

Шихабалдин Марджани (1818–1889) был одним из первых исламских богословов в Российской империи, кто подошел концептуально к вызову российской имперской науки. Несмотря на его готовность говорить с аудиторией за пределами мусульманских элит (например, через участие в ученых собраниях в Казанском университете), Марджани во многом остался в рамках исламской традиции с ее специфическими подходами к производству знания. Поскольку библиотека Марджани либо погибла в пожаре, либо разошлась по частным коллекциям, то его сочинения в рукописях и печатной форме остаются главными источниками для историков сегодня. В то же время, существует ряд документов из личного архива Марджани, которые позволяют судить о природе его подхода к прошлому, т.е. его взгляда на исламский концепт наследия.

Keywords: *наследие, архив Марджани, рукописи, история понятий.*

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SHIHABADDIN MARDJANI AND THE MUSLIM ARCHIVE IN RUSSIA*

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Shihabaddin Mardjani (1818-1889) was one of the first Muslim scholars in the Russian empire to approach conceptually the challenge of Russian imperial scholarship (Kemper, 1998, pp. 462-465). Despite his readiness to speak to audiences beyond the circles of Muslim elites (for example, by participating in the scholarly proceedings at Kazan University), Mardjani largely remained in the confines of Islamic tradition with its specific approaches to the production of knowledge. As the library of Mardjani either have been lost in fire or dispersed in many private collections¹, his works in the manuscript and published form remain the main source of analysis for historians of today². Still, there are documents from the personal archive of Mardjani that allow us to judge about the nature of his approach to remnants of the past, i.e. his view on the Muslim concept of legacy.

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IS THERE A MUSLIM CONCEPT OF LEGACY?

In his recent article on encounters of Muslim intellectuals with European Orientalists Umar Ryad demonstrates that some of the well-educated Arabs in the first half of the twentieth century “had contacts and cooperated with Western scholars in producing knowledge” about the Orient (Ryad, 2018, p. 130). Building on the personal experiences of the Egyptian scholar Ahmad Zaki Pasha (1868-1934), Umar Ryad endows the Orientals with agency: the hero of his article contributed to the revival of Arab literary heritage by using Western scholarly techniques and the very authority of philological Orientalism. It remains, however, unclear, what substantial difference the Arab concept of legacy (*turath*) brought with itself, beyond being a manifest of Arab nationalism, constructed

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1. *Mardjani kitapkhanāse: fānni-bibliografik jientik*, 2004.

2. For a recent discussion of Mardjani's work: Spannaus, 2015.

in the framework of Western nation building. Furthermore, Umar Ryad does not take seriously the post-Saidian critique of Western knowledge and explicitly rejects any association with Edward Said's concept of Orientalism in the case that obviously calls for situating vis-à-vis the superiority of European mode of knowledge production (Ryad, 2018, p. 132). Similar disregard of Saidian conceptual framework and unwillingness to engage with the debate around *Orientalism* characterizes the approach of Vera Tolz who sympathizes the Rozen school of imperial and early Soviet Orientalists in Petersburg/Leningrad (Tolz, 2005). Tolz praises her protagonists' nation-building projects for non-Russian peoples of the empire elaborated in tsarist Russia and partly implemented in *korenizatsia* campaign and the national delimitation across the Soviet Union in the 1920s and the 1930s. Orientalists in imperial capital would have loved to preserve the national diversity of the country for the sake of scholarship, but not for the sake of these cultures' uniqueness and their self-evident value without external pinpointing. Moreover, the Leningrad Orientalists had hoped that the properly educated national cadres would better serve as the trustworthy "assistants" in their major idea of creating a shared sense of the pan-Russian identity, easily translatable in discursive languages of the newly created national entities (Tolz, 2005, p. 142)³. To make a step further in her recent article Vera Tolz reduces Central Asian Muslims' approach to ancient architecture only to practical considerations⁴; hence, Muslim elites would not care much about or be able to value remnants of the past and would not elaborate a discourse on their own that celebrates the objects of memory for future generations. Dilyara Usmanova supports the same line of thinking by attributing to Russia's Muslims the immaturity (*nerazvitost'*) in careful preservation of family archives (Usmanova, 2015, p. 109). From existing research, one thus gets an impression that in the colonial setting Muslim intellectuals appear to be striving to copy and assist the Western knowledge production.

