

## CONTENTS

<i>EDITORIAL BOARD</i>	3
Lives Devoted to Learning . . . . .	3
<i>TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS: DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH</i> . . . . .	7
Val. Polosin. "All is Numbers"? An Unknown Numerical Component in the Design of Medieval Arabic Manuscripts . . . . .	7
O. Scheglova. Lithograph Versions of Persian Manuscripts of Indian Manufacture in the Nineteenth Century . . . . .	12
T. Sultanov. Authors and Authorship in Persian and Turkic Historical Writings . . . . .	23
E. Vasilyeva. The First Persian, French and Russian Editions of the <i>Sharaf-nāma</i> . . . . .	27
<i>TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION</i> . . . . .	32
E. Rezvan. The Qur'ān and Its World: VIII/2. <i>West-Östlichen Divans</i> (the Qur'ān in Russia) . . . . .	32
<i>PRESENTING THE MANUSCRIPT</i>	63
A. Khalidov. An Arabic Composite Manuscript of Tales from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies . . . . .	63
<i>BOOK REVIEWS</i> . . . . .	70

### 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.

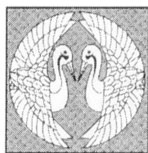
### Back cover:

**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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# TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

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## 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



Fig. 1





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'īl. 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'īl. 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].

