

تاریخ طباعة القرآن الكريم في أوروبا

د. میخائیلو یعقوبوفیتس

ملخص البحث

تعود المعرفة الأوروبية بالقرآن الكريم إلى العصور الوسطى عندما أعدت أول ترجمة لاتينية من العربية من قبل روبرت كيتون عام ١١٤٣م، إلا أن دراسة النص العربي بحد ذاتها لم تبدأ إلا بعد مرور قرون مع نهاية القرن السابع عشر مع ظهور نسختين أصليتين بالعربية (البندقية: ١٥٣٧ - ١٥٣٨م، هامبروغ: ١٦٩٤م، بادوفا: ١٦٩٧م). بحثنا دراسة عميقة للنسخ الأوروبية للقرآن الكريم والتي تشمل النصوص العربية. الهدف الرئيس من هذه الدراسة إبراز بعض التوجهات التاريخية والحديثة تجاه هذه المسألة مع دراسة أصول هذه النصوص من حيث الدقة، وإعدادات الطباعة وغيرها من العناصر الضرورية. وتيسيراً لمعالجة الموضوع، قمنا بتقسيم هذه الدراسة إلى أربعة أجزاء. الجزء الأول - وهو المقدمة - يتضمن موجزاً لمصادر البحث ومراجعة لمؤلفات ذات صلة بينما يشتمل الجزء الثاني على نسخ استشراقية للقرآن الكريم. أما الجزء الثالث فيحتوي على نسخ من القرآن الكريم طبعت ببروسيا منذ سنة ١٧٨٧م. وأما الجزء الأخير فيتحرى أبرز النسخ الأوروبية للقرنين العشرين والحادي والعشرين التي تعرض النص العربي مصاحباً للترجمات. وفي الختام يدرس البحث أبرز التوجهات في طباعة القرآن الكريم في أوروبا ويُقوّم كل نص بناء على جودته.

Abstract

European knowledge of the Glorious Qur'an goes back to Medieval Ages, when the first Latin translation (by Robert of Ketton, 1143) from the Arabic was prepared. However, the Arabic text itself become a subject of study centuries later; only by the end of 17th century, three editions of the Arabic original appeared (Venice, 1537/1538, Hamburg, 1694 and Padova, 1698).

Our research is dedicated to in-depth exploration of European editions, which include Arabic text of the Glorious Qur'an. The main aim of our study is to show some historical and current trends in this issue, with special attention to the sources of these texts, accuracy in reprinting, typesetting and other necessary elements.

In view of this, we divided our study into four parts. The first part, which is introductory, includes an outline of research sources and review of related literature. The second part is dedicated to the old Orientalistic editions of the Glorious Qur'an. The third part covers editions of the Glorious Qur'an printed in Russia since 1787. The fourth part explores main European editions of the 20th and 21st centuries, which present the Arabic text along with translations.

In conclusion, main trends in the printing of the Glorious Qur'an in Europe are shown. Every edition is evaluated on the basis of its quality.

Part One

Early Printed Copies of the Qur'an

Sources and Studies

All praise to Allah the Almighty, and peace and blessings be upon His last Prophet Muḥammad and his honorable family.

A history of the introduction of the Qur'an to Europe goes back to the late Medieval Ages (i.e., the tenth and eleventh centuries). It is firmly established that the text of the Qur'an become a subject of its Latin translation made by Robert of Ketton (c. 1110 – c. 1160) in 1143 under the supervision of Peter the Venerable of Cluny, France (c. 1092 – 1156). More advanced studies, however, provide some data that the Qur'an has been fully translated into the Greek language long before this date, probably in the ninth century or even earlier. These Greek translations, made by anonymous translators and for unknown reasons, were the only source of information for the numerous scholars, mostly from Byzantium⁽¹⁾. Used in inter-religious polemics, these works were mostly destined to be a source of anti-Islamic agenda; nevertheless, as some recent scholars prove, some parts of these translations were really accurate (in contrast to some of their interpretations by Christian scholars, of course).