Does a term *turath* simply serve an equivalent to the standard Western concept of *legacy* discovered by nationalists in the Muslim world? Given the case studies cited above, the ontological distinction between the West and the East remain intact (despite all the rhetoric of cultural encounter and mutual exchange), and therefore I find the Saidian framework quite relevant for our discussion. Indeed, also the Muslim authors starting in the late 19th century domesticized the Orientalist dichotomies and started to speak of 'Oriental' cultures and languages. In my research, I distinguish at least three approaches of Muslims to their cultural heritage. In the first layer, we encounter the traces of indigenous forms of preservation and transmission of memory that reveal no influence of European encounters. This includes the practices of *waqf* contracts (Ross, 2017), documents preservation, composure of library inventories (*fibris*), as well as the whole range of emotional practices associated with book culture. The second layer departs from the sacred character of knowledge and opens up to Orientalist instruments (such as the institutional approach to archival preservation, organization of expeditions, and publication of catalogues) and puts the literary heritage in service of nation building⁵. This layer presents a combination of indigenous concepts of culture with European approaches. The third layer deals with a completely secularized, Soviet concept of heritage, known for students of Soviet national republics as *mirasism*⁶. The

3. Quoting speakers at the Congress of Archaeologists.

4. The title of the article is also telling in that regard: "Constructing Heritage in Early Soviet Central Asia: The Politics of Memory in a Revolutionary Context" (Gorshenina, Tolz, 2016).

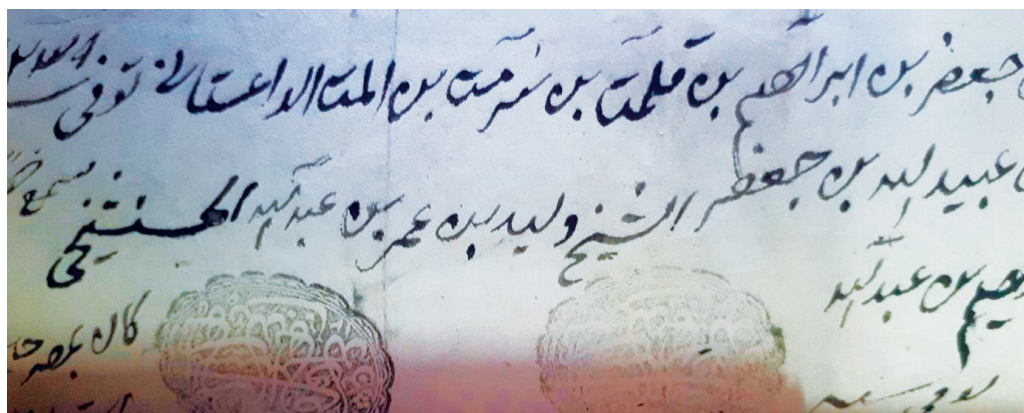
5. On the role of manuscripts in the nation building process in Central Asia: Bustanov, 2015a.

6. For an overview of the concept: Bustanov, Kemper, 2012.

latter serves as an embodiment of full-fledged Soviet nationalism, emptied of any alternative projects of nation building. The legacy becomes here only a reference point and a symbol, its actual content being irrelevant.