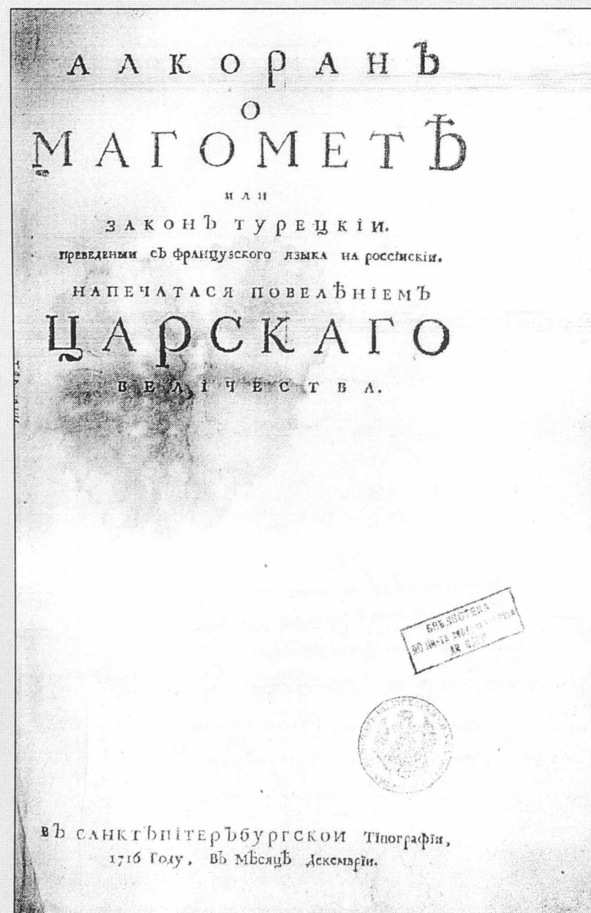


Fig. 3a

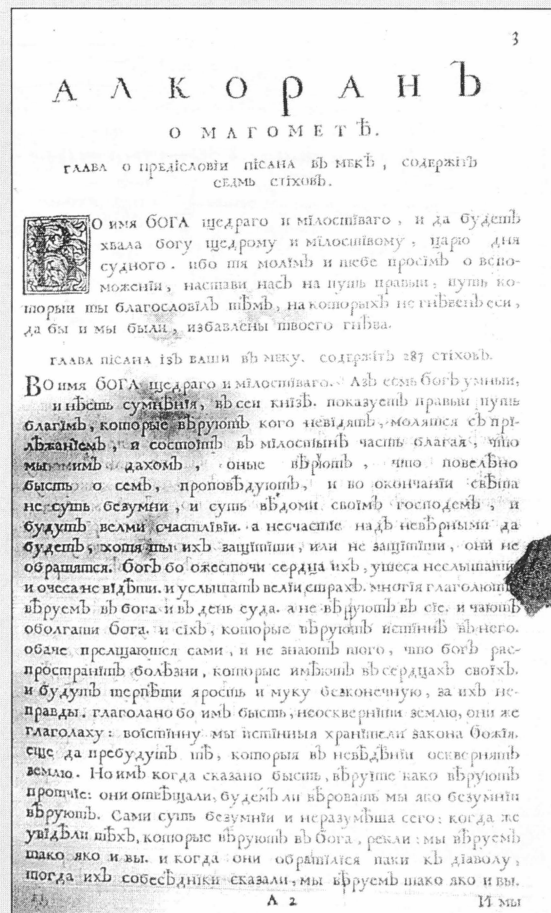


Fig. 3b





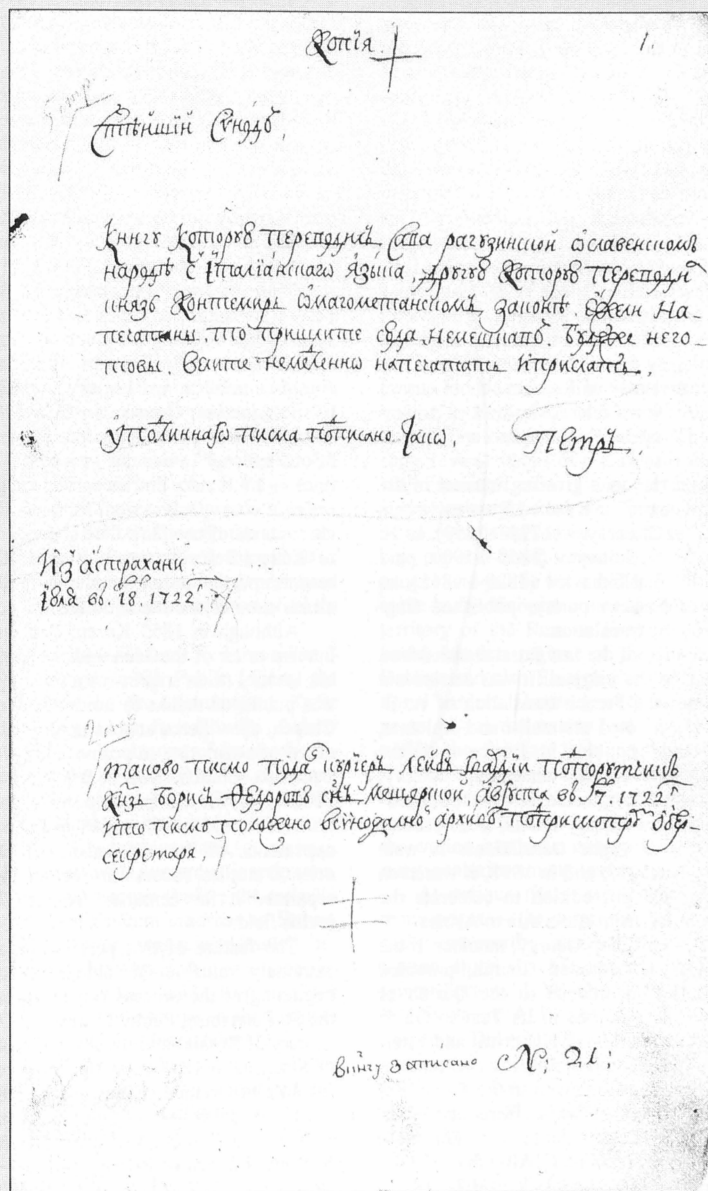


Fig. 5

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 eighth 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'īl 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 Aḥmad-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 Fakhretdinov (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 Fakhretdinov [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