After the Renaissance many European intellectuals become interested not only in polemics, but also in a real knowledge about Islam in general and the Qur'an in particular. A development of the interest in primary sources and the beginning of printing (invented in 1455) paved the way for publishing both the translations. The reasons behind these editions has been changing radically: from the political

(1) Høgel, Christian, An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'an: The fragments from Niketas Byzantios' Refutatio and the anonymous Abjuratio, pp. 65-75.

and religious ones (to criticize Islam by writing numerous ‘refutations’) to the economical ones (to sell the printed Qur’an among Muslims of the Ottoman Empire and other countries) and, finally, scholarly (to prepare the most correct “critical” edition, as Gustav Flügel did). In the previous century, when the quantity of Muslim religious editions in Europe increased remarkably, the text of the Qur’an has been printed for solely religious purposes (as the separate editions and along with translation of the meanings into European languages). In a digital era, many publishers in Europe came to work with Muslim Quranic Software (programs like *Muṣḥaf al-Madīnah al-Nabawīyah li-n-Nashr al-Hāsūbī*, *Harf Software* and others).

In this study we would like to deal with a few important issues, related to the aforementioned editions. First of all we would like to discuss the historical context and the reasons why they were produced. Secondly, we would like to examine their quality in terms of accuracy and relevance to the most recognized modern editions (*Muṣḥaf al-Madīnah al-Nabawīyah*). Thirdly, to describe their formal measures from the perspective of publishing. Finally, our study might consider the real impact of these editions on the field of Qur’anic Studies and the image of Islam in Europe.

Although the issue analyzed seems to be really important for Islamic Studies, previously it has been explored from a quite limited perspective only. Since the study of early printed Qur’an in Europe belongs to both Islamic and Cultural Studies, much of the published research considers only one side.

Nowadays, thanks to Professor Angela Nuovo, who found a single copy of the earliest European Qur’an (Venice, 1537/1538) in the library, this source become accessible for researchers. Most of the published editions are available through a special project of digitalization, carried out by Brill Academic Publisher (Leiden, the Netherlands) and supervised by Hartmut Bobzin and August den Hollander. The copies

of the Qur'an, published in Russia (especially, Kazan editions), were studied by Efim Rezvan and some other scholars; finally, the "critical editions" by Gustav Flügel are available for research as well. The same is true of many other works, especially among the translations of the meanings of the Qur'an into European languages.

As for the special studies, recent *Encyclopedia of the Qur'an*⁽¹⁾ is especially important. Many historical issues, related to the printed editions of the Qur'an in Europe, were studied thoroughly by Arjan Van Dijk⁽²⁾, Hartmut Bobzin⁽³⁾, Angela Nuovo⁽⁴⁾, Efim Rezvan⁽⁵⁾, and Johannes Pedersen⁽⁶⁾.

(1) *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, ed. by Jane Dammen McAuliffe et al.

(2) Van Dijk, Arjan, Early Printed Qur'ans: The Dissemination of the Qur'an in the West.

(3) Bobzin, Hartmut, Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation.

(4) Nuovo, Angela, A Lost Arabic Koran Rediscovered.

(5) Rezvan, Efim, Koran i jego mir.

(6) Pedersen, Johannes, The Arabic book.

a) The Venice edition

Jonathan Bloom argues that the edition (produced by the usage of movable-type printing) was probably intended as a commercial venture, and some other scholars even suggest that it was printed for export to the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, some sources say that Alessandro Paganini traveled to Istanbul to sell his product⁽²⁾.

A unique copy of this edition contains 465 pages⁽³⁾. Beside the Arabic text, it contains just a single title in Latin (*Alcoranus Arabicus*, “The Arabic Al-Qur’an”). Since no “refutation” or any other kinds of anti-Islamic objections are added to this book, it really seems to be meant for distribution among Muslims.

(1) Nuovo, Angela, *A Lost Arabic Koran Rediscovered*, pp. 273-275.

(2) Van Dijk, Arjan, *Early Printed Qur'ans: The Dissemination of the Qur'an in the West*, p. 137.

(3) *Alcoranus Arabice.*

This edition contains the entire Qur'an, divided into single suras with numbers of ayahs, as it has been done in many Muslim manuscripts of the Qur'an. The Arabic text is located in the center of the page and usually written in 16 lines.

There are two crucially important problems in Paganini's edition: first of all, it is about the mixture of letters. For example, in surah al-Fātiḥah *al-dīn* is written in the same way as *alladhīna*, writing *dāl* exactly as *dhāl*; for *al-'ālamīn* and *al-maghḍūb* they use the same image for the Arabic letter of *ghayn*. In the first verse of surah al-Baqarah, one may read something like *lā rbt* instead of *lā rayba*. The list of other typographical shortcomings may be extended to a great measure, if we consider other folios of this edition.