“THE MARDJANI VOLUME”

Let us now see what the sources have to offer on the indigenous Muslim concept of legacy as practiced in imperial Russia. Kazan University Library preserves a huge manuscript volume of documents that once belonged to Mardjani⁷. The former curator of the Oriental department in the library, Albert Fathi (1937-1992)⁸, described the book in his catalogue fishes, still preserved in the library, as ‘the Mardjani volume’ (*Märdjani mäjmügasi*). According to Fathi, after Mardjani’s death in 1889, these materials made their way first to the hands of Shähär Shäräf (1877-1938), most probably during the preparation of memoirs in praise of Mardjani (Mardjani, 1915), when the editors had full access to the late scholar’s library (Vakhidi, 1929, pp. 14-17). Most probably, Shäräf arranged a cover for all the documents and bound them together. After he was arrested in 1936 and then perished in the Soviet labor camps, his archive went into the hands of his daughter Saliya, the wife of Ahmad Galiev, a professor of physics at Kazan State University and the grandson of another prominent Muslim scholar, ‘Alimjan al-Barudi’. In January 1965, in the wave of collecting the Tatar manuscripts at Kazan University (Usmanova, 2017), Galeev donated this book to the library and left a short note inside it relating its origin: “Letters to Shihab hazrat and other writings. Presented to Kazan University Library by Ahmad Galeev as the legacy (*mirath*) of Mardjani. January 1965”¹⁰.



Two inprints of Mardjani’s seal, Kazan University Library, 1967 T, f. 74a.

Organization of files inside of this compendium deserves a separate treatment. Most of the documents are fragmentary and woven together with no order, which makes a good showcase of archival practices among the Muslims of Russia. The subsequent owner of the book (or, better to say, its producer, who actually brought the rather divergent writings

7. Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967 T.

8. On him: Bustanov, 2015b.

9. The Galeevs family managed to maintain a large collection of ancient manuscripts before the Russian National Library purchased 103 of the old books in 1964. Some of them dated from the 14th and 15th centuries and contain the autographs of ‘Alimjan al-Barudi and other scholars.

10. شهاب مرجانیگه کیلگان حاتلار هه م باشقا بازولار قزان اونیویرسیتیتی کتابخانه سنه مرجانی نک میراسی بولار اق نه حمه د عه لیفته ن بوله ک ۱۹۶۵ نجی یل عینوار

from Mardjani's personal archive under a single cover) cared much of every small bit of paper to be safeguard in this volume, but the manuscript still lacks any structure or an overview of its contents that would help the reader. Private letters, drafts of theological and biographical works – above all, excerpts from and materials for his opus magnum, *Wafiyyat al-aslaf*, a multi-volume collection of biographies of scholars in the Islamicate world, arranged according to their death dates – and examples of legal documents were brought together with no reason, except for their authorship or ownership by Mardjani¹¹. In a similar way, most of the private archives of Muslim literati in Russia survived only fragmentary and lacked any structure in their inner organization¹². It is certain that similar compendia were produced out of other documents in Mardjani's archive, since the manuscript binding bears a note counting the book as “the fourth volume” (مجمع رابع). Mardjani himself compiled some of them: on the back of a private letter that he received, he wrote that this item was included into a folder (*al-daftar al-asbraf*)¹³. One of his students, Abu 'Uthman b. 'Abd al-Rafi' al-Shabkawi, in his copy of the last volume of *Wafiyyat al-aslaf*, discovered in Kazan only recently, straightforwardly builds on Mardjani's archival compendiums (*majmu'at*), while inserting some data not present in the original work¹⁴. In 1896, this copy entered the library of Riza Fakhretdinov who also had access to parts of Mardjani's archive. While Mardjani cited a letter by Abu-l-Sharaf al-Qarghali on 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Bukhari, Fakhretdinov noted that “I have seen the original of that letter in the fifth compendium (*majma'*) of Mardjani”¹⁵. Clearly, Mardjani's archive once consisted of separate folders and compendiums, respected by subsequent owners and other literati as objects of high historical and academic value.