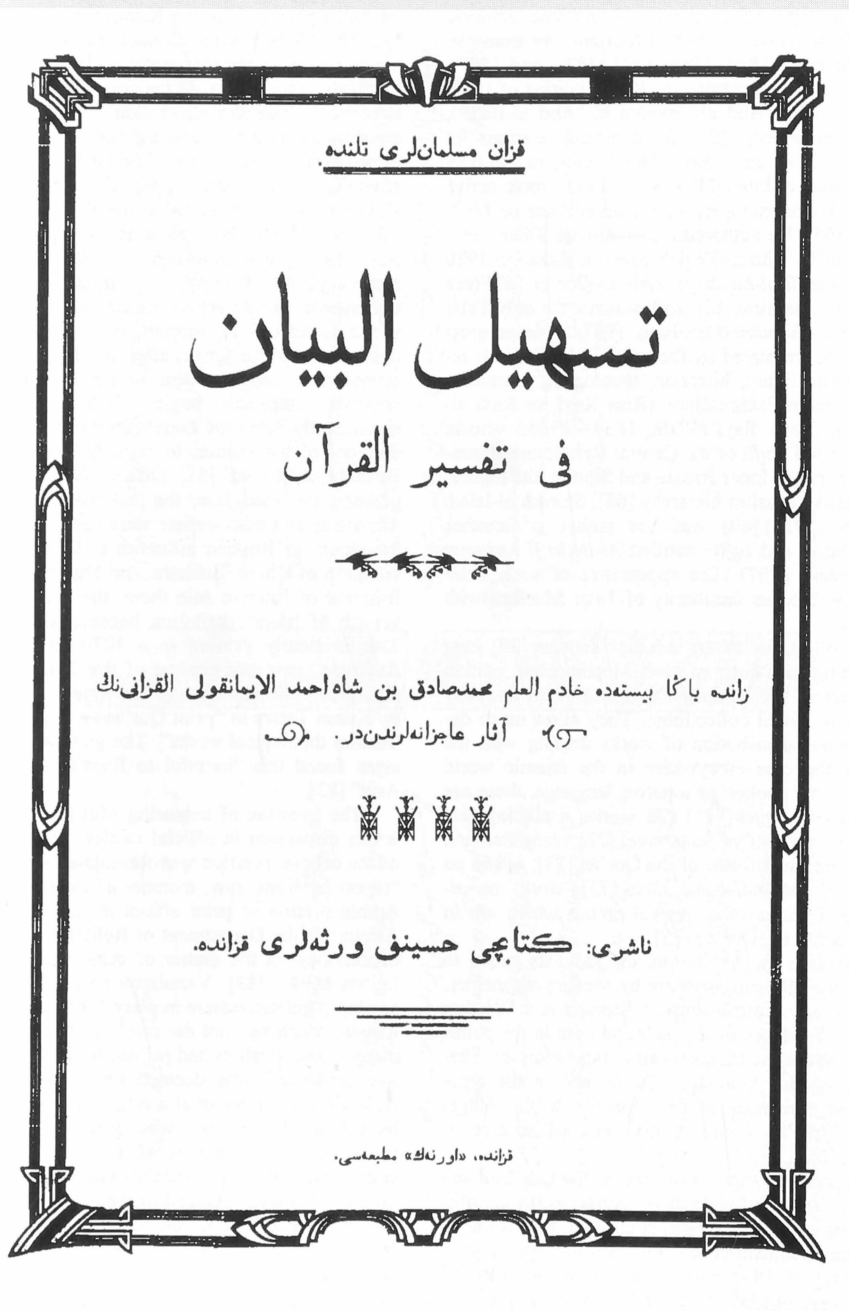


Fig. 9

رَبِّ يَسَّرْ 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 وَفَضْلًا عَلَى  
سَائِرِ الْكُتُبِ وَجَعَلَ نَاسِحًا لِكُلِّ لُغَةٍ وَأَدْبَانٍ وَسَرِاحًا مُنِيرًا وَعَجَزًا لِمُعَانِدِينَ عَنِ الْإِيمَانِ  
بِمِثْلِ سُورَةٍ مِنْهُ وَلَوْ كَانَ بَعْضُهُمْ لِبَعْضٍ ظَهِيرًا وَبَيَّنَ فِيهِ أَحْكَامَ الشَّرِيعَةِ الْفَرَاغَةَ 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 حَقَّ سَبْعَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى كُفُّهُ حَمْدٌ وَثَنًا بِي حَدِّ وَبِي أَحْصَاءُ وَرَسُولُهُ هُمُ الْآلُ  
وَاصْعَابُهُ دُرُودٌ وَسَلَامٌ لَا يَعِدُّ وَلَا يَحْصِي دُنْ صُكْرُهُ بُوْعْدٌ حَقِيرٌ وَعَاجِزٌ بِرِ تَقْصِيرِ  
مُحَمَّدٍ صَادِقِ بْنِ شَاهِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ أَبِي يَزِيدَ بْنِ رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ النَّقَلِيِّ الْقَزَّازِيِّ نَادَانُ لِقَى  
يُوزَنُ دُنْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ أَوْشُبُو قَزَّازٍ مُلْكَتِي نَكِّ أَهْلَ إِسْلَامِي لِسَانِي نَهْ أَنْوَاعِ عُلُومٍ وَأَنْعَاءِ  
فَنُونِ دُنْ هَرِ تَوْرِي كُتُبِ مُفِيدَةٍ وَرِسَائِلِ نَافِعَةٍ أَرْبَابِ فَضْلِ وَاصْحَابِ كِمَالِ طَرْفَتِنِ دُنْ  
تَرْجِمَةٍ وَنَشْرِ أَيْدِلْكَانِ بُولَسَهْدَةٍ لَكِنْ أَخْبَارِ دِينِيهِ مَزْنَكِّ مَجْمَعِي وَأَحْكَامِ شَرِيعَتِي مَزْنَكِّ  
مَنْبَعِي بُولْغَانِ كَلَامِ اللَّهِ الْقَدِيمِ نَكِّ تَفَاسِيرِ مَشْهُورَةٍ وَمَقْبُولِ سُنَنِ بُوْوَ قَتْفَةٍ فَنَرِ هَيْجِ  
بَرِي تَرْجِمَةٍ أَيْدِلْكَامِشِ بُولْدَفَنَنِ بُوْوَ قَتْفِي بِي بَضَاعَتِ بُونَتِنِ مُقَدِّمِ بَعْضِ أَخْوَانِ  
دِينِ نَكِّ التَّمَسَّارِي أَيْلِ لِيَا قَتْنِيمِ بُولَسَهْدَةٍ أَوْشُبُو أَمْرٍ عَظِيمٍ كِهْ جَسَارَةِ أَيْدُوبِ مَوْلَانَا  
حَسْبِنِ الْوَاعِظِ الْكَاشِفِي حَضْرَتْلَرِنَكِّ بَيْنِ الْعُلَمَاءِ مَشْهُورٍ وَمَقْبُولِ بُولْغَانِ فَارْسِي  
تَبْلِنْدَهْ كِي تَفْسِيرْلَرِنِي طَافَتِيمِ مَقْدَارِي سَعَى وَاهْتِمَامِ أَيْلِ قَزَّازٍ دِبَارِنَكِّ مُسْتَعْمِلِ بُولْغَانِ  
تَرْكِي شِيْوَهْ سِينَهْ تَرْجِمَةٍ أَيْدُوبِ بَعُونَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى اِتِّهَامِي مَيْسَرِ بُولْغَانِ أَبَدِي لَكِنْ  
بَعْضِ مَوَاقِفِ سَبِيلِي مَذْكُورِ تَرْجِمَةٍ مَزْنَكِّ طَبْعِ وَنَشْرِ يَمْكُنِ بُولْمَايُوبِ حَتَّى نَسْخَهْ سِي  
هُمُ قَوْلِي مَزْدَهْ قَالِمَادَنَتِنِ كُوبِ تَاصْفَرْتِي مُوجِبِ بُولْغَانِ أَبَدِي بُوْدَفَعَهْ يَنَهْ بَعْضِ أَجَابِ  
كَرَامَتِكِ التَّمَسَّارِي أَيْلِ تَكَرَّرِ أَوْشُبُو أَمْرٍ خَطِيرِكِهْ مَبَادَرَتِ أَيْدُوبِ مُتَوَكَّلَا عَلِي  
اللَّهُ تَعَالَى تَفْسِيرِ مَشَارَالِيهِ هُمُ تَفْسِيرِ زَبْدِ الْثَارِلَرْدَنِ حَاصِلِنِي أَلُوبِ مَطَالَعَهْ سِي آسَانِ  
