Much has been written about the fate of the Qur'án in Western Europe. The same cannot be said about the Qur'án 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'án 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'án 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 Bulghars, Khwarazm, 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'an 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 bāqṣāqās, 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 tughrūd which included the formula bi-'inaydti Rabbi'l-'dlam7n. 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 islamicised 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'an 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'an 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'an in Russia. For many centuries, this distorted information on the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad, 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’án 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’án into Muslim-Spanish (alhamiado).

Since many Tatars went over to Russian service in the sixteenth century, the knowledge of the Qur’án 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’án on which the Tatars are brought to perform the shari’at (sharef, i.e. swear an oath)” [3]. There is also an interesting note: “In May, the year 7078—A.D. 1570—E. R.) Petr Grigoryev brought the Qur’an to the Sou-verain” [4]. One of the copies of the Qur’án, 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]. Aya 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’an it is meet to perform the shari’at, 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’anic fragment to have reached us. The above-mentioned Qur’anic 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’án was written in Russia. In 1683, a treatise in Polish came to light in Chermigov. It was drawn up by the rector of the Kiev-Mogilian College (later Academy), Ioannycyzus Galatsowski (d. 1688), who gained fame as an Orthodox polemicist. The book entitled Alkoran Macometow. Nauka heretycka y zydowska y poganska napelniony. Od Koheletha Chrystusowego ro-sproszony 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'skí Prikaz), S. I. Gadzhalovsky [9] (see fig. 2). The book, which presents a dis-pute between two allegorical figures, Alkoran and Ko-gelet, contains neither real nor imagined Qur’anic citations and betrays the author’s near total ignorance of the Qur’an’s contents. Galatsowski was the author of two other works partly related to the Qur’án. These are “The New Heaven” [10], dedicated to the miracles of the Virgin Mary, and the anti-Muslim pamphlet “The Swan and its Feather-s” [11]. The first includes two imagined and one real (dy3.45) quotes from the Qur’an [12], while the second contains solely imagined references to the Qur’an which appear-ently go back to the European polemical tradition.

The first initiatives for the scholarly study, translation and distribution of the Qur’an 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’an into Russian was published in St. Petersburg. It was carried out by an anonym-ous 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 sev-enteenth—first third of the eighteenth century). The anonym-ous “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 er-rors, 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’an and the biography of Muhammad. 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’an, which was treated, as before, as the bueslovie Magometovo (“vain words of Mahomet”).

A new period in the history of the Qur’an in Russia be-gins 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 Novokreshchenskoye Office, founded earlier by a 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 reli-gious tolerance, of a number of articles guaranteeing and regu-lating 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 Re-ligious 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 minrzs 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’an 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’an was published at state expense, partly to assuage Tatar complaints about the high cost of the books they acquired abroad. The Qur’an was printed with a typeface specially forged for the purpose and based on blueprints by mulld ‘Uthmán Ismá’îl. 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 mulld ‘Uthmán Ismá’îl. Between 1789 and 1798, this Qur’an 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’âns [23].

The fact of the Qur’an’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’an 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’an. 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 mulld, akhänd, and mi’adhadhin 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’an, marked with the year 1801 and closely resembling the St. Petersburg Qur’an was published there. Copies of this edition, published “at the expense of Yunosov” and, somewhat later, “at the expense of Amir-Khanov” [26], including later reprints, were generally termed Kazan Qur’âns. 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’an. The so-called “Kazan Qur’âns”, 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’an [27].

Catherine the Great’s project to publish and distribute the Qur’an, 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 Trotisk 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’âns printed in Kazan in Iran, Afghanistan, India, and Arabia.

Yet there was a moment when the fate of the Kazan Qur’âns 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’âns 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’âns. The Tsar’s resolution ran: “The printing of the Qur’âns 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’an 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’an 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’an 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 readoption of Islam by baptised Tatars. The printing of the Qur’âns 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].
Алкорань о Магометѣ.

Глава о пределах племени аль-икак, содержащей семь стихов.

...
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Fig. 4

Այս հատվածում են գրված հարաբերություններ և նշանակություններ, որոնք կարող են օգտագործվել առաջարկի համար: Անբաժանանում են այս հատվածի մեջ ընդգրկված տեքստի բարձրություններով: Բերեք բոլոր իրավիճակները, համարեք, որ այս հատվածը կարող է ներկայացնել բազմաթիվ տեսանյութներ:
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, commediographer 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 Aleksandr 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. Chaadayev (1794—1850), L. N. Tolstoy (1828—1910), V. S. Solovyev (1853—1900) paid tribute to this interest. M. S. Mikhailov (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 architect's efforts had led to the opening of a section of Eastern languages. The work was completed by Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī Ghajjī Qāṣīm oglī (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 Sharaf Nisā. 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-name, 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 (Hujum al-Furqān, publication began in 1836) and in Leipzig (Concordantiae Corani Arabicae by G. Flügel, 1842) would render the concordance irrelevant. Kazem-Bek's "Concordance" was not structured along etymological lines — dictionary entries were arranged in an alphabetical order, a convenient system for non-Arabists, and contained all contexts of use [35]. The characteristics [36] and merits of Kazem-Bek's approach were evident to any unbiased reader, and the author decided to publish his work despite all his circumstances and doubts.