Other sources relate us of similar practices in archive composition. I know of least one item that greatly resembles ‘the Mardjani volume’. Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St Petersburg possesses a unique collection of documents stemming from the archive of Fathulla al-Urawi (1765-1843), arguably the most influential theologian of the Volga-Urals in the first half of the 19th century¹⁶. In a way similar to the Mardjani volume, this manuscript contains about one hundred documents, prevailing legal decisions (*fatwas*) in Persian and Tatar, brought together with no clear order. The volume as such had been produced either by Fathulla's daughter Bibi Fatima (b. 1809), or by his disciple Sibgatulla al-Urawi

11. Mardjani wrote most of the texts himself as I can judge by comparing the handwriting with his autograph: Kazan University Library, Ms. 3540 Ar., 376 f. The Mardjani volume has four imprints of his personal seal and at one point the writer refers to himself simply as ‘Shihab’, which leaves no doubt in his authorship: Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967 T, ff. 74a, 172a.

12. The only exception from this rule is the library of 'Alimdjani al-Barudi, properly systematized in a description, produced already during the owner's lifetime. Kazan University Library, Ms. 1011 T, 520 f.

13. In the original: قيفت عموم دفتر الأشراف. The National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 957 T. Cf.: Mardanov, 2018, p. 127.

14. The copyist inserted a copy of the letter, omitted in the original work, and wrote the following on the margin: “The late teacher and author did not include this letter in the draft, but I looked at his compendiums (*majmu'at*) and writings, found the letter and included it in this final version (*al-bayad*).” (لم يكتب الأستاذ المحرر المرحوم المغفور هذا المكتوب في السوادد لكنني تتبعته) (National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 440 G, f. 332a). Another copy of this volume of *Wafiyyat* includes the letter in question, but without the note cited above (Kazan University Library, Ms. 614 Ar., f. 279a). The manuscript in question was acquired from a citizen of Kazan, in 2008, and first mentioned briefly by Raif Mardanov in his book (Mardanov, 2018, p. 127).

15. وقد رأيت هذا المكتوب بقلمه في مجمع المرجاني العدد. National Library of the Republic of Tatarstan, Ms. 440 G, f. 221a.

16. I base my judgement on the number of copies of his works produced during his lifetime. Recent scholarship on him includes: Garipova, 2018; Spannaus, 2013; Spannaus, 2014. Regrettably, in contemporary Tatar historiography Fathullah al-Urawi is sometimes characterized as a conservative theologian of little importance with no potency for creative thinking: Salikhov, 2015, p. 113.

(1798–1873) (Salikhov, 2015, pp. 113–114)¹⁷ who used to borrow books¹⁸ from his teacher’s library and eventually inherited a great part of it¹⁹. On some folios in this manuscript, we see holes left from the previous binding, which reveals the practice of keeping documents, precious for their contents and relevance to the prominent ‘ulama. In short, it is apparent that before any of these materials entered the scope of academic Orientalism, the Muslim literati had their own idea on what items need to be preserved and how. This also means that there must be evidence on how did Muslim scholars treat such remnants of the past and conceptualize them.

It is apparent that for Muslim authors of the nineteenth century there was no question where to look for historical data²⁰. Manuscript texts of the previous generations of Muslim scholars, usually with their colophons and marginalia, but also private letters and documents, as well as gravestone inscriptions comprised a Muslim archive of knowledge. But how did they approach this archive?

ENGAGING THE MUSLIM ARCHIVE

From Mardjani’s writings, we see that he approached the manuscripts as a source of historical information and even as an emotional object, when it came to the history of his family. For example, in one of his brief notes Mardjani mentions a copy of the Qur’an inherited (*al-mawruth*) from the grandfather of his mother Yunus b. Iwanay al-Qazani, dated by 1064/1653–54, “when the copyist was eighteen years old.” Herewith Mardjani attached a genealogy of Yunus b. Iwanay²¹. Sometime in the 1920s or 1930s, this book entered the library of Kazan University²², but as we see already before that, this artefact bore special significance of its previous ownership within the family of Yunus al-Qazani (Bustanov, 2019).