وَفَهْمِي بِنْكَلِ بُولُورْدَايِ رُوشِكِ قَزَّازِ مُسْلِمَانْلَرِي شِيْوَهْ سِينَهْ تَرْجِمَةٍ أَيْلَامَكِ كِهْ شُرُوعِ  
قَبْلَدَمِ وَهُمُ تَفْسِيرِ قَاضِي وَكَشَافِ وَمِدَارِكِ هُمُ تَبْيَانِ كَبِي تَفْسِيرْلَرْدَنِ أَوْشَانْدَايِ إِمَامِ  
سَيُوطِي رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ نَكِّ اسْبَابِ النَّزُولَتِنِ نَقْلِي أَهْمِ وَالزَّمِ كُورْلُكَانْلَرِنِي 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 zilāl 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 *qirūltāy* (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 association, 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 orientalist 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-Nahl* 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 Galiatovskii (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 над 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. Isherikh, "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 Romanian 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), unō. 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 Gosudarstvennyiĭ 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 Khrapovitskiy, 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*, *φ*. 1329, *on*. 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*, *φ*. 1329, *on*. 4, *д*. 296, fol. 12 (10 May 1800); see also *φ*. 821, *on*. 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*, *φ*. 821, *on*. 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*, *φ*. 1263, *on*. 1, *д*. 2033 (11 October 1849), fols. 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 bozhiih*. Perevod s arabskogo na frantsuzskii iazyk Andreia diu-Riuer-a 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 perelozhena 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 stikhotvoreniiax 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 "Podrazhaniiem Koranu" (Pushkin's "Prophet" in the Context of the Poet's "Imitations of the Qur'ān") (Moscow, 1908); K. S. Kashtaleva, "'Podrazhanii Koranu' Pushkina i ikh pervostoitchnik", ("The 'Imitations of the Qur'ān' by Pushkin and their original source"), *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov*, V (1930), pp. 243—70; V. I. Filenenko, *Podrazhanii 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 'Podrazhanii Koranu'", *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, XI/1 (Irvine, 1974), pp. 61—77; S. A. Fomichev, "'Podrazhanii 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'ān 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 قيلوين هم ته طريقه ايلان بيبلي  
اوتياغه كلوين اعلا قيلور اوچون روايت هم اخبار لار يازولدى / مترجم: اوروسف حسين (بطرسبورغ، ١٩٠٥).

