustrated the manuscript. It would be interesting to learn for whom the copy was intended, although it is obvious that the buyer was a rich man who could afford to fund the preparation of an extremely expensive manuscript. Any way, it is clear that among the prose compositions, which enjoyed popularity among seventeenth-century Arab readers, were works with well-known and instructive plots. The long-standing didactic tradition of Near Eastern literature continued to survive into modernity, supported by the interest of readers.

We also note that the current illustrated manuscript was created during the lifetime of the famed Arab artist Yūsuf al-Muṣawwir. As concerns our manuscript, we cannot assert with certainty that the miniatures here are his work, although some of them are close to the painting style of this famous miniaturist (see, e. g., *Plate 2* on the back cover). At any rate, the copy could have arisen in an Arab-Christian environment. One should note that his work in the seventeenth century appears to have renewed the former popularity of Arab miniature art in an age when the Arabs were already able to familiarise themselves with the print production not only of Europeans, but also of Christian subjects of the Ottoman state.

Illustrations

Front cover:

"A hunter sits atop a lion which has sunk its teeth into his elbow", miniature from MS A 448 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 24b, 7.5×6.5 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. “A hunter stands with his hunting dog which grips in its teeth a cat it has dragged out its burrow”, miniature from the same MS, fol. 5b, 8.0×7.5 cm.

Plate 2. “A dog licks blood off a wounded rabbit”, miniature from the same MS, fol. 66a, 7.5×7.0 cm.

Plate 3. “The lion devours one of the two bulls”, miniature from the same MS, fol. 57a, 7.0×6.5 cm.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. “The king receives two youths in his palace”, fol. 54b (top), 7.0×6.0 cm and “Shīmās' son writes a letter”, miniatures from the same MS, fol. 54b (bottom), 7.0×4.5 cm.

Fig. 2. “A blacksmith busily forges beside his assistant and a sleeping dog”, fol. 64a (on the right) and “A blacksmith and his worker eat a meal while a nearby dog expectantly awaits food”, fol. 64a (on the left), a double miniature from the same MS, 10.4×7.3 cm

Fig. 3. “A dove crashes into a plate”, miniature from the same MS, fol. 68a, 7.5×6.0 cm.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ahmad Muhammad Issa. *Painting in Islam. Between Prohibition and Aversion*. Istanbul: Waqf for Research on Islamic History, Art and Culture, 1996, 137 pp., text in English (pp. 1–56), text in Arabic (pp. 80–137), colour plates (pp. 57–75).

The work under review here is an example of a popular Muslim publication which is also of scholarly interest. The ban on the depiction of living things seems to be an inexhaustible topic in the history of Islamic art. However, this is the sort of problem that is never likely to be resolved. The appearance of the work under review here is linked to the periodically renewed discussion on the possibility of figurative depiction as such. This topic has once again become current in connection with the polemics that have arisen in fundamentalism Muslim circles.

Despite the fact that the edition is intended primarily for a broad readership, its appearance is quite indicative and deserves attention from specialists. The book "Painting in Islam: Between Prohibition and Aversion" was published with the aid of the Waqf for Research on Islamic History, Art and Culture foundation, in Turkey, one of the first countries to undertake a search for solutions to the problem of a radical renewal of Islamic principles in cultural and everyday life. The greater the successes of the Turkish experience have been in this area, the more resistance they have encountered in recent years from Turkish Islamic fundamentalism as a political and cultural force.

The book is bilingual, it is published in English and Arabic. The material is supported with references not only to the Torah, Bible, Qur'ān, and *ḥadīth*, but also by vivid, colour illustrations presenting a broad chronological and geographical view of the objects under discussion, from depictions on Byzantine coins and fabrics to traditional book miniatures.

The author formulates his conclusions on the basis of extant written sources which convey the views of Muḥammad's contemporaries on the possibility of depicting living things which do not cast a shadow (p. 19) and on the basic possibility of creating such works as long as they are not used as objects of religious worship, which would entail a return to paganism.

The Islamic rejection of figurative art was the consequence of a general tendency which arose in the Mediterranean in the sixth century. This manifested itself in the ever greater disapproval with which Judaism and Christianity viewed the worship of divinity with the aid of hand-created representations. The latter gradually came to be viewed as a concession to paganism.