The process of comprehension and reconceptualization of the Muslim intellectual tradition continued in the early Soviet era. On his quest for Mardjani’s library Said Vakhidi (1887–1938)²³, a madrasa graduate and historian, consulted the volume analyzed above, when it was in the hands of Shāhār Shārāf. He left a short note saying: “I looked through this manuscript (*qul’yazma*) of Mardjani, may God cover him with His mercy. Said b. ‘Abd al-Mannan al-Vakhidi, 2 Jumad-i ula 1341 [i.e. 21 December 1922]. Kazan”²⁴. Later on another book-lover in Kazan, Zainap Maksudova (1897–1980) continued this practice of leaving an informed reader’s note in the historical manuscripts and thus actively engaged with the rich manuscripts that she collected during the Soviet era (Bustanov, 2018).

17. Description of his gravestone: Gainetdinov, 2016, p. 249.

18. In a private letter from 1946 ‘Alimdjani b. Muhammadjan (1892–1964), an imam of Izhevsk, writes about the exchange of literature among the surviving ‘ulama: Mardanov, 2018, p. 12; Mardanov, 2006, pp. 109–120, 164–213. A 1764 year copy of *al-Fawa'id wa al-sbarh al-manlu' bi-l-fara'id* acquired by Kazan University Library from the Mardjani mosque in 1964 bears the following note: “Borrowed for temporary usage (*foydalanip toru ochun*) from the family of Hadi abziy Maksudov in the year 1942. Imam Qiyam al-Din al-Qadiri” (Kazan University Library, Ms. 5849 Ar., f. 1a). On the author of this note: Bustanov, 2017, pp. 203–208; *Islamskaia poeziiia v epokhu Stalina*, 2018.

19. Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St Petersburg), B 3348, f. 1a. This is a one-page list of books from Fathullah’s library, borrowed at different times by Sibgatullah.

20. Allen Frank has analyzed the sources of historical writing by Muslims of the region: Frank, 2001, pp. 32–33; Qurban-‘Ali Khalidi, 2005; Frank, 2012, pp. 16, 25–26.

21. Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967 T, f. 144b.

22. Kazan University Library, Ms. 189 T. The origins of this acquisition remain obscure, but since the items with earlier inventory numbers in the library belonged either to collections of the ‘ulama repressed in the 1920s and the 1930s (such as Hasan ‘Ata al-Ghabashi and Muhammad Najib al-Tuntari), or to the library of ‘Alimdjani al-Barudi, there is a good reason to believe that it was al-Barudi who possessed the manuscript last.

23. On him: *Dukhovnoe nasledie: poiski i otkrytiia*, 2017.

24. Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967 T, f. 14a.

Fathullah al-Urawi's volume contains the texts of two gravestones written in Arabic²⁵. Both were located near his home village Ura and belonged to his contemporaries, two merchants, Sulayman b. Muhammad Nadhir (1761-1836)²⁶ and Mu'min b. 'Abd al-Wali (d. 1830). It is very unlikely that Fathullah copied these texts only for their historical merit. He either himself authored these texts and hence his notes served for crafting the actual grave inscriptions, or he copied the texts out of emotional conviction, since he knew these people in person: Sulayman's father Muhammad Nadhir was a rich merchant who directly promoted Fathullah at an earlier stage (Salikhov, 2015, p. 30). This is an example of consulting the tombs in one's immediate vicinity, but there are also cases of travel with an aim to see the graves of eminent people. Such is a bilingual Arab-Persian text on the gravestone of Ni'matullah al-Istirlibashi (1772-1844), which attracted the interest of his Sufi disciples. I know of at least two manuscript reproductions of it: one by Muhammad Shah b. Batir Shah from ca. 1848²⁷ and another by I'tisam b. Hasan al-Tuytaziwi from around the same time²⁸. Both manuscripts originate from eastern Tatarstan, meaning that these people purposefully travelled several hundreds of miles away to Istirlibash to have a copy of their master's grave inscription.