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

The feature of that period was also the collecting of extremely valuable Qur'ānic manuscripts in Russia. The beginning of the process can be traced to the founding of the St. Petersburg Public Library in 1795 (now the National Library of Russia) and the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Sciences in 1818 (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies). During the years of active acquisitions, collections of Qur'āns arose which are the largest in Russia and among the largest in Europe: 228 items (the National Library of Russia) and 171 items (St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). The manuscripts held here represent examples of book production over twelve centuries — from the end of the seventh—early eight centuries to the end of the nineteenth century — in essence, the entire history of the Arabic manuscript book. The range of provenance is also impressive — from Byelokraine 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
they also entered the collections as gifts, as a component repository of manuscripts in the Public Library and the Asiatic Museum. Copies of the Qur'an were among the first acquisitions of both the repository of manuscripts in the Public Library and the Asiatic Museum. Copies of the Qur'an were also among the final acquisitions to enrich those manuscript collections. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, unique and rare copies and fragments of the Qur'an 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'ans which originated, for the most part, from the mosque of 'Amr b. al-'As 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'anic 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'an, regional traditions of transmitting the text, etc.).

In 1869, Turkestans Governor-General K. P. von Kaufman (1818—1882) handed over to the Public Library the so-called 'Uthmânî Qur'an, or the "Samarqand Kufic Qur'an", which had belonged to the Khwâja Akhrâr Mosque in Samarqand. It is no doubt one of the most outstanding copies of the Qur'an 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, square-shaped base, dating back to T临床's age, was decorated with numerous inscriptions, and stood in the middle of the mosque (before the mihrab) in the partially destroyed Bibi Khânam 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'anic 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'an, while A. F. Shebunin studied the orthography of the copy in comparison with the Filigel 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'an (approximately 40% of the text) in Hijâzî 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'an 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'anic manuscripts — the description of certain sections and especially noteworthy copies [45] — received significant attention from Cr. M. Fraehn, V. R. Rozen, V. V. Velyminov-Zernov, I. Yu. Krachkovsky, V. A. Krachkovskaya, V. I. Beliayev, A. B. Khalidov, P. A. Griaizeniehv, M. B. Pirotovskv. The acquisition of a number of examples is linked with such names as P. P. Dubrovskv, 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'an to work directly from the original (his translation was completed in 1871), was linked with the legendary figure Shamîl, leader of the mountain tribes of the North Caucasus.
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 dragoon at the Russian embassy in Constantinople. His translation was distinguished by great accuracy and exceptional literary qualities. However, after the translation of the Qur’an 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’an” 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’an, in 1879 Sablukov released his “Appendices” — at that time the best index to the Qur’an in Europe. In 1884, after the author’s death, his overview of the Qur’an 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’an 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’an ordered from the Russian-educated Palestinian P. K. Zhuze (1817—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’anic studies are especially pronounced in the second part of his work “Information about the Qur’an, the Law-Giving Book of the Mohammedan Faith”, which contains an analysis of the “inner qualities of the Qur’an” [51].

In the main, nineteenth-century translations were based on the Muslim tradition and hence reproduced an understanding of the Qur’an 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 Taşşir al-mawâkıh by İsmâ’îl Farruhk (d. 1840), which was in turn based on the Persian Taşşîr-i Ḥusaynî by Ḥusayn Wâ’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’an completed directly from the original was preceded by the publication of specialised Qur’anic dictionaries in 1863 in Kazan by I. F. Gotwald (1813—1897) and in 1881 in St. Petersburg by V. F. Gîrgas (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 Turkistan 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’an. 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’an 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, Chaghfatay-Tatar and Azerî 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’an and taşşîrs. 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’an 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’an 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’an 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'an 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'an 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, Shihâb al-Dîn Marjânî (1818—1899); the theologian and pedagogue, founder (1882) of the largest new-method Muhammadiyya school [60] in the Volga basin, 'Alîmîn b. Muhammad Khân al-Bârdî (Galeev; 1857—1921); the famed Crimean Tatar publicist, publisher and societal figure, "father of the Turkic nation" Ismâ'îl Bey Gasprinsky (1851—1914); and the theologians and publicists Mûsâ Jârîlîlî Bigtî (Bigiev; 1875—1949) and 'Âtûl-làllîh Bayazitov (both were at various times imâm-khatîbs 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 Sayyîd Âhmad-khân (1817—1898), Jamâl al-Dîn Afdhânt (1839—1900) (who visited St. Petersburg and met there with figures in the Russian Muslim renaissance), Muhammad 'Abdî (1849—1905), and Rashîd Ridâ (1865—1935) (see, for example, the Ta'fîl al-manâr, authored by the latter two).

It was 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 qadîmists, from usûl jadîd and usûl qadîm), both sides made active use of the Qur'an to buttress their positions. Thus, 'Abd al-Rawfî Rahîm-oghîlî (1886—1928), better known by the pseudonym Fîrâtî, one of the most important theoreticians of Bukharan "jadîdism", 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'an, 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'an 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'an in particular, they seem to us fruitless, but not useless. For we, Russians, in the majority of cases, are not familiar with the Qur'an 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'an, 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'an" [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 Bâhâ' al-Dîn Vaisov (1804—1893). Influenced by Wahhabite ideas, Vaisov demanded complete obedience to the letter of the Qur'an 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 1877 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'an (including both type-set texts and lithographic reproductions), more than 100 editions of individual sirâs (Sîwar min al-Qur'an), and up to 200 collections of sirâs which made up one seventh of the Qur'an, the haftiäk [66]. One of the accomplishments of Muslim printers was the publication in 1857 of both the basic text of the Qur'an in the Hafiz redact and variant readings (al-qira'ät), 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 reprints. Prayer books were also
widely printed, as well as unusual talismans — *dugâliq* — based on the Qur'ân and magic incantations.