It is worthy to mention that Paganini's edition provides no numeration of the ayahs; the only sign of the ayahs' endings is double space before the next ayah, but in many places these blanks are misrepresented (the first word of the next ayah begins without any space). The edition also provides no extra signs pertaining to the rules of *tajwīd*.

seventeenth century some authors claimed that all copies of this edition were destroyed. Since the authorities of the Ottoman Empire refused to buy this work, it lost its value because of many prejudices against the Qur'an in the Christian world. Just one copy of this edition is known.

b) The Hamburg edition

The next complete edition of the Qur'an appeared in 1694 in Hamburg. Meanwhile, a few editions of separate suras are known (like the sura Yūsuf, published in Leiden in 1617 by the leading Dutch Orientalist Thomas Erpenius). The Hamburg edition has been prepared by a German Protestant theologian Abraham Hinckelmann (1652 – 1695). His intention was both polemical and scholarly at the same time: Hinckelmann tried to “refute” the Qur'an, referring to the original Arabic text as a primary source. Interestingly, Hinckelmann used numerous Qur'anic manuscripts, so his idea was to publish the most accurate Arabic text. The text is fully vocalized⁽¹⁾.

This edition contains a long introduction, the text of the Qur'an itself (with a numeration of ayahs) and a table of contents (Arabic and Latin versions). Unsurprisingly, due to the quick development of printing, the quality of printing in this edition is more advanced than that of its Venice forerunner. Both the paper and the ink make this edition easy to read. The whole work is entitled *Al-Coranus, Lex Islamitica Muhammedis, Filii Abdallae* (“Al-Qur'an, the Islamic Law, by Muhammed, son of Abdalla”) and the Arabic title says “*Bismi Allahi r-Rahmani r-Rahim. Al-Qur'ān wa huwa sh-Shar'ah al-Islamiyah, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallah*”.

The Arabic text is printed from left to right on 563 pages and contains names of the suras, places of their revelation and counters of the ayahs. There are also Latin headers in the upper parts of every pages (they include just the number of the sura in Latin).

(1) Al-Coranus S. Lex islamitica Muhammedis.

In contrast to the Venice edition, this book, as it has been said, contains numbers of the ayahs. They are usually written before the ayahs and, as it has been done in some editions of the Bible, repeated in columns in the right margin of the page (next to the lines). Ends of the ayahs are also supplied with asterisks and fleurons.

Most of the ayahs are printed in a very accurate way. The texts contain typical diacritical points (signs of *tajwīd* like the maddah, however, were not included at all) and the shapes of the letters are not similar to each other (in contrast to the previous editions of the Qur'an in the West). Although this text has been produced with a high level of accuracy, it is not free from typing mistakes: already in the third ayah of sura al-Baqarah, for instance, *min qablika* is written with *nūn* instead of *bā*. Despite this, the book also contains a small list of errors attached which gives just a few corrections for the most crucial mistakes.

Hinckelmann's edition has been quite successful in terms of public recognition. A number of preserved copies in the greatest libraries attest to its wide distribution and use by European Orientalists until the eighteenth century. There is no evidence to prove if this text has been used somewhere by Muslims or not.

c) Luigi Marracci's edition

A third complete edition of the Qur'an in the West appeared just in four years after Hinckelmann's "Al-Coranus". It was prepared by Ludovico Marraccio (also known as Luigi Marracci in Italian, 1612 – 1700) and published in Padova (Italy). The author was a monk of the Jesuite Order and, due to good education, had a good command of the Arabic language. The Pope appointed him as the professor of Arabic in the College of Wisdom – Sapienza University of Rome (in Italian, *sapienza* means wisdom), for his proficiency in that language. He later declined the promotion of being appointed as Cardinal.

This edition, preserved in various libraries, entitled *Alcorani Textus Universus* ("A Complete Text of The Qur'an") was published in two volumes⁽¹⁾. There are two main texts in these volumes: the first one is the Arabic original and the second one is the Latin translation. The edition also included a short outline of Muḥammad's (peace be upon him) life, with notes, and "refutations" of Islamic beliefs. Luigi Marracci's introduction (*Ad refutatione Alcorani*) also compiled in a form of "refutation", comparing the Qur'an with the Christian doctrines. Nevertheless, Marracci has acknowledged the importance of Islamic exegetics (*tafsīr*): in some parts of his explanations, he refers to "Beidavius" and "Zamchalcerius" (meaning 'Abd Allah al-Bayḍāwī and 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, extremely popular in the Ottoman empire). There are also some links to "Thalebiensis", meaning Abū Ishāq al-Tha'labī.