Mardjani certainly had a special take on death, given the fact that he organized his main work *Wafiyat al-aslaf* according to the death dates of prominent Muslim individuals. For him the gravestones obviously served as historical artefacts. This is how he described one such item:

"The length of the stone (*al-hajar*) at the doors of the Patriarch's villa²⁹ in Kazan is ten cubits. Its width is five cubits and a half. Its thickness is less than a cubit and a half in two fingers. It has an inscription (*maktub*) in old script that resembles the Kufi style: "This is the grave of the great sultan and the glorious ruler, *al-amir*..." It is not possible to read further, except for the line saying "God's shade". Five *charik* in width, five *arshin* in length, and ten *vershok*³⁰ in sickness"³¹.

The note in question must have reflected Mardjani's first acquaintance with this ancient gravestone. It took him much more time and efforts to make the inscription readable and then figure out that it actually belonged to Hasan b. Mir Mahmud, the ruler of Bulghar, active in the late 13th century. Mardjani included his reading, which remains the only reliable so far, in the book *Mustafad al-akhbar* (Mardjani, 1897, p. 28; Cf.: Yusupov, 1960, fig. 2) as an example of the Russian mishandling of the Muslim heritage after the capture of Kazan. This particular gravestone survived as the only witness of the old Muslim cemetery that existed prior to the erection of the Bishop Villa and diminished almost without a trace, since other medieval gravestones served as bricks for the new buildings. In other words, Mardjani mobilized the gravestone as an object and text to substantiate his argument of the long cultural and political presence of Islam in the region and its systematic destruction by Russians.

25. Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (St Petersburg), B 3476, ff. 33a, 34a.

26. Cf. recent publication of this inscription: Gainetdinov, 2016, p. 247, colored reproduction on p. 9.

27. Kazan University Library, Ms. 5939 T, f. 48b.

28. Institute of Language, Literature and Art (Kazan), Ms. 4412, f. 4b. Described in: Akhmetzianov, 2013, p. 173.

29. The Bishop Villa (Arkhierieiskaia dacha) serves as a more colloquial naming of the place on the outskirts of the city.

30. Charik/chirek is a Tatar unit of measure that refers to the distance between thumb and pointer finger. Arshin (corresponds to cubit) and vershok (4.445 cm) are the Russian units of measure.

31. Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967 T, f. 98b: طول الحجر الذى على باب دار البطريق بغزان عشرة اذراع و عرضه خمسة اذرع و نصف و غلظه قل من ذراع و نصف عرض اصبعين و عليه مكتوب بخط قديم يشبه خط الكوفة هذا قبر السلطان الاكبر و الملك المظفر الامير و لا يكمن قراءة هذا الا انا قرأنا دون هذا الخط باسطر قوله ظل الله

عرضاً بش چاریک طولاً بش ارشین غلظة اون ویرشوک

It seems that Mardjani would also request his colleagues to provide him with information on old cemeteries and gravestones. For example, the Mardjani volume contains a brief note from 13 July 1870 by Salah al-Din b. Ishaq al-Qazani (1831–1875), a prominent scholar of the time and the teacher of ‘Alimdjani al-Barudi mentioned above, with a description of two such artefacts, one dated by 15 Sha‘ban 897 and another by Jumada al-akhira 929. He copied these texts (*qad naqaltu hazayni al-tarikbayni min al-hajarayin*) on the cemetery (*mazar*) located in the village Taw Ile. Salah al-Din al-Qazani mentioned that there were many similar stones, but their reading was rather problematic³². Clearly, the medieval tombs served here as the material testimonies of the old presence of Islamic culture in the region and as precious remnants of the past, worth of preservation and even circulation through deciphering (*qira’a*) and copying (*naql*) of the text.