In the author's opinion, the danger that such representations would arise and that faith in idols which represent di-

vinity would replace faith in divinity, and the struggle with this phenomenon as a reflection of the struggle with polytheism came to Islam from Christianity in the eighth–ninth centuries (pp. 32–3). Since the Qur'ān does not contain explicit prohibitions on representation, the basic source for the author's conclusions are the *ḥadīths*. In accordance with their affiliation with this or that circle of the Prophet's companions, the *ḥadīths* not only ranged from the categorical to the tolerant, but sometimes contradicted one another. The author cites, for example, the *ḥadīths* which states that "Those who will be most severely tormented on the Day of Resurrection are those who make representations" or "The angels do not enter a house in which there is a dog or in which there are representations". These *ḥadīths* can be regarded as most intolerant. At the same time, one can find in a *ḥadīth* from 'Ā'isha: "The Prophet never left in his house anything which bore a *ṭaṣalīb* without destroying it". From Mālik b. Anas comes a *ḥadīth* which tells of how Muḥammad asked 'Ā'isha to rehang a curtain in her home in such a way that the representation on it was not visible from where he usually prayed, as the drawings distracted his thoughts during prayer: "Draw it back away from me, for its representations keep occurring to my mind while I am praying" (p. 25). And, finally, a *ḥadīth* ascribed to 'Ā'isha contradicts the others cited here, as it tells of how the Archangel Gabriel brought Muḥammad a portrait of her in green clothes with the words "Here is your wife for this and for eternal life".

The author attempts to render even the intolerant *ḥadīths* in such a way that suggests the possibility of reinterpretation. In this regard, it is appropriate to cite the author's complaints against the editorial policy of the journal *Majallat al-Azhar* in relation to letters they receive with questions on this issue. Their position differs little from the utterances found in the works of early medieval authors. It lacks independent consideration or unbiased reflection. In the author's view, instead of presenting an original, contemporary, and authoritative commentary, the journal usually limits itself to citing the views of the Committee on *Fatwās* or to a comment by a companion of the Prophet, ending with the words "God only knows" (p. 42).

In his conclusion to the work, the author insists that Muḥammad, seeking to guard the faithful against the sin of Muḥammad, seeking to guard the faithful against the sin of idolatry (Sūra 6, verse 74), objected only to those representations which were created with the aim of substituting them for the true God as an object of worship (Sūra 19, verse 42). In the author's view, the debate on the permissibility or impermissibility of reproducing living things in art — painting, graphic art, sculpture — is beside the point. He also holds that the very arguments which arise on this issue

merely discredit Islam by shunting believing Muslims off to the hinterlands of cultural development and civilisation (p. 48).

Taking into account that the book under review here is not a scholarly edition, we do not undertake a critical discussion in the context of the scholarly literature. Still, one can only welcome works such as "Painting in Islam", which testify to a profound respect for the ancient humanist tradi-

tions of true Islam. The support of such a prestigious Waqf foundation in the publication of this work is the best recommendation not only of the Waqf's position, but also of the views of a significant part of the Muslim religious community which protests against a return to societal norms frozen at the level of the middle ages.

F. Abdullaeva

E. Balicka-Witakowska. *La Crucifixion sans Crucifié dans l'art éthiopien. Recherches sur la service de l'iconographie chrétienne de l'Antiquité tardive.* — Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica, No. 4, herausgegeben von P. O. Scholz. Warsaw: 1997, 1888, 108 pp.

This monograph by E. Balicka-Witakowska, which concerns the complex iconographic issue of crucifixion scenes in Ethiopian art where the crucified Christ is not depicted, is her doctoral dissertation, written under the direction of Professor Karl Otto Nordstrom. The work was defended at the University of Uppsala (Sweden) on May 20, 1993. The study has appeared as an independent book in the series *Bibliotheca nubica et aethiopica* with the help of the Centre for Mediterranean Archaeology Studies at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

The author has analysed an extremely broad array of both written and non-written sources from the Christian East and Latin West, including not only appropriate passages in the synoptic gospels but apocrypha as well, commentaries by the Church fathers, liturgical texts, and spiritual poetry. In determining the place in Eastern art of Ethiopian manuscripts with miniatures which depict the crucifixion scene in a particular iconographic way, the researcher structures her work with an eye to the following three basic questions: (i) what were the sources which led to the emergence of such an original composition; (ii) what is the ideological import of such a scene; and (iii) how could such an iconographic variant arise?