Luigi Marracci made his work destined for polemical reasons. This becomes clear if we consider the structure of the work: it contains the Arabic texts ("*Textus Alcorani*"), their Latin translations ("*Version Latina*") and "refutations" ("*Refutationes*") in a form of explanatory remarks. The longest suras are divided into separate sections (10–15 ayahs), followed by the translations.

All ayahs of the Qur'an in this edition are numbered (numbers placed before the beginning of the ayah). The ayahs are divided by special asterisks (printed at the end of the ayahs). Arabic letters, used in this edition, are similar to those of Hinckelmann's edition. The text is fully vocalized as well; furthermore, Marracci has been familiar with division of the Qur'an into *ajzā'* and, consequently, added their numbers to the margins of his edition. This is probably the first appearance of division into *ajzā'* in the Western edition of the Qur'an.

Despite the best efforts of this editor, Marracci's work is not free from obvious typing mistakes. For instance, in a few places the Arabic letters are confused with each other: *tā* with *qāf* (as in sūra al-Mulk,

(1) *Alcorani textus universus*.

1, where *qāf* is used in *tabāraka* instead of *tā*), *thā* with *shīn* (as in *sūra al-Baqarah*, 71, where *tuthīru* is written with *shīn* instead of *thā*). Other shortcomings of printing (absence of gaps between some words, unclear vowels etc.) make the reading of this text too much complicated.

Marracci's edition gained much popularity mostly due to its Latin translation, widely used by European Orientalists. This translation became an important source of other translations: for instance, the one by George Sale (first published in 1734) into English⁽¹⁾.

d) Gustav Flügel's edition

This work, first published in 1834, summarized all previous efforts of European Orientalists and took an important step in the presentation of the original Arabic text of the Qur'an to the West.

Gustav Leberecht Flügel (1802 – 1870) was a German orientalist. He studied theology and philology at Leipzig University. Gradually he devoted his attention chiefly to Oriental languages, which he additionally studied in Vienna and Paris. Gustav Flügel had a great experience of working with Arabic manuscripts, including *maṣāḥif*; his edition of the Arabic text (*Corani textus arabicus*) was published in 1834 and then reprinted at least eight times⁽²⁾. Since 1858, new revised edition came from the press; it has been a standard reference source for the Arabic texts of the Qur'an until the middle of twentieth century, when the recently published Cairo edition (since 1924) challenged its popularity.

The first edition of Flügel's work included a kind of introductory notes, the Arabic text and subsequent index of the suras. The editor explains that he also used the most authoritative *tafsirs* (in addition to those by al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍawī, well-known in Europe, he

(1) Kidwai, Abdur Raheem, *Bibliography of the Translations of the Meanings of the Glorious Quran into English: 1641-2002: A Critical Study*, pp. 358-359.

(2) Al-Qur'an, Lipsiae: Typis et sumtibus Caroli Tauchnitii, 1834.

refers to *Irshād al-‘Aql as-Salīm ilā Mazāyā al-Kitāb al-Karīm* by the Ottoman scholar Abū Sa‘ūd al-‘Imādi (1490–1574)). The font used for the Qur’an is really clear and easy to read; the vowels are printed with great accuracy. Further editions also included some elements of design (red lines on margins and special ornaments around the names of the suras). As in the previous editions, titles of the suras contained both the places of revelations and the number of the ayahs. For the numeration of the ayahs, “Eastern Arabic” or “Hindi” numerals were used (*al-arqām al-hindiyyah*). A list of the *ajzā’* is attached to the translation as well. Interestingly, Flügel’s edition has been published in right-to-left format.

Undoubtedly, Flügel’s work is the best publication of the Arabic Qur’an printed in the West since the sixteenth century. This text, generally vocalized in accordance with the reading of Ḥafṣ ‘an ‘Āṣim, has been really suitable for the translation of the meanings of the Qur’an and for use in academic and religious works.