Outstanding jadidists took part in the preparation (ex- tant copies contain the terms *bi-nâzr*, *bi-nâzāra*, *bi-muqâbala*, *bi-ma'rîfâ*) of a number of Qur'anic editions. They included the above-mentioned Marjâ'ânī (for example, the Kazan editions of 1860, 1868, 1871, 1876, and 1887), al-Bârijî (Galeev) (for example, the Kazan edition of 1902, in collaboration with 'Abd al-Qayyûm b. 'Abd al-Bâdirî'), Ismâ'îl Bey Gasprinsky (the Bakhchisarai editions of A.H. 1312 and 1317), and others. The theologian and poet Muhammad Sâdiq al-Imângûlî (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'ân with *tâfsîr* published in Kazan in 1910 under the title *Tashil al-bayân fi tâfsîr al-Qur'ân* [67] (see fig. 9 and 10). By that time, his work was not the only Tatar *tâfsîr*. Al-*tâfsîr al-Nu'mâni* (Orenburg, 1907) achieved great popularity. It was translated by the noted Tatar-Bashkir religious and public figure, historian, theologian, journalist, and writer Rizaeddin Fakhretdinov (Riza Kazi, or Rîdà al-Dîn b. Fâkhîr al-Dîn b. Sayîf al-Dîn; 1859—1936), who in 1923 was appointed *mufîf* of the Central Religious Administration of Muslims of Inner Russia and Siberia, the highest post in the Russian Muslim hierarchy [68]. Shaykh al-Islâm Hamîdî (1869—1911) [69] was the author of another popular translation and *tâfsîr* entitled *Al-tahâwî fi tarjumat al-Qur'ân* (Kazan, 1907). The appearance of such Tatar *tâfsîrs* 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 genric distribution of works dealing with the Qur'ân. As is the case everywhere in the Islamic world where Arabic is not spoken as a native language, these are primarily works on *tajwid* [71] (28 works, including one written by a woman, Şûlîya Sultanova) [72], translated and original *tâfsîrs* on the full text of the Qur'ân [73], *tâfsîrs* on the *haflâk* [74], on individual *su'râs* [75], works on *al-qira'ât* [76], and works of a general nature which are in some way related to the Qur'ân [77].

In their writings on the Qur'ân, 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 She-bunîn's article on the 'Uthmânî Qur'ân and in the type-written Russian translation of the foreword to the Flûgel edition of the Qur'ân found in the personal archive of Fakhretdinov [78].

The aggregate print-run for the text of the Qur'ân 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'ân and one for a 50,000-copy edition of the *haflâk* [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'ân. In the first place, this concerned the production of private presses. In a letter dated 16 December 1858 from the Orenburg muftî Suleymenov (1786—1862) to the Minister of Internal Affairs the former reports the discovery of 328 errors in a Qur'ân printed on 28 January 1856 at the Kukubin press on funds provided by the Kazan merchant Yusup 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'an 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 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 Samarkand 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'âns 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'ân 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 muftî 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 teaching, 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
تسهيل البيان
في تفسير القرآن

رايت، باكآ، استهد، العالم، محمد، أباددق، بن، شاه، أحمد، الإيافنيد، القرآني، ك، 39، آثار، ماجام، انتكنان، در، لوك،

ناشر: نصبا، حسن، فرثاري، فرانده،

فرانده، فارنابه، طليعی،
ربّ يسّر ولاتعذر
أعوذ بِاللهِ مِن الشِّيَاطِنِ الرَّجِيمِ
("سُلْطَانُ النَّارِ")

الملاء الذي نزل على عبد الرحمن يُكَون للعالمين نذيرا وتعمل على
سائر الكتب وجعل ناسها جميع الأديان ورسلها منها واعترضه تعالى عن الله
بكل سورة من أوائل بضع أثري وكتب الله له في أحكام الفقه والعروض.
وكتبت له تسوية وتسوية وشرك امتعة بفضل الله في مكان من دون الله وأنا
والسلام على سيدنا عبد الذي أرسل بهديه ودليني ذلك وجعل نذيرا وبيهرا
ضررت من سبيله وتعالى مجد وثني حتى يحمى ورسوله ماأل
واحسابه دردده سلام لابد ولابحث حكمة يكون مكره وموعظة برغمر
عبد ملاد بن يحيى بن أبي يزيد بن رحمة الله في إسحاق الفارابي
بوضعون ابنته كم أوجب فنانون فك احلام الله قلبه واعظه ماأل
فانونهكا توراه كتب فرق ومباش الكافة هداه فتى وطريقهم
ترجح ونشر إسلامه بولساده لكن أخبار ذهبهم مزاكر جميع واحكام شريفهم
منبت بولساده علما الله الفقه فيه كل تشريع مشهدو وفقعاً فرداً فتر مهج
برية ترجع إسداله بولضه بكونه بي ضاعت بويون قدم بعض
ديناء الكليات هيئباً لابنهم بولساده وأوجب عليه بعض مالا
حسب الواصف الكافي خصائصه بيت كفاره وفضائل بولساده فارسي
وبلسطم نبأ تنينا متنافى معى وأحادث إيل فنون داريتس ببولساد
نرى بولساده ترجمة أندوب بعون الله تعالى ناحي مير ببولساده إيل كن
لبعض ماذراع لملكت ترجمة ميزان طم ونشرى لكن ببولساده حتى ينسى
مهم ملاده فلا بد من موج بولساده إيل بودفعه في بعض إصاب
请大家在查看图片时，将鼠标移至所需部分。
treats the appearance of complaints such as the one received by the Government, it seems, should strive” [84]. Varadinov treats the appearance of complaints such as the one received by the Government, it seems, should strive” [84]. Varadinov who asked for permission to issue a work entitled “Tafsîr Guleîta (Translation of the Qur’an)” (the work was evidently the tafsîr of ‘Ali) [85]. Though political circumstances varied, the general approach appears to have been to allow the publication of the Qur’an 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’an 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, near the burial vault of the Romanov dynasty. At the same time, the Qur’an 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’an by V. V. Barthold (1869—1930), I. Yu. Krachkovsky (1883—1951), and A. E. Krymsky (1883—1941) [87]. Their research in general treated problems common to European Qur’anic studies. In 1905, Krymsky released an annotated translation of several suras for pedagogical purposes [88]. And the Qur’an 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’an. 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 translated parts of the sixth sūra.