The book is divided into five chapters and presents in an appendix a catalogue of Ethiopian manuscripts with miniatures the author deems noteworthy. Chapter I contains a description of manuscripts which belong to the category of illuminated Gospels. They are all decorated in accordance with the same principle. First come canonical depictions and the "Source of Life"; portraits of the Evangelists precede the texts of the corresponding gospels. The placement of the Crucifixion scene is not linked directly to the text, but remains in keeping with the chronology of events.

Typologically, Balicka-Witakowska places the miniatures into three stylistic groups. The division is based on the forms of the Golgothan cross, its ornamentation, differences in the personification of the Sun and Moon, and in the depiction of the lamb against the background of the half-sphere. In her opinion, the dates in the colophons relate to the texts, not the miniatures; one must date the latter by their stylistic features. The author admits that attempts to link manuscripts with specific scriptoria and centres have not yet borne fruit.

The second chapter deals with the ideological sources of the depiction of crucifixion scenes without the crucified Christ. Having analyzed the contents of numerous apocrypha in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic and Ethiopic, which speak of Christ's death on the cross and his immunity from suffering, the author concludes that one should seek a theological explanation not in heretical treatises, but in works by Christian apologists, primarily Tertullian and Origen. Also, the absence of Christ in crucifixion scenes is not linked to the teachings of the medieval Ethiopian sects of the Michaelites and Stephanites. Ethiopian miniaturists copied early Byzantine sources before the Council in Trullo in 692, which banned the symbolic depiction of Christ. The decrees of the Council were not accepted by the monophysite Church in Ethiopia as well as by the Latin West.

Specific sections of chapter three in the book under review here present an iconographic analysis of crucifixion scenes and their various components — the lamb, the caged bird, the Sun and Moon, the good and evil thieves, the soldier with a spear and the soldier with a sponge, and people standing at the foot of the cross. She does not neglect the form of the cross or the ornamentation of engraved stones which covers its surface. The latter feature is viewed in the context of the stones and their attendant symbolism. The explanations draw not only on familiar medieval treatises, but also on more specialised materials which were especially popular in Ethiopia and provided the basis for local versions. Among them is the "Book of Heavenly and Earthly Secrets", where sapphire symbolises the legs of Christ and topaz his wounds.

In the analysis of each of the components enumerated above, Balicka-Witakowska provides varied and worthwhile observations which in a number of cases lead the author to original conclusions. To enumerate only a few, the lamb — a symbol of Christ, the human nature of the Saviour and the Eucharist — is in Ethiopian miniatures linked exclusively with the idea of sacrifice, such as the lamb which replaced Isaac in the "Sacrifice of Abraham". The horns of the lamb reveal themselves to be full of hidden meaning — a symbol of the cross. The same is true of the hide destined for removal, which symbolises the very act of crucifixion. Other associations are found in the rod which the lamb bears: it is, like the rod of Moses, a symbol of the cross. The bush or tree near which the lamb stands is a prefiguration of the cross; the cross itself is the tree of life.

In Ethiopian miniatures, the connection between the lamb and the cross is always direct — it stands on the upper horizontal beam of the cross and is conceived as crucified and imbued with radiance, for as we find in the Book of Revelation (21, 23), heavenly Jerusalem is sanctified by the

glory of the Lord, and his torch is the lamb. The caged bird, which in early Christian and Byzantine art signified the soul of man encumbered by material existence, is treated in Ethiopian art as an image of the suffering Christ abandoned by his disciples. Furthermore, if the bird is depicted with its wings spread, it becomes a symbol of the crucified Christ. Basing her analysis on written sources, Balicka-Witakowska explains the simultaneous appearance in miniatures of the bird and the lamb as an original feature of the ancient Church's iconographic language, where the juxtaposition expressed the dual nature of Christ. The depiction in Ethiopian miniatures of the Sun and the Moon on both sides of the cross is identical to other Eastern Christian depictions, with the sole difference that the heavenly bodies are presented as turning away from the Crucified Christ. This device underscores the absence of Christ on the cross, as the averted Sun and Moon signify the darkness which concealed the body of Christ.

Balicka-Witakowska makes two observations on the iconography of the thieves. These observations are of importance both for theologians and for art historians. Firstly, of the two basic forms of the crucifixion — the Jerusalem, in which the bodies of the crucified and their hands are extended along the beams of the cross, and the Eastern, in which their hands are held behind their backs along the vertical beam — Ethiopian miniaturists preferred the second. The miniatures included in the catalogue give only one example of the Jerusalem form. Secondly, the depiction of an angel receiving the soul of the good thief and of a demon receiving the soul of the evil thief goes back to apocryphal texts of the Revelations of Peter, Paul, the Virgin Mary, and Gregory; such depictions are attested for Western iconography of the fourteenth century, whence they likely were adopted by contemporary Ethiopian miniaturists.