Some European scholars nevertheless pointed out a few shortcomings of Flügel’s edition. For example, Agatangel Kryms’kyi (1872–1942), one of the leading Ukrainian Orientalists, referred to the use of the open *tā* instead of the *tā marbūṭah* in some places, *ibn* instead of shortened *bin* (al-Baqarah, 81), *-na* instead of *-ni* for *bi l-wālidayni* (al-Baqarah, 77) etc⁽¹⁾. In further editions of Flügel’s work many of these shortcomings have been corrected.

All editions, however, provide the same numeration of the ayahs; in some suras this numeration differs much from the modern editions of the Qur’an (used in the Cairo edition and others). Flügel’s edition was one of the most important achievements of the Islamic Studies in Europe and, due to its accuracy, made it possible to have access to the text of the Qur’an in the printed form.

(1) Krymskij, Agatangel, *Istrojia musulmanstva*, p. 201.

Part Three

First Muslim editions of the Qur'an in Eastern Europe

a) The Saint-Petersburg Edition

The history of this edition goes back to both religious and political motives behind it. First of all, Muslim communities of the Russian Empire were in close touch with the processes of technological and social developments, so some Muslim leaders had no objection against the printing of the Qur'an and its distribution among Muslims. This idea has been initiated, for example, by Muhammedzan Husainov (1756 – 1824), one of the Islamic leaders of the Empire. Secondly, the Russian Tsarine Catherine the Great (reigned in 1762 – 1796) intended to portrait her image among the Muslim people of Russia (as well as those under foreign rule, especially, of the Ottoman Empire and Persia) as a protector of Islamic religion. Thus, the project to publish the printed version of the Qur'an quickly appeared.

To make this edition the best in its genre, its publishers invented new type of Arabic script. It has been based on the handwritten Arabic copy of the Qur'an, written specially for the purpose of converting it into printed edition. This copy has been prepared by Mullā 'Uthmān Ismā'il, one of the best calligraphers among the Muslims of Russia. The same scholar also wrote his commentary (mostly covering the rules of recitation and other features of *'ilm al-qirā'at*).

In 1787 this edition was printed in Saint-Petersburg⁽¹⁾. Until 1798, five additional impressions materialized. They consisted of 477 pages and a few supplements: *du'ā tilāwah al-Qur'an*, *du'ā sajdāt al-tilāwah*, index

(1) Al-Qur'an al-Karim, St. Petersburg

of *ajzā'*, index of the suras and a short list of typing mistakes (mostly dealing with vowels). The commentaries are written on the margins of every page. As it has been done in most of Arabic manuscripts, lower margin of every page provides the first word of the next page.

Since this edition has been based on the best example of traditional Arabic calligraphy, its font seems to be really plain and makes the text easy to read. The only problem is that in a few ayahs the final letter of the word at the end of the line is moved to the beginning of the second line and printed as a separate letter.

Ayahs are separated by asterisks and, in contrast to later Western European editions, do not include numbers. Beside the vowels, printed with the highest accuracy (different *qirā'āt* are provided on the margins), the editors also made available *'alāmāt al-waqf*. For pauses, letter *tā* is used; for those places where to pause and not to pause are equally permissible (*ja'iz*) the edition has *jīm* and, finally, obligatory pause (*lāzim*) is denoted by *lām-alif* letter. Some explanations and variants for these readings are mentioned in the margins as well.

Due to the nature of this edition and its quality (it was prepared by Muslims), the *muṣḥaf* printed in Saint Petersburg has been in wide circulation over the Muslims of Russia as well as neighboring lands of the Ottoman Empire. As Efim Rezvan points out, various sources indicate that the printing run was either 1,200 or 3,600 copies. Later, the state treasury earned a tidy profit on the sale of the copies of the Qur'an⁽¹⁾.

b) The Kazan Edition

In the first half of 19th century, one of the leading Islamic centres of Russia, the city of Kazan, experienced great progress in Islamic education and publishing activities. In 1801-1802, the Arabic typeface of the Saint Petersburg press was transferred to Kazan, where one year earlier, at the

(1) Rezvan, E. Koran i jego mir, pp. 383-456.

request of the Kazan Tatars, the Asiatic press had been established at the Kazan gymnasium. Since it has not been allowed anymore to publish Islamic religious literature in Saint Petersburg, the next editions of the Qur'an were printed there, in a typography owned by Gabdulaziz Tuqtamysh. Moreover, since Kazan and its surroundings were among the most populated Islamic regions of Russia, a great demand for printed religious books contributed much to the commercial success of this edition.