We also find similar engagement with grave inscriptions later in the Soviet era. Writing the urban history of Troitsk in 1947, the city’s imam Isma‘il Rahmatullin (1891–1967) copied the texts on gravestones (*qabertash*) of outstanding Muslim individuals. Usually these texts contained biographical data, such as the place of study and work, duration of service in the capacity of imam, thus fitting the very personal life narratives created by the author³³. From this vantage point, the tombs appear not that much as witnesses of the abstract past, but as a summary of one’s life path, resembling a short biography attached by contemporaries to a scholar’s *personae*. Similarly, in his recollections compiled in the 1950s ‘Abd al-Majid Qadiri (b. 1881), a Qur’an specialist in Istirlibash, provides an Arabic text of his father’s gravestone, pointing out that his father was buried next to the aforementioned Ni‘matullah al-Istirlibashi³⁴. For the author, this grave inscription was of clear emotional value, a mixture of esteem and love to his father and proud for the prestigious location. Also given the fact that his family was the memoirs’ intended audience, Qadiri wanted to make his descendants aware of the burial place of their ancestor and the contents of the inscription, given the loss of apprehension of the Arabic script by the younger generation.

CONCLUSION

From all of these examples, spanning over more than a century across the accepted boundaries of the tsarist and Soviet chronologies, we clearly see that the Arab-script epitaphs functioned actively in the social realm of Muslims in Inner Russia. The ways of their functionality were rather diverse, ranging from utilitarian need to know the mortality dates and places of burial for chancellery purposes to emotional attachment and, finally, the scholarly purposes. All the literati mentioned above did not use the vocabulary other than traditional to describe the ancient gravestones, i.e. such terms as *maqbara*, *qabr*, *hajar*,

32. نقلت هذين التاريخين من الحجرين الذين وجدتهما في مزار القرية المسماة باطاو ايلي و: Kazan University Library, Ms. 1967 T, f. 145b. احد الحجرين باق على حاله غير انه منحني قليلا الى المشرق الصبغ والحجر الذي اعلم به قبر السيد احمد رحمة الله عليه انكسر و وقع على الارض و ما كتبه في هذه الصفي قطعه و في المزار المذكور يوجد الاحجار الكثيرة الم... بها القبور لكن لم استطع ان اقرأ ما كتبت على قرانه و الله الموفق المزار المذكور... في... ربيع الثاني موافقا لسنة ١٢٨٧٠ اييول و انا الفقير الي عفور ربه الخلاق محمد المدعو بصلاح الدين ابن مولوى اسحاق المرحوم ابن سعيد بن قلمحمد المرحوم رزقنا الله تعالى ... آمين

33. Kazan Kremlin Museum, Ms. MZKK-154. Rahmatullin, 1947, ff. 29b, 30b, 31a, 32b, 40b. Surprisingly, this work reveals no dependence on manuscript sources that had been produced in local madrasas.

34. ‘Abd al-Majid Qadiri’s memoirs (the private collection of Maryam Qadirova, Ufa), f. 73b. I would like to thank Vener Usmanov from the Institute of Language, Literature and Art of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan (Kazan) for sharing with me the full copy of this manuscript, which provides an impressive account on life experiences of an educated Muslim during the late tsarist and early Soviet times. The text of the inscription in question runs as the following:

هذه مرقد العالم الفاضل الكامل معلم الصبيان بضع اربعين سنة شيخ الاسلام بن عبدالقادر بن بيكتمر القارمالي المنزلى امتثل الخطاب ارجى في سنة الف و ثلاث مائة ست و ثلاثين من الهجرة (1336) 4 شعبانده و في سنة 1918 2 نجي ماى طيب الله تراه و جعل الجنة مثواه

all being Arabic in origin. Thus, the Muslim concept of legacy existed in the traditional semantic field that did not elaborate a single term equal to European *monuments*. The variety of possible usage and interpretation of ancient graves in the social realm of Muslims points to the relevance and functional usability for an educated audience. Therefore I would insist that Muslim literati discovered the field of cultural legacy completely independently from and well before the era of any Orientalist academic interest to these objects as sources for secular scholarly inquiry³⁵.

35. A representative bibliography on Muslim epigraphy in Russia: <http://miras.info/projects/musulmanskie-epigraficheskie-pamyatniki-tatar/biography/100-test-biografija.html> (last assessed 18 May 2019).

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