The revolution of 1917 strengthened centrifugal tendencies in Muslim regions of Russia, where numerous “emirates”, “imamat”, and “khana” arose which claimed the Qur’an 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. Mikhail 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’an, 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 December 1917, by direct order of Lenin the Muslim community received the ‘Uthmânic Qur’an which had been kept at the St. Petersburg Public Library. The ideas of such Bolshevik revolutionary figures as M. S. Sultan-Galiev (ca. 1890—1940) [89] echoed through the works of Ahmad Ben Bella (b. 1916), leader of the Algerian revolution, and in the tafsîr of the famed Iranian theologian ‘Ali Shârî‘ atî (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 ayât 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 tafsîr by Sayyid Qûfî (1906—1966), the ideological leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, Fi zîlîl al-Qur’ân, 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 ghazzawî and swore solemnly on the Qur’an to engage all Muslims in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Authoritative mullâs wrote by hand for Ibrahim-bek, one of the leaders of the basmäch movement, several talismans with utterances from the Qur’an which were intended to guard him from the enemy’s bullets. But on 30 January 1924, the first qurânlî (congress) of the ‘ulâmâ took place in Western Bukhara. The resolution of the congress contained the words: “... the basmáches falsely take refuge in Islam, but this is base deception on their part ... Soviet rule does not contradict the shâri’ah; 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-Hâfiz Makhdîm, 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 dîwâr in the Qur’an which state that land belongs to those who “have resurrected it” (abyâhū) [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 basmách movement. In the 1930s and later, approximately 40,000 imâms, mullâs, and ‘ulâmâ 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 Sufî influence, the organisational base of which remained underground Sufî brotherhoods. Representatives of dogmatic Islam, the creator and guarantee of the faith’s intellectual potential were destroyed during the years of repression. In 1927, shârî’ah and ‘âdât 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...
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'an 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'an, 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'an [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'an 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'an 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'an. Viewing the Qur'an 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'an and strove to find in the Qur'an 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 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'an 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'an's emergence, and the fourteenth century — the age of 'Uthman 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'an was created by a group of individuals [99]. Their approach to the study of the Qur'an relied in large part on the hypercritical works of such Western orientalists 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 pointlessly missionary approach of their missionary predecessors.

In this sense, Krachkovsky's work, K. S. Kashtal'eva's (1897—1939) articles on the terminology of the Qur'an, 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'anic 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'an 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'an 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 millennium 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 mujâfî Muslim Muhammad Sâdiq Muhammad Yûsuf, 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'âns, or books for elementary religious education. There is a great need for mullâs 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 Manâr al-Islâm, 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'ân says: "His command, when He desires a thing, is to say it to 'Be', and it is" (36:82) [106].

These words were echoed by Maqâqî Gadhzhiev, editor-in-chief of the Makhchakhâla 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'âns 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'ân 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'ân was a profitable endeavor), and even the journal "Dawn of the East", which serialised the Qur'ân 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, Egypt, and Turkey now finance the publication and distribution in Russia and the CIS of special educational aids and translations of contemporary tafsîrs into Russian and national languages [109]. Programs to translate the Qur'ân 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'ân continue to be imported to Russia and the CIS for free distribution to the faithful. The Religious Administration of Muslims also reissues the Arabic text of the Qur'ân (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'ân 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'ân'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 âya, after the prayer:
Knowledge of the Qur‘án 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 Ramadan Abdalatifyev, who deals with relations between nationalities in the Russian Federation, we read: “Played for the Dagestan national volleyball team. Enjoys hunting in the mountains, reads the Qur‘án, plays folk musical instruments”.

The Qur‘án 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 wahhabites, who are conducting an aggressive, and largely successful, campaign funded by foreign Islamic centres.

The creative inspiration of the Qur‘án continues to influence Russian writers. In one of his last interviews, A. Bito, 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‘án, Pushkin, Pascal, or Dal in the morning, my attitude toward life is simply joyous” [112].

The scholarly study of the Qur‘án 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 jadidists [115]. A priority for Russian Qur‘ánic studies is the realisation of Krachkovsky’s idea to ready a philologically accurate, appropriately literary academic translation of the Qur‘án 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‘án 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‘án, 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‘án in Russia, termed the “Eastern-Western community” by the Russian philosopher Nikolay Berdiaev [117], seems to prove it perfectly well.