The first edition was financially supported by Tatarian notables Yunusov and Amir-Khanow; the press in Kazan, as Rezvan notes, in fact was the only press with the right to publish Muslim religious literature⁽¹⁾.

In contrast to Saint Petersburg's edition, the Kazan editions first appeared in two separate volumes. The last volume contained a list of typing mistakes, index of suras and, finally, *du'ās*⁽²⁾.

Unsurprisingly, the Arabic typeface used in this edition is the same as in previous impressions from Saint Petersburg, although page size is bigger and its lines are shorter. Due to this, the Kazan edition is easier to read; its font has been lately named after the place of edition, *Kazanskii nash* in Russian ("The *nash* of Kazan"). Some shortcomings of previous edition were rectified in this work; however, the editors from Kazan decided not to publish the commentary on the margins, so this edition contained only the Arabic text of the Qur'an.

In 1803, 1500 copies of this edition were printed; interestingly, in the same year the editors from Kazan also published another edition with larger font size (in 10 volumes each containing 58 pages in every one of them); as the text on the last pages says, this edition has been dedicated to children who just start to study the Arabic language and the sciences of the Glorious Qur'an. This seems to be the first "specially printed edition" of the Qur'an in history (i.e. dedicated not only to

(1) Rezvan, Efim, *Koran i jego mir*, pp. 383-456

(2) *Al-Qur'an al-Karim*, Kazan'.

religious, but also to educational considerations). Up to the middle of twentieth century, more than 150,000 copies of the *muṣḥaf* were printed in Kazan; moreover, by the end of the twentieth century the *muṣḥaf* was published in other cities of the Russian Empire. For example, editions from Bakhchisaray (now Crimea, Ukraine) reached the highest popularity not only among the Muslims of Russia, but also in India and other parts of the Muslim world. As E. Rezvan and R. Blachère argue, the Kazan edition may have played a decisive role in the centuries-long process of establishing a unified text of the Qur'an⁽¹⁾. During the nineteenth century, many partial editions of the Qur'an appeared in Kazan; printed text of the Qur'an has been also used in various kinds of religious literature (collections of *du'ās*, *tafsirs*, treatises on '*aqidah*' etc.). Last editions of the Kazan *muṣḥaf* appeared in 1918; during the Soviet times, when atheism became the state policy, printing of the Qur'an was strictly prohibited. New revised reprints appeared only recently, but they are mostly recognized for the historical role of their first editions (absolute majority of Muslims in Russia use the modern editions from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and other countries). Now it must be clearly assumed that the Kazan edition of the Glorious Qur'an occupies a very important place not only in the history of Qur'anic publication, but in the preservation of Islamic religious identity all over the Muslim world.

(1) Rezvan, Efim, *Koran i jego mir*, pp. 383-456

Part Four

Printing of the Qur'an along with the translation of its meanings into European languages a historical survey

First European editions of the Qur'an with translation go back to the seventeenth century, when the aforementioned Maracci's translation appeared. Before the twentieth century, however, translators and publishers were not much interested in publishing the bilingual editions – this work needed much printing efforts and was out of readers' demand. Nevertheless, in the past century, when new translations of the meanings of the Qur'an were welcomed by Muslim religious scholars and the Orientalists, some publishers made their best endeavours to present the original Arabic text. It has been done for the following reasons: first of all, to make their editions more valuable and prestigious. For instance, already in 1907 the third impression of Gordii Sablukov's translation into the Russian language (first published in 1877) included the Arabic text, reprinted from the Kazan edition. The translation was placed in a page-by-page format (meaning a page of Arabic text and a page of the translation into Russian). During the beginning of the previous century, however, other translations of the meanings of the Qur'an included merely the target text. The printing of the Arabic text along with its translation become popular only two decades ago.

When the Cairo edition of the Qur'an become widely circulated, the bilingual editions quickly appeared. For instance, already in 1937, when the Bosnian scholars Džemaluddin čaušević and Muhammad Pandža finished their translation into Bosnian (from another translation by Omer Riza into Turkish), they included the Arabic original to the

edition⁽¹⁾. It was just a copy of the modern edition (probably the Cairo one), located into the upper part of every page in two areas. Since the Arabic text was transmitted by the use of phototype printing, it seems to be preserved from any distortions or shortcomings of reprinting. During these times, some Ahmadi-Qadyani translations also appeared along with the Arabic texts (mostly based on *muṣḥafs* published in India).