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 arkhografii. 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. Chernyshevskiy (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, d. 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, d. 1159* (1861—67), fols. 4—5).

55. "O privede k prisiage nekotorykh magometanskikh dukhovnykh lits v uездnykh politseiskikh upravleniakh" ("On the swearing in of certain Muslim clergymen in uезд 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, d. 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, d. 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 mesle* ("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'ah) (Petrograd, 1916), he presents a radically reformist view of the *sharī'a* as a system. In *İslām feylesüfları — 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 mevzu'larda ufak fikirler* (Modest Thoughts on a Grand Theme), Bigiev presented a critical overview of Ziyāeddīn Kemālī's theology and came out in defense of Şūfism. 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: *Edebiyat-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 inovertsam* (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 Gasprinskī, *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, pozhe-laniia 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 (φ. 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 Ḥamidī: 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* Yaqshī-bāy (Ufa area). This information on Ḥamidī 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 Ḥamidī:

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 جايى 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 ( أورنيبورغ، ١٩٠٨ )؛ اسكندر ابن جلال الدين، نظلى تجويد ( قازان، ١٩٠٩ )؛ محمد هبة الله، تحف الاولاد، منظوم تجويدى ( أورنيبورغ، 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 ( أورنيبورغ، ١٩١٢ )؛ خ. زينى، متن التجويد، ( الاصدار الثاني، استيرليتاماك، ١٩١٢ )؛ اسماعيل علوى، تجويد / مترجم: منور قارى ( الاصدار الرابع، أورنيبورغ، ١٩١٤ ).
73. كتاب المسمى بتفسير التبيان ( جلد ٤، قازان، ١٨٦٩ )؛ تفسير فوائد ( المجلد الثاني، قازان، ١٨٨٠، المجلد الثالث، دون مكان وزمان النشر، المجلد الرابع، دون مكان وزمان النشر )؛ كلام شريف تفسيرى. تفسير فوائدنك ( ٢ نچى جلدى، الجزء الاول والثاني، قازان، ١٨٨٩ )؛ الجزء الثالث ( الاصدار الثالث ) دون مكان النشر، ١٩٠٠ )؛ تفسير نعمانى تكملة س / مترجم: رضاء الدين [فخر الدينوف] ( أورنيبورغ، 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 الثاني، قازان، ١٩١٥ )
77. قرآن تهليل لارى ودعاء عجائب الاستغفار وصلوات شريف باشقه شريف دعاالار بياننده ( قازان، ١٨٨٠ )؛ رضاء 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 ( أورنيبورغ، 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' aẓīm* instead of *Qur'ān' aẓīm*. 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" spiashchikh 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. Krymskiy, general historical-literary essay on the tale; b) M. Attaya and A. Krymskiy, translations of Arabic versions of the 7th—13th centuries") (Moscow, 1914), *Trudy po vostoковedeniiu, izdavaemye Lazarevskim institutom vostochnykh iazykov*, XIV; I. Iu. Krachkovskiĭ, "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, chitaniye 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 regionalnye 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 stikhov 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 otrkovenii 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. Porokhovo* (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: Oblegchennyye 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).