In the positions of the soldiers alongside the cross and in their actions — where the offering of a sponge soaked in vinegar and the blow with a spear take place simultaneously — the author sees the prevalence of a symbolic, not historical, principle of depiction. Moreover, in the author's opinion, the location of the soldier with the spear on the right side of the cross betrays the influence of Gnostic ideas, according to which the right side was linked to the spiritual and the eternal, whereas the left side represented things earthly. Regarding the figures arrayed at the base of the cross, Balicka-Witakowska gives grounds for rejecting current hypotheses which view them either as Roman soldiers casting dice or pilgrims. The author of the monograph proposes that we see here a symbolic representation of the peoples of the ecumen to whom the cross brings the light of the true teaching.

Landscape in Ethiopian miniatures is viewed by the author primarily through the prism of art history. Miniaturists used a traditional, three-coloured paradigm which goes back to the Syriac Gospel of Rabbula: yellow for earth, blue for mountains, and rose for the sky. In certain instances, miniaturists used only two colours, depicting a blue sky which shades into mountains of the same hue.

Chapter four is an essay on one relic — a marble ciborium held in the San-Marco Cathedral in Venice. It is

the only artifact outside of Ethiopia which represents the crucifixion of the lamb. The final fifth chapter contains a collection of materials from late antiquity and the early Byzantine period, primarily the fourth—seventh centuries, which depict the crucifixion without Christ. They are classified according to chronology, location, and iconography. This section of the work provides answers to questions posed in the introduction about the ideological import of what is depicted and about the means by which the aforementioned iconographic recensions made their way to Ethiopia.

The thrust of the arguments brought to bear by Balicka-Witakowska suggests to the reader that the depiction of the Crucifixion without the crucified Christ, that is, without the cross — the tree of life, called "angelic and victorious" — is an expression of Theophany. The appearance of this iconographic schema in Ethiopia was made possible through the mediation of Syrians and Copts, who brought with them pilgrims' eulogies. At the same time, the author rejects the thesis that the sources of such a composition go back to pictorial decorations in the Holy Land temples, since there is no direct evidence of precisely which biblical episodes adorned those places of worship and the existence of various versions of the same episode excludes the possibility of a single prototype. Nor does the author accept that the craftsmen who prepared the pilgrims' eulogies could have copied the representations found on medallions specially produced in Constantinople in the fifth—seventh centuries. Such craftsmen would hardly have had access to valuable jewelry from the capital of the empire, even if such objects made their way to the Holy Land. In all likelihood, Palestinian craftsmen employed various sources for their depictions and could have combined them as they saw fit in what they placed on the surfaces of the small objects they produced. In turn, Ethiopian miniaturists copied the eulogies which came to their country from the holy places.

Balicka-Witakowska's book deserves recognition as a profound, careful, and thorough study of medieval Ethiopian miniatures. The abundance of sources the author employs, both written and non-written, renders her work a valuable reference guide of the sort so essential to historians, art researchers, and specialists in religious archaeology. The collection of artifacts which depict the crucifixion without the crucified Christ is not only imposing, it is nearly exhaustive. The author has omitted only a bronze cross with an engraved depiction of the bust of Christ Emmanuel held in the Museum of the city of Aquileia¹ and tesseras, found in many numismatic collections, which depict the bust of Christ the Almighty above a cross-shaped monogram venerated by angels. One can see this same scene on a seventh-century gold signet-ring (the British Museum)² and on a twelfth-century Italo-Byzantine cameo cut on sardonyx (the Hermitage)³. One should note that the work under review was carried out in accordance with the most demanding scholarly standards. The text is accompanied by a list of sources and a bibliography which includes publications on the topic up through 1993.

V. Zaleskaya

¹ C. Cechelli, "Una figurazione gnostica", *Studi Aeuileici offerti a Giovanni Brusin* (Aquileia, 1953), pp. 245—52.

² D. Beuto, (ed.), *Byzantium. Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), p. 99, No. 107.

³ V. N. Zaleskaia, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IV—XII vekov. Opyt attributsii* (Applied Art in Byzantium in the Fourth—Twelfth Centuries: an Attempt at Attribution) (St.-Petersburg, 1997), p. 41, illustration 40.

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Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3