In the case of English and German⁽²⁾ translations, printed in Europe, bilingual editions become available just a few decades ago. It must be noted that the first bilingual edition of the Qur'an was first published in the United States in 1988 (translation by Ahmed Ali), not in Europe. Just a few recent translations into English make available the Arabic text as well: that is, translation by 'Ali Quli Qara'i (London, 2004)⁽³⁾ and M. A. S. Abdul Halim (appeared from Oxford University Press in 2010)⁽⁴⁾. The first one includes the Arabic text generated by "*Al-Muṣḥaf* for Desktop Publishing" software by Harf Information Technology. It is said in the description of this software that this program "enables the users to include any portion of the Qur'anic text in Uthmānic orthography in documents, and text files while preserving its characters and the lovely formats of the Uthmānic orthography". It presents the reading of Ḥafṣ 'an 'Āṣim and represents the Cairo edition of the *Muṣḥaf*. The Arabic text is located before the phrase-by-phrase translation, on the left side of the pages. Another translation by M. A. S. Abdul Halim, was made in another way: the Qur'anic text located in a special box is merely a copy

(1) Kur'an Časni, Prevod i tumač, preveli i sredili: Hafiz Muhammed Pandža i Džemaluddin Čaušević.

(2) Von Denffer, Ahmad, History of the Translation of the Meanings of the Qur'an in Germany up to the Year 2000: A Bibliographic Survey.

(3) *The Qur'an, With a Phrase-by-Phrase English Translation. Translated by 'Ali Quli Qara'i.*

(4) *The Qur'an: English translation and Parallel Arabic text by M.A.S. Abdel Haleem.*

of every page from *Muṣḥaf al-Madīnah an-Nabawīyah* edition (by King Fahd Glorious Quran Printing Complex) The same approach has been used in Ali Ünal's English translation (appeared in Istanbul in 2006 and distributed in Europe): the translation contains a copy of the Cairo edition, located in the right corner of every page⁽¹⁾.

For numerous Russian translations of the meanings of the Qur'an (where the Arabic text is included), *Muṣḥaf al-Madīnah an-Nabawīyah* is mostly used; in some editions, Kazan *muṣḥaf* was used as the primary source of the Qur'anic text. Cairo edition seems to be still popular for German translations (for instance, München, 1996, published by SKD Bavaria).

It must be concluded, that the absolute majority of the published bilingual editions (the Arabic original and its translation of the meanings) are prepared by Muslims. First of all, this approach resulted from the Islamic doctrine of the "inimitability of the Qur'an" (*Ijāz al-Qur'ān*): the translation itself cannot convey all the meanings, so the Arabic text must be treated as the final authority. Editions by the Orientalists and Missionaries usually provide just translations of the meanings.

(1) The Qur'an. With Annotated Interpretation in Modern English by Ali Ünal.

Conclusions

Printing of the Glorious Qur'an in Europe reveals a long story of complicated evaluation of Islam by the Western scholarship. On the one hand, many editors made their best efforts to produce the most accurate edition of the printed text; on the other hand, many times these endeavors were introduced in the context of the polemics against Islam and the Qur'an.

Anyhow, European vision of the Qur'an has been in some way determined by the methods of Bible Studies, and this is naturally that the interest in Arabic original raised seriously during the Renaissance and the appearance of reasoning over the primary text of religions (echoed from the Protestant claims for return to the Scripture only). Although the first European editions of the Qur'an, printed in Venice, Hamburg and Padova were far from being perfect in many points, they paved the way for future academic success of other editions, like the one by Gustav Flügel. This edition seems to be the most advanced achievement of the Western academy in the field of the Qur'anic Studies; since its first editions in 1834 and later, there has been no successful attempts to make new editions of the Qur'an in the West.

In contrast to this, in the East of Europe the work on the printed *musḥaf* has been carried out by Muslims; that is why the copies of the Qur'an, printed in Saint Petersburg, Kazan, Bakhchisaray and other cities of the Russian Empire were more successful than their European equivalents. They also paved the way for the unified edition of the Qur'an, lately prepared in Cairo, and, finally, in Madinah. Nowadays, both editions (in both printed and electronic forms) are also used in bilingual editions of the translations of the Qur'an.

The history of publishing the Qur'an in Europe also has another significance: every one of the aforementioned editions represented

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