Notes


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. Published in Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Rossiia XVI stoletiia. 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. I—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, “Pamyat’ russkie perevody Korana, vypolennye pri Peter Velikom” (“First Russian translations of the Qur‘án carried out under Peter the Great”), Arkhiv russkoi istorii, V (1994), p. 228.

5. Rossiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Drevnikh Aktov (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts) (henceforth, RGADA) (Moscow), fols. 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 naskh on European paper without customary additional Turkish processing. The paper is dated by watermark to about 1628—1639. The older part — fols. 292—239 (size: 22.5×16) — is on brown-tinted Eastern paper (thirteenth—fourteenth centuries?). Some of the folios (475—388, 352—300) with interpolated Persian translation and commentary are on yellow-tinted 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 rukopisel i dokumentov Rossiskogo 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-Fātihā was evidently not considered a separate chapter.


8. Iaonnicyns Galatowski, Alkorn Macometow Nauka heretycka y ydowska y poganska napelniony. Od Koheletha ... (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, fols. 1.251, No. 4141/2504 un.; RNB, Ps 17 II 15 q.
10. A hand-written 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 (pló), see P. O.

11. Alkoran, Lapedovsky, Lebedov with pionami swemi z darami Boskiemi Christys Prawomiewnym Narodowi Chrzesziscienu Labebyonim Piorem swem madrosi Boskiew wypuscie Przycznw, dla ktorych dugo trwa na Swiecie sekta Machometantwa? ... (Lwow, 1665; Chernigov, 1670; Novgorod-Seversky, 1677; Mogiliev, 1699). All the editions are preserved in the Peter the Great's library. Two copies of the book are held at RGADA (Q. 1251, Nos. 4181/2684 and 4181/2686).

12. See Galatowski, Nebo noveo, fol. 54: "Hmamet zviodatel' vyskazyvayut Prichestnu Dvynu v svoem Alkorane, (vzhy od dobrogo chyhy od togoho duhah nauchenhuy) mowt: o Marie boe teb' obry hod z eby nevet'y na svetyt', o Marie, boe obyvets tebho svoego sovet, ime eby Messiah" ("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 Magomate ili Zakon tureiskel, perevedennyy s frantsuzskogo izazyka na rossiiskel (The Alkoran of Mogomat 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, "Russkiil perevod Korana v rukopisi XVIII veka" ("A Russian translation of the Qur'an from an eighteenth-century manuscript"). For more detail on Dmitry Kantemir, see the Rumanian edition of his work, Krachkovskii, op. cit., pp. 73---273.

14. About his edition see P. Efremov, "Novoookryataia bibliografcheskata redkost'" ("A newly discovered bibliographic rarity")... (Gadzialovskiï) Stakhií", Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoí literatury Instituta Russkoí Literatury Akndemií nauk (Leningrad, 1990), p. 71. Copies of the anonymous translation have been preserved at RGADA (Q. 181, on. 9, No. 756/1286), and RNB (Collection of the St. Petersburg Religious Academy, No. 186, fol. 1—80). Copies of the Alkoran translation are held at RGADA (Q. 357, No. 68/213, fols. 1—72) and RNB (F XVII 19, pp. 316—39). For more detail, see Kruming, op. cit., p. 231.

15. This edition is mentioned numerous times in a correspondence between the director of the St. Petersburg Press, Mikhail Avramov, and Tsar 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 all my brother and true friend; through him we have sent to His Majesty a new plan of the Saint Petersburg prisppect (prospect — E. R.), a military book, Alkoran, and two proportional drawings of an English ship-building shop ..." (RGADA, Q. 9, omà.II, ra. 3l (incoming letters from 1717, book 1, letters A--C), fol. I 15. Cited in Kruming, op. cit., p. 234.

16. For example, the introductory words and heading of the second sira (Le Chapitre de la Vache escrit à la Meccue) are translated as "Chapter written from Vasha to Meka". For more detail on Posnikov, see E. Shmurlo, "P. Posnikov. Neskol'ko dannykh dla ebi biografii" ("P. Posnikov. Some information for his biography") (Yuryev (Depgt.), 1894), separate off-print from the Uchenye Zapiski Imperatorskogo Iur'evskogo Universiteta, 2nd year, No. 1 (1894), Unofficial section, pp. 73—273.

17. For more detail on Posnikov, see P. Posnikov. Neskol'ko dannykh dla ebi biografii ("P. Posnikov. Some information for his biography") (Yuryev (Depgt.), 1894).
22. See Filosofskaia i politicheskaia perepiska imperiatritsi Ekateriny II s doktorm Zimmermanom s 1785 po 1792 god (The Philosophical and Political Correspondence of Empress Catherine II with Dr. Zimmermann Between1785 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, δ. 296, fol. 5. Two factors determined the commercial success of this and subsequent "Kazan Qur’áns" editions: their Muslim character and high quality printing. The first purely commercial European edition intended for distribution in the Muslim East, that of Pagamini 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 premièr edition imprimée du Coran", Quaerundii di studi arabì, 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 Shner'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, δ. 296, fol. 12 (10 May 1800); see also φ. 821, on. 8, δ. 830, fol. 7, and φ. 831 (1861) entitled "On the Recognition of the Expediency of Granting the Asiatic Press at Kazan University the Exclusive Right to Print the Qur’an with Information on the History of the Press". In 1861, the Minister of Education deemed it advantageous for Muslims to print the Qur’an 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’áns in privately owned presses.

26. RGIA, φ. 821, on. 8, δ. 830, fol. 7 (February 16, 1859).


28. RGIA, φ. 1263, on. 1, δ. 2033 (11 October 1849), fols. 12—19.

29. Ibid., fol. 18.


31. Al-Koran Magomedov, perevedennyi s arabskogo na angliiskogo s priobshcheniem k kazhdoi glave na vse temnye mesta iz'ias-nitel'nykh istoricheskix primeneinii, vybrannykh iz samykh dostoverneishix istorikov i arabskix talkehvatel. Al-Korana Georgiem Seylem i s prisvokupleniem obstoiatel'nogho i podrobnogo opisania zhizni izheprorok Maqometa, sochnennoho slavnym doktorom Prido. S angliiskogo na rossiiskih perevodchikom Alexei Kolmakov. (The Muhammed 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). Translated from the English into the Russian by Aleksy Kolmakov), pts. 1—2 (St. Petersburg, 1790). The appendix to the edition has a separate title page, the subtitle reads “Translated into the Russian by P[etr] 'Andrenev".


34. For more information about M. A. Kazem-Bek, see A. K. Rzaev, Mukhammad Ali Kazem-Bek (Muhammad 'Alí Qázim Bft) (Moscow, 1989).

35. Recent years have seen the appearance of several dictionaries based on this alphabetical system, which today remains a novelty in Arabic studies, see Jibrán Mas'tód, Mu'jam lughawï 'c,Jri (Beirut, 1967), 2nd ed.); B. M. Belkin, Karmannyl arabsko-russkil

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 (Berkic, 1817), 8th edn.

37. Kazem-Bek's work remains significant today. Its merits place it on equal footing with a similar Muhammad Fu'ad 'Abd al-Baqi's work al-Mu'jam al-mufarhah li-l-alfah at-al-Qur'an al-karim (Concordance to the Qur'an) (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'anic text published by Gustav Fligel. The latter was universally supplanted by the Cairo edition (1919, 1923, 1928).


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

49. G. Weil, Istoriko-kriticheskie vvedenie v Koran (Historical-Critical Introduction to the Qur’an), trans. from the German by E. Maly (Kazan, 1875).

50. G. Sablukov, Priloženie k pervovu Korana (Appendix to a Translation of the Qur’an) (Kazan, 1879); idem, Svedeniia o Korane, zakonopolscheziel’noe knige mokhammedanskego vosroschenia (Information About the Qur’an, Law-Giving Book of the Muhammadan Faith) (Kazan, 1884).


52. I. Gota’v’d. Opyt arabsko-russkago slovaria na Koran, sem’ naol’kati i stikhotvoreenia Imrul’khsa (Attempt at an Arabic-Russian Dictionary of the Qur’an, the Seven Mu’allaqat, and Poems by Imrul’-Qays) (Kazan, 1863); V. Gurgas, Slovar’ k arabskoi khrestomati i Koranu (Dictionary to an Arabic Chrestomacy and the Qur’an) (Kazan, 1881).

53. See “O prisiaje dlia magometan, pri dopushchenii iikh k svidetel’stvu v delakh s khristianami, ili odnikh kristian. V priloženii dan tekst nastavleniia dlia musul’man” (“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”), Polný Svod Zakonov Rossískago Imperii za 1831, vol. VI, article 4974 (St. Petersburg, 1832); “O novol forme prisiaje po sudebnym delam dlia magometan. Formy prisiaje na tatarskom, turétskom, i perséskom izyakh” (“The new form of the oath in court cases for Muslims. In Tatar, Turkish, and Persian”), Polný Svod Zakonov Rossískago Imperi za 1850, vol. XXV, article 24117 (St. Petersburg, 1851).

54. See “O sostavlenii i rassmotrenii proektov novol forme voennoi prisiaje dlia magometan” (“On the new form of the military oath for Muslims”), a document in RGLA, f. 821, on. 8, d. 1152 (1859—61); also “Ob ustanovlenii poriadka privedeniia k prisiaje magometan pri usloviu otsutstviia magometanskago dukhovnostva” (“On the establishment of a procedure for Muslims to swear oaths in the absence of the Muslim clergy”), a document in RGLA, f. 821, on. 8, d. 1159 (1861—67), fols. 4—5.

55. “O privode k prisiaje nekotorykh magometanskikh dukhovnykh lits v uznakh ih političeskih upravleniakh” (“On the swearing in of certain Muslim clergymen in uznah police administrations”), Polný Svod Zakonov Rossískago Imperii za 1870 (St. Petersburg, 1872), xlv, article 48397.

56. “Kliatvennoe obeshchanie dlia musul’man, postupiaischchikh v novyiu službu” (“The oath which Muslims swear upon entering upon military service”), Polný Svod Zakonov Rossískago Imperii za 1862. Otdelenie II (St. Petersburg, 1865). An addition to volume XXVII includes article 38514a, which presents parallel translations into five Eastern languages.

57. See RGLA, f. 821, on. 8, d. 1152, fols. 12—13rev.

58. “O sostavlenii i rassmotrenii proektov novol forme voennoi prisiaje dlia magometan” (“On the new form of the military oath for Muslims”), RGLA, f. 821, on. 8, d. 1152 (1859—1861), fols. 34—34rev.

59. See “Pravila o privodenii lits magometanskogo ispol’zovaniia k prisiaje” (“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. Músá Járaláh Bigi (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 mulla. 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 Waq, which printed lectures on the history of religion delivered by Bigiev in 1909 at the Orenburg ûusayniyya madrasa. Bigiev’s views, however, were soon pronounced incompatible with the post of mufaddil at this madrasa and he was compelled to leave Orenburg. Once again back in St. Petersburg, Bigiev received the post of imám-khatib at the St. Petersburg mosque. He was secretary of the third Muslim Congress in Nizhniy Novgorod, in 1906, and author of the political program šayxah al-Mustafí, 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 — Kálaj nazarnya bir nîche meše’te (“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 the government in the new regime. After the publication in Berlin of Azbuka Islama (Basics of Islam), Bigiev was arrested. He was released only after Ismet Inönü, 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 Isláhat Esášları (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 Şartı’at Esášları (The Fundamentals of the Şartı’at) (Petrograd, 1916), he presents a radically reformist view of the şarti’at as a system. In İslám foyisîfiîleri — Muhammad Abdalláh al-Miṣrî, Jamûl al-Dîn al-Afghânî (Islam Philosophers — Muhammad Abdalláh al-Miṣrî, Jamál al-Dîn al-Afghânî) (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’an (Türkîk al-Qur’án wâ mísîbî, St. Petersburg, 1905, and Taf’hui sûrat al-Fâtihah, Petrograd, 1915), he actively took part in the discussions caused by the publication of the Qur’an with errors accusing mullas-qadimists in flagrant ignorance. Among Bigiev’s theological works, one should note Qura’îk-î Fiqhîyeti ("Basic Elements of Fiqh") (Kazan, 1910) and Ra’isvîî-i İhâbiye hurbanlari (Proofs of God’s Mercy) (Orenburg, 1911), which evoked the harshest criticism from Bigiev’s qadimist adversaries. In his Büyük mevzî tara’dı ufaq fikiler (Mostest Thoughts on a Grand Theme), Bigiev presented a critical overview of şüyâeddîn Kemâlî’s theology and came out in defense of Şüfîsm. In Üzer gunlerde Rûze (Fast During Long Days), the author applied modern scientific theories to the discussion of the Muslim fast in the far north,
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 close friends, the philosopher Vladimir Solovyev. In 1905, Bayazitov began to publish in Petersburg the first Tatar newspaper in Russia — Нар, which existed until 1916. In 1906, he organized a committee to collect funds for the construction of a mosque in the capital. Bayazitov held to extremely moderate monotheist views. His book, published on the emergence of a modern Muslim education, was bought up so quickly by Muslims in Europe and Siberia that a second edition was issued. At the request of the 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.

Ata-u'llah 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 indiiskogo puteshchestvennika (Tales of an Indian Traveller), trans. by A. N. Kondrativev (Samarkand, 1913), pp. 52—3.

63. See, for example, V. V. Baruhlôv’s review of N. P. Ostrooumoff’s Islomovedenie (The Qur’an and Progress. On the Intellectual Awakening of Today’s Russian Muslims) (Tashkent, 1901), p. 246.


66. For more detail, see Anas Khalidov, op. cit.

67. The edition was reproduced not long ago in Qatar. Muhammad Sâdiq Al-Imângiîî was born in Kazan in the family of a mullah. He was educated in Bukhara and Samarkand and was the imam 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-Imângîî was repressed during the Stalinist purges and died in prison. Information on Muhammad Sâdiq Al-Imângîî was kindly provided by A. B. Khalidov.

68. A significant section of Fakhrîdinov’s archive — perhaps the most interesting part — is held in the library and scholarly archive of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (ф. 131), which also has books from his library. One year before his death, as Stalinist repressions were beginning, Fakhrîdinov sent the books and documents to Leningrad “for better preservation”. Other parts of the archive are stored in Ufa and Kazan. On Riđâ Fakhrîdinov, see Torchessto Rižy Fakhrîdinova: isledovaniia, materialy (The Works of Riđâ Fakhrîdinov: Research, Materials) (Ufa, 1996); G. B. Khusainov, Rižëtdin bin Fakhrîdin: istoriko-biograficeskaia kniga (Rižëtdin bin Fakhrîdin: Historical-Biographical Book) (Ufa, 1997) (in Bashkir).

69. We know little of Ḥamīdî: he was born in the Simbirsk area, studied at the Kazan Muhammadiya madrasa, one of the main jadidi strongholds, taught at the ‘Uthmidîya madrasa in Ufa, which was one of the largest and most progressive Muslim educational institutions in Russia. In 1908 he was elected imam and madaris in the auî ‘Yaqshi-bay (Ufa area). This information on Ḥamīdî was kindly provided by Nurîya Garaveva (Kazan).

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

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 Qırıqız. Among the places of publications are Astrakhan, Bugulma, Kazan, Malmajî, Moscow, Orenburg, Samara, St. Petersburg, Simbirsk, Sterlitamak, Troitsk, Ufa, and other cities. The collection is divided into two parts: 1800 — ca. 1860, when books were easily organized 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. Janbaeva, “Tatarskaia chast’ ‘Kazanskogo fonda’ knig byvshego Aziataskogo Museia” (“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'ān; (ii) interpretation of the Qur'ān; (iii) collection of Muhammad'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. Книга трудов (Qur'ān) (1689), где: (i) чтение Корана; (ii) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (iii) наука о Коране; (iv) наука о Коране; (v) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vi) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vii) наука о Коране; (viii) наука о Коране; (ix) наука о Коране; (x) наука о Коране.

73. Словарь трудов (Qur'ān) (1689), где: (i) чтение Корана; (ii) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (iii) наука о Коране; (iv) наука о Коране; (v) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vi) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vii) наука о Коране; (viii) наука о Коране; (ix) наука о Коране; (x) наука о Коране.

74. Труды по востоковедению (Qur'ān) (1689), где: (i) чтение Корана; (ii) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (iii) наука о Коране; (iv) наука о Коране; (v) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vi) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vii) наука о Коране; (viii) наука о Коране; (ix) наука о Коране; (x) наука о Коране.

75. Труды по востоковедению (Qur'ān) (1689), где: (i) чтение Корана; (ii) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (iii) наука о Коране; (iv) наука о Коране; (v) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vi) комментарии к Корану (Qur'ān, 1689); (vii) наука о Коране; (viii) наука о Коране; (ix) наука о Коране; (x) наука о Коране.

76. The curious ban by customs on the import of Qur'ānic manuscripts to Russia is confirmed in an item from the RGIA. Suspensions were raised by an error in the spelling of Qur'ān in the title: Qur'ān instead of Qur'ān. See letter by F. Charmois (1793—1869), a Frenchman who taught Persian at St. Petersburg University and was called in for expert consultation (RGIA, Q. 777, on. 5, fol. 83 (1900). See also: "O zapreshchenii pechatat' Keliami Sherif Tefsiri (Tolkovanie Alkorana v 2 tt.)" (On the prohibition on printing Kalâm-i Sharîf Tafsîr - interpretation of the Qur'ān in 2 vols.), ibid., à. 7, fol. 11 (1903).

77. 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'í (Articles) (Oxford, 1984), p. 46.

78. 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'í (Articles) (Oxford, 1984), p. 46.

79. 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'í (Articles) (Oxford, 1984), p. 46.
92. Central State Archives of Central Asia, ф. 110, on. 2, д. 530, fol. 32.


94. As examples of such works, one can cite I. I. Klimovich’s Koran i ego dogmaty (The Qur’an and its dogmas) (Alma-Ata, 1958) and his somewhat more moderate Kniga o Korane, ego proiskhozhdenii i mimologii (Book on the Qur’an, 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.


99. N. Morozov, Khrisíos VI (Christ VI) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1930); E. A. Belaev, Lekstista po istorii arabov (Lectures on the History of the Arabs) (Moscow, 1937).


103. P. V. Malashenko, Musul’manskii mir SVG (The Muslim World of the CIS) (Moscow, 1996), p. 47.


Although the third, enlarged and revised, edition of the Porokhova translation, published in 1997 in Abü Dhabi 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 sviaschennogo Korana (The Teaching of the Sacred Qur’an), compiled by: Sayyid Rida Barghai, Muhammed Bakhanâr, Bahram Tilmâni (the latter compiled the Russian section) (Tehran, 1978); Sa’id Abü’l ‘Ali’ (Mawdûdi), Tafkîh al-Qur’ân (Sûras:


114. *Koran* (The Qur’an), *suras* 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 and “epic style”, rhymed prose, and provides commentaries intended for non-specialist readers which are based on the tafsir of al-Tabarî, al-Jalâlayn, and works by Russian scholars.


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

**Illustrations**

Fig. 1. The Qur’an 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, 33.0x21.5 cm.

Fig. 2. The first page of the Russian translation of Ioanicyusz Gaiatowski’s book *Alkoran Macometow. Nauka heretycka y zydowska y poganska napełniony. Od Koheletha Chrystusowego rozprzony y zgromadzony...*, carried out by S. I. Gadalowski, RNB, F XVII 19, p. 316, 29.0x17.5 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’an, entitled *Alkoran o Mogomete ili Zakon turetskii, perevedennyi s frantsuzskogo iazyka na rossiskii* (The Alkoran of Mogomet 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 sîra 15 — beginning of sîra 16) from the MS of the first Russian translation of the Qur’an 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, d. 859 (1722).

Fig. 6. The Qur’an 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’an 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’an stand dating to Timur’s age, which stood in the centre of the mosque (before a mihrâb) in the partially destroyed Bihl Khanum madrasa in Samarkand. The inscriptions, copied by A. L. Kun, in the holdings of the archive of the Institute of History of Material Culture (St. Petersburg), phi. 1/1868, o. 25, fols. 14rev.—15 (figs 8a and 8b).

Fig. 9. The two-volume Tatar translation of the Qur’an with tafsîr published in Kazan in 1910 under the title *Tashil al-bayân fi tafsîr al-Qur’an* by Muḥammad Ṣâdiq al-Îmânçîlî, the title page.

Fig. 10. The two-volume Tatar translation of the Qur’an with tafsîr published in Kazan in 1910 under the title *Tashil al-bayân fi tafsîr al-Qur’an* by Muḥammad Ṣâdiq al-Îmânçîlî, the first page.

Fig. 11. The ceremony of solemn transferring of the ‘Uthmânîc Qur’an from the History Museum of the Uzbek SSR to the Muslim community (Tashkent, 1990).
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"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. 24b, 7.5×6.5 cm.

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